SCRATCH THAT: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO GRAFFITI IN THE LATE ANTIQUE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN C. 300-700 CE.

BY
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Abstract

The past two decades have seen an increase in the interest in historic graffiti in general, and late antique graffiti in specific. Nevertheless, the publication of the graffiti itself has been disparate, and there has been no attempt to collate and present graffiti from the period of 300-700 CE in one volume. Although an exhaustive overview of all late antique graffiti is not possible, this thesis presents the first collection of interregional late antique graffiti carved upon the architecture of public spaces in the eastern Mediterranean, accompanied by an analysis of these texts and images.

Thematically, this thesis follows two key strands. The first strand approaches graffiti from a personal standpoint, establishing the commemorative and religious roles graffiti held for the late antique individual. The second strand examines graffiti from a spatial perspective, physically locating graffiti within the urban landscape of the eastern Mediterranean, and examining the interplay between informal inscriptions and their tangible environment. This section also considers graffiti in relation to its epigraphic environment, and the direct interaction between graffiti and formal visual culture of antiquity.

This thesis concludes by examining the universalities and distinctions which exist in the late antique graffiti tradition, with focus on how local practices were informed by broad trends (and vice versa).

To mum and dad.

For everything.

And for Grandad Walter.

Acknowledgements

To list everyone who has supported me during the last few years would be an endeavour greater than writing the thesis itself. To begin with, I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research council for their funding, without which this work would be impossible.

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Contents

Notes on Transliteration

When discussing people and places from the eastern Mediterranean, I have chosen to use the Greek transliteration of the relevant name, e.g., Prokopios rather than Procopius and Ephesos rather than Ephesus. An exception to this rule is in the case of emperors, religious figures and places better known by the English translation, such at the Emperor Constantine, Saint Paul and Constantinople.

A significant portion of this thesis examines sites in the Levant, which are known by several different names in different languages. As I am not an expert in these languages, I have opted to use the translations or transliterations offered by the author of the original publication.

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

AGP   The Ancient Graffiti Project. http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/. [Accessed 31.08.2022]

AIUK   Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections British Museum, Vol. 4.6.
               https://www.atticinscriptions.com/papers/aiuk-46/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

ALA2004   Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. C. Roueché (ed.) 2004.
               https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/index.html. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

CIIP   Corpus Inscriptionum Iudae/Palestinae (Berlin and Boston, MA. 4 Vols.)

CIL   Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. https://cil.bbaw.de/ace/search?page=1. [Accessed
               19.09.2022]

CSLA   Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity. http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

EDB   Epigraphic Database Bari. https://www.edb.uniba.it/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

I.Eph   Die Inschriften von Ephesos. (Vienna. 8 Vols.)

I.Palestina   Meimaris, Y.E. and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, I. (eds.) 2008. Inscriptions from
Teria   Palaestina tertia. Vol. 1a and 1b. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor Es-Safi (Byzantine
               Zoora). Athens.

I.Wadi   Negev, A. (ed.) 1977. *The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag*. Jerusalem.
Haggag

IAph2007   Inscriptions of Aphrodisias. J. Reynolds, C Roueché and G. Bodard (eds.) 2007.
               http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 [Accessed 31.08.2022]

ICG   Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae. http://www.epigraph.topoi.org/. [Accessed
               01.09.2022]

IG   Inscriptiones Graecae. http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/. [Accessed 13.09.2022]

IIP   Ancient Inscriptions from Israel/Palestine. https://www.inscriptionsisraelpalestine.org/.
               [Accessed 01.02.2023]

IStoborum   Babamova, S. (ed.) 2012. *Inscriptiones Stoborum*. Stobi.

LSA   Last Statues of Antiquity. http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

PPA   Roueché, C. (ed.) 1993. *Performers and partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods: A Study Based on Inscriptions from the Current Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria.* London.

RIB   Roman Inscriptions of Britain. https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/. [Accessed 06.09.2022]

SEG   Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. https://scholarlyeditions-brill-com.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/sego/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

SEM   Survey of Early Monograms. https://stig.hf.uio.no/sem/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]

0. Introduction

In the summer of 2018, I attended the wedding of a childhood friend. At the time I was writing my Master's thesis, which examined the graffiti of the late antique Levant.

One older man whom I recognised as a former youth pastor asked me "So, what sort of things did people write in their graffiti back then?".

"Prayers" I replied, "it was mostly Christian."

"Oh" he said, "So it wasn't really graffiti then?"

He had hit at the crux of the issue, unintentionally and in much fewer words than I spent doing so in my thesis. How do we define graffiti? For him, graffiti was an illicit activity. By its nature, a Christian prayer could not count as graffiti. A few months later, I started my PhD, and was raring to get to the bottom of these questions. I was at a welcome event promoting a postgraduate forum I had agreed to co-ordinate, and a fellow new student approached our stall. We spoke briefly about the talks I was planning in the next few weeks. He pointed just above my name on the term card, at the title of my paper: *Graffiti in Late Antiquity.* "I am not sure I will come" he said, "at my old university our talks were a lot more *academic*." For this student, graffiti was part of pop-culture. There was no scholarly value in it.

Discourse on ancient graffiti as a whole, and on late antique graffiti in specific, extends beyond my own experiences. The existence of graffiti has been adopted for ideological, political points. Third and fourth century graffiti, which acclaimed the apostle Peter in the Vatican necropolis, has been used by the Vatican as evidence for this site being the location of Peter's tomb, and therefore representative of an unbroken Catholic tradition at the site.[1] Similarly, in his 2007 book *The Dream of Rome*, Boris Johnson either misinterprets or intentionally misuses scholarship on late antique graffiti to push an ideological

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[1] Zander 2014: 131-133.

argument for the decline of the Roman empire (which he directly compares to the European Union).

Johnson argues that the Christian content of much late antique graffiti is evidence of social decline in

the late antique period, he claims: 'the graffiti in the brothel of Pompeii [is] evidence of the informal and

everyday manner in which Romans used the written word to celebrate innocent pleasures that would

become the subjects of Christian guilt and hysteria.'[2]

If late antique graffiti is used to punctuate contemporary political arguments, it is vital that this subject

is fully understood. This project is the first cross-regional comparative analysis of late antique graffiti in

the eastern Mediterranean. Through examining a wide dataset the research will be holistic, providing an

introduction and investigation of the trends which emerge throughout a broad geographical scope.

Further, rather than examine graffiti through any one lens, I will investigate the subject from a multitude

of angles to summarise the full picture of the ways graffiti was used by late antique peoples, and the

ways graffiti responded to the space it was written or drawn within. This will distinguish the project

from other studies of late antique graffiti, which either examine informal inscriptions within one location

(Angelos Chaniotis 2011, 2015 for Aphrodisias, Avraham Negev 1977 for Wadi Haggag) or apply one

theoretical approach to cross-regional data (Ann Marie Yasin 2015 and Mark Handley 2017 both look at

the role graffiti played in religious expression, Stern 2018 looks exclusively at Jewish texts). The basis of

my analysis is a catalogue of graffiti I have collected from major publications of graffiti in the eastern

Mediterranean, including Greece, Turkey, the Levant and Egypt. As a consequence, no singular site will

be the focus, but multiple sites from within the catalogue will form case studies. These case studies will

be considered through two different thematic strands to see the ways graffiti functioned in their

physical environments throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This thesis will therefore adopt a dual

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[2] Johnson 2007: 198. Here, Johnson misinterprets an argument by Bryan Ward-Perkins in his 2005 book *The End of Rome and the Fall of Civilisation*. Ward-Perkins does not negatively judge the Christian content of graffiti in the late antique period, but rather argues for a shift in how casual writing manifested.

approach, with the first three chapters of the thesis examining graffiti from the perspective of the late antique individual: considering the ways a text was fundamentally linked to the author and used by the author to communicate. These chapters, grouped under the title "Graffiti and the Person", will focus on graffiti as a means of commemoration, graffiti and identity, and graffiti and religion. The second half of this thesis will examine graffiti from a spatial perspective, contextualising how informal inscriptions functioned in the late antique environment. The fourth chapter will adopt a macro approach, examining graffiti across the late antique urban environment, whilst the fifth and final chapter will examine graffiti in relation to the wall upon which it was written and the formal epigraphic or decorative landscape it existed within. Consequently, the totality of the graffiti tradition in late antiquity will be beyond the scope of this research project, as it is neither practical, nor possible, to examine every site in the depth they deserve. In order to narrow the scope slightly, the material examined for this project has been exclusive that found within public space. Graffiti recorded in domestic environments have not been included. What this project will do is create a foundation for the later study of the field: collating evidence and providing introduction to the ways this evidence can be construed, and the fundamental details we can learn about the graffiti tradition.

0.1. Historical and Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Graffiti

0.1.1. Late Antique Graffiti in its Classical Context

Modern discourse and assumptions about historic graffiti have not emerged from a vacuum. Rather, they developed from popular understandings of both ancient and modern graffiti. To understand the history of the study of late antique graffiti, it is first necessary to examine the development of the field of classical graffiti studies. Derived from the Italian "to scratch", the term "graffiti" was coined in the eighteenth century to refer to the informally scratched texts and images found at the newly excavated

Pompeii.[3] The term stayed within archaeological contexts until the mid-late twentieth century. Although

the study of graffiti has been a constant facet of Roman scholarship since the eighteenth century, it was

rarely the subject of study in its own right until the twenty-first century, when American and European

society began to re-evaluate their relationship to the modern medium.[4] Many examples of graffiti were

published from Roman sites in epigraphic corpora such as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL).[5]

However, these publications can be difficult to sift through, with many texts which may now be

considered formal listed as graffiti or dipinti due to the methods which produced them. An additional

flaw of these studies is they frequently prioritise textual inscriptions, resulting in fewer publications of

figurative graffiti. An exception to this rule occurred at the turn of the twenty-first century, Martin

Langner's 2001 study of graffiti in ancient Rome was the first modern to examine both figurative and

textual graffiti, with, in particular, the attached CD-Rom database providing one of the first digital

records of Roman graffiti.[6] This project had its limitations. Although Langner discussed both figurative

and textual material in his volume, the attached catalogue and database presented only the figurative

material. Through collecting figurative graffiti, Langner only inversed the flaws of previous works, once

again divorcing figurative and textual graffiti from one another. Nevertheless, this book is emblematic of

the shifting discussion of antique informal inscriptions which would grow over the next two decades. In

particular, Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor's 2011 *Ancient Graffiti in Context* was one of the first holistic

approaches to graffiti in the ancient Mediterranean, with the contributed chapters covering a broad

period from nineteenth dynasty Egyptian and classical Attic texts, to the late Roman data from

Aphrodisias.[7] The comparative approach to graffiti in this book would prove crucial over the next

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[3] Stern 2018: 13.
[4] For a discussion of modern graffiti see section 0.1.3. Pages 15-17.
[5] Much of the Roman graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum was published in CIL IV.
[6] Langner's CD Rom would precede many excellent internet records of classical graffiti, including the *Ancient Graffiti Project* and the digitalisation of Roueché's Aphrodisian data.
[7] For the Egyptian material see Mairs 2011: 153-165; for the classical Attic material see Taylor 2011: 90-110. For the Aphrodisian data see Chaniotis 2011: 191-209.

decade, and would be replicated in Peter Keegan's 2014 *Graffiti in Antiquity* which similarly seeks to compare informal inscriptions from ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman societies.[8] What is apparent in these studies is that though they provided introductions to pan-historic graffiti practices, they frequently prioritised ancient and classical data over the equivalent from the late antique period.[9] This trend has continued in the near decade since the publication of both books. Although individual articles and chapters have studied the late antique data, there has been no cross-regional or comparative study of late antique graffiti on its own.

0.1.2. The Study of Late Antique Graffiti and Christian Archaeology

When late antique graffiti has been studied, historically the medium has been approached through the lens of Christian archaeology. Although Roman-Christian inscriptions have been recorded since at least the seventeenth century, the field of "Christian" epigraphy was defined in the nineteenth century by Giovanni Battista De Rossi.[10] De Rossi considered Christian inscriptions overlooked compared to their pagan counterparts, and published a series of volumes on the Christian inscriptions he excavated in the city of Rome.[11] It was in De Rossi's 1864-1867 publications of *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, which examined the Christian texts from the Roman catacombs, that the first Christian graffiti was published.[12] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a parallel growth in the study of Christian epigraphy in the eastern Mediterranean, and Henri Grégoire's 1922 publication *Recueil Des Inscriptions Grecques-Chrétiennes D'Asie Mineure* would prove foundational for the study of the field. Due to the

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[8] Another volume which takes a holistic approach to graffiti from the ancient and medieval worlds is Ragazzoli, Harmansah, Salvador and Frood 2018.
[9] Exceptions within these volumes which do examine late antique graffiti include Chantiotis 2011: 191-209 and Keegan 2014: 109-112.
[10] Roueché and Sotinel 2017: 503, 507.
[11] Roueché and Sotinel 2017: 507.
[12] Frothingham 1894: 551; De Rossi 1867: 13.

nature of Christian inscriptions, and particularly their growth in the post-Constantinian era, it is in these publications in which much of the original data on late antique graffiti is published.

The ideological underpinnings of De Rossi's publications led to a prioritisation of Christian graffiti, when recording post-Constantinian epigraphy. Due to the origin of the study of Christian inscriptions, which was not to study them as inscriptions of the later Roman empire, but rather to separate them from pagan texts and ensure the study of Christian material, we see it is the Christianity of the texts, and not their chronology, which dictates their study. Much late antique graffiti is labelled not as "early Byzantine" or "late Roman" (even prior to the establishment of the term "late antiquity" in the 1970s) but rather as "Christian".[13] Thus, unlike imperial Roman epigraphy, late antique epigraphy has been fundamentally associated with the religion of the period, as opposed to the other civic and social contexts in which it was found. Further complicating the study is the ideological approach taken by not only scholars, but also politicians and religious figures. That is not to say every study into Christian epigraphy and graffiti has an apologetic origin, but the data remains frequently used for political and religious purposes. The tendency to view late antique graffiti as fundamentally Christian is pervasive in modern publications. Publications which do examine late antique graffiti from the last decade continue to focus heavily on the religious aspect of these texts. Yasin's 2015 chapter on the materiality of late antique graffiti provides an exceptionally useful understanding of the role the physicality of an informal inscription should play in our understanding of its purpose, but Yasin focuses exclusively on how this affects a graffito's religious function. Similarly, Handley is directly critical of the over-emphasis of the Christian nature of texts, yet still focuses entirely on the graffiti associated with Christian pilgrimage in western Europe.[14] This issue remains prevalent, the 2021 volume *Cultic Graffiti in the Eastern*

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[13] For example, in *Inschriften Von Milet*, vol.2, late antique inscriptions are compiled under the term "Christian Inscriptions". The term late antiquity became popular in English speaking academia following the publication of Peter Brown's 1971 *The World of Late Antiquity*. For a discussion on the development of this term see Cameron 2002: 165-193.
[14] Handley 2017: 555-593.

Mediterranean and Beyond edited by Antonio Felle and Bryan Ward-Perkins examines the graffiti

traditions across many sites in the eastern Mediterranean, yet continues to do so from an almost

exclusively religious, and primarily Christian, perspective.[15] Consequently, the study of late antique

graffiti has consistently emphasised this medium as a Christian one.

0.1.3. Modern Graffiti

Further complicating the study of late antique graffiti is the modern associations with the medium,

which are frequently negative. Within contemporary European and American society, "graffiti" holds a

nebulous position, and the term has become intrinsically associated with spray painted images and

"tags" on the walls of urban environments.[16] One view of graffiti is preoccupied with illegality and

vandalism, envisaging graffiti as symbolic of social and economic decay – and itself a contributing factor

towards this decay as a way of lowering the value of a given area.[17] This reading of graffiti is inherently

tied to the context in which modern graffiti culture emerged in the 1960s and 1970s USA.[18] Early articles

examining the rise of spray painted graffiti on New York's subway system created a direct link between

criminal activity and graffiti. In 1979, Nathan Glazer wrote 'Graffiti may be self-expression, but they are

not only self-expression. For almost half the graffiti artists there is evidence that graffiti-making is part

of an ordinary criminal career'.[19] Within this context in the latter half of the twentieth century, legal

prohibitions were established in the western world. Graffiti is prohibited under British law, and is

considered in violation of the UK Criminal Damage Act of 1971.[20] The cultural distaste for graffiti has

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[15] Felle and Ward-Perkins 2021. Of the twelve main chapters of this book, one focuses on Jewish graffiti, one focuses on pagan graffiti, one focuses on Islamic graffiti and nine focus on Christian graffiti.
[16] Stern 2018: 21.
[17] Alvelos 2019: 16.
[18] Graffiti Art. *The Tate Modern Online*. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/g/graffiti-art. [Accessed 28.08.2022.]
[19] Glazer 1979: 6.
[20] UK Criminal Damage Act 1971.
https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/48#:~:text=(1)A%20person%20who%20without,be%20guilty%20of%2 0an%20offence. [Accessed 28.08.2022]. Although graffiti is not explicitly listed in this act, graffiti is considered a violation based on the argument it is damage to property made without permission.

persisted into the twenty-first century, Ten Eyck's study of graffiti in US news articles from 2012 found that whilst graffiti is referred to with negative terms in fifty percent of articles, it is only accompanied by positive terminology in eleven percent.[21] In the UK, civil injunctions for "antisocial-behaviour", which can themselves result in prosecution and jail time, explicitly lists graffiti as a form of vandalism.[22]

In conjunction with the legal and social prohibitions against graffiti which have emerged in the past seventy years, however, has been a movement recognising graffiti as the legitimate output of socially-marginalised communities, and representative of assertions of power by sub-cultural groups.[23] An additional factor confusing the place of graffiti in the public consciousness is the use of the term "street art". Street art is envisaged as a form of artistic expression which takes place in public and without permission, and is often indistinguishable from graffiti. The Tate Modern lists graffiti and street art as two distinct entities, acknowledging their connection but stating that street art uses a greater variety of media (including "wheat-pasting", stickers and video projection) whilst graffiti is limited to spray painted images.[24] This distinction is not always apparent to the general public, however, who frequently conflate the two. A BBC report on the use of graffiti in a festival in Digbeth, Birmingham, from 2019 ultimately highlights this conflation, indicating the term "street-art" is used to legitimise "graffiti" as an artistic medium.[25] This positive view of graffiti is altering how spray-painted texts and images are treated in European and American society, not only in theoretical, but also practical, ways. In the art world, the work of Banksy directly contradicts the understanding of graffiti as lowering the economic value of the

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[21] Ten Eyck 2016: 220.
[22] Punishments for Antisocial Behaviors. https://www.gov.uk/civil-injunctions-criminal-behaviour-orders. [Accessed 28.08.2022.]
[23] Walsh 1995: 10-12.
[24] Graffiti Art. *The Tate Modern Online*. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/g/graffiti-art. [Accessed 28.08.2022] and Street Art. *The Tate Modern Online*. https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/s/street-art [Accessed 28.08.2022].
[25] J. Bray. BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-england-birmingham-49613654 [Accessed 28.08.2022]

area, with the artist's stencils actually increasing the financial value of the property they are placed upon.[26]

The competing views of contemporary graffiti complicate discussions of its late antique counterpart in both pop-cultural and academic spheres. In an attempt to contextualise early Christian graffiti by modern standards, the journalist Michael Walsh reads graffiti as a defiant and subversive act against an oppressive anti-Christian regime. He writes 'when Christianity was an underground religion, Christians placed their symbolic religious graffiti on the walls'.[27] At the same time, Michael Hoff ascribes modern disdain for graffiti to ancient audiences. In a 2006 article on the Roman Agora in Athens, he writes 'The deliberate act of carving on an architectural block must have been considered vandalism, particularly in a location that would have been extremely visible to the public'.[28] Any attempts to envision historic data through modern opinions must be heavily criticised, whether viewing late antique graffiti as subversive art or vandalism, this approach denies agency to the authors of the original texts. Instead, complex historic graffiti practices have been simplified into terms familiar to modern audiences. This thesis will therefore not use methodologies surrounding modern graffiti, but rather prioritise what can be learnt from the late antique data itself, from looking at its placement and content.

0.2.   Terminology

It is necessary to define the term "graffiti". Historic graffiti is frequently defined according to two factors. The first factor is informality. Alexander Peden emphasises the informal nature of graffiti, saying it is as 'invariably free from social restraints' and 'unostentatious'.[29] The same term appears in Baird and Taylor's 2011 edited volume of ancient graffiti, in which they ascribe 'informality and immediacy' to

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[26] W. Lewis. 2017. 'How Much Would You Pay to Live in a Banksy House?'.
https://www.propertyreporter.co.uk/property/how-much-would-you-pay-to-live-in-a-banksy-house.html.
[Accessed 28.08.2022]
[27] Walsh 1996: 10.
[28] Hoff 2006: 182.
[29] Peden 2001.XXI.

both modern and ancient graffiti, and in his chapter within this volume Chaniotis characterises graffiti as 'unofficial'.[30] The second factor is with regard to functionality; with Langner writing that graffiti is 'any drawing placed arbitrarily, in a place not primarily intended for it'.[31] The same definition is used by Chaniotis, who emphasises that a text counts as graffiti when it is written somewhere that text would not have its usual function; for example a receipt carved on the wall of a domestic building.[32] Both these factors are summarised in Handley's 2017 definition of late antique graffiti, which defines a graffito as 'an informally-carved text placed secondarily on either living rock, or an existing structure or monument', in this context secondarily refers to the text being additional to the monuments initial function.[33] This thesis will use a slightly amended version of Handley's definition, expanded to include images as well as texts. "Informally-carved" will refer to the inscription's creation. "Informal" shall be considered to mean any text which is carved without official sanction; therefore, it must be a non-commissioned text, created by the author without a patron. The graffito must also be additional to the monument's initial function. For example, an epitaph would not count as graffiti as the inscription is integral to the purpose of an epitaph, but a later text added by a family member praying for the soul of the deceased *would* be a graffito, as this prayer is additional to the purpose of the monument. This definition of graffiti does not include makers marks on architecture, as these are intrinsic parts of the creation process of the monument. However, the definition will include *topos* inscriptions. *Topos* inscriptions frequently lay at the border between formality and informality, they may be formally carved and could be associated with spaces an individual had a legal right to be (such as the seat of a dignitary in the theatre or the space a vendor had a legal right to sell).[34] However, in many cases *topos* inscriptions are carved in such a way they could not have held any official function, as their placement

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[30] Baird and Taylor 2011: 1. Chaniotis 2011: 194.
[31] Langner 2001: 12. My own translation of Langner's original German.
[32] Chaniotis 2018: 77.
[33] Handley 2017: 557.
[34] Jacobs 2021: 279.

and lettering would have made them difficult to see and read. *Topos* inscriptions are therefore included in this thesis, although it should be acknowledged many of those discussed could have been formally carved. In opposition to graffiti are formal inscriptions. Formal epigraphy, of the type of monumental, honorific and dedicatory texts seen in antiquity, as well as in much of ancient visual culture, will be considered commissioned texts, paid for by a patron (who may be either a wealthy individual or civic body).

Another subject which will be discussed frequently within this thesis is the concept of art and artistic practices. In the context of this thesis, art will refer to the visual culture produced in late antiquity, including mosaics, wall paintings, sculpture and any other decorative elements.

Finally, it is also necessary to define the term religion. Religion will be discussed frequently in the context of this thesis, as much of the graffiti is either devotional in content or found in a religious space. This thesis will define religion following the definition of Meeten B. Ter Borg, as 'the attribution of a super-human status to someone or something'.[35] Within the context of this thesis, "religious practices" will be considered as the ways in which individuals attempted to contact or influence the supernatural. The primary religion examined in this thesis will be Christianity, however Jewish and pagan religions will also be discussed. When I use the term pagan, I am using it as a collective to refer to the myriad of pre-Christian beliefs in Greece and Rome. Although Graeco-Roman beliefs were not as theologically unified as the use of a collective term may suggest, pagan is a useful byword for referencing these beliefs. In contrast to the term "religious" I will also be using the term "secular" to describe various spaces and texts. Although the ancient world did not have the same distinction between the sacred and non-sacred which exists in the modern world, "secular" nonetheless provides a handy term for distinguishing between those sites and inscriptions which are *primarily* religious, and those that were not. Thus, when I

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[35] Ter Borg 1999: 405.

define a place or inscription as "secular" I do not mean to imply that no religious activities ever occurred in that space, or that a text could not have a supernatural meaning, but rather that these were not the primary functions of the place or inscription.

0.3.   Methodologies and Theoretical Frameworks

The following section examines the practical notes relevant to the creation of the catalogue attached to this thesis, as well as many of the theoretical and methodological themes which emerge.

0.3.1.   The Catalogue

The catalogue of graffiti which underpins the analysis of this thesis has been collected from a variety of sources, including epigraphic corpora, online databases and other publications. Within the catalogue graffiti is organised according to its geographic location, as it is important not to divorce graffiti from the spatial context within which it is found. The catalogue is organised according to the country in which the graffiti is located and tagged accordingly (TU for Turkey; GR for Greece; NM for North Macedonia; EG for Egypt; IP for Israel/Palestine; JO for Jordan and SY for Syria.) Although these international boundaries did not exist in the late antique period, the modern state is a useful shorthand for quickly visualising the broad geographic area in which a graffito is written. Additionally, the names of provinces and national boundaries both shifted throughout the late antique period, and thus any antique name I used to refer to these areas would remain anachronistic to the period. Additional information regarding collecting the graffiti which forms the catalogue and notes on using this material can be found in Appendix One.

The intial proposal for this thesis included a period of fieldwork, both to search for new inscriptions, and to confirm the existence of published texts. Although I was in the process of arranging this fieldwork in 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic made these trips impossible. As such, this thesis focuses only on previously published material. Even relying on published material, I have managed to compile a

catalogue of 1733 texts and images, which represent a broad collection of material from throughout the east.

0.3.2. Literary Evidence

Ultimately, there is very little literary evidence for the creation of informal inscriptions in late antiquity. A handful of references to graffiti are found in Roman historians, both Suetonius and Plutarch provide examples of informal writings being used to express political feeling.[36] Plutarch discusses in two separate books how Brutus was spurred to action to assassinate Caesar by the graffiti written on the public monuments of himself and his ancestor.[37] Initially, graffiti as a means of political expression seems to tally with much of the graffiti recorded in the Italian peninsula in the first century CE, for example one text which encourages citizens to vote for Aulus Trebius for *aedile*.[38] These texts are only of limited use for understanding the graffiti tradition in the ancient world however. Both authors are using the existence of informal inscriptions to underscore the frustration felt by the Roman people, rather than discuss the intricacies of the practice itself. As a consequence, only political graffiti is discussed, and we gain no impression of the motivations for, or the experiences of, writing casual expressions which characterise much ancient graffiti. Additionally, neither Suetonius or Plutarch are describing texts they wrote themselves, and therefore we gain only a second-hand understanding of the motivations of graffiti authors in antiquity. Outside of official histories, a letter from Ptolemaic Egypt also featured an author of a graffito describing carving a text. The letter was from an individual named Nearchos to his friend Heliodoros. Nearchos described his pilgrimage to the oracle of Ammon in Libya, and said he 'visited the temples and engraved the names of my friends [on them], eternally worshiping.'[39] This letter

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[36] Summarised in Milnor 2014: 97-98. Suetonius claimed that dissatisfied citizens wrote threats to the emperor Nero on his statuary 'A curl was placed on the head of his statue with the inscription in Greek: "Now there is a real contest and you must at last surrender' Suetonius. *Nero* 45. Trans. J.C. Rolfe.

[37] Plutarch *Brutus* 9.5-8; Plutarch *Caesar* 62.4. Trans. B. Perrin.

[38] AGP-EDR161819. Ed. R. Benefiel.

[39] Kenyon and Bell 1907: 205-206. This text is known as P.British Museum 854. *ιστορ[η]σα και των φιλων [ε]μ[ων τ]α ονοματα ενεχαραξα τοις ι[ε] ροις αειμνηστως το προσκυνημα.*

comes much closer to helping us understand ancient graffiti practices, being a first hand account of the creation of informal inscriptions.

The letter from Nearchos parallels the one literary text from late antiquity which described the author writing a graffito. This is the account of the Piacenza Pilgrim, a sixth century traveller to the Levant who recorded their activities at different cult sites. The Pilgrim mentions he or she wrote a graffito on the couch of Christ at Cana 'Then we went three miles to Cana, where the Lord attended the wedding, and we reclined on his very couch, where I (unworthy!) inscribed the names of my parents'.[40] Unlike the prior Roman examples, the Piacenza Pilgrim provides a personal testimony to graffiti authorship. However, once again our literary evidence is lacking when trying to create parallels with extant graffiti. Only six percent of the graffiti in the catalogue mentions the parents of the author, for example.[41] Nevertheless, the literary evidence is still lacking. The Pilgrim does not, for example, indicate the formulae used, whether the text was an inscription or dipinto, and whether other texts were found at the site.[42] Furthermore, despite a tradition of writing prayers and acclamations at religious institutions, this form of graffiti still only represents one aspect of the late antique graffiti practice. The Piacenza Pilgrim's account provides no insight into the graffiti found in urban spaces, or the practice of drawing figurative graffiti. When relevant, I will discuss literary sources in this thesis to aid the analysis of graffiti and provide context into late antique culture, however the majority of my analyses will not be informed by literary texts, but rather the content and placement of informal inscriptions themselves.

0.3.3. Gender

Few historians have examined graffiti through the lens of gender. Many informal texts and images from antiquity do not provide the name of the author, and therefore it is impossible to know the gender of

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[40] *The Piacenza Pilgrim* 4. Trans. A. Jacobs.
[41] 75 out of 1313 textual graffiti. The majority of these examples are patronyms. For further discussion on patronymns, see section 2.2. Page 87.
[42] Nowakowski 2017: 230-231.

the person who wrote them. It is possible to reach some limited conclusions about the gender based on

the available evidence however. Of those graffiti which do name individuals, female names appear in

five percent of texts, whilst male names appear in thirty-six percent.[43] Notably, just because a text

names an individual however, does not mean that individual authored the inscription. Texts which name

women may have been written by men, and vice versa. Through the inscription of a name, you could

manifest the presence of an individual at a site where they were not, and therefore it is common for

individuals to invoke the presence of family and friends by inscribing their name.[44] In fact, the only

literary evidence for graffiti in late antiquity, that of the Piacenza Pilgrim, references the author writing a

name to invoke the presence of their parents. Nevertheless, it will be generally assumed that unless

otherwise stated, the primary named individual in the text is the author (with the acknowledgement this

is no more than a probable assumption).

Female names are most frequently found in the graffiti at cult sites than at secular sites. Of the sixty of

named women in late antique informal inscriptions, fifty-five are found in a space which might broadly

be defined as "religious".[45] In fact, the apparent absence of female graffiti authors at Grammata Bay in

Syros, is a key reason given by Kiourtzian for his interpretation that the bay was not the waystation *en

route* to a pilgrimage site.[46] At the same time, male names vastly outnumber female names in urban

environments, 264 out of 284 graffiti featuring personal names from urban environments in the

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[43] Female names are found in 60 out of 1313 textual graffiti. Male names are found in 475 out of 1313 textual graffiti. Including references to women with titles such as "mother" or wife, references to women are found in 71 inscriptions the catalogue. These numbers do not include personal names of which the gender is uncertain. These numbers also do not include references to holy figures, such as the Virgin Mary or Saint John.
[44] See again the letter from Nearchos to Heliodorus discussed in section 0.3.2. Pages 21-22. In this text, Nearchos explicitly stated he inscribed the names of his absent friends at temples. In doing so, he evoked their presence at a religious site.
[45] These religious sites include both ecclesiastical spaces such as the Church of Mary in Ephesos and the Grotto of Saint Paul, the desert monastery at Nahal Og, as well as the pilgrimage route of Wadi Haggag.
[46] Kiourtzian 2000: 148.

catalogue are male.[47] Chaniotis attributes this disparity at the city of Aphrodisias specifically to the

social background of authors of graffiti – arguing they were primarily male artisans working in the city's

marble industry, who had easy access to the tools necessary to create informal inscriptions on the go.[48]

Whilst this might initially explain the distinction at Aphrodisias, the conclusion is not applicable to the

wider environment of the eastern Mediterranean, as other cities with more male names than female

ones (for example Ephesos) did not have the same industry which would cause this affect.[49] It is possible

that as men have typically been understood to occupy the "economic" and "public" spheres, whilst

women have been understood to occupy the "domestic" and "private" spheres, this is why more graffiti

from men have remained extant from late antiquity, as it is the monumental public buildings which have

survived rather than the private residences in which women would have spent the majority of their

time.[50] However, this is an antiquated reading of the life of urban spaces in the late Roman world,

women did take part in economic activities, and the presence of female-authored graffiti at cult sites

indicates that women were active in public spaces, even if they were not as active as their male

counterparts in the creation of informal inscriptions in these spaces.[51] It would be wrong, therefore, to

assume that every text which does not include a name in public spaces must be male. Even if women did

not name themselves in informal inscriptions of the late antique period as frequently, there is no reason

to assume they could not have drawn figurative graffiti – or written the anonymous acclamations which

are so frequent. Subsequently, when I discuss the "author" of a text or image within this thesis, unless

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[47] Urban environments surveyed include Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Xanthos, Perge, Sagalassos, Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Palmyra, Jerusalem, Sergiupolis-Resafa, Corinth, Athens, Thessaloniki, Halabiyya-Zenobia and Stobi.
[48] A. Chaniotis 2015. 'Studying Graffiti in the Ancient City: The case of Aphrodisias'. https://www.ias.edu/ideas/2015/chaniotis%E2%80%93graffitti. [Accessed 28.08.2022]
[49] Ladstätter 2017: 243-244. Although late antique Ephesos was involved in the marble trade, this was through the shipping of Anatolian marble to the wider Mediterranean, rather than the production of marble locally.
[50] Hylen 2020: 534-553. Hylen discusses the applicability of the "domestic" and "public" dichotomy in the Roman empire.
[51] Kelley 2022 provides a summary of women's participation in the late antique textile industry, for example.

explicitly stated within the text itself (or informed by other contextual clues) I will not assume the gender of the author.

0.3.4. Literacy

An additional issue which will emerge with examination of any written medium is the question of literacy. The late antique period has frequently been associated with a decline in literacy amongst the general populace, William Harris argues in his 1989 volume *Ancient Literacy* that literacy rates declined from the reign of Diocletian onwards, with the ability to read and write essentially becoming the prerogative of the church, a new "scribal class".[52] Harris adopts a narrow definition of literacy, considering it as a person who can read and write a basic sentence, however, this has been challenged by scholars over the decades.[53] Those who follow Harris' definition essentially relegate writing, including graffiti, to a relatively small and elite subsection of society. Increasingly, attention has been refocused on those who Harris terms 'semi-literate', individuals who might recognise certain words and terms and sometimes reproduce them, but often lacking the ability to write.[54] Keegan discusses 'functional' literacy, the ability to read and write in those ways necessary for simple written communication, along with the knowledge of basic grammar forms, without the understanding of the more complex aspects of written language.[55] Similarly, John Bodel notes the importance of text as a visual and representational medium; if an individual becomes familiar with certain words in the epigraphic contexts of daily life (such as public monuments in the forum and dedicatory inscriptions in church) they will begin to recognise and "read" these texts, understanding their meaning if not their construction.[56] Sean

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[52] Harris 1989: 7-8. Harris' study, though comprehensive, is not without its contradictions, however. Throughout the book, he simultaneously claims that we can use epigraphy to roughly chart the relative literacy levels in Roman Italy, yet that the presence of inscriptions in the late antique west cannot be used as evidence of literacy amongst the general populace in this period. (Harris 1989: 265 and 298).
[53] Harris 1989: 3. For critics of Harris see Bodel 2015 and Leatherbury 2020.
[54] Harris 1989: 5.
[55] Keegan 2014: 63.
[56] Bodel 2015: 751.

Leatherbury highlights this further in a discussion on a passage by Paulinus of Nola, who claims that inscriptions accompanying the representation of religious scenes in a church would help less educated supplicants understand the images: 'coloured sketches which are explained by inscriptions over them, so that the script may make clear what the hand has exhibited. Maybe that, when they all in turn show and reread to each other what has been painted'.[57] It is not clear from the full passage whether the *tituli* instruct the laity as to what is represented, or whether the image will inform supplicants of the meaning of the text.[58] Whichever reading is accepted here, it is clear that the broader context in which an epigraphic text was witnessed could inform the populace as to the meaning of that text. There is then no reason to assume that once an individual was familiar with the meaning of a common phrase, they could not informally replicate it themselves upon their surrounding architecture. This is an important acknowledgement considering the formulaic nature of many late antique informal inscriptions.[59] Outside of simply consuming formal inscriptions, individuals may have been at least able to write words which were important to their own lives, such as their name. Consequently, it is not helpful to assume literacy when discussing graffiti. Although some longer texts in the catalogue would have required a greater degree of literacy than others, as is evidenced by their variation in language and content from the majority of the texts, it was certainly not necessary to be "literate" to write a graffito. Furthermore, due to the great number of figurative graffiti from late antiquity which do not require any form of literacy to create, it is an unhelpful medium through which to study the field.

0.3.5.   Language

This thesis will focus exclusively on the Greek graffiti from the late antique eastern Mediterranean. Greek material has been published much more frequently than other languages in western European

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[57] Paulinus, *Carmen* 27.580–7. Trans. Goldschmidt 1940. Quoted in Leatherbury 2020: 15.
[58] Leatherbury 2020: 15.
[59] See discussions of common formulae in section 3.3.1.

academia, which has made these texts more accessible during research. Many of the epigraphic corpora

used as sources for this thesis publish exclusively Greek texts, for example the *Supplementum*

Epigraphicum Graecum (SEG) and the *Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae* (ICG) focus specifically on the

Greek language. However, Greek was certainly not the only language in which late antique graffiti was

written. Multi-lingual corpora such as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (CIIP) also publishes

texts in Hebrew, Latin and Aramaic, revealing a certain degree of linguistic diversity in ancient graffiti

practices.[60] However, in the CIIP's volume on Jerusalem, recorded Greek graffiti significantly

outnumbers graffiti written in another language. Another language which has received reasonable

attention from scholars is Coptic, with Coptic graffiti at Egyptian cult sites published alongside Greek

texts in the volumes of Adam Łajtar and Jitse Dijkstra.[61] Given the broad geographic scope of this thesis,

however, I will examine only the Greek material, in order to keep a strict focus. Although at times I will

discuss Roman and late antique Latin and Coptic epigraphic culture to provide context for the

inscriptions I am studying here, these languages will not be the focus of this project. As such, the

conclusions reached in this thesis will be applicable only to the Greek graffiti from the Eastern

Mediterranean. Further research by scholars with broader ancient language skills would be necessary to

create a more complete impression of the language of informal inscriptions c.300-700 CE.

0.3.6. Dating

A frequent problem which emerges when studying graffiti is providing accurate dating for the texts and

images. In some limited cases, the graffito itself includes a date, however these are few, with only seven

inscriptions from the catalogue including a date. Of these seven, three list the month in which a graffiti

was written but not the year, and thus their date cannot be ascribed to a specific year. Only four graffiti

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[60] Non-Greek graffiti from Jerusalem featured in the CIIP include Hebrew (CIIP1.2 752; CIIP 1.2 790; CIIP1.2 953; CIIP1.2 954a-b; CIIP1.2 957; CIIP1.2 1017, CIIP1.2 1018, CIIP1.2 1027), Latin (CIIP1.2 757; CIIP1.2 842.51a), Armenian (CIIP1.2 810a) and Aramaic (CIIP1.2 1016).
[61] Łajtar 2006 and Dijkstra 2012.

list the year.[62] In other instances, we are able to establish a *terminus post quem* or *terminus ante quem* through construction or destruction layers from antiquity. For example, many of the dipinti from the Basilica at Smyrna can be securely dated to at least the second-third century as the basilica was rebuilt in the time of Marcus Aurelius.[63] However, even if the use of a site is well documented and a date-range can be established, this frequently remains broad. For example, much of the graffiti from the Church of the Archangels in Aphrodisias must post-date the conversion of the pagan temple of Aphrodite into the church c. 500 CE, however the building was in use until its destruction in the thirteenth century CE.[64] Even with a definitive *terminus ante quem* and *terminus post quem*, the graffiti from the church can still be dated to a roughly seven-hundred-year period, and therefore it is impossible to unquestionably assert any as late antique.

An additional, though less frequently used, method of dating graffiti is through examining the palaeography of a text. The letter forms in inscriptions have been used by scholars such as Charlotte Roueché to date graffiti from Aphrodisias to the late antique period.[65] However, as graffiti is frequently found poorly inscribed, preserved or recorded, isolating palaeographic features is usually complex and often impractical. Additionally, many epigraphic corpora do not publish photographs of a text, making judgements on their palaeography impossible.[66] Furthermore, letter forms cannot, obviously, be used to date figurative graffiti, where we are instead wholly reliant on content and context. Whilst palaeography can therefore be a useful tool to aid the dating of a late antique graffito, it is most usefully used in conjunction with other methods.

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[62] Out of the total number of figurative and textual graffiti found in the catalogue (1733 texts and images), seven dated inscriptions account for 0.4% of the catalogue. The dated graffiti which list the year, include EG110; EG111; EG114 and IP142. Dated graffiti which does not list the year include: GR82; GR107 and EG405.
[63] Bagnall 2016a: 36-40.
[64] See Appendix 2.1.1.2.
[65] For example, Roueché dates TU37 to the fifth to tenth centuries based on both its context and palaeography.
[66] For example *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* does not publish regular photos or copies of the graffiti in the city.

One of the more frequent methods used to date a graffito to the late antique period is through examining whether the text has a Christian content. It has been generally assumed that if an informal inscription in public space is Christian, it suggests that the graffito was post-Constantinian, written in a period in which it was more socially acceptable to express Christian belief in public. This is an inherently flawed method of establishing the chronology of graffiti. There is plenty of evidence in the eastern Mediterranean for Christian graffiti written before the reign of Constantine – Christian inscriptions are at Dura Europos, both of which has destruction layers proving the graffiti at the sites must predate the fourth century.[67] Furthermore, the assumption that Christian graffiti must be late can create the misapprehension that non-Christian religious graffiti, particularly pagan texts, must be pre-Constantinian. Again, this is demonstrably incorrect, as some of the few examples of graffiti which do include dates within texts, a collection of pagan votive graffiti from Deir el-Bahri, were written in the reign of Constantine.[68] The creation of a dichotomy, where a pagan graffito must be Roman and a Christian graffito must be late antique, has led to problematic dating of some texts in academic work. For example, despite some demonstrably Christian graffiti being discovered at the Cave of Elijah in Haifa, the majority of the graffiti is pagan or Jewish, and therefore the editors have presumed that most of the graffiti found at the site pre-dated the late antique period.[69]

Regardless of the many issues associated with the use of a Christian character to date graffiti to the late antique period, frequently I am reliant on this method. Although it is incorrect to automatically date any Christian graffiti to the late antique period, this was the era in which Christianity flourished and grew as the majority religion in the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, at many sites where graffiti is found, it

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[67] For Christian graffiti from Dura-Europos see Baird 2018a: 77. Additionally, a geometric graffito from Pompeii may have been identified as a Christian cross if the site was post-Constantinian, whilst it is simply listed as a geometric design due to the early destruction of Pompeii. AGP-EDR128563. Ed. R. Benefiel, J. Bowe, H. Sypniewski, H. Busby, C. Hartline, B. Wright, and M. Yorio

[68] EG110; EG111; EG114.

[69] Ovadiah and Pierri 2015: 52.

is the presence of Christian graffiti which could indicate the continued use of an area into the late antique period. As a consequence, though flawed, references to Christianity provide a vital method to date texts.

Ultimately, my approach has been to assume if a text *could* have been late antique in origin, I will include it here. In general, I assume if there is a text written at a site which I can reasonably date to the late antique period, through its formulae or content, then I will include other graffiti found at the site, providing their own formulae and content do not prove they cannot be late antique. For example, I have included the entirety of the graffiti and *topos* inscriptions found in the theatre and stadium at Aphrodisias, as the presence of Christian graffiti highlights an active tradition of inscribing informal inscriptions at these sites in the late antique period. Although this is far from a perfect method, and may in fact result in much data from pre-300 CE or post-700 CE being erroneously included, it is preferable to creating too strict a delineation in what could be considered late antique, and thereby excluding graffiti which was written in the period.

In general, I have followed the dates offered by the original editors of each text. The exception to this rule is graffiti featured at a site I discuss more than one time within the body of this thesis. For these locations, I have written a short introduction on the chronology of the sites and the ways we can date the graffiti within them (Appendix Two). For more information on the creation of the catalogue and the dating of graffiti see Appendix 1.5.

Part One – Graffiti and the Person

1. Commemoration

It is not possible to begin to discuss late antique graffiti without first considering the commemorative

purposes of these texts and images. "Commemoration" has been featured in most scholarship on late

antique informal inscriptions. Yasin's 2015 article *Prayers on Site: The Materiality of Devotional Graffiti*

and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space immediately defines graffiti as 'commemorative […]

remaining on site after the fact as a record'.[70] Similarly, Handley emphasises the commemorative aspect

of graffiti – claiming that, within a pilgrimage context, the purpose of an informal text was to remain at a

site as a memorial to the author and thus act as a lasting record of late antique pilgrimage beyond a

journey's temporal nature.[71] Yasin and Handley both examine late antique graffiti through a lens which

has been frequently ascribed to informal inscriptions in both antiquity and modernity, with emphasis

placed on graffiti's ability to preserve the presence and persona of an author, their "memory". Richard

Clay's documentary on historic graffiti claims commemoration is the underlying factor which unites

informal inscriptions across time.[72] Fiona McDonald's *A Popular History of Graffiti*, which covers informal

inscriptions from the prehistoric period to the modern era, claims that graffiti is a 'personal memorial' to

the author, leaving a lasting reminder of their presence.[73] When examining graffiti in an early Modern

Italian church, Veronique Plesch adopts the same framework as Handley, and establishes graffiti is a

means of recording the presence of a pilgrim at a holy site, emphasising the importance of graffito as a

memorial of this visit.[74] The core similarity between these scholars will inform the definition of

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[70] Yasin 2015: 42.
[71] Handley 2017: 575.
[72] BBC 4, *A Brief History of Graffiti* 6:44-6:45. Discussing ancient petroglyphs, which Clay considers the earliest form of graffiti, Clay claims 'the mark […] reveals an urge to put a lasting message on the wall saying "Remember, I was here"'.
[73] McDonald 2013: vii.
[74] Plesch 2002: 181

commemoration in this thesis: commemoration will be considered a way of "enshrining memory" –

creating a permanent and tangible record of an author, activity or event.[75]

Despite the frequent claim that recording memory was a fundamental, if not primary, purpose of

graffiti, the subject has nevertheless lacked detailed analysis. Commemoration is often highlighted as

the starting point to discuss other aspects of graffiti traditions. Yasin, Handley and Plesch all use

commemoration to punctuate the roles graffiti played within the pilgrimage traditions of their

respective periods, whilst Stern discusses the commemorative aspect only briefly to underline the role

of late antique graffiti as a means of communication within the Jewish community.[76] Consequently,

although commemoration is frequently discussed as a function of graffiti, it is always done so in a

secondary context, rather than in its own right. I want to close this research gap, and focus on graffiti

purely as a commemorative act, looking at the ways late antique peoples sought to materialise their

experiences around them and also the various different formulae and images which were used to

communicate memory. Through examining and establishing how graffiti and commemoration were

fundamentally linked with one another, I will be able to examine the other functions and facets of

graffiti in the rest of this thesis having dedicated to "commemoration" the space it deserves. As graffiti is

a form of epigraphy, I will begin this chapter by examining the underlying cause which allowed

inscriptions to function as a memorial: their material nature. Subsequently, I will then establish the

connection between materiality and epigraphy as a wider genre which created the broad social

expectation that informal epigraphic texts could (and would) be commemorative. Having established

these contexts, I will move systematically through the commemorative practices as they appear in late

antique graffiti, to consider the ways in which graffiti was utilised to commemorate a variety of late

antique experiences, ranging from the recording of an individual's presence to personal rivalries, and the

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[75] For a discussion of the "permanence" of inscriptions see section 1.2.
[76] Stern 2018: 141-169.

environment they witnessed. To ensure this chapter encapsulates the variety of graffiti traditions which exist across the eastern Mediterranean, I will address each theme through several case studies from the thesis catalogue, so as not to distance informal inscriptions from the geographic context they existed within. Further, this will allow me to approach the topic comparatively, highlighting the similarities and differences which exist in the informal epigraphic traditions at each site.

1.1. Commemorative Graffiti within its Epigraphic context

In order to understand the commemorative functions of graffiti in late antiquity, it is necessary to understand the broader connection between memory and inscribed texts in the ancient world. Late antique graffiti authors did not inscribe texts within a vacuum, but instead were doing so as partakers in a widespread epigraphic tradition, the origins of which extended back into the republican and Hellenistic periods, and which permeated all levels of Roman and late Roman society.[77] Epigraphic commemoration should be understood within the traditions of formal epigraphy commissioned by patrons – as often the increased length of the inscriptions comparable to informal texts, and generally better preservation of the formal material (combined with a more frequent discussion of monumental epigraphy in ancient literature) allows us to establish the context informal inscriptions acted within.[78]

Monumental inscriptions were used as a means of imperial and elite commemoration from the early Roman empire. This is a direct claim which appears in literary sources: Cicero wrote that an honorific statue would 'be a memorial to a life of enduring renown'.[79] One prominent example from the early

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[77] Wueste 2019: 232-237 notes that the physical presence of epigraphy made it accessible across class boundaries. Even if poor and/or illiterate urban inhabitants could not commission or read an inscription themselves, the presence of a monumental inscription within their local environment would act as an object with which they could engage.

[78] For a discussion of references to monumental epigraphy in Graeco-Roman literature, see Liddel and Low 2013: 11-14. Liddel and Low discuss how quotes from monumental inscriptions in Graeco-Roman literature could be used to add veracity to the author's account of an event.

[79] Cicero. *For Rabirius Postumus.* 16–17. Quoted in Carroll 2006: 30.

empire is the *Res Gestae*, the bronze inscription which accompanied the tomb of Augustus in Rome.[80]

According to Suetonius the text of the inscription was authored by Augustus during his lifetime, and he

requested a copy be inscribed following his death to preserve a record of his accomplishments.[81] This

text served a clear purpose: the creation of a bold declaration of Augustus' achievements written within

a strict rhetoric of power and a justification of his rule of the empire.[82] However, the *Res Gestae* was not

only inscribed in Rome, but copies have been found in Asia Minor, including at Pisidian Antioch,

Apollonia and Ancyra.[83] In this case the inscription acted as a means of communication of the imperial

legacy of Augustus throughout the empire. Similarly, in the late antique period the imperial family used

epigraphy as a means of asserting their power and virtue. At Ephesos, fifteen commemorative statues

and inscriptions remain *in situ* on Curetes Street, and they allow us to track the information that the

imperial family thought was important to communicate to the general populace in Ephesos.[84] Imperial

statues record the religious virtues of named members of the imperial family, creating both a

monumental space, and a record of the imperial rhetoric. For example, a monument dedicated to Aelia

Flacilla listed her as 'most pious Augusta'.[85] Epigraphy was thus used to establish and commemorate

imperial identity into the late antique era.

Local elites in the east from the Roman period into the Byzantine era similarly utilised epigraphy to

enshrine the memory of their acts and personages within the public space. In Termessos, Turkey, a

second or third century inscription to a widow, Atalanta, recorded both her noble family genealogy and

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[80] Cooley 2009: 3.
[81] Suetonius. *Augustus*. 101. Trans. J.C. Rolfe.
[82] Cooley 2009: 30-42.
[83] Cooley 2014: 217.
[84] Wueste 2019 : 230.
[85] LSA-723. *εὐσεβεστάτην Αὐγοῦσταν*. Trans. A. Sokolicek.

acts she did which benefitted the city.[86] This inscription not only recorded the positive virtues of the

honorand, but also illustrated her services to the city in a way that could be consumed by any member

of the literate population. The same traditions can be observed in the formal inscriptions commissioned

by the elites in other cities throughout the empire. For instance, at Athens a statue of the governor

Theodoros was erected in the fourth century CE accompanied by a lengthy verse inscription which

stated: 'You see Theodorus, the ruler who with his gentle justice saved the people and cities of all the

Greeks. That is why Themistocles set him up in a stone portrait statue in the city'.[87]

Thus, both prior to and within the late antique period, epigraphy existed as a means of codifying

imperial and elite identity within public space. Epigraphy was not just limited to elite use however and

was utilised by individuals from a variety of social backgrounds. This is apparent within the medium of

funerary inscriptions, one of the primary examples of epigraphy as commemoration for the general

populace, although once again the prominent examples are often from elite families. Funerary

inscriptions were used by elite groups to record information about the deceased. In the Roman era,

wealthy patrons would commission inscriptions on sarcophagi, which could record a variety of details

about the deceased, including their name, virtues, age, and any familial or civic associations.[88] In the

early Christian and late antique eras, catacombs throughout the empire recorded the details of the

deceased but the exact contents of these burials differed markedly from place to place. For example, an

epitaph from Kongoustos in Turkey elaborates on the beauty of a deceased woman named Venavia, as

well as highlighting her husband's occupation as a Christian priest.[89] At Zoora in Palaestina Tertia, fourth

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[86] Van Nijf 2000: 21. According to the inscription, Atalanta 'reveals to the full every womanly quality, emulating by her exertions the accomplishments of her ancestors' and 'has promised in time of great grain shortage to provide an ample supply'. Trans. O. Van Nijf.

[87] LSA-2. *ἀρχὸν ὁρᾷς Θεόδωρον, ὅς εὐδικίησ' ἀγανῇσι σῶσε Πανελλήνων σώματα καὶ πόλιας. τοὔνεκά μιν κατὰ ἄστυ Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέθηκε εἰκόνι λαϊνέῃ', τ`ως [γ]ὰρ ἄνω[γ]ε πόλις'.* Trans. U. Gehn.

[88] See Carroll 2006: 126-151 for a discussion of the information relayed in western Roman epitaphs.

[89] ICG 103. *† ἔνθ' ἄλοχος πινυτὴ [ἀν]||δρὸς κρατεροῦ ὑπόκιτ̣[ε]· | τοὔνομα | Οὐεναυία π[ι]|νυτόφρονος ἶδος ἔχ[ου]||σα. τῆς δ' ἤτυ χαρίεν [κὲ] | ἐράσμιον ἦτο πρόσωπ[ον]· | ὄμματ<α> δ' ὥστε βοός. [...]. τοὔνομα δὲ [πό]|σιος Φρόντων φ[ρεσβύ]|τερός τε μνήμης χ[άριν. †].* Ed. U. Huttner.

and fifth century graves list biographies of the deceased, including their name, parentage and sometimes the dates of their death, for example the epitaph of Amrilios which read 'In memory of Amrili(o)s, son of Zenobios, who died having a good name (at the age) of 25 years, in the (year) 345, on the first (day) of (the) month Apellaios.'[90] These inscriptions typically begin *Μνημεῖον*, or "in memory of", highlighting the intention of Christian funerary epigraphy, that it was commemorative to preserve the memory of the deceased.

Having established the importance of formal epigraphy as a means of commemoration in Roman and late antique culture, it is possible to see how the fundamental desire for personal and community commemoration displayed in official inscriptions was carried over into informal texts. Whilst many graffiti would have been poorly carved compared to their official counterparts, they were nonetheless present in the epigraphic environment of the city in a way which could not be ignored. Many discussions of commemorative graffiti prior to the late antique period centre on the informal inscriptions of Pompeii. Polly Lohmann argues that graffiti placed in the private and public spaces of Pompeii facilitated exchanges of experience between individuals in the city.[91] Similarly, clusters of graffiti - spaces in which we find not just one text but several - highlights that individuals carving a text did so with the explicit understanding that others inscribing within the cluster could see and read their inscriptions.[92] Thus, understanding that individuals would be aware of the texts which surrounded them, we can begin to understand the ways individuals at Pompeii in the early imperial period sought to record their experiences on their environment. Graffiti found in the city varies from simply listing the names of the author, for example 'Ti(tus) Comnis Olithus Rectus' to more detailed information about their lives.[93]

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[90] I. Palaestina Tertia vol. 1a. No. 189. *Μνημῖον Ἀμ|<ρ>ίλις Ζηνοβίου, | αποθανόντος | μετά κολοῦ ἀν || όματος ετών | κε ' ἐν τ(ώ) τμε, | μη(νός) ἀπελλέου ά. | Θάρσι, οὐδίς ν | Θάρσι, οὐδίς ν.* Trans. Y.E. Meimaris and I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou.
[91] Lohmann 2017: 110.
[92] Lohmann 2017: 108-109.
[93] AGP-EDR168480. Ed. R. Benefiel and K. Lundqvist.

Another graffito reads 'Fortunatus loves Amplianda. Ianuarius loves Veneria. We ask mistress Venus that you keep us in mind (and also) that which we now ask of you', recording the romantic concerns of the authors.[94] The graffiti at Pompeii indicates how commemoration extended beyond personal identity and exploits however, also recording conversations and the daily rhythms of individuals, such as 'Marcus Atillius made a stop here'.[95] Further, commemoration is explicitly highlighted as a function of informal inscriptions in one of the few literary examples of an author discussing carving a text. The letter, dated to the first century CE and written by a man named Nearchos, read 'I visited the temples and engraved the names of my friends [on them], eternally worshiping.'[96] The use of the term 'eternally' indicates that Nearchos perceived his inscription as a means of memorialising his visit permanently at the site, and enshrining the memory of his friends therein. Graffiti in the Roman era was therefore another manifestation of the commemorative epigraphic habit that pervaded the Roman empire, and (as will be shown in this chapter) continued into late antiquity.

1.2.   Materiality as a Means of Ensuring Commemoration

Having established that epigraphy, both formal and informal, was a form of basic communication and commemoration in the Roman empire, through to late antiquity, it is necessary to examine the key reason this was the case. This may in fact lie in the materiality of inscribed texts: if an inscription remained in a public space, then it would continue to communicate information about the patron or honorand in their absence. This is underscored further by the tangibility of epigraphy – as a physical object an inscription could be touched (or, indeed, metaphorically touched, as it is read by literate audiences) and therefore suggested a continued presence of the honorand. In these ways, inscriptions

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[94] AGP-EDR140983. Ed. R. Benefiel and K. Helms.
[95] AGP-EDR127234. Ed R. Benefiel, E. Crawford, H. Sypniewski, H. Busby, C. Hartline, J. Rach, B. Wright, and M. Yorio.
[96] Kenyon and Bell 1907: 205-206. P.British Museum 854. *ιστορ[η]σα και των φιλων [ε]μ[ων τ]α ονοματα ενεχαραξα τοις ι[ε] ροις αειμνηστως το προσκυνημα.*

suggested permanency. Of course, inscribing a text did not guarantee permanence. Many inscriptions

have not survived to the present day, and many would have been lost in antiquity. Those who interacted

with Roman and late antique material culture would have been aware of the ephemeral nature of

honours and epigraphy: they would act as a memorial, until they did not. Furthermore, in late antiquity

there was at least some conscious destruction of epigraphic material. Several different examples can

highlight the patterns of destruction of epigraphic material which occasionally occurred throughout the

Mediterranean. At Rome, the Crypta Balbi limekilns used inscriptions and architecture from the city,

burning them for lime production.[97] A law from 356 CE describes the illegality of using the material from

funerary monuments to construct houses, suggesting that tombstones and sarcophagi were at risk of

removal and re-use in the fourth century.[98] Similar patterns of destruction are recognised in the eastern

Mediterranean. Out of the thirteen limekilns excavated in Galilee, eight can be ascribed to the Byzantine

period.[99] The patterns of destruction of the sarcophagi at Bet She'arim for example, suggests they were

being broken to use in lime production.[100] Late Roman and early Byzantine peoples would therefore

have known that epigraphy did not guarantee permanency. This knowledge would be even more

apparent in the case of graffiti, which was often lightly inscribed or written in materials that would

degrade quickly, such as charcoal or paint.[101] I will argue, however, that an inscription would have given

the impression of permanency to those who erected it, if not permanency itself. Whilst many

inscriptions have not survived, many also have. Consequently, it would not have been possible to predict

which formal inscriptions would have survived, and the very decision of erecting a monumental text

would suggest that the honorand or donor hoped it would survive. This may be the case, even with

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[97] Manacorda 2001: 45.
[98] *The Theodosian Code*. 9.17.3. Trans. C. Pharr.
[99] Bonnie 2016: Table 10.1
[100] Bonnie 2016: 199-200.
[101] Lohmann 2017: 5, 128-129.

graffiti, as though the author would have known graffiti was temporal, they would have at least expected the text to outlast their presence at the site.

Cultural notions of epigraphy as a way of permanently ensuring memory are present in both Roman and late antique literature. The *Historia Augusta* further highlights the importance of inscriptions as a means of memory, noting that Septimius Severus ensured inscriptions in Rome's public sanctuaries were maintained so those who initially built them would still be honoured '[a]nd he almost never inscribed his own name on these restorations or failed to preserve the names of those who built them'.[102] In late antique sources from the east, we further see the concept of epigraphy as a means of preserving memory. Ammianus Marcellinus indicates that the objective in erecting a statue and inscription was to record the actions of the honorand. He mentions the erection of a statue of Victor, the governor of Pannonia Secunda; for the purposes of honouring Victor and encouraging others to recognise his virtue 'and honoured him with a statue in bronze, a man who was a model of temperance'.[103] Ammianus thus draws a connection between the creation of a physical object (the statue of Victor) and the desire for his virtues to be remembered and emulated. The eighth century text the *Parasteisis* explicitly draws a connection between monuments and memory, stating that imperial statues were erected to preserve the memory of an emperor. The text read 'There was a wonderful statue of Valentinian the Younger in the porticoes of Leontius, […] Zeno, when he saw the statue, said that those emperors were unfortunate who were not set up in statues to be remembered'.[104] Literary evidence thus underscores cultural belief in how the materiality of an inscription would serve to commemorate the patron.

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[102] Historia Augusta. *Septimius Severus*. 23.1. Trans. D. Magie.
[103] Ammianus Marcellinus. *History*. 21.10.6. Trans. J.C. Rolfe.
[104] LSA-48. *Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐν τοῖς Λεοντίου ἐμβόλοις ὑπῆρχε στήλη θαυμάσιος, ἔνθα Ζήνων τὰς ἐποψίας ἐποιεῖτο. Ζήνων Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὴν στήλην θεασάμενος ἀτυχεῖν ἔφησε τοὺς μὴ εἰκόσιν εἰς μνήμην καθορᾶσθαι Καίσαρας.* Trans. U. Gehn.

The importance of the physicality of inscriptions for the preservation of memory can be seen in the text within inscriptions themselves, which sometimes explicitly state the desire for a lasting memorial of the patron. A statue base for busts dedicated to Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosios I highlights the desire for an emperor to be immortalised. Found in Gortyn, the text was inscribed in 382 CE and consists of a thirty-three line text, including the lines 'For the sacred and divine busts of the common Lords and triumphant Augusti […] he erected this stele, as an immortal memorial [μνήμην ἀθάνατον] of their reign'.[105] The term used for memorial, μνήμη means "memory" and thus highlights the close connection between a monument and the desire for viewers to visualise the monument as an object of commemoration. This text highlights the connection between a material object, the stele, and memory, claiming the stele facilitated the memory. Outside the imperial sphere, we see elite citizens employ similar terms. At Aphrodisias, a later fourth or early fifth century inscription honouring the governor Oikoumenios similarly suggests that the object itself facilitated memory. It reads 'the friendly council of the Aphrodisians has set you up here; for what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and in hand?'.[106] The text here used a typical formula exulting the honorand in order to encourage positive memory of him.[107] Furthermore, an inscription in Corinth ties the materiality of the associated statue itself to the need for the inscription, reading 'Who captured the uplifting image of the governor (*anthupatos*) Iunior, who inscribed [his] shape into this stone? The sculptor emulated his shape in this artwork, making the whole order favourable to Mother Greece.'[108]

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[105] LSA-771. *ταῖς τε ἱεραῖς καὶ θείαις | προτομαῖς τῶν κοινῶν δεσ|ποτῶν καὶ τροπεούχων Αὐγούσ|των Φλ(αουίου) Γρατιανοῦ καὶ Φλ(αουίου) | (22) Βαλεντεινιανοῦ καὶ Φλ(αουίου) | Θεοδοσίου καθιέρωσεν τὴν | στήλην τ(α)ύτην, μνήμην ἀ|θάνατον τῆς βασιλείας.* Trans. F. Bigi, I. Tantillo and U. Gehn. LSA-771 is one of several imperial inscriptions found within the *praetorium* of Gortyn, and may have been placed to consolidate the memory of the emperors within this public and civic environment. For a discussion on this inscription in context, see Bigi and Tantillo 2016: 216-218.

[106] IAph2007 3.8.i. *Οἰκουμένιον | τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡγεμο|νῆα ν. στῆσε φίλη | βουλὴ τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων· | τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ|να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον | εὑρεῖν ν. μνημοσύ|νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά|ρεστι γέρας; leaf.* Trans. C. Roueché.

[107] Smith 1999: 165.

[108] LSA-62. *[Τ]ίς τύπον εἱμερόεντα Ἰούνορος ἀνθυπάτοιο | ἥρπασε, τίς μορφὴν τῆ(ι)δ' ἐνέγλυψε λίθω(ι); | μορφὴν | λαοτόμος μὲν ἑῆ(ι) μειμήσατο τέχνη(ι) | Ἑλλάδι κόσμον ὅλον μητρὶ χαριζόμενος.* Trans. U. Gehn and A. Brown. Brown 2016: 185. Brown discusses how this text used archaising language to promote the governor's authority.

The same terms are found in sub-elite inscriptions. At the cemetery of Zoora in Palaestina Tertia,

μνημεῖον is commonly used in variants on tombstones, and is derived from the same root as μνήμη, but

is more frequently employed in funerary contexts.[109] Consequently, it is apparent from a linguistic sense

there was a close connection between commemoration and the physicality of the object. The materiality

of an inscription was thus crucial to its function as a means of commemoration. This association was

equally as important for informal inscriptions as their formal counterpart, and therefore is fundamental

to our understanding of graffiti going forward.

1.2.1. Audience

Community

As a form of epigraphy, graffiti enshrined memory. However, it is necessary to consider which audience

the inscription recorded memory for. The primary audience of ancient graffiti, and epigraphy more

generally, is the local community in which it was written. In the cases of many informal inscriptions, the

desire for the text to be read by the community is apparent within the formula of the inscription itself –

the epitaph of Gnaeus Gargonius Paullinus in Fulginiae reads 'you who pass by on the Via Flaminia, stop

and read this!'.[110] The invocation of the reader highlights the expectation, and desire, by the patron that

individuals in the community would stop and consume the inscription. Nor does the epitaph name

specific audience, but rather any person who stops and can consume the text. The same form of

invocations continued into late antique inscriptions, an inscription at Ephesos from the Baths of Varios

addresses the audience: 'Stranger you see this statue of a very pious learned woman, Scholastikia'.[111] At

the same city, we also see an inscription dedicated to a governor, which similarly opens 'Stranger, when

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[109] For examples, see I. Palaestina Tertia no. 42 and 43.
[110] Latin text recorded in Bücheler 1897: No. 1152. The English translation is found in Carroll 2006: 48.
[111] LSA-742. *τύπον γυναικὸς εὐσεβοῦς λίαν | σοφῆς Σχολαστικίας μοι τοῦτο(ν) | ὦ ξένε βλέπεις.* Trans. J.
Lenaghan. For a discussion of these phrases in a roman context see Meyer 2011: 194. For a discussion on the
inscription of Scholastikia in the context of late antique Ephesos, see Foss 1979: 70.

you ask me who I am and where I come from, I will not conceal it from you […] I have arranged this statue; now you know everything.'[112] These texts directly addresses the reader, even though it was uncertain who that reader would be (emphasized by the use of the term "stranger"). Both texts expected and desired individuals in the local community to read the inscriptions, and thus recognise the honorand. It was not only formal texts which directly addressed the audience however, as similar terms can be found in informal epigraphy. A selection of graffiti from the basilica at Smyrna (dated to the second-third century CE) all directly address their audience – with three texts beginning with an invocation to the ἀναγινόσκοντα 'The reader'.[113]

The graffiti which directly address their audience are nevertheless uncommon, however paratextual clues can also suggest that the author wished to address a local audience. Just as Roman tombs might face the road to ensure that passers-by had a chance to read the inscriptions and reflect, we can examine the placement of a graffito to judge whether it was intended to be read.[114] Many informal inscriptions from the ancient world are found clustered in locations which would have been particularly visible to a passer-by, written on doorways, walls, porticos and other public spaces.[115] At Dura-Europos in Syria, the Palmyrene Gate is covered in extensive graffiti, which often refer to members of the Roman garrison stationed within the city.[116] The authors of these texts would write in this area – in the knowledge that these texts would be viewed by their contemporary soldiers on their guard shifts. The development of a space in which graffiti would be read may be informed by the presence of earlier graffiti. For example, in the palaestra at Pompeii, 489 graffiti have been documented, however the graffiti tends to be located on some columns and not others; there is not an even distribution around

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[112] LSA-2084. *[ἔσχον] καὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμ'. | [ἤν, τ]άδε πάντ', ἀπέχει. | [ε]ὐτυχῶς.* Trans. U. Gehn.
[113] AGP-SMYT00091, AGP-SMYT00092, AGP-SMYT00093. Ed. R. Bagnall.; Bagnall 2016a: 40.
[114] Carroll 2006: 48.
[115] Keegan 2011: 177.
[116] Baird 2018b: 25.

the colonnade. For example, Column LXI has eighteen graffiti, whilst Column LIX has none.[117] There are

few significant differences between these columns, which are close together (separated by only one

column) and thus suggests that the decision to add graffiti to Column LXI was informed by the existence

of prior graffiti. If an individual was reading a text, they knew this space had a pre-existing audience, and

thus would be more likely to add a text themselves, confident an audience would consume it.

Divinities

Inscriptions were intended to communicate with more than just the local community, however. Another

common audience that was envisioned for late antique graffiti was a god or gods. A graffito invoking a

deity was common in the case of prayers; in requesting divine aid it was sometimes seen as necessary to

use the name of the chosen divinity to attract their attention.[118] In the late antique period graffiti was

typically addressed the Christian God, however there are a few examples of pagan deities being

addressed, and the custom of addressing a divinity in a text preceded the late antique period. As with

invocations of a local community, texts might begin with an invocation to a deity, thus clearly indicating

the divine audience. The authors of the Ptolemaic and Roman graffiti at the temple of El-Kanais in Egypt

typically address the god Pan, crediting the deity with their safe travel through the desert.[119] The

decision to openly address a deity as a means of gaining their attention is apparent across religious

groups – a small subset of Jewish graffiti at El-Kanais similarly address their deity to distinguish their

prayers and thanksgivings from those of their pagan counterparts.[120] The practice of addressing a holy

figure is also recognisable in Christian graffiti, both prior to, and from, late antiquity. Some of the

earliest Christian graffiti, the Latin texts from the Roman catacomb of San Sebastiano, can be identified

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[117] R. Benefiel. (ed.) *The Ancient Graffiti Project.* http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/searchPompeii. [Accessed 15.09.2022]
[118] For a discussion on graffiti to materialise prayer see section 3.3.1.
[119] Mairs 2011: 159; Stern 2013: 180.
[120] Stern 2013: 177.

by their invocations to Saints Peter and Paul.[121] Greek graffiti from the late antique period frequently addressed God in the form of *Κύριε* 'Lord', although invocations of specific saints were not uncommon. Context can also reveal when a divinity is an audience of a graffito. The location of a graffito can be key to understanding its function and audience, and when a graffito is placed in a sacred space, it can often be assumed the graffiti was intended to address the holy figure associated with that space, as at least one of multiple audiences.[122]

Self

A final audience of a graffito is that of the author who produced it. A deity and local community are both secondary audiences who might view the text post-inscription, but the author of a graffito is cognisant of its existence as it is being created. Thus, when considering the "self" as audience, there are two key stages: the satisfaction of the author through the act of the physical inscription, and the satisfaction of the author following the act of inscribing, after they have left the site. The former stage is tied to the act of inscribing itself. In some contexts, this might be seen as the simple joy which comes from creating an image. Much of the graffiti at Pompeii consists of humorous images or wordplay. At Pompeii, a long graffito referenced the author creating an image of a snake and is in fact drawn in the shape of a snake itself.[123] Whilst this text may be seen as amusing or interesting by a local audience, it provided the most pleasure to the author of the text who conceived of the idea and carved it himself. Graffiti thus had the ability to provide personal satisfaction to the author merely through the act of being carved.

The second stage derives from the author's satisfaction in knowing they have shaped their environment. Studies about modern bathroom graffiti (*latrinalia*) find that individuals who leave even simple texts

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[121] Lewis 2020: 200.
[122] Trentin 2021: 19.
[123] R. Benefiel (ed.) *Ancient Graffiti Project*. http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/graffito/featured/AGP-EDR170352.
[Accessed 29.08.2022]

behind them confident that these texts will be read by their contemporaries.[124] The same could be said

for graffiti in antiquity – even in texts which directly address another audience, upon leaving the site the

author can achieve a level of personal satisfaction in knowing the text has been placed and will remain

on the site. The self is thus a key audience for graffiti in its commemorative context – with the author

knowing that a text will provide a memory of the author.

1.3.   Commemorating Presence

Fundamentally, a graffito commemorates the presence of an author. This is intrinsic to the existence of

a carved text or image – at some point in time the author must have been present to carve it. As such,

all graffiti memorialises the presence of the author to some extent. The following section will examine

the ways in which authors intentionally sought to provide tangible memory of themselves within the

text of an inscription. In this way, these inscriptions are the informal counterparts to those discussed on

page forty-two, formal inscriptions which recorded the desire for memory in their formula. The first

means of commemorating presence which will be discussed below is that of writing a personal name –

the inscription of the author's name is one of the clearest ways of tying the presence of an author to the

text – creating a physical manifestation of the identity of the author. Its presence after the fact indicates

the presence of the author who wrote it. The second section will examine commemorative formulae –

phrases which sought to enshrine memory within the text of the inscription itself.

1.3.1.   Personal Names

Aphrodisias (Turkey)[125]

Just under fifteen percent of the graffiti found at Aphrodisias features a personal name, highlighting the

extent to which individuals in the late antique city sought to enshrine memory of their personage in the

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[124] Trahan 2016: 94.
[125] A discussion on the history of Aphrodisias can be seen in Appendix 2.1.1.

architecture of the city.[126] These onomastic graffiti vary in quality depending on their context, as they

display different desires regarding the importance of recording memory. For example, at the Church of

the Archangels, several prayers with names are found carved into the doorjamb of the church. Placed in

this area they would have been prominently displayed to individuals moving throughout the church,

especially as they were incised adjacent to formally carved crosses on the wall (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).[127]

Two personal names, 'Stephanos' and 'Leon' were carved into a marble column originating in the atrium

of the building.[128] These texts, though not large (although the inscription of Stephanos takes up

significantly more space than that of Leon) would have been visible to others passing through the

environment, particularly if they stopped to rest in the area during their movement through the space.

Thus, the local community would have seen the names of Stephanos and Leon and associated them with

the larger church building: as they were integrated into the architecture, they became integrated into

the religious space of the church. This integration must have offered a level of personal satisfaction.

Those individuals who carved their names and prayers into the doorjamb, as well as Leon and

Stephanos, would have visited the area for liturgical or religious purposes; having carved the text they

ensured they materialised their experiences in a way exceeding personal to themselves: with their

name.

The onomastic graffiti found within the Church of the Archangels was closely tied to its environment -

the authors were aware they were carving within a church space, and they sought to manifest their

memory within this space. In differing environments names would have been interpreted differently by

the local populace. Within the performance spaces of Aphrodisias, just under nine percent of graffiti

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[126] 94 out of 635 inscriptions. Although this number may appear low to others in the catalogue, it is probable the total number of graffiti featuring personal names at Aphrodisias was originally much higher. The extensive collection and publication of the Aphrodisian data means that many fragmentary and illegible graffiti are featured in this catalogue. These graffiti may have featured a personal name, however due to damage, a name frequently cannot be read in these inscriptions.
[127] For the graffiti on the door jambs see: TU22; TU23; TU24; TU25; TU26; TU27; TU28.
[128] TU29. Στέ|φ|ά|ν(ος). TU30. † Λέων †.

feature personal names.[129] At spaces for public entertainment many names are found carved upon

seating blocks, and here the commemorative aspect of the graffiti was inherently functional. In many

cases, the graffiti may have been at least semi-formal. Deeply carved *topos* inscriptions recording the

names of individuals or groups may have represented their officially designated seating. However, many

other texts are clearly not formal, and are roughly inscribed. The term *κατέχεται* 'reserved' appears

sixteen times upon the seats in the theatre, suggesting individuals sought to claim seating for

themselves. The personal name was frequently used to claim a seat; as can be seen in the small *topos*

inscription on a seat from the theatre 'Place of Spandios'.[130] Whilst it should be noted that informal

means of claiming seats in the theatre were probably an ineffective method of preventing competition

for these spaces, it was nonetheless a popular practice at Aphrodisias.[131] Personal names were also used

to claim seating in informal texts at the stadium, one seating inscription reading 'Place of Andronikos,

also called Phoeberios'.[132] The need to claim a seat is highlighted by one text on a seat from the theatre,

reading 'Reserved, don't quarrel', suggesting that the author of the text anticipated another audience

member trying to claim their seat, and they pre-empted any arguments over who could sit there.[133] If

there was competition for seating in performance spaces, through informally inscribing one's personal

name, the individual created a piece of physical evidence to assert their claim to the seat.

Finally, several personal names found at Aphrodisias were likely not intended to be examples of semi-

formal or long-term commemoration. A few examples of names within the city are found poorly carved

in non-visible spaces, and do not seem to have served any social function beyond the personal

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[129] 41 out of 482 inscriptions.

[130] TU481. *† τόπος | Σπανδι | vac. ο(υ)*

[131] Long *topos* inscriptions found on seating in performance spaces often claim an entire row of seats for a social or economic group (for example TU235 and TU215). Whilst these examples were officially sanctioned means of reserving public space for specific groups, the *topos* graffiti of individuals highlights how the inhabitants of the late antique city made use of the epigraphic traditions which existed within their community, to fulfil their own personal desires, and claim their own spaces.

[132] TU194. *τόπος | Ἀνδρονικοῦ | [τ]οῦ καὶ | Φοιβερίου*

[133] TU316. *κατέχεται | μὴ μάχῃ Η.*

satisfaction of the author, in many cases likely also the individual named. For example, one column base

from an uncertain location (now in the Aphrodisian museum) bears the name 'Georgios' carved poorly

into it.[134] The uneven carving placed near the bottom of a column means it would not have been

immediately visible or legible to those passing by (Figure 1.3). However, this text clearly did not serve

the same purpose as the formal commemorative texts from the Roman and early Byzantine empires in

the east, because it would not have been clearly consumed by large portions of the urban population.

Without further knowledge of the original context of the graffito, it is difficult to conclusively say the

author's intent. However, it appears that the inscription was an act of personal satisfaction for the

author, who knew about its placement, and thus enshrined his memory into the public space in a

manner not intended to be seen by large groups.

Ephesos (Turkey)[135]

Just below thirty-seven percent of the graffiti found at Ephesos feature a personal name.[136] Most of

these names are found inscribed in religious contexts, particularly in the Grotto of Saint Paul, the Church

of Mary and the Church of Saint John the Theologian.[137] Only two of these texts record a personal name

without any accompaniment, one reads † 'John' and is found in the church of Saint John, suggesting it

may be an invocation towards the saint rather than the name of a supplicant.[138] Another graffito

featuring two names is found in the Grotto of Saint Paul, and reads 'Maria, Michael', and may be

referring to the Mother of God and the Archangel.[139] All other recorded graffitied personal names from

religious institutions feature as part of a larger text, typically a prayer.[140] Data from Ephesos has not

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[134] TU68. *Γεώργιος.*
[135] A discussion on the history of Ephesos can be seen in Appendix 2.1.2.
[136] 55 out of 149 inscriptions.
[137] 37 out of 58 inscriptions.
[138] TU662. *Ἰοάνι †*
[139] TU726. *Μαρία, Μιχαήλ*
[140] This claim is as accurate as can be made with the published data. The work of Renate Pillinger (2000) on the Grotto of Saint Paul suggests there may be names written without accompanying formulae, but this work is

been published as cohesively as that from Aphrodisias, and photos are largely lacking, so it is difficult to

comment on many factors of the inscriptions, such as the depth or size of the text, but in general the

texts have been written in clusters in the buildings in which they were discovered, typically written on

columns or the wall surrounding the nave at the Church of Saint John the Theologian, and the east wall

of the south nave at the church of Mary.[141] These texts would have been at least visible to the authors

who wrote them, who would not only have seen their text but the texts of others who had written

previously. Additionally, prayers found in the Grotto of Saint Paul list several personal names, such as

Konstantinos and Anastasios.[142] As these texts were written in clusters, authors of new texts would be

forced to engage with the previous texts. By integrating their name, they ensured that others who read

the text could continuously perform their prayer, and thus ensured their pious visit extended beyond its

physical duration.

In other contexts around Ephesos, we see personal names used for reasons of functionality as well as

personal satisfaction. The name Andrea is found twice, although with variations in the spelling. One

example, reading 'Place of Andrea, *meleparchos*' may have related the designated space a civic official

stood during ceremonies, in one of the main squares of the city, whilst the second, found in the same

square, reads 'Lord help your servant Andrea'.[143] These two texts employed the personal name for

different commemorative purposes, the first highlighted a space belonging to a civic official, the second

ensured the same individual received the benefit and recognition of the prayer, either carved by Andrea

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sporadically published, and until a complete collection of the c. 300 inscriptions he has recorded are made publicly available, it is not possible to ascertain the nature of many of the graffiti at the site.

[141] At the Church of Saint John graffiti is written in three different location-types around the church. For graffiti on columns close to the entrance see: TU665-TU671. For graffiti on the doorposts of the narthex see: TU672-675. For graffiti in the north corridor of the nave see: TU676-TU684. At the Church of Mary graffiti is mainly found in the south aisle. See TU654-TU658.

[142] TU714 *κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθησον τὸν δοῦ[λόν σου] | Κω[νσταντ-* 'Lord, help your servant Konstantinos' and TU716 *[----] | καὶ Ἀναστάσιον | τοὺς δού]λους σου καὶ Τόμινον |]μνινιυνται* 'and Anastasios your servant and Tominos, remembered (?)'.

[143] TU749. *† Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †*; TU748. *κύριε βοήθησον τ|ο δούλο σου Ἀνδρήα.*

himself or a political supporter.[144] As with the *topos* inscriptions at the Aphrodisian theatre, the *topos*

inscription of Andrea highlights the ways graffiti could function as an important means of claiming space

in late antiquity. Other *topos* inscriptions found throughout Ephesos clearly fulfil the same functional

purpose: the personal name was needed so you knew who to ask for to do a certain job, for example, at

the Byzantine citadel a *topos* inscription reads 'Place of Prosodos gramateus'.[145]

Other personal names found carved throughout the city appear to bear no specific purpose, beyond the

desire of an individual to be recognised. For instance, a marble column from Stadium Street bears a

small figurative graffito of a plant, with the text 'work of Ioannes' written beneath, suggesting it was

Ioannes who carved the image.[146] Through inscribing his name, Ioannes sought to ensure recognition

from his contemporaries for his artistic rendering – or it if were not read by his contemporaries, Ioannes

at least knew he had personally claimed the image as his production.

Sagalassos (Turkey)[147]

Personal names are recorded infrequently at Sagalassos, appearing in only three different graffiti,

although the usual difficulty decoding extant texts makes it possible there were originally more personal

names found throughout the city. No name appears on its own at Sagalassos, all are accompanied by

formulae. In total, three different personal names have been discovered, and they each include some

acclamation invoking benefits for the author. One text, in the lower Agora, includes a typical Christian

prayer, in which the personal name serves to display the identity of the individual who required help –

to both his deity and his community: 'Lord help your servant Eutychios'.[148] The other two examples of a

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[144] It is not absolutely certain that both "Andrea" inscriptions refer to the same individual. However, the name is only found in one other graffito in the catalogue (GR14, found in Corinth), and so it seems likely due to the close proximity of the texts in Ephesos, they did refer to the same person.

[145] TU651. *τόπος | Προσόδου | γραματεώς.*

[146] TU750. *ἔργον Ἰωάν|νου.*

[147] A discussion on the history of Sagalassos can be seen in Appendix 2.1.3.

[148] TU837. *κυριε βοηθη|τω δουλω σου|ευτχιω.*

personal name are a little more unusual, both incorporating acclamations for the author. The first:

'Good fortune to Patrikos' has been likened to modern spontaneous graffiti by Luke Lavan, calling it the

antique equivalent of 'Patrick Rules'.[149] This analysis seems reasonable; through inscribing this text

Patrikios memorialised his presence in the public space, however, beyond simply leaving evidence of his

name, he asserted his desire for good luck going forward. The community who would have seen and

interacted with the text, when reading it, would have repeated even internally Patrikios' acclamation,

and thus continually repeated the author's desire for good fortune. Similarly, the third example of a

personal name at Sagalassos, which was incorporated into the graffito – 'Health to Herakles' – would

have had the same intention: through inscribing this acclamation not only did Herakles leave a

manifestation of his desire for good health, but also ensured others who read the text would

continuously reassert his health, and thus may have ritually ensured it.[150] It is notable that the

acclamations accompanying personal names in Sagalassos are infrequent throughout the east. There are

only three examples of the "good fortune" acclamation found referring to individuals (although it is

similar, but with a different effect, to the popular "the fortune of X triumphs" formula used for circus

factions), rendering the decision to use this formula very uncommon.[151] There are no parallel uses of the

term "health" to refer to an individual in the graffiti of the eastern Mediterranean, although this term is

not unusual in formal epigraphy.[152] The use of personal names at Sagalassos is thus distinct – unlike at

Aphrodisias and Ephesos, we find names were used to casually wish the author perpetual good fortune.

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[149] Lavan 2012b: 337. TU838. *ευτυχν πατρικι.*
[150] TU839. *†/υγιενε/ηρακλη.* Although Herakles was a pagan Greek hero, the addition of the crosses makes it probable this was a personal name held by a Christian author.
[151] Examples of the "Good fortune" formula in graffiti include: TU634; TU838 and GR86. This formula is also used in formal epigraphy. The SEG records two extant uses of the *εὐτύχει* formulae exist in Egypt. One, from the temple of Serapis at Gebel Dokhan, invokes good fortune for an individual named Heraklounos, who may have been a curator or a barber, depending on the correct restoration of his prayer. Another exists in an ambiguous text from the El-Bagawat cemetery, which is of uncertain formality; and invokes good fortune for the author or the text. These texts can be seen at SEG 13-608 a and SEG 38-1696 respectively.
[152] For an example of the term health used in formal epigraphy, see a fourth century dedicatory inscription from Aphrodisias, IAph2007 12.1001. Trans. C. Roueché.

Despite these distinctions, however, Sagalassos nevertheless broadly aligns with the graffiti traditions

see at other sites in Asia Minor. Although they still made use of prayers, authors also selected unique

formulae, which they must have felt appropriate to their needs and experiences. Graffiti therefore acted

to commemorate exactly the things an individual chose to commemorate.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine) [153]

Another site of note is the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, located near Jerusalem. The graffiti in the cave

reveals it acted as a pilgrimage site, although the original identification of the site is unknown.

Archaeological finds within the cave suggest it was in use between the fourth and seventh centuries CE,

allowing us to date the graffiti to this period.

Just below sixty percent of the graffiti at the site include a personal name and just over thirty-eight

percent of the graffiti in the cave consist of only personal names, with no associated religious formulae

or acclamations.[154] Graffiti with associated formulae often include elements of religious devotion, such

as "lord, help your servant" or "Lord, have mercy". The graffiti here attest to the importance of

commemoration at particular sites. The cave achieved at least some long-distance pilgrimage from other

areas of the empire, as evidenced by the graffito of Kalkyion, which states she came from Syria.[155] In

other cases, it is entirely possible the graffiti was written by locals. The simple inscription of a name is

characteristic of the site – including examples such as Makarios, and Daphnin.[156] The high prevalence of

personal names highlights how pilgrims visiting felt it was important to leave tangible evidence of their

presence, by adding their name to the fabric of the building, they left consistent evidence of their

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[153] A discussion on the history of the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy can be seen in Appendix 2.4.1.

[154] 45 out of 76 inscriptions feature a personal name. 29 out of 76 inscriptions feature only a personal name.

[155] IP94. *Καλύ[κιο]ν Χρ(ιστοῦ) δούλ{η}ς | Συρ[ὶ]ς | (ἀρχ)ιατρά.* 'Kalkyion(?), servant of Christ, Syrian, physician.' It is of course possible Kalkyion was an individual of Syrian descent living in Jerusalem, but the possibility of pilgrimage from abroad cannot be ignored, especially given the broad range of names found in the cave, including those of Semitic, Latin, and Greek origin (see Di Segni 2012).

[156] For examples of personal names, see: IP64. *Ἀσιατικός.* 'Asiatikos'; IP90 *Μακάρι<ο>ς.* 'Makarios'; IP93. *Θαρεφυλλον.* 'Tharephyllos' and IP86. *Δάφνιν | Δάφνιν.* 'Daphnin, Daphnin'.

presence and supplication to those who would visit afterwards. The texts are also written haphazardly across the wall, often crossing one another and with poorly inscribed writing (Figure 1.4). These texts are clustered across the walls in the same way as the texts from religious spaces at Ephesos and would have been engaged with by visitors to the chapel, although it is unclear how legible the texts would have been. The lack of additional identifiers in many cases (only the personal name being used) would suggest that there was little emphasis by those carving their name in the cave to distinguish themselves to a broad audience: they were content to know that they had carved the text and recorded their presence at the site. Therefore, the personal names inscribed at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy reveal one aspect of the nature of self-commemoration in late antiquity, and how graffiti was used as a means of memorialising identity to a level of personal satisfaction.

Other sites in Jerusalem are evident of the same practice of individuals inscribing their name to commemorate their presence at a site. At the tomb beneath the Martyrium of Melania the Younger, there are three male names recorded in graffiti, likely those of visitors to the tomb.[157] Similarly, two of the only graffiti found in Jerusalem outside of holy sites are single names, found northwest of the Jaffa gate and in the tunnel of the western wall, respectively.[158] These texts reveal that individuals in the late antique world sought to integrate themselves into the common spaces in Jerusalem.

It is notable that there is a relatively high number of singular names amongst the graffiti found in Jerusalem. Other holy sites in the empire similarly include frequent use of personal names, but they on the whole form a smaller percentage of the graffiti, even if they are in high numbers.[159] Jerusalem is

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[157] IP127. *Γαιανό[ς]*. 'Gaianos'; IP128. *Παῦλος.* 'Paulos'; IP129. *Ἄμος.* 'Amos'.

[158] IP124. *†Θωμᾶς.* 'Thomas'; IP130; *Λουκα[ς?].* 'Loukas'.

[159] For example, of the 37 graffiti found in religious sites in Ephesos, only two texts features personal names unaccompanied by other invocations (and these texts, TU726. *Μαρία, Μιχαήλ* and TU662. *Ἰοάνι* may be acclamations of the Virgin Mary, the archangel and Saint John rather than a collection of personal names). At Horvat Qasra in Israel, 6 of the 19 textual graffiti at the site feature a personal name, all of which feature additional prayers or invocations. One site which seems to resemble Jerusalem is Wadi Haggag, discussed in section 1.3.1. Page 56.

central to many hagiographic narratives from this period, and whilst they do not necessarily represent the average experience of pilgrimage, they certainly relate how the city was thought to be an important centre of late antique spirituality.[160] As such, this could explain why many individuals sought to integrate their personhood, via their name, in the eastern Mediterranean. Not only did it ensure that their name would be seen by other persons as evidence of their pilgrimage, but it fulfilled a key goal of tying their memory to the holy site: even after they had left the area, they knew that a tangible piece of memory about them (their name) was still there. This belief is underscored in the literary evidence of authors writing graffiti in antiquity, including the letter from Nearchos and the Piacenza pilgrim.[161] Thus, in Jerusalem we can witness how personal names formed an important commemorative practice in late antique graffiti.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)[162]

The graffiti at Wadi Haggag is notable for the exceptional number of graffiti featuring personal names. Just over sixty percent of the graffiti at the site features a personal name, and just over thirty-two percent features a personal name or personal names without any accompanying formulae or description.[163] When formulae are included, they are typically a form of Christian prayer, with "Lord, help" and "Lord, remember" both being particularly common. Many of these inscriptions consist of either a singular name, for example 'Leontios' or a list of names such as 'Petros, Soeuer, Manasis, Martyria, Kyrilla'.[164] As the site was a stopping place for pilgrims travelling within the Sinai, it is unlikely that the same person would travel the route more than twice, once on the way to the pilgrimage site

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[160] Sophronios. *The Life of Saint Mary of Egypt. 19-26.* Trans. M. Kouli. Religious revelation in Jerusalem forms the catalyst for the conversion of Saint Mary of Egypt in her hagiography. See Bitton-Ashkoleny 2010: 353-370 for a discussion on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in Syriac hagiography.
[161] See section 0.3.2. Pages 21-22.
[162] For a discussion on the history of Wadi Haggag see Appendix 2.2.4.
[163] 142 out of 232 inscriptions feature a personal name. 67 out of 232 inscriptions feature only a personal name, or a collection of personal names.
[164] EG344. *Λεόντι(ο)ς* and EG220. *†Πέτρος | Σωεουερ | Μανάσις | Μαρτυρία | Κύριλ(λ)α.*

and once on the return journey. This was not therefore a location in which people would spend much time, and therefore it is notable they made the decision to record their presence. In some texts, explicit reference is made to the pilgrimage itself, or at least the trappings of such a journey. One text described the author's *συνοδίαν,* a term which suggested a group of travellers and attached equipment.[165] These groups, brought together by their pious travel, clearly sought to memorialise this rare and special journey. The inscriptions of personal names and prayers therefore reveals how some late antique individuals felt a fundamental desire to record their presence at this site.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)[166]

Grammata bay in Syros is notable for its similarities to the Sinai, the natural harbour was another transitionary landscape which would be visited by travellers who did not reside in the area. Just under forty-seven percent of the extant graffiti at Grammata bay include a personal name, and heavy damage to the texts means that likely the number which included a name was far higher.[167] The personal names found in the graffiti are incorporated into several formulae, the most popular of which is some form of prayer, often 'Lord help' or 'Lord save', frequently referring to named individuals, typically sailors, or to ships.[168] Other variations of these formulae do exist however, also frequently incorporating the names of an individual. Examples include 'Konstantinos, Servant of Christ' and 'Lord, help the ship of Philalthios'.[169] These graffiti highlight the importance of commemorating individual presence to the sailors in late antiquity – the sailors sought to integrate their identities into the graffiti at the site, to establish that they had visited on their travels. The graffiti traditions at Syros are distinct, however.

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[165] EG281. *† Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Θεόφιλον κ(αὶ) τοὺς δία φέροντας | αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τ(ὴ)ν συνοδίαν αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν.* 'Lord, save your servant Theophilos and those who belong to him, and his travelling companions. Amen.'

[166] For a discussion on the history of Grammata Bay see Appendix 2.3.2.

[167] 46 out of 91 texts.

[168] For a discussion on the "Lord save" formulae and its relation to the dangers associated with travelling by sea, see section 3.3.2. Pages 147-148.

[169] GR113. *Κονσταντῆνος | δοῦλος Χ(ριστ)οῦ*; GR47. *Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθισον | τὸ πλῦο Φιλαληθί[ου] | [----------]*

Personal names are not found inscribed on their own. Whilst there are many examples of formulae without attached names, this is likely due to decay, and there are no examples of a personal name with no formula attached. The most apparent reason for this seems to be tied to the formulae used. Here, the commemorative graffiti served a specific purpose, where more elucidation was needed than at religious sites. In this instance, the desire for commemoration relied on such a specific understanding that it was not enough just to carve the name, but the words to go with it in order not just to materialise an identity, but also divine aid. At other sites, particularly those with a religious purpose, it appears that the author felt leaving their name was enough to commemorate their devotion and presence at the site. As the bay was not a religious landscape, their piety and prayers could not be presumed from simply inscribing their name. It was necessary to include the whole prayer, to ensure their presence and desires were remembered.

Deir el-Bahri (Egypt)[170]

A subset of the graffiti from Deir el-Bahri is written by a corporation of ironworkers travelling on pilgrimage from Hermonthis, a settlement about 15km south of Deir el-Bahri.[171] Although Deir el-Bahri features both pagan and Christian texts, the Christian inscriptions are similar to those discussed so far – personal names or simple prayers which record the authors desire to be remembered by their peers or by God.[172] However, the pagan texts of the ironworkers express the commemorative tradition of late antique pilgrims to the site at its fullest – with unusually long texts invoking the presence of many individuals in a manner almost unparalleled in the late antique world. There are ten texts inscribed by the ironworkers, dating from between 283 CE to the mid fourth century.[173] These graffiti tend to follow

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[170] For a discussion on the history of Deir el-Bahri see Appendix 2.2.3.
[171] Thiers 2013: 270.
[172] For example: EG115. *εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν.* 'One God who helps us.'
[173] Łajtar 2006: 95, 249-250.

a distinct formula, recording the date of the pilgrimage and the names of those who took part in the journey. Many of these texts are damaged, but the most complete extant inscription is as follows:[174]

> Tybi 1 and 2. In the third consulship of our masters the most noble and most glorious Caesars, Crispus and Constantine we have come here… (for) the sacrifice of a donkey, the corporation of Ironworkers of Hermonthis. As the names are written down: Poumsi son of Askos… archi (?), the second archi (?) Penas son of Askos… the third archi (?) Lousios…. Plenis son of Pkoilios the brewer… Chollos son of Pasemis and Tyrannos son of Besas and Pesouris son of Phthoi and Plenis son of Pkoiloios, Chollos and Kouel(os?) and Plenis son of Pekoisis son of Pkoolios and Pesouris son of Loloutos and Hatres son of Horionos son of Theophanes, secretary of the corporation and Didymos son of Strotos and Plenis the donkey-keeper. He slaughtered the donkey in front of the god and all made worship here for the great god…

This votive inscription attests to the ways personal names were used to facilitate commemoration. Although the text begins with the assertion that the iron-workers took part in the pilgrimage, this must have been considered insufficient by the pilgrims, as in addition to naming the corporation, roughly nine individuals were named, with others likely having been in the inscription originally, and their names having been lost to time.[175] Those who wished to commemorate their experience did so by having their name inscribed, and thus asserting publicly both to those who took the journey with them, and future

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[174] EG110. *[Τῦ] Τῦβι ᾱ καὶ β, ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κων|σ[ταν]τίνου τῶν ε[ὐγεν]εστάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανεστάτω]ν Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ̄ | γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα Μ.ΤΟΤΩΝ θυσίαν ὄνον, πλῆθος σιδηρουργ[ῶ]ν Ἑρμώνθεος, | ὧν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται)· Ποῦμσι Ἀσκοῦ ΜΜΑΛΟΣ ἀρχι( ), δ̄ ἀρχι( ) Πενᾶς Ἀσκοῦ [.] ΜΑΛΟΣ, || [γ̄] ἀρχι( ) Λούσι[ο]ς . ΣΑΝΚ .. Μ .Μ( )Ε( ) Πλ(ῆνις) Πκ[ο]ί(λιος) ζυτοπ(οιὸς) Φ. ΑΤΕΩΣ, | Χολλῶς Πασῆμις καὶ Τύρα[ννος] | Βησᾶ καὶ Πεσοῦρις Φθόϊ καὶ Πλ(ῆνις) Πκοί(λοιος) Χολλῶς καὶ Κουελ( ) καὶ Πλ(ῆνις) Πεκοῖσις Πκοό(λιος) [[καὶ]] | καὶ Πεσοῦρις Λολο[ῦ]τος καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ὡρίονος Θεοφάνους γραμματεὺ τῶν πλήθου | καὶ Δίδυμος Στρώτου καὶ Πλῆ(νις) ὀνηλάτου. αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ | κ[α]ὶ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα ΥΜ [....] ἐνταῦθ' Ε ... ΤΑ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποί[ησα]ν*

[175] It appears to name nine different individuals, however this is uncertain, as at least one name, Plenis son of Pkoilios, appears twice. It is not certain if this refers to the same individual or two individuals with the same name, certainly not unreasonable considering the relatively small pool of names the pilgrims at the site appear to have drawn from.

pilgrims to the site, that they had taken part in the holy journey. At Deir el-Bahri, personal names were an important part of commemorating an individual's presence.

1.3.2. Commemorative Formulae:

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

Memory is also enshrined within the text of the inscriptions at Aphrodisias. Three graffiti from the city include variants of a formulae designed to memorialise the action of inscription and tie it to the material text, thereby establishing a permanent memory of the action. Each of these texts uses a variant of the verb *γράφω* 'to write'. The use of this term is indicative of the relationship between the physical act of writing the text – and the presence of the text following its incision. Two of these graffiti are from the entertainment venues of the city. The first, reading 'Zenon wrote (this)' is found on the stage of the theatre, and would only have been visible from the stage itself, and therefore could have been inscribed during the theatre's use as an entertainment venue.[176] The author was unlikely to have been an audience member, who would not have had access to the stage, but rather by a performer or, more likely, a craftsman working on the stage who had access to the necessary equipment to inscribe such a deep text (Figure 1.5). This inscription relates the desire by Zenon to leave a mark which would be visible to his contemporaries, his colleagues who used the building. By carving this inscription, Zenon not only ensured recognition by his contemporaries, but also ensured a deep connection between himself and the text inscribed.

At the odeon a similar inscription is found. This graffito, carved into the plaster in a backstage corridor, reads 'The fortune of the city and of the writer, triumphs!'.[177] There are notable similarities and differences between this text and that inscribed by Zenon. They are both carved in areas where they

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[176] TU330. *Ζήνων ἔγρ|άφε.*
[177] TU80. *Ṇικᾳ̃ ἡ τύ|χη τῆς πό(λεως) κ(αὶ) τοῦ | γράψαντος.*

would be only visible to those working within the entertainment venue, rather than visitors to the area. They both feature versions of the term *γράφω* 'write', and in doing so intrinsically tie the author to the act of writing at the site. Although the author of the odeon graffito is unnamed, he or she injected their personage into the text – in doing so becoming associated with the graffito and commemorating their experiences, despite their anonymity. However, it is also worth noting that both graffiti were carved very differently. The graffito at the odeon was lightly scratched onto the plaster and is rendered almost illegible by the myriad of other graffiti surrounding it (Figure 1.6). Whilst it is certainly possible that the graffito of Zenon was originally surrounded by other texts in degradable materials, they certainly would not have obscured the more deeply carved graffito which has survived. We must therefore considerer the different audiences of these texts, which might explain the differences in their type. Zenon inscribed his text to be permanent, a physical record of his work at the building which could be seen by his contemporaries. Conversely, the author of the odeon graffito was less interested in contemporary acknowledgement of them and their action. Less interested in permanent memorialisation, the author of the odeon graffito merely wanted to integrate themselves into this site for themselves. Zenon, conversely, sought to record his identity and tie himself to the physical inscription as a memorial which his community could see.

The final graffito from Aphrodisias which follows the commemorative pattern surrounding the term *γράφω* is from the Church of the Archangels. This text read 'Konstantinos the writer… Michael... servant of Christ….'[178] Konstantinos, like Zenon, sought to integrate his identity clearly into the inscription, drawing an immediate connection between himself and the text he wrote. The line 'who wrote this' making it apparent he is the author, and therefore was physically carving the prayer, and memorialising this action. Otherwise, the text bears few similarities to that of Zenon. Although it is also carved in

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[178] TU18. *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ γράψ[ας ----]|[----]ΙΙΩ | Μιχαὴλ ΥΙΛ τ(ὸν) δ(οῦ)(λον) Χρ(ιστοῦ).*

stone, the ligature is small, and as with the graffito from the odeon is surrounded by other texts, from

which it is difficult to distinguish individual words and letters (Figure 1.7). Whilst it would not have been

difficult for individuals visiting the site, and indeed carving their own graffiti (which would have required

them to stand close to the marble fragment upon which the graffito was found) to read the text, it

would not have been immediately clear and obvious from a distance, and the light inscription would not

have made it stand out from the wall to the same degree as the text of Zenon. Thus, again, we may see a

level of personal satisfaction in the use of the commemorative formulae. Konstantinos sought to

integrate his identity and actions into the text but was not concerned with this being recognised by

other individuals. It is notable however that it was carved into marble; Konstantinos may not have been

averse to creating a permanent memorial which *could* be read by his contemporaries, yet his primary

goal was his own satisfaction at writing the text, and the acknowledgement of God, who he must have

recognised as a potential audience in the holy site.

It is notable the way these texts are distinguished from the traditional epigraphic formulae which seek

to establish the personage who wrote the text, be it an individual or a local community. Zenon, notably,

does seem to have followed these conventions, expecting his colleagues to read his text. Conversely, the

graffito from the odeon and that of Konstantinos, whilst no doubt seen and interacted with by their

contemporaries, did not aim to commemorate the actions of the authors to their contemporaries, either

because they were unnamed or illegible. Rather, these inscriptions provided personal satisfaction to the

author themselves, that they had created a tangible memorial.

Ephesos (Turkey)

The most common commemorative formula found in Ephesos are variants of *Μνησθῇ* 'let X be

remembered'. An inscription from the church of Saint John the Theologian reads 'Lord, remember your

servant Ioannes', whilst inscriptions from the church of Mary read 'Remember the servant of God

Epiphanes'.[179] Versions of this formula are also found in the grotto of Saint Paul, and in total it appears

five times throughout the city.[180] Notably, these texts are only found in holy spaces within Ephesos.[181]

Therefore, authors using the formula were likely using it to highlight their piety before a divine

audience. Through using this formula, individuals specified their explicit desire to be remembered,

carving upon the stone not only their name or other information, but establishing this text as a vehicle

for their memory to be enshrined before a deity.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

A small subset of inscriptions in the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy also make use of the *Μνησθῇ* formula.

Although representing a minority of inscriptions at the site, appearing in only four of the seventy-three

graffiti found in the cave, it is notable that they exist. These texts differ significantly from the typical

inscriptions found in the cave, rather than only being a personal name or a personal name and simple

inscription. The graffiti, which include this commemorative formula, tend to be more elaborate than

those at other sites. For example, 'Lord God who rose Lazarus from the dead, remember your servant

Asklepios and your servant Chionion', a text which is unusual for its explicit recollection of biblical events

before the prayer and call for recollection begins.[182] Similarly, another prayer from the wall reads 'Lord,

help your servant Asem. Remember … Emmanuel is with us…'.[183] Although the first half of this

inscription is typical of graffiti in the east, the final invocation to Emmanuel is without parallel in the

graffiti of the eastern Mediterranean. The unique nature of these inscriptions suggests that the call for

memory was not simply a copying of the informal graffiti traditions found in other parts of the east, but

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[179] TU664. *μνήσθιτη, κ(ύρι)ε, τὸ δοῦλόν σου | Ἰοάννη*; TU656. *μνή(σ)[τ]ητη το δούλο τοῦ θ[ε]οῦ Ἐπ[η]φάνη*
[180] TU716; TU728; TU655; TU664; TU656;
[181] The use of this phrase may have a connection to the use of the formulae in the Liturgy. Variations of this phrase are found in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, and the Liturgy of Basil of Caesarea, both of which were frequently used in the late antique east. For more on the connection between the liturgy and graffiti see chapter three.
[182] IP42. *Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εο)ς ὁ ἐγ<ε>ίρας τόν Λάζαρον ἐ[κ] νεκρῶν | μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου σοῦ Ἀσκληπίου κέ | Χιονίου τῆς δούλης [σο]ῦ.*
[183] IP102. *Κ(ύρι)ε Βοήθησο(ν) τὸν δοῦλόν | σου [Α]σεμ. Μν[ησθη---|---|? Ἐμμανουή|λ ἐστι σὺν ἡμ[ῖν---]*

rather representative of individuals crafting a personal and unique invocation, which recalled not only

their specific religious experiences (and the invocations and acclamations they found relevant to those

experiences) but also materialised a desire to be remembered at the site.

The unique application of the usage of formulae requesting memory is also found in the Cave of

Gethsemane. Two graffiti are found in the cave, and both explicitly recall memory. Although one text is

very generic, reading only 'Lord, remember your servant Pasimos', another text from the site employs

terms more frequently used in formal epigraphy to invoke memory.[184] This second text reads 'For the

memory and dismissal of sins of Samuel, suffering. Lord have mercy.'[185] Thus, in Jerusalem we see

individuals using commemorative formulae to invoke their memory in methods distinct from their

contemporaries.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

The graffiti at Wadi Haggag also features a frequent use of commemorative formulae alongside personal

names – and this text explicitly materialises the call for memory implied by the inscription of a personal

name. The *μνησθῇ* formula is frequent – evoking the desire for personal memory not only by the

authors – but forcing the later audience (either human or divine) to recall the individuals' presence at

the site. Requests for rememberance appear thirty-two times, this making around fourteen percent of

inscriptions, a particularly significant number considering how many inscriptions are found at Wadi

Haggag.[186] Examples include 'God, remember Masoud' and 'Lord Jesus Christ, remember the writer of

this and his dear ones… bless….'.[187] This later inscription in particular highlights the power of the

commemorative formula and the inherent tie between an epigraphic text and the person who carved

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[184] IP123. *Μνίστιτη Κ(ύρι)ε | τοῦ δούλου σοῦ Πασίμου (?)*
[185] IP122. *†Ὑπὲρ μνήμης | κε ἀφέσεως | ἁμαρτηῶν | Σαμουὴλ ὑπομένον|τος | Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ[η]σον*
[186] 32 out of 232 inscriptions.
[187] EG269. *†Μνήσθη | τὸ Δεος | Μασούδου*; EG341. *† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ μνήσ|θητι τὸν γράψαν|τα [καὶ] τούς [φίλους] | [αὐτοῦ] [---] || [---] ΥΣ εὐλόγη[σεν].*

that text. The author does not need to name themselves, but instead can rely on the fact that they "the writer" will be intrinsically associated with this inscription, and therefore remembered, by the audience who reads it.

1.4.   Commemorating Experiences

Thus far, I have focused exclusively on the graffiti which sought to record the presence of an individual. However, although all graffiti commemorated the presence of an individual to an extent (the author had to be physically present to carve a text), graffiti in the Mediterranean did more than just memorialise a person's *presence*, but also their activities and experiences. Graffiti recording actions and activities have been noted at multiple sites in the ancient world – the graffiti at Herculaneum in specific frequently records the daily motions of an individual - such as 'Eleven days before the Kalends, bread was made' and 'we are cold' do not name the individuals who wrote them, and thus did not exist to indicate their presence to either a divinity or the local community.[188] Rather, they were a way for the individual to create a tangible presence of the activities they undertook – not only recording their physical attendance at a site – but integrating their daily rhythms and motions into their environment. The first section "Group Behaviours" will examine three case studies, that of the circus factions in Aphrodisias and Alexandria, and that of group pilgrimage in Deir el-Bahri, to establish the ways graffiti could create physical evidence of the ephemeral experiences, the sayings and journeys, of social groups. The second section "Vulgar Graffiti and Insults" will examine a specific subset of graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean which recorded the emotional experiences of late antique individuals, by materializing personal rivalries and discontent.

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[188] AGP-EDR140195. Ed. R. Benefiel and F. Opdenhoff. AGP-EDR140149. Ed. R. Benefiel and J. Liu.

Group Behaviours

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

One major social group referenced in Aphrodisian graffiti is that of the circus factions. Graffiti referring

to the circus factions appears in significant numbers at Aphrodisias. The circus factions in late antique

society essentially consisted of two separate organisations, the Green faction and the Blue faction.[189]

Whilst initially associated with chariot racing, factions grew to produce a variety of public entertainment

in the late antique city, both within the circus and the theatre.[190] Many inhabitants would have

associated themselves as a supporter of a faction – with support often dependent on one's social or

economic class.[191] Graffiti referencing the circus factions indicates the desire by individuals to record

their affiliation with a public group – as well as the behaviours they undertook as members or

supporters of this group.

At Aphrodisias, the phrase 'The fortune of the Greens triumphs!' was very popular in the formal and

informal inscriptions of the city and was found a total of seven times in a variety of forms, including fully

carved formulae and monograms.[192] These texts reflect the experiences and group formations within

the late antique environment. A variation of this text, 'The fortune of the Blues triumphs!' referring to

the second most popular sporting faction is also found. The placement of these texts is notable – in

many cases acclamations of a faction are found in the performance spaces of the city, for example, an

invocation to the Blue faction, 'The fortune of the Blues triumphs!' is found on the seating of the

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[189] Cameron 1976: 45-73. Whilst the Green and Blue factions are the most significant in the late antique period – two additional factions the Whites and the Reds also existed with origins in the Roman world and existed in some form into the middle Byzantine period.
[190] Cameron 1976: 193-229. Roueché 2007: 62-64. Cameron establishes how by the late antique period, the term "circus" faction is misleading, as the groups were equally associated with the theatre. Roueché provides evidence for the administrative roles played by the factions in organising public entertainment.
[191] See Stern 2018: 151-152 for the relationship between Jewish groups and the Blue faction.
[192] *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων.* This acclamation can be found in TU350; TU361; TU371; TU427; TU470; TU471 and TU318. These seven inscriptions include only those times the acclamation is found in its entirety, and does not include fragmentary examples. For formal examples of this acclamation see IAph2007 4.13i. and IAph2007 4.13iii.

theatre.[193] Similarly, acclamations for the Greens are also found in the theatre; one text reading 'The

fortune of the Greens triumphs!' is found on the theatre stage.[194] Two heavily damaged acclamations to

the Blue faction are also found in the odeon, whilst two fragmentary acclamations are found in the

stadium.[195] Alan Cameron has associated the texts found on the seats of the theatre with the theatre

claques – associations which could be hired by performers to cheer acclamations.[196] Graffiti

commemorating the factions in performance areas therefore may have been inscribed by the theatre

claques, recording the acclamations they would say aloud. In some cases, the graffiti must have been

carved by those who worked for a faction, as is evident in a text from a doorway on the *scaena* of the

theatre: 'The fortune of the Greens, and the mimes of the Greens, triumphs!'. [197] This text is only lightly

scratched in plaster, and therefore was probably not intended to be a permanent record, but a way of

informally claiming the space for the mimes of the Green faction – and in doing so materialising the

support shouted from the audience in the backstage of the theatre. The acclamations to factions in the

theatre highlight how late antique individuals would use graffiti to record the things said around them,

and the things they would say.

Alexandria (Egypt)[198]

The graffiti in Alexandria is found in a fourth century auditorium and theatre, which would have held

public performances.[199] These performances have also been commemorated in the graffiti at the site,

with several performers being identified in the graffiti found on seats and in the vestibule, as fans

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[193] TU480. *† Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων.*
[194] TU318. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύ[χη] | τῶν Πρασί[νων]*
[195] Acclamations to the Blues: TU126. *··] Βενέτου.* '… of the Blues…'; TU124. *τό|[[πός]] [[Βενέ(των)]].* 'Place of the Blues.' Fragmentary acclmations in the stadium: TU195. *Νικᾷ τύ|χη ! vac.* 'The fortune of… triumphs!'. TU218. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τον vac.* 'The fortune of the… triumphs!'.
[196] Cameron 1976: 237-248.
[197] TU361. *νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν Πρασίνων | κ(αὶ) τον μίμον τοῦ | Πρασίν(ου).* As this text is found in a space between the *scaena* and the backstage, it is unlikely to have been carved by an audience member, but rather by a member of the faction, or someone working for this faction.
[198] For a discussion on the history of Alexandria see Appendix 2.2.1.
[199] Majcherek 2010: 475.

inscribed the names of those they supported. For example, the performer Doros, who was a member of the Green faction, is named in several inscriptions of the variation 'The fortune of Doros Triumphs'.[200] Two other Green performers, Aetios and Kalytuchos, are also mentioned in multiple inscriptions, whilst a Blue performer Eutochios is similarly acclaimed: 'The fortune of Eutochios triumphs'.[201] These inscriptions highlights that individuals watching performances would carve the names and the acclamations they called during these events.

Deir el-Bahri (Egypt)

The graffiti of the ironworkers at Deir el-Bahri functions to commemorate specific actions undertaken by the pilgrims – notably in a way which differs from the Christian graffiti at the site (the longest unambiguously Christian Greek graffito at the site is only one line long).[202] Firstly, some of the texts include the date, an extremely uncommon practice which appears in only seven inscriptions of the catalogue, two of which are found at Deir el-Bahri.[203] Through inscribing the dates, the pilgrims placed their travels within a definitive time span – they not only asserted their presence, but also when it had occurred, leaving a distinct memory of themselves at the site, particularly one which would help an audience envisage their presence. This is particularly notable as Łajtar associates the graffiti with the Choiak-Nechebkau festival, an important celebration as part of the Horus/Osiris mythos, and the dates offered in three of the inscriptions (Tybi 1 and Tybi 2) would have corresponded with this feast.[204] Thus,

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[200] EG91. *νικᾷ ἡ [τύ]χη | τοῦ Δόρου*; EG26. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τοῦ | Δόρου*; EG29. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πετομένου | κέ Ἀετοῦ | κε τοῦ || Δόρου | ΚΕ.. Ω | ΙΚΑΗΚΑ | ΤΟΝ †.* 'The fortune of Petomenos and Aetos and Doros triumphs…!'; EG30. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη Καλο|τύχου † | κὲ Ἀε||του † |κὲ τιυ Δόρου †.* 'The fortune of Kalotychos and Aetos and Doros triumphs!'; EG32. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχ|η Καλοτύχο|υ καὶ τοῦ νέ|ου Δόρου || Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πρασίνω[ν] | γεννεώτα|των| Ἀπο κόρυ|φῆς ὡς ὁ||νύχων | ἔπεσεν | τὸ Βένετο | ΚΑΙ.ΗΧ.C.ΜΕΤ.ΩΝ.* 'The fortune of Kalotychos and Doros the younger triumphs! The fortune of the most noble Greens triumphs! From head to toe the Blues fall and…'
[201] EG34. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοχίου | κὲ Βενέτων | κακὰ τὰ ἔτη || τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.* 'The fortune of Eutochios and the Blues triumphs! Bad year to Lachanas.'
[202] EG115. *εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν.* 'One God who helps us.'
[203] EG111; EG110. Other graffiti at Deir el-Bahri recording the pilgrimage of the ironworkers, such as EG116 and EG117, likely also included a date when they were inscribed, but the date has now been lost.
[204] Łajtar 2006: 64. For a discussion of this festival, see Appendix 2.2.3.

by inscribing the date, the pilgrims did not just assert their presence during a specific date, but during a particularly holy event – subsequent pilgrims who read the inscription would have associated the members of the corporation of ironworkers with this festival, perpetuating their presence at the feast beyond its duration. Furthermore, the inscription places emphasis on the religious practices undertaken by the pilgrims as part of their journey. The phrase *γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα* 'we have come here' appears in four of the inscriptions of the ironworkers.[205] The term *ἐνταῦθα* 'here' works to assert the presence of the ironworkers at the site, whilst *γενόμεθα* 'we have come' emphasises the physical journey they undertook. Furthermore, these inscriptions also emphasise the act of making a sacrifice. The phrase *θυσίαν ὄνον* 'the sacrifice of a donkey' appears in some variation in three different graffiti.[206] The pilgrims sought not just to record their presence, but also the religious activities they undertook. This sacrifice would thus become symbolic: not only being an action undertaken during the annual feast, but one which continued perpetually, either when the inscription was read by other visitors to the site throughout the year, or simply through its presence providing a level of satisfaction to the pilgrims, who would have known it was there perpetually reinforcing their activities. Consequently, graffiti at Deir el-Bahri did not just serve to recognise an individual or group but provided the means of consistently materialising their religious activities beyond pilgrims' presence at the site. Further, the graffiti of the ironworkers highlights slight differences in the graffito traditions between pagan and Christian groups. Whilst the Christian graffiti is reminiscent of its comparisons throughout the eastern Mediterranean – the graffiti of the pagan ironworkers highlights that whilst they still used graffito to commemorate their experiences, they did so with a unique local tradition.

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[205] EG117; EG114; EG111; EG110.
[206] EG110; EG114; EG117.

1.4.2. Vulgar Graffiti and Insults

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

Another variation of textual graffiti which recorded the experiences of late antique inhabitants at Aphrodisias was vulgar graffiti. These inscriptions often contained insults, aimed at specific individuals or the general populace, and through carving the texts tangible memory was created: promoting to other citizens negative associations between a person and the text written about them. Vulgar graffiti is noteworthy as a means of commemoration as it relays insight into the emotions of the author – in these examples it is not just the presence of an author memorialised, but their opinions – with physical records providing evidence of their low opinion of other members of society. In turn, the memory of those insulted would be negatively coloured by those reading the text, who would now associate them with the insult.

One selection of vulgar inscriptions was those which used sexual insults, often referring to the sexual passivity of a person. Roman society conceptualised sexuality as interplay between two participants: the active male and the passive female.[207] Sexual activity which did not align with this worldview was conceived as deviant – and thus male sexual passivity was weaponised as an insult attacking the masculinity of those who engaged within it.[208] In late antique Aphrodisias, sexual passivity was used as an insult in informal texts. References to sexual passivity are one of the more common insults found in the city – for example a text from the seats of the theatre which reads 'I am one who is penetrated'.[209] One inscription, 'Karmidianos is… penetrated…' was found carved into the plaster behind the stage of the odeon.[210] Karmidianos' exact occupation is unknown, but it is likely he was a performer who acted in the space – the name 'Karmilianos' was also found carved on the wall, and possibily refers to the same

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[207] Parker 1997: 48-49.
[208] Parker 1997: 53. Parker offers examples of male passivity being used as an insult in imperial Rome.
[209] TU571. Ἐγὼ πυγίστης | εἶμε.
[210] TU76. Καρ[μ]ιδιανός ΚΑΙΩΝ | παθηκός vac. ΚΥΔΙΑΣ[·.

individual.[211] As with the other texts and images inscribed in plaster in the odeon, the carving is very light and may not have been immediately legible to those passing through the space. Nevertheless, the author's intent was achieved – and the insult recorded.

Similar texts which imply sexual passivity are carved in other places of the city. At the urban park a text reading 'Eusebios penetrates Dulkitios' is written on a stone block beside the central pool.[212] This text was written in stone and would have taken longer to carve than the example about Karmidianos. In this case, the text memorialises a possibly personal rivalry or discontent. Eusebios may have been the author, though this is far from certain. Dulkitios was a governor of Aphrodisias, who renovated the urban park during his tenure in the fifth century.[213] Therefore, the graffito carving this text in an area so strongly associated with Dulkitios, the author was purposefully altering a space designed to memorialise the governor. Rather than honouring the public benefaction of the governor, the textual record of the urban park now also implied he had been penetrated.[214] The graffito thus highlights how informal inscriptions could be used to shape memory of an individual – just as the formal inscriptions at the site served to create a memory of the deeds of a benefactor, vulgar texts could be adopted to memorialise insults.

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[211] TU77. *Καρμιλιαινός.* The argument for Karmidianos being a performer is strengthened by a graffito found in the staging area at Ephesos reading *Καρμίλις Β̄,* 'Karmilis [twice?]' recorded in TU782. Roueché notes that the similarities between the name Karmilis, and Karmidianos/Karmilianos makes it tempting to interpret this as an individual, perhaps a well-known performer, who worked at both Ephesos and Aphrodisias. If Karmidianos/Karmilianos/Karmilis was a well-known professional, this may go a little further to explaining the vulgar graffiti scrawled about him – it may have been carved by a contemporary who did not enjoy his performances or was even jealous of his success, rather than as a result of personal disagreements. This may have also ensured that others who saw the vulgar text knew who was being insulted – a recognisable name in their industry.

[212] TU633. *[Π]υγί|[ζει] ὁ Εὑ|[σέ]βις | Δουλ|κίτιν.*

[213] Wilson 2016: 108-109. Dulkitios renovated the agora gate in the mid-fifth century, as is recorded in an inscription found at IAph 2007 4.202.

[214] Chaniotis 2015 suggests that the insult was tied to political and religious tensions in the city, with Eusebios being an overtly Christian name whilst Dulkitios was likely a pagan. Whilst this is possible, I would be hesitant to tie it significantly to religious tensions. It is difficult to know the level of malice with which the graffito was carved; it may have been seen as a light-hearted joking insult rather than a more serious political attack.

Another text from Aphrodisias, from the Tetrastoon, highlights another way insults were used to shape one's identity in the public space. Reading 'Place of dirty Heortasios', this text utilises the language of the functional *topos* inscription, to manipulate the identity of Heortasios.[215] Although it is impossible to know who carved this text, or why they wrote it, it fulfilled the same function as the negative sexual texts – materialising a memory of Heortasios is the public arena.

Alexandria (Egypt)

The graffiti from the auditorium at Alexandria similarly highlights that individuals would carve vulgar graffiti to record these thoughts as they occurred to them. Members of the circus factions insulted their opponents in graffiti. For example, one text found on the seats of the auditorium invoked good fortune for the Green faction, before wishing harm on the blues 'The fortune of the most noble Greens triumphs! From head to toe the Blues fall'.[216] Another text read 'The fortune of Eutochios and the Blues triumphs! Bad year to Lachanas', wishing failure on a rival performer.[217] These texts indicate that individuals watching competitions within the auditorium would carve insults at the performer they wished to lose. In Alexandria, graffiti as a means for late antique peoples to memorialise their emotions within an entertainment venue.

Aizanoi (Turkey)

Compared to other sites from Turkey, Aizanoi has yielded little published graffiti. However, it is worth noting that the evidence available supports the commemorative traditions which can be established at sites which have been more extensively published on. Namely, the evidence from the site suggests that at Aizanoi, citizens also sought to record their negative experiences in the urban landscape. A graffito

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[215] TU298. *Ἑορτασίου κο|νιορτοῦ | τόπος.*
[216] EG32. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχ|η Καλοτύχο|υ καὶ τοῦ νέ|ου Δόρου || Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πρασίνω[ν] | γεννεώτα|των| Ἀπο κόρυ|φῆς ὡς ὀ||νύχων | ἔπεσεν | τὸ Βένετο | ΚΑΙ.ΗΧ.C.ΜΕΤ.ΩΝ.*
[217] EG34. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοχίου | κὲ Βενέτων | κακὰ τὰ ἔτη || τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.* The same insult is found on the theatre seats at Aphrodisias. See TU390. *Κακὰ τὰ ἔτη | τῶν Πρασίνων.* 'Bad year for the Greens!'

from the north stoa reads 'Cruel Lord Sisinnis'.[218] The inscription may have been a reference to a real person – a local official or dignitary who had offended the author. Regardless of who the text spoke of, the author did not just feel their anger, but sought to manifest it through an insult onto the local environment, creating a tangible memorial of this emotion.

1.5.   Figurative Graffiti

Until now, I have focused exclusively on textual graffiti as a means of commemoration. In this next subsection, I would like to examine the figurative graffiti found in the eastern Mediterranean. Pictorial or figurative graffiti was equally as common as textual graffiti. Inscribed images are another vital way of charting commemorative practices in antiquity – as will be shown below, the images carved tend to correlate to the architecture and behaviours one might have seen within an area. As such, figurative graffiti opens new channels to allow us to recognise the way experiences were memorialised – individuals sought to record in stone the sights in front of them – removing the ephemerality of their vision and creating a designated record of what they saw. Furthermore, figurative graffiti provides an important view of the commemorative practices of non-literate populations. As I have established in my methodology, we cannot assume that those who carved graffiti were literate, but figurative graffiti required no degree of literacy to carve.[219] Through looking at what individuals chose to record in images in the eastern Mediterranean, we can ascertain which sights and experiences they wished to memorialise around them.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

One distinct selection of graffiti found in Aphrodisias is that which depicts public entertainment, including gladiatorial or beast fights, as well as images of performers and performances. The placement

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[218] TU1. ὠμὸς | Σισίννις κοῖρος.
[219] See section 0.3.4. Pages 25-26.

of the figurative graffiti depicting these images are found in distinct locations throughout the city, in the

Tetrastoon, urban park, theatre, odeon and stadium.[220] There is are two exceptions to this rule. The first

is a graffito of an athlete found in the Church of the Archangels.[221] The second is a graffito of gladiators

from the north-west Gate.[222] Figure 1.8 shows a map of the locations of graffiti depicting performers and

performances. As can be seen from this map, it is apparent that the graffiti featuring public

entertainment is found in either areas during which public entertainment would have taken place, or in

spaces for social gathering immediately adjacent to these spaces. The graffiti found in these locations

allows us to understand that people would draw graffiti of their immediate surroundings.

Just as performers sought to record their experiences, we find that audiences did the same. Individuals

who watched gladiator fights and beast hunts in the theatre recorded these performances on their seats

and other areas of the surrounding environment. There is, in fact, very little textual graffiti referencing

the performances, which happened in entertainment venues, beyond the factional acclamations.

Generally, it is the figurative graffiti here that documents the entertainments people saw and engaged

with. One graffito from the theatre seats represents a gladiator, and is one example in which we can

distinguish more about this image from a small textual addition; the gladiator is Thracian (Figure 1.9).[223]

Other graffiti from the theatre seating represent gladiators, or animals from beast fights.[224] Similarly,

images of gladiators are found on the seats of the stadium, where this may have been a form of

performance, as well as images of men riding horses, which would certainly have happened in the

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[220] For the Tetrastoon see: TU294. For the urban park see: TU600; TU601; TU602; TU603; TU604. For the theatre see: TU321; TU370; TU531; TU532; TU541; TU558; TU594. For the odeon see: TU77; TU78; TU81. For the stadium see: TU153.
[221] Chaniotis and De Staebler 2018: Fig. 12a. This graffito is a source of some confusion – unique amongst the extant graffiti from the church it is likely it was carved before the building conversion from the temple of Aphrodite, particularly as the building represented in the graffiti bears no Christian iconography as is the case with other graffiti representing churches at Aphrodisias and Ephesos.
[222] TU53.
[223] TU541. Θρᾷξ. 'Thracian'.
[224] TU600; TU532; TU531.

stadium, and a man with a bow and arrow, possibly representing the performance of a hunt.[225] More images of performance are found in the urban park and Tetrastoon, large meeting areas which respectively border the theatre, and odeon. Although these are not spaces in which the public would have watched performances, these are areas in which they would have moved between before and after public spectacle. It is therefore unsurprising that we similarly find graffiti representing performances in these areas, including gladiatorial combat and wild animals such as three running lions in the urban park, and images of athletes in the Tetrastoon.[226] These graffiti show that audiences remembered the performances they saw, and sought to record these experiences physically around them, not only speaking to one another about the performance, but creating a tangible record of their memory on the stone and plaster of the urban space.

On the stage of the theatre, a graffito representing a tight-rope walker is cut (Figure 1.10).[227] This graffito is carved right at the front of the stage, likely in the location where the tight-rope walker would have performed. This graffito would not have been visible to those in the audience and must have been cut either by a performer themselves, perhaps the tight-rope walker in rehearsals, or by others working in the theatre who witnessed the performance. Whether carved in rehearsals or not, it indicates a desire from an individual to carve their memory of an event into the location in which it happened. This graffito can be compared directly to the graffiti found in the behind the stage recess at the odeon. In this location, many of the graffiti represent what Roueché has identified as water-organs, a musical instrument which could be used in performances on the stage.[228] These graffiti, only lightly scratched, represent the impulse by individuals to record what is going on around them. No other graffito of a water-organ has been discovered at Aphrodisias – or indeed in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.

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[225] TU145; TU104; TU105; TU106.
[226] For a graffito of a beast fight see TU606; For graffiti of running lions see TU603, TU604, TU605.; For an athlete, see: TU289.
[227] TU321.
[228] For graffiti of water-organs, see: TU78 and TU81.

This image was carved by those who worked closely with the organs, the workers, and performers in the theatre. It is possible they were carved during rehearsals, or even during performances whilst waiting backstage. Outside of the realm of official epigraphy, performers sought to memorialise the objects they engaged with, in locations where the engagement occurred. It is difficult to ascribe too much motivation here, individuals may not have begun executing the graffiti with the thought of commemoration in mind, but it certainly highlights that inhabitants of the late antique east engaged proactively with their surroundings, and opted to record these surroundings semi-permanently, at least long enough to outlast themselves and their presence at a site.

Another form of figurative graffiti, which shows a desire by individuals to commemorate their experiences, is produced by individuals who recorded their physical environment in images. One graffito from the urban park is of particular note. The graffito is unfinished but consists of two ovals, one inside the other.[229] Found on a stone slab in the west side of the park, Chaniotis suggests it represents the pool found in the centre of the park, which was the same shape.[230] As the image is unfinished, Chaniotis suggests it was drawn during the pools construction, however I would suggest that it is just as likely the author was prevented from finishing the image (possibly either due to boredom or they were required to leave).[231] The pool in the urban park would have dominated the space, at nearly 170 x 190 m the pool is without parallel in antiquity.[232] It is notable that this graffito was found within the urban park itself, this was not an example of someone carving from memory, but rather what they could see as they were there. Their presence was necessary to this carving, not because it required them to see the pool to carve the simple shape, but because if they were not there, they would not have carved it: the graffito recorded their experiences as they happened.

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[229] TU638.
[230] Chaniotis 2018: 83.
[231] Chaniotis 2018: 83.
[232] Wilson, Russel, and Ward 2016: 78

Ephesos (Turkey)

Of the forty-six figurative graffiti found at Ephesos, the majority (twenty-nine) are found in two places –

on the stage façade and backstage in the theatre, and on a marble column from Stadium Street. Both

these case studies allow us to see the ways figurative graffiti was used by individuals to commemorate

their experiences, and the things they witnessed.

A notable genre of figurative graffiti found at Ephesos is that depicting images of performances. These

graffiti are exclusively found in the theatre. On the theatre façade were representations of several

human figures with large ears.[233] These exaggerated ears may identify the figures as performers in

pantomimes who did not wear masks, as the masks worn by these performers would have concealed

the ears, so the additions of exaggerated ears indicated the exact performers represented.[234] Similarly,

there are detailed depictions of individuals labelled, for example a representation of a pantomime figure

includes a detailed tunic, and the woman seated beside him is labelled with a name, and is similarly

detailed (Figure 1.11).[235] The level of detail suggests that those who carved this image, likely the

performers working on the stage either during rehearsal or leisure time, were carving specific individuals

they knew and worked with. This is exemplified by the graffito of a man in a specific position, sat

beneath a pediment, which likely represents a stage set.[236] These images of performers and

performances underline the examples seen at Aphrodisias and highlight how late antique individuals

sought to record what they saw around them in figurative graffiti.

There are also a select number of representations of the urban environment found in the figurative

graffiti of Ephesos. One graffito found on a column fragment depicts a Christian shrine (Figure 1.12),

however it is not possible to associate this image with a specific shrine. It could have represented a site

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[233] TU763; TU764; TU770.
[234] Roueché 2002: 274.
[235] TU772.
[236] TU777.

visited by the author, or have been a more generalised representation of a religious site.[237] Similarly, a

square with a pointed roof found carved on a column from Stadium Street likely represents a general

pedimented building from the environment, but it is not possible to associate it with a specific

building.[238] Even though neither of these images can clearly be associated with specific spaces, it does

become clear that individuals chose to carve the types of building or shrine they may have seen

throughout the city. Graffiti from Ephesos also displays that individuals would interact with the statuary

and art of the urban environment. Other graffiti from the column on Stadium Street clearly seem to

represent artistic elements discovered throughout the city. One graffito appears to represent a statue,

depicting a nude male figure standing upon a line; this possibly represents a statue upon a pediment

(Figure 1.13).[239] The graffito with the phrase 'Work of Ioannes' is from this column, and the decorated

urn and plant featured on it as well may represent decorations seen within the street.[240] Notably, there

are also two graffiti of peacocks on this column, which would likely not have been found in the middle of

the street but may be an attempt to recreate the images of peacocks which were frequent in mosaics

from the late antique period – and indicates how late antique individuals recognised and interacted with

the decorative motifs in the urban environment.[241]

A final example of how individuals in Ephesos sought to recreate the physical environment in their

informal inscriptions is from a graffito found on a paving slab, featuring a foot, a heart, and a *tyche*

figure above an inscription (Figure 1.14).[242] This graffito has typically been interpreted as a sign pointing

towards a brothel (with the foot indicating the way one should walk to find the women represented by

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[237] TU694. *κύριε σὺ | βούθ(ε)ι ἡ|μῖν | Χρ(ιστός) ΑΩ.* 'Lord, help me.'
[238] TU752.
[239] TU758. For commentary and analysis of the statues recorded on the column from Stadium Street see Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 99.
[240] TU750. *ἔργον Ἰωάν|νου.*
[241] TU755; TU756.
[242] TU739.

the *tyche* figure).[243] This interpretation is doubtful, as the female figure is clearly a *tyche* which is found

in the artistic output of Ephesos, notable on the façade of the temple of Hadrian on Curetes Street. This

graffito highlights again how individuals sought to record their interactions with the urban space, by

recreating images of what they saw surrounding them in figurative graffiti.

Alexandria (Egypt)

The figurative graffiti from Alexandria complements that discovered at Ephesos. Graffiti found in the

theatre of Kom el-Dikka represents people and behaviours which would be seen in the theatre and

around the city. For example, one graffito, figure 1.15, represents a male figure holding a victory wreath,

indicating he is an athlete or performer. This analysis is supported by an associated textual inscription,

which invokes fortune for the performer.[244] Two other graffiti represented charioteers.[245] These graffiti

are detailed, the performer holding a wreath wears a tunic decorated with two crosses. As such, it is

probable that the creator of the image sought to replicate the tunic design of a performer they saw at

the theatre. Other figurative graffiti found at Alexandria feature other designs relevant to urban life in

the city, for example a graffito of a boat with an oar, graffiti of fish, and a graffito of an anchor.[246] These

images represented objects from daily life in the port city of Alexandria. Therefore, again the graffiti

from Alexandria indicates that individuals commemorated the things they saw around them in the

casual images they created.

Elephantine (Egypt)

Another example of the ways in which individuals sought to record their experiences in figurative graffiti

is from a collection of six graffiti from Elephantine in southern Egypt. The graffiti were discovered on

blocks from a late antique quay wall, renovated several times in antiquity but most recently in the sixth

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[243] Harrison 2018: 50.
[244] EG 58. *νικᾷ ἡ [τύ]χη / τοῦ Δόρου.* The fortune of Doros triumphs!.
[245] EG59; EG60.
[246] For the boat see EG72. For graffiti of fish see EG64 and EG65. For the anchor see EG67.

century CE, before it was covered in the seventh century.[247] Carved on the wall were six different representations of boats (Figure 1.16).[248] At Elephantine, individuals sought to record the things they could see surrounding them: in this case the boats which would have been coming in and out of the harbour. Whilst there are only six graffiti found at Elephantine, they become more notable when compared to other images from throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Unlike Aphrodisias and Alexandria, individuals did not record images of performance, as this was not a sight which was intimately familiar in the quay, but rather the boats which were a daily presence in their lives. Subsequently, we can establish that late antique peoples sought to set in stone the things they experienced.

1.6.   Conclusions

Epigraphy was a key method of enshrining memory in the Roman tradition. Epigraphy was also commemorative in multiple contexts, not only recording official state information and legal documents, but it was also frequently the purview of individuals who sought to record information about themselves or their families. Epigraphy was used to honour both wealthy individuals who funded public activities, but also non-elite citizens in funerary inscriptions. Graffiti, as informal epigraphy, was simply another manifestation of the commemorative epigraphy tradition in late antiquity. In every region of the east, we see graffiti being used to record not only the individual, through the inscription of personal names and commemorative formulae, but also the experiences of the graffiti author.

Whilst graffiti was universal, however, it was not static. Despite certain trends such as personal names appearing in every region of the east, it is less accurate to discuss a graffiti tradition, but rather graffiti *traditions*. The informal inscriptional practice was diverse, and the ways an individual might choose to

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[247] Dijkstra 2005: 182-183.
[248] EG121; EG122; EG123; EG124; EG125; EG126.

record their persona or experiences varied according to location. This is particularly clear through comparisons of ruinated cities in Asia Minor. Aphrodisias might have the greatest number of graffiti recorded compared to any other city in the catalogue, but graffiti found at Sagalassos differs in significant ways, with two different commemorative formulae ("health to X" and "good fortune to x") appearing in this city, even though they do not appear at Aphrodisias. Similarly, the graffiti found in religious institutions at Ephesos indicates a localised way of carving personal names. Additionally, even locations which may appear superficially similar, such as Syros and Wadi Haggag (both transitionary landscapes which featured travellers passing through) have distinct and local graffiti traditions in the forms of graffiti found carved there. This is highlighted even further by the presence of figurative graffiti. For example, at Elephantine, boats are found carved into the quay wall, because this is the sight people at Elephantine saw and were likely to commemorate, whilst representations of gladiators and *munera* are found in or near the spaces these public spectacles took place in Aphrodisias.

Scholars have frequently discussed commemoration as a universal purpose of graffiti throughout history. The evidence from late antiquity supports this conclusion, with informal inscriptions from throughout the eastern Mediterranean having a clear commemorative purpose. However, this tradition was not static, it was diverse and the methods and means of commemoration varied according to location.

2. Graffiti and Identity

Chapter One established the commemorative functions of graffiti in late antiquity, noting in particular the use of personal names as a means of preserving the memory of an individual. This chapter will examine this phenomenon – the decision to record personal identity – in greater depth, looking not only at the memorialisation of an individual through their personal name, but also at the facets of their life (their social and economic background, for example) that they chose to record. Through examining identity, it is possible to begin to reconstruct what aspects of the self people found to be important in antiquity.

"Identity", beyond the author's personal name, has received relatively little attention in contemporary graffiti scholarship, no doubt due to the fact that comparatively small numbers of graffiti actually list additional information about the author. In a study of graffiti in Pompeii, Lohmann notes that eighty-five percent of personal names recorded in the city feature only a single name, devoid of additional familial, social or economic markers of the individual's identity.[249] Similarly, Paweł Nowakowski acknowledges the lack of identifiers in late antique graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean, indicating that most individuals were satisfied with leaving only a single name as a testament to their personage.[250] Nevertheless, regardless of their relative infrequency, graffiti providing additional identifiers *do* appear in the eastern Mediterranean in late antiquity, and form a significant subset of my catalogue, with eleven percent of the textual graffiti recorded in the catalogue of this thesis featuring a personal identifier.[251] Consequently, this chapter will examine this selection of graffiti in order to further contextualise the desire for commemoration discussed in chapter one, looking not only at an individual's

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[249] Lohmann 2020: 9. Only 15% of the onomastic graffiti Lohmann studied at Pompeii featured additional names in the *tria nomina* or *duo nomina* Roman naming system, or only 600 of 4,000 graffiti.
[250] Nowakowski 2017: 239.
[251] 146 out of 1313 textual graffiti. Personal identifiers included in this survey include patronyms and familial identifiers, references to secular occupation and position in the ecclesiastic hierarchy and references to place of origin.

desire to be remembered, but also at *what* they wanted to be remembered about themselves by the audience for the graffiti, and how their identify shifted depending on the context they were inscribing within.

This chapter will examine this subset of graffiti to consider the reasons behind an individual's decision to reveal additional information about their personage in late antiquity. Initially, this chapter will examine why identifiers were used in the late antique period. It will then proceed to a discussion of the relationship between identity and epigraphy which existed between the Roman and early Byzantine periods, to provide the context for onomastics and thus establish the corpus of epigraphic identifiers that graffiti authors drew from. The chapter is then divided into two sections. The first section will examine the key identity markers found in late antique graffiti and systematically examine their usage across the eastern Mediterranean, considering what their presence can teach us about the individuals writing graffiti. The analysis will be ordered geographically, beginning with the expression of identity in the urban environments of the late antique east, then proceeding to the desert monasteries in the Levant and Deir el-Bahri, before finally examining Syros and Wadi Haggag, two different "transitionary" spaces. The second section of this chapter will consider the opposite phenomena: graffiti which purposely sought to obfuscate the identity of the author, either through the use of anonymising formulae or graphic systems designed to hide the author's name. Through a careful consideration of these two core themes, identity and anonymity, I will curate a broader idea of the relationship between a late antique individual, and how they self-conceptualised, as shown through the informal texts they chose to create. Once again, the importance of graffiti to understanding late antique behaviours is critical; as graffiti was a product created solely by an individual, it provides a direct connection to their own self-identification, and how they identified others they wrote about.

2.1.   Identity in Graffiti

Specificity

To begin, it is necessary to establish why identifiers were used in later antique epigraphy. As established in the previous chapter, commemoration motivated the writing of graffiti; therefore, when considering the reasons for identity markers, we must examine how commemoration plays into graffiti's commemorative roles. Identity markers communicate information to an audience, and thus allow an audience – be it human or divine – to recognise the specific identity of the author. This is what I shall term "specificity": the highlighting of multiple traits about an individual to indicate their exact persona. Identity markers also formed a necessary part of epigraphic culture, due to the relative lack of diversity in late antique names. At the cemetery in Korykos in Cilicia, for example, out of the one thousand Christian graves we find thirty-six with the name Theodoros, forty-four with the name Georgios, and eighty-four with the name Ioannes; in fact, a total of just over one fifth of the Christian burials at Korykos feature one of five names.[252] This can be seen in the corpus of late antique eastern graffiti as well, in just over twenty percent of graffiti featuring a personal name, a variation of the name Ioannes appears.[253] This can be a greater issue at individual sites, where certain names appear with higher frequency. For example, amongst the graffiti at Wadi Haggag the name Nonna occurs eight times, and forms sixteen percent of the female names at the site.[254] The author may have had concerns that their audience would not be able to distinguish their identity from others. As a consequence, many individuals may have deemed it necessary to include an identity marker to distinguish themselves as an individual from others with the same name in both formal and informal epigraphy.

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[252] Feissel 2012: 8-11. These names are Georgios, Konon, Thekla, Ioannes and Theodoros.
[253] 143 out of 519 inscriptions. Not including references to John the Apostle. This is not to say the name Ioannes composes 20% of all personal names, but of the inscriptions which do list personal names (and these inscriptions may include several names) the name Ioannes is at least one of those included.
[254] 8 out of 51 female names.

2.2.   Identity and Epigraphy in the Roman and Late Antique Periods

Before examining the relationship between graffiti and identity, it is necessary to establish the wider relationship between epigraphy and identity between the Roman and late antique periods. Graffiti did not exist in a vacuum; many of the trends which will be examined in this chapter also existed in the formal epigraphy of the period. These trends help to contextualise the means of self-perception which existed in later antiquity (i.e., from which corpus of identifiers did late antique individuals draw when writing informal texts?). This section will examine this connection, establishing a brief history of identifiers in the Roman and late antique periods to provide the necessary background on the relationship between identity and epigraphy that we find in the graffiti of the late antique east.

From the Republican period until the third century CE, the key way that Roman male citizens identified themselves was to use the *tria nomina*, an onomastic system exclusive to citizens which served to place the bearer within greater cultural and familial groups.[255] The first name, the *praenomen*, was a personal name used to distinguish between members of a family.[256] The second name, the *nomen gentilicum*, indicated the kinship ties of the individual and their belonging to a particular family group, or *gens*.[257] The final name was the *cognomen*, an additional name which may indicate individuality or familial ties.[258] During the imperial period, the *tria nomina* appears frequently in epigraphy – most notably in honorary or dedicatory inscriptions, which would have been set up in a public space – and thus served to communicate the identity of the bearer to the wider audience, whilst also indicating their status as a citizen and their placement in the wider social hierarchy of the empire. For example, the use of the *tria nomina* within a provincial setting identified the patron of an inscription as a Roman citizen.[259] Similarly,

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[255] Feissel 2012: 7; Rizakis 2019: 238-239.
[256] Rizakis 2019: 238.
[257] Rizakis 2019: 238.
[258] Salway 1994: 127.
[259] See, for example, CIIP1.2 736. This text is a third century epitaph of the solider Lucius Magnius Felix in Jerusalem.

the graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum indicates that the use of the *tria nomina* was not limited to

formal epigraphy, but was used as a means of self-identification by individuals in informal inscriptions;

thus, one graffito from Herculaneum reads 'C(aius) Messenius Eunomus', listing all three facets of the

author's name.[260] The importance of the *tria nomina* was not retained in the later empire, however. In

the late antique period, the *tria nomina* remained in use in some form in formal epigraphy; however, it

was frequently limited to the imperial sphere in Constantinople, with provincial elites abandoning the

system with the rest of the population.[261] The *tria nomina* system began to decline amongst the wider

citizenry beginning with the 212 CE *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which offered citizenship to all free men

and women in the empire.[262] As a sign of their new citizenship, many people adopted the *praenomen*

and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, the names of the emperor Caracalla.[263] The sudden uniformity within the

naming system made the use of these names as a method of defining identity impractical. The *tria*

nomina did remain in use by some elites: for example, the imperial family frequently included

references to the *tria nomina*, with a consular diptych of Justinian from 521 listing all three names of the

emperor.[264] However, the *tria nomina* fell out of use amongst the majority of the population. At a local

level, elite individuals often did not use the *tria nomina*, despite their unquestionable Roman

citizenship; thus, the Carian governor Dulkitios is referred to only as Dulkitios in two honorary

inscriptions at Aphrodisias.[265] Consequently, graffiti in the late antique east similarly did not use the *tria*

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[260] AGP-EDR081345. Ed. R. Benefiel.
[261] Mitchell 2014: 192. For a more detailed discussion of the development of the *tria nomina* in late antique Constantinople see Salway 1994: 140-144.
[262] Coşkun 2013: 102; for a study on the impact of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* on onomastic practices see Salway 1994, especially pages 134-135. Feissel 2012 also provides a good account of the impact of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* on wider onomastic traditions, extending into the Byzantine period.
[263] Salway 1994: 134-135; Coşkun 2013: 102; Feissel 2012: 7.
[264] Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 17.190.52. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464489?ft=17.190.52&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=1 [Accessed 08.08.2022]. Notably, due to developments in naming practices this diptych actually lists four names of the emperor, Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justianus.
[265] IAph2007 4.202. ii and iii.

nomina in significant numbers, placing it at odds with the graffiti from Pompeii.[266] The decline in this

core means of identification means that we must examine what other methods of identification were

present in late antique epigraphy in order to contextualise the identifiers which appear in the graffiti

from the period.

Another form of self-identification which appears in the eastern Mediterranean is the use of the

patronymic. The patronym has its origins in the archaic period in Greece, and patronyms often took the

genitive.[267] The patronym is particularly common in the Hellenistic period and persisted into the Roman

period, in particular amongst non-Roman citizens who did not use the *tria nomina*. One late Hellenistic

example is a grave inscription form Athens, with the patronym in the genitive, reading: 'Botrichos (son)

of Euphanes'.[268] Patronyms were in use throughout the Greek-speaking world. A votive inscription

dating to the fourth century BCE from Naukratis, Egypt, read: 'Ampelion, son of Sosikrates for Zeus

Thebaios'.[269] Additionally, the patronym can be found in the graffiti inscribed by Greek-speaking

peoples in the Roman empire, such as a casual inscription from Athens in the second century CE which

read 'Epigonos son of Philemon'.[270] The late antique gravestones from Zoora, for example, indicate the

use of the patronym as a means of identity in the epigraphy of the late antique east. One inscription

read 'Monument of Oualentinos son of Zebinas'[271] A variation on the patronymic, which also features as

a means of identification in late antique epigraphy, was the use of a matronymic, which instead

identifies the author by their mother's name. Although no study on the use of matronyms has been

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[266] There are a few exceptions, however. For example, at Ephesos TU736 appears to include a *tria nomina* 'Kointos Aurelios Antiochos.'

[267] *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/naming-practices. [Accessed 30.08.2022]

[268] AIUK 4.6 no. No. 66. *Βότριχος | Εὐφάνου.* Trans. R.K. Pitt.

[269] British Museum Online Collections. Registration Number 1886,1005.22. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1886-1005-22 [Accessed 30.08.2022]. *Ἀμπελίων Σωσικράτους| Διί Θηβαίῳ*

[270] Lang 1988: no. 76.

[271] I. Palaestina Tertia no. 45 *Μνημῖον Οὐαλε|εντίνου Ζεβίνα*. For an example of a woman being identified by the patronym in the inscriptions from Zoora, see I. Palaestina Tertia no. 44. 'Monument of Matrona daughter of Erasinos' *Μνημῖον | Ματρώνης | Ἐρασίνου.*

completed, thus making it difficult to identify the frequency with which they were used in formal

epigraphy, the matronym seems to have been a rare occurrence and primarily used by female patrons

(when it was used at all). For example, a donor inscription from a church in the Herodion in Israel lists

the familial ties of the patrons, including 'Zana daughter of Nona'.[272] Although the matronym is less well-

attested than the patronym, it does occur in graffiti and is therefore important to acknowledge as

another aspect of personal identification through familial ties which were utilised in the late antique

period.

Another means of recording identity that is present in late antique epigraphy is the use of an

occupational noun. Alongside patronyms, occupational nouns were a common way of identifying an

individual both outside and alongside the traditional Roman naming system for citizens. This was

particularly the case for wealthy freedmen, who would specify the profession through which they

acquired their wealth.[273] One example is a Roman altar from 69-79 CE, which indicated that the donor

was a freedman who now worked in an administrative role in the marble trade.[274] Occupational nouns

are also used in graffiti, such as a text from Pompeii in which two occupational nouns are used to

identify the author and the audience of his text: 'Priscus, the engraver, to Campanus, the gem-maker:

wishing you well'.[275] However, whilst occupational nouns were a means of identification in the Roman

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[272] Di Segni 2017: 66; Nowakowski 2017: 246. *Ζάνας θυγατρὸς Νόνας.*
[273] MacLean 2018: 48-50.
[274] British Museum Online Collections. Registration No. 1914,0627.1.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1914-0627-1 [Accessed 30.08.2022] *Herculi Aug(usto)*
sacr(um) / ex viso / Primigenius / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Vespasiani / Aug(usti) Iuvencianus tabular(ius) / a
marmoribus 'Sacred to Hercules, Protector of the Emperor, after a vision. Primigenius Iuvencianus, (slave or
freedman) of the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, book-keeper in the marble trade.' For further reading on
occupation in Roman inscriptions See also Varga 2020. References to guilds and associations in dedicatory
inscriptions also frequently indified individuals through their profession, for an example see RIB 91. This inscription
is an altar dedicated by the *collegium fabrorum* 'Guild of smiths'. An example of occupational nouns from the
Greek provinces during the Roman period (c. second-third century CE) includes a funerary inscription of a chef or
butcher, currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession no. 74.51.2438.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/241992?ft=74.51.2438&offset=0&rpp=40&po
s=1 [Accessed 30.08.2022].
[275] AGP-EDR149325. Ed. R. Benefiel and H. Sypniewski.

period, after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the erosion of the classical Roman naming system during

the third century we see an increased number of occupational nouns used as identity markers in

epigraphic texts.[276] Robert Parker aligns the growth in the use of the occupational noun with the growth

of the Christian Church, and the Church's increased influence on the late antique epigraphic tradition,

highlighting that many of the occupational nouns which appear in late antique epigraphy represent the

author's position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[277] This certainly seems to be the case, with both

formal and informal inscriptions including references to an individual's position within the church. In a

more general epigraphic sense, Danilo Mazzoleni correlates the rise in occupational nouns in Christian

inscriptions in the city of Rome with the Christian emphasis on productive work.[278] In the Catacombs of

Priscilla, one epitaph records the burial of 'Pomponius Felix, the Milkman', and references to occupation

are also found on female graves such as that of Felicissima in the Catacombs of Domitilla, who is noted

as having sold olive oil.[279] However, this increase may have also occurred in response to the decreasing

importance of the *tria nomina* system of names. In addition to shifting towards the use of the Hellenistic

patronymic system, late antique peoples also adopted pre-existing identifiers on a larger scale to signify

their identities and specify their personhood, and selected occupational nouns as a means of doing so.

An additional means of communicating identity within epigraphy was through the use of toponyms.

Toponyms associate an individual with a geographic location, which may be either their origin or simply

a location associated with them by their peers, varying between small sites and broader regions. An

example of local identity is found in an epitaph from the first - second century CE at Athens which

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[276] Salway 1994: 144.
[277] Parker 2013: 13-14; Mazzoleni 2009: 164-166.
[278] Mazzoleni 2009: 164; Mazzoleni 2014: 461. Early Christian authors frequently praised productive work as an alternative to idleness, for an example, see John Chrysostom *Homily Five on First Corinthians*. 11. Trans. T.W. Chambers.
[279] EDB 13051. *Pomponius / Felix ⌐l ⌐ɑc⌐t ⌐eari/us*. Ed. A.E.Felle. See also EDB 20754. *Felicissima / oliaria*. Ed. A.E.Felle and C. Carletti. For more examples of both male and female epitaphs listing occupations in the Roman catacombs, see Mazzoleni 2009: 161-163.

indicated the deceased came from Corinth.[280] A second century CE Roman inscription from Ephesos

indicated the author worked in the province of Asia, highlighting how broad provincial identifiers could

also be used.[281] Once again, toponyms are also visible in graffiti from the Roman empire. A graffito from

the theatre corridor at Pompeii lists a place of origin for the author 'Methe, from the town of Atella,

loves Chrestus.'[282] Toponyms were also used as a means of identification in the eastern Mediterranean.

A second – third century CE graffito from the basilica at Smyrna stated that the author originated from

Ephesos: 'Tryphon the Ephesian made (this).'[283] Neither the text from Pompeii nor the text from Smyrna

necessarily associate the author with broader social and familial ties to the city listed as a toponym;

rather, they offer a toponym as a way of isolating the identity of the author – highlighting just *who* it is

who loves Chrestus, and *who* it is who made the graffito – thereby ensuring recognition. The same

trends can be seen in the late antique period. A fourth century tombstone from Zoora reads 'Monument

of Okeilos, from Phaeno'.[284] The toponym thus served to greater expand on the identity of Okeilos

within the cemetery. Again, it is easy to see how this use of the toponym intersects with the

commemorative function of an epigraphic text; the toponym, as with patronyms and occupational

nouns, served to specify the identity of the named person, and thus guarantee their recognition.

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[280] AIUK 4.6 no. 69. *Μενέσστρατος | Θωρακίδου | Κορίνθιος.* Trans. R.K. Pitt. Toponyms also appeared in the inscriptions of Roman soldiers posted in different provinces to their place of origin. For a discussion of this, see Grüll 2018.

[281] British Museum Accession No. 1868,0620.39. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0620-39. [Accessed 30.08.2022] The inscription is in both Latin and Greek, and reads as follows: *Earinus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabula[rius)] provinc(iae) Asia[e] d(edit) d(edicavit) κατ' εὐχὴν Ἔαρινο[ς] Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθ[ε] ρος ταβλάριος ἐπαρ- χείας Ἀσίας ἀνέθηκεν* 'Earinus, imperial freedman, tabularius (clerk) in the province of Asia, gave and dedicated this.'

[282] AGP-EDR168048. Ed. R. Benefiel and K. Helms.

[283] AGP-SMYT00159. Ed. R. Bagnall.

[284] I. Palaestina Tertia. 1b. No. 54. † / Μνημῖ/ον Ὀκεϋ/λου, Φαι/νοισί<ου> / ††. For another example of the toponym used in the gravestones from Zoora, see I. Palaestina Tertia 1b no. 57. *Μνημῖων Παύ/λου Ἀβδαλμί/θαβος, Πετρῆ/ος, ἠτῶν η '. ₽ (Palm branch).* 'Monument of Paulos son of Abdalmithabos from Petra (who died at the age) of eight years'. Trans. Y.E. Meimaris and I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou.

Several different forms of epigraphic identifiers, then, were present in the late antique Mediterranean, each of which had precedents in the earlier period and grew in significance following the onomastic changes resulting from the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. This chapter will use several case studies to examine these identifiers (patronyms, occupational nouns and toponyms) within their local graffiti contexts, to consider how graffiti could be used to encode identity in the late antique Mediterranean, and how the choice of identity markers was fundamentally shaped by context.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

The first case study of note is the site which has produced the largest corpus of graffiti from late antiquity, Aphrodisias. The primary form of self-identification in graffiti at Aphrodisias is the use of occupational nouns. Frequently, these identifiers appear in commercial contexts. *Topos* inscriptions, which indicate where a person may be found, existed in both formal and informal contexts, and were often commercial inscriptions.[285] The commercial use of occupational nouns formed a necessary part of daily life in the late antique world, directing people to where goods and services could be purchased. These inscriptions were not necessarily accompanied by a personal name; for example, in the urban park at Aphrodisias, the inscription 'Place of the Sophist' can be found upon a column, signifying where a teacher may be approached by his students for lessons in philosophy.[286] However, in other contexts we see the personal name of an individual associated with an occupation. For example, the Aphrodisian graffito 'Place of Alexandros, Barber' reveals the overlap of both fields.[287] Placed in the baths, where a person might seek personal grooming services, the inscription serves the commercial function of allowing people to locate a trader. The graffito also highlights the identity of Alexandros as a worker selling his services. It is thus apparent that the use of occupational nouns in *topos* inscriptions served

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[285] Jacobs 2021: 279.
[286] TU625. *ΣΟΦΙΣΤΟΥ.*
[287] TU307. *† Ἀλέξαν|δρος | κουρέος | τόπος ‖ †.*

commercial functions within the urban landscape to identify individual traders. Another example is an inscription indicating the location of a cloakroom attendant, who is named as Epiktetos, in the Hadrianic baths.[288] The use of the name shows this is not just a general inscription for an employee, but a specific individual whom one may visit. These inscriptions reveal the need for specificity in commercial contexts, and the use of occupation as a significant identity marker served these commercial purposes.

Even outside immediately commercial contexts, the occupational noun was used frequently as an identifier at Aphrodisias. Of particular note are those inscriptions found either in religious precincts or with religious intent, such as the carved prayer of the gold worker Kolotron in the south agora. In many ways, this is very typical, with a common prayer inscription, but of note is the use of the occupational identifier at the end, highlighting that it is specifically Kolotron the gold worker leaving this message.[289] Furthermore, in the *temenos* of the Church of the Archangels in the city, we find columns inscribed with several *topos* inscriptions including 'Place of Kyriakos, trouser-maker' (Figure 2.1) and 'Mary bore Christ. Place of Loukas, Philoponos.'[290] The exact purpose of these texts is uncertain. Although a commercial intent cannot be entirely rejected, as Lavan has shown some social and secular activities took place in church atria, their placement witin a religious context also suggests the possibility they held other functions, and Roueché suggests the texts were funerary.[291] Furthermore, within the church itself, the prayer of Theophilos, a butcher, can be found alongside several other prayers on a door lintel.[292] *Topos*

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[288] TU60. † τόπος Ἐπικτήτου † ‖ κανψαρίου (leaf) | †. 'Place of Epiktetos, cloakroom-attendant.'
[289] TU596. † Κολοτρον Πρωταυραριος / ου ὁ Θεός Μνησετε. 'Kolotron, first goldsmith, whom God shall remember.' Kolotron the gold-worker is also mentioned in a graffito from the theatre, presumably written by the same author, which suggests he was also known by the name Theodotos. TU563. τοῦ κὲ | νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Κολοτρονος βυστ Θεοδότου vacat.| προταυ vacat.|ραρίου. 'The fortune of Theodotos, first goldsmith, triumphs! Also (called) Kolotron.'
[290] TU41. ††† | τόπος | Κυριακοῦ | βρακαρίου; TU43. † | ΧΜΓ | τόπος Λου|κᾶ φιλο|πόνου.
[291] For a discussion of the social and political activities which occurred in late anitique church atria, see Lavan 2003: 314-340; C. Roueché. ALA2004. XI.5. 2005. http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html#XI.5 [Accessed 30.08.2022]. Behaviours in religious spaces are discussed further in Chaper Four, section: 4.5.
[292] TU25. Θεοφ(ί)λ(ῳ) | Κ(ύρι)ε βωΐϑι τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λο | μα(κε)λαρή(ῳ) †. 'Lord, help your servant Theophilos, butcher.'

inscriptions referencing a career also appear in the public performance areas of the city. In many cases, these do not seem to be tied to the identity of an individual. One inscription from the theatre which reads 'Place of the Mandator' indicates the seat where a civic functionary, in this case the mandator, has the right to sit.[293] However, it does not suggest that this was a specific individual, but rather whomever held this position. Several other seats in the theatre bear *topos* inscriptions; however, none use examples of an individual's occupation to specify them. The hippodrome provides an interesting comparison. Again, we see the use of occupational nouns to indicate where a person or group might sit, for example 'Place of gold-workers'.[294] However, here we also find similar inscriptions where an individual's occupation is used to identify them. One hippodrome inscription reads 'Apollonios the sculptor.'[295] Apollonios clearly sought to indicate which hippodrome seat he considered his own and wished to occupy on multiple occasions. To do so, he used an occupational noun to form his identity, and as a way to prevent conflict with others who tried to take his place in the hippodrome.

Considering this information, it seems apparent that the use of occupation identifiers can be intrinsically tied to the urban environment of Aphrodisias. The occupational identifier is found frequently throughout the city, particularly in comparison to patronyms or toponyms. Toponyms do appear in some inscriptions of questionable formality at Aphrodisias, however they only refer to large groups as opposed to individuals.[296] There are also six patronyms within the city.[297] However, it appears that these means of identification were shaped by the pre-existing epigraphic landscape. As the urban environment encouraged epigraphic identifiers in its commercial space, and particularly *topos* inscriptions, this inscriptional language was utilised by individuals when they desired to specify their

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[293] TU367. *τό(πος) μανδ(άτορος).*
[294] TU215. *vac. | τόπ|ος vac. | αὐραρί|ων vac. | steps.*
[295] TU182. *[Ἀπο | λλ]ωνίου [ἀ]γα|[λ]ματογλυφου.*
[296] For example, TU222 reserves seats in the Aphrodisian stadium for citizens of Antioch. Conversely, the inscription TU546 Invokes a large social group (the butchers) but its small size and rough carving suggests it was completed casually by one individual.
[297] TU15; TU16; TU59; TU341; TU542 and TU14.

identity – a conclusion underscored by the use of a *topos* inscription itself (something which was not

used outside urban environments, as will be demonstrated further in this section). Thus, the graffiti

from Aphrodisias highlights that inhabitants of the city in late antiquity identified themselves through

pre-existing epigraphic traditions in Aphrodisias. The use of occupational nouns as the most common

identifier at Aphrodisias reveals that graffiti authors chose their identifiers relative to the context they

were writing within. At the urban economic centre of Aphrodisias, in which *topos* inscriptions found in

the city's streets and leisure areas frequently listed occupational titles, identifiers related to the authors'

place within this economic system were used.

Ephesos (Turkey)

Similar to Aphrodisias, Ephesus was an urban economic centre, and therefore there are several

examples of both formal and informal *topos* inscriptions in the city (including many others which fall into

an ambiguous and uncertain category). For example, inscriptions of the silver-smiths can be found on

Arkadian street, which suggests that this was where they sold their goods, or could be hired.[298] There

are also several examples in the streets of a person's *topos* inscription but not their name, an example

from Marble Street reading 'Place of the craftsmen' indicating where members of this trade could be

found.[299] We do also find several *topos* inscriptions which mention an individual's career. In the

Byzantine citadel, for example, one inscription read 'Place of Prosodos, secretary', and the *topos*

inscription 'Place of Andrea, *meleparchos*' in the square outside the Celsus library indicates the position

of Andrea within the city's civic hierarchy.[300] As with Aphrodisias, we can see how the use of identity

markers could serve a commercial or civic function, tying an individual to both their occupation and

place of work within the cityscape. Outside immediately commercial contexts, we once again find

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[298] TU640. *ἀργυροκόπων;* TU641. *ἀργυροκόπων.*
[299] TU738. *τόπος | τεκτό[νων].*
[300] TU651. *τόπος | Προσόδου | γραματεώς (sic).* Γραμματεύς can be translated as secretary or clerk. It is not clear from this inscription whether Prosodos was a secretary in a religious, civic or commercial context. TU749. *† Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †.*

references to the career of an individual. One *topos* inscription reads 'Place of Akakeios, horse handler',

although its position in the orchestra section of the theatre suggests that this was not where Akakeios

conducted his trade.[301] Akakeios was instead influenced by the wider epigraphic traditions in the city,

and when it came to identifying himself, he opted for an identifier which was present in the wider urban

environment in which he lived.

Similarly, the graffiti from the Church of Saint John in Ephesos also confirms the importance of economic

identity within the urban environment. One inscription requests divine aid on the behalf of Ostontolos

the pipe-maker, highlighting how this author, when seeking religious intervention, chose to specify their

identity through their profession.[302] Additionally, there are four texts which identify the author through

their position within the Christian hierarchy; for example, one graffito invokes divine aid on behalf of

Theodoulos the Monk.[303] Another text names the author as Konstantinos the Deacon.[304] Consequently,

within the religious space at Ephesos, authors may have viewed themselves by both their economic and

ecclesiastical professions.

The Judaean Desert (Israel)

In the Levant there are several sites in which graffiti authors left a record of their identity. Of particular

interest are the graffiti located at monasteries and religious sites in the Judaean desert. The holy sites

are representative of a different community to those in Ephesos and Aphrodisias, with their population

largely consisting of local rural inhabitants, monks and passing pilgrims (although Ephesos did feature

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[301] TU785. *τόπος | Ἀκακείου | βουριχᾶ.*

[302] TU688. *θεολόγε, βοήθησον ἀμίν | τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ Ο|ΣΟΝΤΟΛΟΝ ἐν ἀμαρτία· σολη(ο)|ποηός. ἀμαρτία ..α.* 'Theologian, help the servant of God Osontolos in (his) sins, the pipe-maker. Sins…'. Another graffito from this church, TU691, read: *✝ κ(ύρι)ι, βοΐθι ((cross)) Τῷ σῷ δούλῳ | Ἰοάνου ((cross)) ξυλινᾷ.* 'Lord, help your servant Ioannes, wood-worker.'

[303] TU692. *κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ.* 'Lord, help your servant Theodoulos the monk'. TU693 also lists a monk. Other graffiti from the church which indicate the authors position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy include TU663 and possibly TU690 which lists a *domestikos.* A *domestikos* could be a position within the ecclesiastical or civic hierarchy.

[304] TU633. *κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη το δού|λο σου Κο(σ)ταντείνο δηα|κόνου κέ τῇ σύ(ν)βηον αὐτοῦ | κέ τὸ τέκνον αὐτοῦ.* 'Lord, help your servant, the Deacon Konstantinos, and his wife, and his children.'

pilgrims, it was a pilgrimage destination rather than a space to pass through, and similar to Aphrodisias the local population was largely urban). [305] As such, the monasteries and religious sites in the Judaean desert present an ideal example to consider the differing ways that late antique populations manifested their identity in graffiti relative to their local environment.

There are five extant graffiti at the rock-cut monastery of Mizpe Shivta at Sobata, which likely served as a hostel for travellers.[306] One of these graffiti is notable and nine lines long. The text reads[307]:

> Lord God of Saint George, have mercy on your servant Paulos son of Leitisinos from the village
> of Choseuph… and his wife and his daughter Nonna…. And… and his servants Nilos and Chonas
> and Phidon and Zoado and Zaralos and Apdelos and Marzobas and Lois and Stephanos from
> Cholpinos… Lord God of Saint George… your servant Koimos… and… Paulos…

This text contains multiple identifiers, including the patronym of Paul and his wider familial context. The text also features several toponyms. The graffito references two different villages, Choseuph and Cholphinos.[308] Nowakowski argues, not unreasonably, that the use of these markers of geographic origin suggests that the author was not local, but was only briefly visiting the site, and the author was likely the 'Paulos' listed at the start of the inscription.[309] The decision to use their origin is notable here, however it must be viewed within the context of the entire inscription. This graffito is unique amongst the catalogue, for listing in depth not only the family members of the author, but also the entirety of his household, including his servants.[310] Additionally, Paulos decided to list another person, Stephanos from

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[305] Nowakowski 2017: 238-239.
[306] Nowakowski 2017: 238-239.
[307] IP141. *† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἁ[γίου] Γεωργίου ἐλέησον | τὸν δοῦλων [σο]ῦ Παῦλος Λειτισινου (?) τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης Χοσευφ [–?] | κ(αὶ) τὴν γυνήκαν αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τὴν θυγατήραν αὐτοῦ Νόν[να]ν [· · ? · ·] κ(αὶ) Ν[–?] | κ(αὶ) τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ Νῖλ[ον] κ(αὶ) Χονας (?) κ(αὶ) Φῖδον κ(αὶ) Ζοαδο κ(αὶ) Ζαραλος || κ(αὶ) Απδελος κ(αὶ) Μαρζοβας (?) κ(αὶ) Λοῖς καὶ Στέφανον τὸν ἀ(πὸ) Χολφινως (?) [· · ? · ·]· | Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἁγίο[υ Γ]εωργίου [· · ? · ·] δοῦλον (?)| Κωιμου συ κ[· · ? · ·] κ(αὶ) Α[–] | [–] Παύλου (?)ιου εμ(?)| [· · ? · ·]α[· · ? · ·]ωλου[· · ? · ·].*
[308] Nowakowski 2017: 242. IP141.
[309] Nowakowski 2017: 242.
[310] Nowakowski 2017: 242.

Cholpinos, presumably not a member of his *oikos* due to his location in a different village. The use of these toponyms makes sense in the context of the prayer; the author sought to ensure himself and his family and friend would receive divine recognition and aid. This use of a variety of identifiers by Paulos is thus intrinsically tied to the graffito as a religious invocation. Paulos sought to specify the exact identity of those who requested aid before God. Another graffito at Mizpe Shivta is far shorter, but nonetheless identifies the author by their place of origin, reading 'Stephanos of Aila'.[311]

Another example of the use of a patronym is at the monastery of Saint Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata. Reading 'Zinobia daughter of Nestasios', this graffito follows the same tradition as other graffiti discussed thus far.[312] Written upon the north aisle of the monastery, this graffito likely had a devotional purpose, designed to invoke the attention of God for the author, Zinobia. Therefore, the use of the identity marker, again, highlighted the exact identity of the author, invoking them specifically to the deity.

The monasteries in the Judaean desert reveal that individuals sought to record their identity when leaving prayers there, as a way of ensuring divine recognition. However, what is notable is the choice of epithets. Although patronyms and toponyms are both used, individuals did not choose to identify themselves via occupational titles. This is not due to a lack of diversification of economic professions in the rural and desert regions; a sixth century document from the village of Aphrodito in Egypt lists a large variety of professions amongst the locals, including linen-workers, fullers, and dyers.[313] Individuals residing in and travelling through the desert would have had a variety of occupations. It is thus necessary to consider why individuals did not record their occupation in the graffiti at these locations. This may be understood contextually. Journeys to the monastery were done with a wholly religious purpose, and the monasteries did not form part of the daily urban rhythms that the churches in

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[311] IP145. *† Στέφανος | Αἰλανή[της?].*
[312] IP176. *Ζινοβία Νεστασί[ου].*
[313] Sessa 2018: 26.

Aphrodisias and Ephesos did. Economic identity was not the primary identity in this region, and this is represented in the graffiti. This is supported by the data from gravestones found at Zoora. Of the gravestones, only eight percent refer to the occupation of the deceased, the majority of which are ecclesiastical titles.[314] There are eight references to the military occupations of the deceased, and twenty references to ecclesiastical professions.[315] There are no inscriptions which list the deceased as holding an artisanal profession, selling goods or being a member of a guild.[316] It can thus be inferred that individuals used the identifiers which were present in the local epigraphic traditions in their graffiti. In the area of the Israeli and Palestinian desert, place of origin and patronyms were the common epigraphic identifiers.

Deir el-Bahri (Egypt)

A particularly noteworthy graffiti tradition is present at the former pagan temple of Hatsheptsut at Deir el-Bahri. Deir el-Bahri similarly represents graffiti with an extended identification tradition. The series of graffiti written by the guild of ironworkers, who we have already seen produced the only explicitly pagan graffiti in the catalogue, record the sacrifice of a donkey at the temple and include the major three epigraphic identity markers that I have discussed: patronyms, toponyms and occupational nouns. Four different graffiti emphasise the profession of this pilgrim group, referring to the 'the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis'.[317] The inscriptions name several members of the guild, including 'Chollos son of Pasemios archi (?)… and Pesouris son of Loloutos,,, and Plenis son of Pkoilios'.[318] The men mentioned in this graffito have all gone to efforts to signify their identity using a patronymic. Several

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[314] I. Palaestina Tertia 1a. page 41-42.; I Palaestina Tertia 1b. page 38. Twenty-two gravestones listed the deceased as belonging to a member of the church hierarchy. One inscription suggests the author could be a local Iewish leader. Eight inscriptions reference the military title of the deceased.
[315] I. Palaestina Tertia 1a. page 41-42.
[316] I. Palaestina Tertia 1a. page 42.
[317] EG114. *πλῆθος | σιδηρουργῶ Ἑρ[μώ]νθε[ως*
[318] EG111. *Χολλῶς Πα[σ]ήμιος ἀρχι( ), || [- -] | [- -] Π |*
[καὶ Π]εσοῦρις [Λ]ολοῦτος [….]Σ [...]ΝΕΘΑ[...]ΥΠ[……] | ΚΡ[---] καὶ Πλ(ήνισ) Πκοί(λιος).

other graffiti from the site which reference the guild of ironworkers also reference the patronyms of the members. There may be several reasons for this, which are all intrinsically tied to the desire for specificity. Whilst the authors utilised patronyms to specify the individual identities of the members of the guild, the occupational noun 'corporation of ironworkers' was used to identify the guild itself. The use of this occupational noun therefore added an important layer to the graffiti, indicating which commercial group was responsible for the inscription, and therefore the group should be recognised by the deity. A reference to geographic origin is also present in the graffiti alongside the patronymics and occupational nouns. The ironworkers of the guild specify their origin as being from Hermonthis, thus adding another means of ensuring that it is them, specifically, who are identified by their chosen deity as making a sacrifice.

The graffiti written by the ironworkers are notable due to the high number of identifiers. They are also notable as other graffiti at the site do not use the same number of identifiers; neither the other pagan graffiti from the Roman imperial period nor the Christian texts written by monks use the same identification traditions as the one recognised in the graffiti of the ironworkers.[319] Pagan graffiti at the site are frequently limited to *proskynema* or personal names, occasionally with a patronym, as in the inscription 'Proskynema of Poregebthis son of Petaeraios'.[320] As such, we should consider what makes the ironworkers unique. They were not borrowing from an epigraphic tradition which existed at the site (other than by their antecedents from the guild who undertook the pilgrimage and sacrifice). In fact, I would suggest it is this sacrifice that necessitated the use of the identifiers. On the basis of the dates mentioned in the inscriptions, Adam Łajtar suggests that the graffiti coincided with a pilgrimage to the site associated with the Choiak-Nechebkau festival, which celebrated aspects of the Osiris-Horus

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[319] For an example of Christian graffiti at the temple see EG115. *εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν.* 'One God who helps us.'
[320] Łajtar 2006: No. 40. *τὸ προσκύνημα Πορεγέβθεις Πετεραΐτος.* For a discussion on *proskynema* see section 3.1.2. Page 122.

mythos.[321] The annual pilgrimage by the guild of ironworkers may have also involved a financial stake,

with individuals making financial contributions to the purchase of the donkey which was then sacrificed.

Due to this financial stake, individuals would have an expanded interest in seeing their identity

memorialised (especially considering the number of names repeated in the informal inscription itself).

Pilgrims would have wanted the author, possibly Horion son of Hatres, who is listed as a scribe, to

ensure their exact identity is recognised by the deity due to their financial contribution. Thus, even

though strict identification does not appear to have been a general trend amongst other graffiti at Deir

el-Bahri, the graffiti of the ironworkers highlights how the external actions of graffiti authors – in this

case, the payment and sacrifice of a donkey – influenced the way these authors chose to identify

themselves.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)

An additional site whose graffiti reveals the relationship between an environment and the ways that a

late antique author would identify themselves, is Grammata bay at Syros. The bay was a transitionary

space; the population would not be static but shifting as new sailors stopped at the natural harbour for

supplies.[322] As such, the use of identity at this site is notable. As with other sites, a variety of epigraphic

identifiers, such as patronyms, are found. For instance, one graffito read 'Lord, help your servant

Makrobios son of Maurikianos'.[323] Similarly, there are twenty toponyms found at the site, for example

'[Christ] Help your servant Eulimenios of Ephesos in Asia'.[324] Many graffiti included both toponyms and

patronyms to indicate the authors identity, such as one graffito which read 'Lord, save Isidoros son of

Apikrantios of Gyaros and his sailing companions. Amen. Christ', highlighting that Isidoros is, specifically,

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[321] Łajtar 1991: 67-68; EG110.. See Appendix 2.2.3.
[322] See Appendix 2.3.2.
[323] GR90. *Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου | Μακροβίῳ Μα[υ]ρικιανῷ.*
[324] GR69. *⳨ βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου | Εὐλιμενίῳ | Ἐφεσίῳ χ() τῆς | Ἀσίας.* For another example see GR87. *Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ | σου Μόσχῳ Γυαρίτου.* 'Lord, help your servant Moschos of Gyaros'.

the son of Apikrantios and they came from Gyaros.[325] This inscription therefore provided multiple pieces

of information about the author to ensure that the audience knew his identity, and exactly who it was

who was wishing for a good journey. As very few individuals would fit this exact description besides this

particular Isidoros, it is understandable why he chose to use it. A similar intent can be read in one

graffito, which read 'Lord, save your servants Thremista of Naxos and all with him… and Eunomios the

writer, in good fortune. Amen.'[326] The use of specificity here thus ensures that the divine audience will

be sure to favour not just Thremista, but Thremista from Naxos, and his entire company, and thus these

identifiers were chosen to ensure the protection of this ship.

Despite the appearance of both toponyms and patronyms, Syros is notable for the high number of

occupational nouns which appear. Of the ninety-one inscriptions found at Syros, many of them feature

occupational nouns. Seven inscriptions contain some variation of *ναύκληρος*, meaning captain, ship-

owner or some other form of sailor.[327] For example, 'Lord, help Kyriakos the Captain'.[328] All of the graffiti

that lists a profession requested divine aid, either in the typical prayer "Lord Help" or with more specific

references to saving a ship from harm. The other graffiti mentioning occupation at the site follow similar

formulae, in some cases referencing the position within the imperial or local bureaucracy held by the

individual. One example reads, 'Lord help your servant Dometios the *kentarchos* and those with him'.[329]

The *kentarchos* was a position in the naval hierarchy, and this is likely one of the first references to the

role prior to the middle Byzantine period.[330] The decision to carve the occupational nouns is site specific,

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[325] GR95. Κ*(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὴν σύμ|πλυαν Ἰσιδόρου | Ἀπικραντίου Γυα|ρίτου, ἀμὴν Χριστέ.* One of the many other graffiti which list both toponyms and patronyms includes GR74. *Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοῦ δούλου σου Λεοντ[ίου] | πανυκί, υἱοῦ Φοτάκι, χορίου | Κυπαρισίου, ἀμίν. Θ… | ΟΛ. ΦΕΝΟΥΤΥС , Κύριε.* 'Lord, help your servant Leontios son of Photakis, of the village of Kyparission [and his] sailing companion (?), amen… Lord.'
[326] GR86. *Κ(ύρι)ε σῶ(σο)ν τοὺς | δο(ύ)λους σου Θρε|μίστα Ναξίους | [κα]ὶ πάντων σὺ[ν.] || .ΝϚ (καὶ) Εὐνωμίου τ[οῦ] | γ(ρ)άψαντ(ος) Ἀγα[θὴν] | τύχιν, ἀμήν.*
[327] For the graffiti featuring the term Captain, see GR110; GR104; GR67; GR68 and GR42.
[328] GR42. *Κύ(ριε) βοήθι Κυρι|ακοῦ ναυκλίρου* '
[329] GR111. *[Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ] δού|[λου] σου Δωμετήου | κεντάρχου | με[τ]ὰ τῶ[ν] α[ὐτ]οῦ*
[330] Kiourtzian 2000: 197. See a discussion in Appendix 2.3.2.

as Syros was not a religious location, it appears that the authors, though inscribing with religious intent, sought to seek their recognition by the use of the occupational titles which brought them to the island, highlighting the position of sailors, which meant that they travelled here as part of their job. Thus, the population of Syros' widespread use of occupational nouns renders it similar to the cases of Aphrodisias and Ephesos. We can see that the economic motivations of the authors influenced the identifiers they chose to use when seeking divine recognition. Captain Kyriakos sought to identify himself by his occupation before God, since, at this moment, this was the most pertinent aspect of his personality in regards to his desire for aid; he specifically sought help from God in his capacity as a ship's captain and thus this specificity ensured his recognition.[331] The graffiti from Grammata Bay highlights the connection between an individual's experiences or environment and the ways they chose to identify themselves.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

Wadi Haggag is a similar location to Syros in a multitude of ways. It is similarly a transitionary space, a pilgrimage route featuring a constant turnover of visitors rather than a steady and regular population. Similarly, Wadi Haggag also features all three types of epigraphic identifier. Wadi Haggag includes a few references to the occupation of authors. Of the five which do mention occupation, two reference high-ranking positions in the imperial bureaucracy, reading 'One God, one God, who helps, Oualerios son of Antigounos, the strategos. Third indiction year' and 'Grace! Remember Theodotos the eparch, son of Klaudios' respectively.[332] The use of high-ranking titles may partly be used to indicate the status of both the authors and their families', to ensure the referenced deity recognised the author. A similar conclusion may be reached with two graffiti at Wadi Haggag which reference the author's position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[333] The same can be seen in another inscription at Wadi Haggag, which

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[331] GR42.
[332] EG405. *Εἷς Θεὸς (vac.) ΥϙΘ | ὁ βοηθῶν (palm branch) | Οὐαλέριος Ἀντι|γουνου στρα||τηγός. (palm branch) γ ἰνδικτιο(ῶνος).;* EG410. *Χάρις. Μνη|σθῆ Θεόδοτος | ὁ ἔπαρχος Κλ|αυδίου.*
[333] EG285. *† Κάστρου Ζαδάκαθα †† | Κ(ύρι)ε σοσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Σεργίου Στεφάνου | καὶ Κυριακὸς διακόνου || καὶ Θεόδορος | Σεργίνης.* 'Kastron Zadakatha. Lord, save your servant Sergios son of Stephanos and Kyriakos the

reads 'Kassisenas the physician.'[334] Graffiti at Wadi Haggag also, on occasion, include references to the

author's geographic origin. One example read 'Lord, help your servant Leonos son of Kallinikos of

Zadakatha and those dear to him. Amen. Lord.'[335] Another referenced the same location 'Kastron

Zadakatha. Lord, save your servant Sergios son of Stephanos and Kyriakos the deacon and Theodoros

son of Sergines.'[336] Wadi Haggag also features a high percentage of patronyms and matronyms. One

example read 'Aaron son of Anastasios and his brother Alphalla'.[337] Another example reads 'Valentinos

son of Anubuis'.[338] An example of a matronym includes 'Lord, have mercy on Domna daughter of

Anna'.[339] Matronyms also occur in the case of male authors, for example 'Stephanos, Zeno son of

Magde'.[340]

The graffiti at Wadi Haggag features patronyms more frequently than any other type of identifier,

although it is notable that all types of identifier exist. Most of the graffiti are devotional, and therefore

the desire to include an identifier may be linked to the desire to ensure divine recognition. This is further

supported by the presence of many of the same names. A useful case-study of the necessity of the

patronyms is the appearance of the name Ioannes in inscriptions. At Wadi Haggag it appears in ten

graffiti, or roughly four percent of all the inscriptions.[341] It is therefore clear why the author may want to

distinguish themselves from others with the same name at the site, especially considering that they are

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deacon and Theodoros son of Sergines' and EG339. *† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι Θεόφι|λον ΕΠΙ [---].* 'Lord, help Bishop Theophilos or Lord, help Theophilos'

[334] EG226. *Κασσίσενας | ἰατρός*

[335] EG246. *†Κ(ύρι)ε βωθι τῶν δοῦλῳ σου | Λέωνος Καλλινίκου Ζαδακά|θων κ(αὶ) τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν | Κ(ύρι)ε†*

[336] See footnote 333. Zadakatha was a military fortress, located south of Petra featurered in the *Notitia Dignitatum.* Negev suggests that soldiers from this area may have acted as guards to pilgrims, highlighting why the name appears twice. If this is the case, it likely represents a community identity, which had forged between the soldiers who inscribed their names, and in fact, if they were later re-stationed they may have shifted their allegiances, highlighting the fluidity of this community identity. Another fortress, Sobaia, is also mentioned, which can be seen in EG294 and Negev 1977: 79.

[337] EG225. *Ἀαρὼν | Ἀναστασίου | καὶ Ἀλφάλλα ἀδελφῷ.*

[338] EG236. *[Ου]αλεντῖνος Ἀνουβ[ίου].*

[339] EG381. *†Κ(ύρι)ε ἐ[λέησον] | Δῶμνα | Ἀννᾶς | [---].*

[340] EG213. *† | †Στέφαν[ος] | Ζήνων | Μάγδ|ης ΣΕ[---].*

[341] 10 out of 232 inscriptions.

trying to invoke a divine audience in many cases with their prayers. A consequence of this is the use of patronyms to specify *which* Ioannes is asking for intercession. One graffito read 'Ioannes son of Sebairos, giving thanks...'[342] Ioannes identifies himself by a patronym, possibly in an effort to distinguish himself from the others named Ioannes at the site. There are several other names which occur frequently, for example Nonna, which appeared in eight inscriptions, and represents sixteen percent of the female names at the site.[343] What this does not explain, however, is why patronyms were favoured over toponyms and occupational nouns. Wadi Haggag formed part of the Sinai and Levantine religious landscape. As we have seen, the other sites in this part of the empire also feature patronyms more frequently than other identifiers. What is not certain is why these were preferred by individuals within the religious landscape. It may be a case of the more frequent identifiers used were then used more frequently in turn, with authors copying and partaking in the pre-existing traditions at the site. Thus, the graffiti at Sinai can reveal how pre-existing graffiti shaped the decisions of authors on how to identify, indicating that graffiti was read and interacted with by late antique peoples.

2.3.   Anonymity

Having examined the reasons why individuals may choose to record their identity in graffiti, as well as the means of doing so, the rest of the chapter will consider the flip side of identity and focus on graffiti which either does not record the author's identity or deliberately obfuscates it. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will examine anonymity in its wider epigraphic and cultural context in late antiquity to establish what forms of anonymity existed within epigraphy and thus could have influenced late antique peoples. I will begin by examining several key reasons for anonymity in the late antique world, considering anonymity as a display of faith, anonymity as a means of ensuring inclusivity, and finally how anonymising a text could ensure an author's protection from negative supernatural forces. Next, I will

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[342] EG214. *Ϯἰωάννης | Σεβαίρου | εὐχαριστ [ῶν] | [---] ΟΥ.*
[343] 8 out of 51 female names.

consider several different forms of epigraphic anonymity and expand on examples from the later

antique world, including anonymous formulae, monograms, and cryptography. Finally, I will look at

several different types of late antique site featuring anonymous graffiti, including Wadi Haggag,

Aphrodisias, Alexandria and the Theban Mountain. Through examining anonymity thus, I can establish

the full context of the late antique graffiti tradition, considering both why people identified themselves,

and why they may choose not to in their informal epigraphic texts.

2.3.1. Reasons for Anonymity

Anonymity as a Display of Faith

In many cases anonymity is intrinsically tied to the production of graffiti as a religious act. This choice to

anonymise one's text seems initially unusual, as it goes against the commemorative purposes of graffiti

established in chapter one. Nevertheless, in conjunction with the commemorative tradition, many texts

are found in which the donor is intentionally anonymised. "Whose name God knows" is a relatively

common formula, derived from 2 Timothy 2:19, found in donor inscriptions which highlights the

patron's confidence that God will know who they were.[344] A mosaic floor from a basilica in Butrint from

the fifth or sixth century reads 'In fulfilment of the vow (prayer) of those whose names God knows'.[345]

By omitting their name, the donor could fulfil two related purposes. First of all, anonymity established

their humility and demonstrated that they did not require recognition from a human audience.

Secondly, they established their faith that God would recognise their donation without explicit reference

to their identity, and evidenced their belief in God's omniscience.[346] This function of anonymity is also

present in graffiti. Although this was a less formal medium, and presumably the author would not be as

concerned about appearing humble in their scratched inscription, by omitting their name they implicitly

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[344] Roueché 2007: 229.
[345] Greenslade 2013: 141-142. *ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς ὧν οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὀνόματα* Trans. Greenslade 2013.
[346] Greenslade 2013: 141; Caraher 2003: 236.

demonstrated their belief that God would recognise them. Inscriptions such as the one at Wadi Haggag, which did not reference the author by name but instead the anonymous title in the phrase 'Lord Help your servant', highlight this phenomenon. Through not including their own name, at a location featuring many other prayers with personal names attached, the author indicated their piety and belief that God knew their identity.[347] Anonymity as a display of faith is thus one reason why authors may obscure their personality in religious graffiti.

Anonymity as Inclusivity

An additional reason for anonymity is inclusivity. In formal inscriptions, by avoiding naming a specific individual, an inscription could include multiple different people or groups, either because a large collective financed the donation or because it wished to include persons who did not pay for it, such as the deceased.[348] For example, a donor inscription in a mosaic pavement from the Church of Saints John and George at Choziba reads 'For the salvation and deliverance of the past benefactors and the present benefactors whose names the Lord knows,' and, in doing so, recognises the economic contributions of the wider community to the church.[349] Similarly, a late antique painted inscription from a tomb at Philippi reads 'Lord, have mercy on us and raise us up, we who have been laid to rest here in the upright faith!'[350] As this text does not name any person specifically, it allowed for all those buried in the tomb to be incorporated in the invocation. The desire for inclusivity is often apparent in graffiti. At Wadi Haggag, many graffiti include lists of names. Whilst they possibly refer to companies of pilgrims who travelled together, it is also possible that not everyone who was written in a name list actually visited the site, but

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[347] EG187. †*Κύρ(ιε) Βοήθ[ει]σον τὸν δοῦ[λόν] σου.*

[348] Roueché 2007: 229.

[349] Madden 2014: no. 58.13. trans. A. Madden. *Ὑ[πὲρ] | σωτ[ηρία]ς | καὶ ἀν[αλή]μψεως | τῶν καρ[ποφο]ρησάν || των κα[ὶ καρ]ποφο|[ρο]ύν[των ὧ]ν Κ(ύριο)ς γι|[νώσκει τὰ ὀν]όματα.* For an Armenian example of this practice, see Madden 2014: 107. For another example, see a mosaic inscription from Leukai, which similarly includes the local community in the inscription. ICG 3357. 'Lord, remember and have mercy upon all those who do good in your holy church.' *Μνήσθητι Κύριε καὶ ἐλέ|ησον πάντας τοὺς|καλλιεργοῦντας ἐν τ|ῇ ἁγία σου ἐκκλησία.* Ed. M. Veksina.

[350] ICG 3255. *† Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀρθῇ [πί]στι ἐνθάδε κοιμηθέντας. †* Ed. J. Ogereau.

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instead that they could be family members or friends of the actual pilgrims, who wished to recall the

memory of those whom they knew whilst on their journey, and thus symbolically took them along. Not

specifying identities was therefore a way to be more inclusive of many people. A formal example can be

found in a synagogue mosaic pavement from Hammath Tiberias, it read: 'Peace be upon everyone who

has fulfilled the commandment in this holy place, and who will fulfil the commandment'.[351] This

inscription would be intended to communicate to many members of the community that they were

included in the remembrance of the inscription.[352] A similar example can be found in a Christian context

in Bethlehem. The baptismal font of the Church of the Nativity includes an inscription intended to invoke

the deceased donors of the church.[353] It reads 'For the remembrance, rest and remission of sins of those

whose names the Lord knows'.[354] The desire to include groups is also evident in many graffiti. The use of

generic phrases, such as "his dear ones" or to collectives, such as "the city" are present in the graffiti

throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[355] These phrases aimed to include the largest groups possible.

Anonymity as a Means of Protection

Another possible reason for anonymity in graffiti was to protect the author from negative supernatural

forces. Fears of harm done by these forces were deeply rooted in Mediterranean culture. *Phthonos*

(Φθόνος), or "envy", was often at the centre of these fears.[356] Graeco-Roman authors were concerned

that envy caused harm; thus, Plutarch describes the harm a *phthoneros (φθονερὸς)*, an envious person,

would do to the subject of their envy.[357] This fear of envy is often closely tied with the concept of the

"evil eye", the belief that the damage of envy can be done simply by the subject being viewed by the

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[351] Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987: no. 87; Roueché 2007: 228.
[352] Roueché 2007: 228.
[353] Leatherbury 2017: 569.
[354] Leatherbury 2017: 569.
[355] For the use of the phrase 'his dear ones' see three graffiti from Stobi: NM1; NM2 and NM8. For the use of the term 'the city' see TU80.
[356] Dunbabin and Dickie 1983: 10.
[357] Plutarch *On Envy and Hate* 8. Trans. P.H. De Lacy and B. Einarson

eyes of their envier.[358] Plutarch describes how the envious cast the evil eye on those whom they

perceive to be more fortunate than themselves.[359]

The place of the evil eye in the Judaeo-Christian mythology also becomes apparent in the third century

CE text, the *Testament of Solomon.* The demon Phthenoth states 'I [can] cast the evil eye on any man'.[360]

The fear of the harm of envy continued into the late antique period, and the connection between the

classical and late antique fears over the harm of envy can be read in Basil of Caesarea's *On Envy*. Basil

related similar fears about envy and its potential harm as Plutarch. Basil wrote 'envy is hurled

(ἐπιβάλλειν) from the eyes'.[361] Basil additionally framed the concept within a Christian world view,

attributing Christ's death to envy, claiming that the devil utilised the human predisposition to envy to

bring about Christ's death.[362] Although Basil's homily may not represent the everyday beliefs of a non-

elite in the eastern Mediterranean during late antiquity, it does underscore the place of fear of the evil

eye in the Christian consciousness.

This fear of envy is also supported by material evidence. A fifth to sixth century amulet includes an

inscription to the "much suffering eye", as an apotropaic invocation to ward off the harm of the evil

eye.[363] Other inscriptional evidence from the period highlights the presence of the fear of envy. An

inscription from Phrygia guards from the malice caused by *phthonos*, which is mentioned again in an

inscription at Kellia in Egypt.[364] Fear of envy is also explicitly found in late antique graffiti, two

inscriptions from the Martyrium of Theodora at Nahal Og reference envy.[365] The evil eye is also seen in

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[358] Limberis 1991: 176.
[359] Plutarch *On Envy and Hate* 7. For a discussion on the "evil eye" in this passage, see Limberis 1991: 176.
[360] PG 122, 1345. Text and translation taken from Kambanis 2011: 120.
[361] Basil of Caesarea *On Envy*. Quoted and translated in Limberis 1991: 165.
[362] Limberis 1991: 167.
[363] Kambanis 2011: 120.
[364] Dunbabin and Dickie 1983: 12; Roueché 2007: 230.
[365] IP172. *Κύριε Βοήθηθι | ἄφθονα | καὶ ἀβασ|καντα τῷ || οἴκῳ σου.* 'Lord, help your house to be free from envy' and IP173. *Βοήθεισ|ο(ν) ἀφθό|νων φ(υ)|λακῆς.* 'Help, free from envy, protect.'

visual culture. An amulet found in Israel featured the evil eye under attack from various animals, in order to guard the wearer.[366] The evil eye is also frequently found on fabrics, and the presence of the evil eye on clothing highlights the desire of the wearer to guard their body against the danger of an envious glare; whilst the presence of this symbol on furnishings could offer protection to the physical environment.[367] The literary, inscriptional and material evidence reveals a cultural fear against those who wish to harm an individual, highlighting that many felt the need to protect themselves with either amulets, invocations or other defensive means against the harm of the evil eye, and *phthonos*. Anonymity in graffiti may have been another means of ensuring this protection. It was not possible for an individual to be harmed by the evil eye, if the eye itself were not able to recognise them. Anonymity therefore formed an important part of late antique epigraphic culture. Through commissioning or inscribing anonymous texts, authors would protect their identity from actors who wished to harm them.

2.3.2. Epigraphic Anonymous Practices

One way of maintaining anonymity was the use of an anonymous formula, a way of phrasing a commemorative graffito in such a way as to not include the identity of the author. There are multiple ways of writing an anonymous formulae, but one of the most common and explicit is "the writer of this" and its variants. This phrase is found throughout the eastern Mediterranean in various forms, including both the urban environments of Aphrodisias and Alexandria, as well as a greater variety of landscapes such as the Grammata bay at Syros and along the Sinai pilgrimage routes. The first variant of the formula includes the author's name, and thus conveys the most basic information about their persona, as in a graffito in a basilica at Delos which reads 'Ioannes the deacon, servant of the holy Martyr Kyrikos, wrote

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[366] Walters Art Museum. https://art.thewalters.org/detail/22369/amuletic-pendant/. [Accessed 01.09.2022]. Other symbols were also used as a means to protect individuals from those who wished them harm. Karivieri 2010: 404. Karivieri discusses the Christianisation of apotropaic images, including the use of the cross to protect late antique peoples from harm.
[367] For the appearance of the evil eye on clothing and furnishings, see Morgan 2018: 38-39. Dunbabin 1989: 33. Dunbabin discusses how the physical objects could be subject to envy in the Roman and late antique periods, and these objects then required apotropaic imagery to prevent harm.

(this).'[368] As names could be included in this phrase, it suggests the lack of a name in many examples is an intentional attempt at anonymity. This was not the only formula which conveyed anonymity, however. Other ways of doing so include phrases which indicate the presence of individuals without naming them, for example graffiti which refer to the household (οἶκος) of an individual, or which use a reference such as 'dear ones' rather than any identifying features.

Monograms are another way in which authors might have tried to maintain anonymity. Monograms traditionally consisted of the encoded letters of all or part of a word, written around a central letter.[369] However, some monograms are also difficult to read. Whilst some are fairly easily reconcilable, others are far harder to decipher. Examples of the diversity of styles of monogram can be seen in figure 2.2. Although the monogram had its roots in Graeco-Roman antiquity, appearing on coins in the Hellenistic east and in the Vespasianic era, it adopted a new symbolism and grew in frequency in late antiquity.[370] Monograms began to appear on coins in the reign of Theodosius II, as well as becoming frequent in funerary epigraphy from the mid-fourth century.[371]

Imperial monograms on coins would have been understood by late antique peoples due to context. However, many monograms would not be reconcilable as easily. Several examples from the Roman catacombs are difficult to decipher, and in many cases the same name could be represented by multiple different monograms.[372] This difficulty is evidenced in the Calendar of 354, in which the phrase *Valentine, floreas in Deo* 'Valentinus, may you flourish in God' appears both as a monogram, and as a text alongside it, suggesting that any readers may not have been able to decipher it themselves.[373]

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[368] GR37. Ἰωάννης διάκον | δοῦλος τοῦ ἁγίου μαρ|τύρος Κυρίκου ἔγραψε.
[369] Garipzanov 2018: 109.
[370] Garipzanov 2018: 109-111.
[371] Garipzanov 2018: 114, 133.
[372] For example, the name Agape is found represented differently in two difference monograms from the catacombs in the city. For comparison see: SEM 697. https://stig.hf.uio.no/sem/entity/8072/ [Accessed 30.08.2022] and SEM 704. https://stig.hf.uio.no/sem/entity/8079/ [Accessed 30.08.2022]
[373] Trans. Garipzanov 2018: 120.

Considering the acknowledged difficulty in reading monograms, they may have been a way of protecting the anonymity of the author. This is particularly true in the context of graffiti. As opposed to the simple use of personal names, the monogram could not simply have been read but would have required any visitors to examine it in depth to discover the name of the author.

A unique example of ensuring anonymity can be found at the Theban Mountain. Several authors have used cryptographic script to obscure their text.[374] Some graffiti are written entirely in this script, whilst others include both regular Greek and the obscured text. As the same type of script is found multiple times in the area, by different named authors, there would have been an audience who could read it, as well as a less educated audience who could not.[375] Whilst the script did not grant complete anonymity to the author, therefore, it did severely restrict the portion of the population who could have read the text and the author's name, even more so than the typical literary barriers we would expect.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

Wadi Haggag features two texts which use anonymous formulae and thus seek to obscure the authors' identity. There are two graffiti which follow the 'The writer of this…' formula at Wadi Haggag in Sinai. Both of these graffiti are anonymous. The first reads 'Lord Jesus Christ, remember the writer of this and his dear ones… bless….'[376] Whilst it is possible that the name of the author was originally included, and has been lost, the reference to the unnamed 'dear ones' would suggest that it was an anonymous inscription. This would fit well with the understanding of anonymity allowing for inclusivity; not only is the author left unreferenced, but also his 'dear ones' are unnamed. Rather than writing a name, which would tie the audience of the text (presumably the Christian deity) to a specific group of people, it instead allows for the inclusion of as many people as the author chooses. Those being dear to him could

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[374] Delattre 2018: 44.
[375] Delattre 2018: 46.
[376] EG341. † Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ μνήσ|θητι τὸν γράψαν|τα [καὶ] τούς [φίλους] | [αὐτοῦ] [---] || [---] ΥΣ εὐλόγη[σεν].

be any number, from his family to his wider community, and could also be a changing number, which is altered in the mind of the author as he thinks of people and their relationships change. This graffito could also be a show of faith, representing the certainty with which the author expected a deity to recollect his family. This example thus shows the expectation of faith, but also the way that anonymity allowed the author to be inclusive of all his "dear ones".

The second example from Sinai is more intrinsically tied to its author, though it is still anonymous. The graffito read 'Let the writer of this live'.[377] Unlike the previous example from Wadi Haggag, the graffito was entirely focused on the wellbeing and salvation of its author. With this in mind, it could be tempting to see the graffito as an attempt to guard the author from negative thoughts, and especially *phthonos*. However, this interpretation seems unlikely given the corpora of graffiti recorded at Wadi Haggag. Sixty-one percent of the graffiti at the site features a personal name and many are simply lists of names, suggesting that the authors were not afraid of evil forces locating their name.[378] As a consequence, this graffito can be more convincingly understood as a declaration of the author's faith, and their confidence that an omnipotent God does not require their name to know that they wrote it, and would offer them the salvation they requested.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

Aphrodisias is another location in which we find anonymous formulae. A graffito from behind the stage in the odeon reads 'The fortune of the city and of the writer, triumphs!'[379] Both the text and the placement of the graffito make it unlikely that the anonymity has any religious intent. There are no invocations of a deity in the formulae, and whilst there is some Christian graffiti on the same wall, such as a cross and several *globi crucigi*, there are no visible religious invocations, and thus this graffito can

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[377] EG212. *†Ζήση | ὁ γράψ|†ας.*
[378] 142 out of 232 inscriptions feature a personal name.
[379] TU80. *Ṇικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη τῆς πό(λεως) κ(αὶ) τοῦ | γράψαντος.*

be read as secular. The reference to the collective of "the city" means that the text is intended to be inclusive, offering good fortune not only to the author, but also to a large group of people whom the author could not reasonably be expected to name. However, the text may also have been anonymous as a protective measure. Several other graffiti on the wall are antagonistic; one author who listed his name, 'Karmilianos', was mocked in another nearby graffito, 'Karmidianos is… penetrated….[380] The presence of offensive graffiti on the wall could lead to a reasonable fear by authors that they would become the subject of ill wishes by their contemporaries, and increase the fear of the evil eye and its subsequent harm. As such, the decision by the author of the graffito to remain anonymous could have been to avoid these forces, and the potential they would negate the "triumph" that the author invoked. The inclusion of 'the city' meant that both the author and the wider population would be protected against possible harm. Thus, it can be seen that individuals at Aphrodisias may have felt threatened by negative supernatural forces, and thus protected themselves by anonymising their identity.

Monograms are found frequently at Aphrodisias. They are commonly found in religious contexts, which could suggest that – as with the use of some anonymous phrases – the author expected God to recognise them, and reconcile the monogram.[381] One example includes a monogram of the name Theophilos, followed by a prayer (Figure 2.3).[382] Another monogram, this time of the name Romanos, is found in the "Bishop's Palace" (Figure 2.4). [383] These two examples highlight the instances where graffiti authors may have expected the deity to read the text. Thus, in Aphrodisias the anonymity of the monogram was used as a display of faith. Authors did not mind their name being difficult to read, as it showed that they fully believed God would be able to decipher it, and writing a monogram instead of

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[380] TU77. *Καρμιλιαινός.* and TU76. *Καρ[μ]ιδιανός ΚΑΙΩΝ | παθηκός vac. ΚΥΔΙΑΣ[·]* For a discussion on the insults implied in this phrase, see section 1.4.2. Page 69.
[381] Garipzanov 2018: 125; Roueché 2007:229.
[382] TU25. *Θεοφ(ί)λ(ῳ) | Κ(ύρι)ε βωΐϑι τõ σõ δ(ού)λο | μα(κε)λαρή(ῳ) †.* 'Lord, help your servant Theophilos, butcher.'
[383] TU8. *†Ρωμ(α)ν(ός).*

their full name allowed the author to indicate the strength of their faith in God. It is notable that monograms are found so frequently in Aphrodisias, but with less frequency at other locations. As monograms were used so frequently in imperial administration and the epigraphy of large churches, it is perhaps unsurprising that we find monograms in the urban environment. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a series of monograms dated to the later sixth century by the imperial family attest to the use of the monograms as a means of identifying donors in urban church epigraphy, and are mirrored by the use of the sixth century monograms of Justinian and Theodora in the Church of Saint John in Ephesos.[384] The imperial family also printed monograms on secular architecture, such as a monogram of Heraclius found on the land walls of Constantinople.[385] Monograms were an integral part of the late antique urban epigraphic fabric, and were thus used in informal contexts by the inhabitants of that urban environment.

There is also a monogram on the seats of the theatre at Aphrodisias (Figure 2.5). Roueché suggests that this may reflect an attempt by an audience member to claim their seat, as there are many *topos* inscriptions and seats using a "reserved" formulae in the theatre.[386] These often employ the personal names of the individual reserving their seat, and Roueché argues that monograms were a more stylised way of doing so.[387] If the purpose was to formally reserve seats for an individual, however, a monogram in which their name is unclear, would not be a satisfactory way of doing so. As was mentioned above, the theatre could act as a focal point for conflict between different circus factions, and thus it is possible that, by making their name difficult to interpret, the author was attempting to avoid the harm of the evil eye.

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[384] For the monograms in the Holy Sephulchre see CIIP 1.2. 786. For the monograms at the Church of Saint John, see Karydis 2013: 102-103. Monograms of Justinian and Theodora are also found in Hagia Sophia. For the monograms in Hagia Sophia, see Antoniades 1908: 35 and Garipzanov 2018: 178.
[385] Bardill 2004: 121.
[386] Roueché 2007: 234.
[387] Roueché 2007: 234.

Another example of an anonymous formula in the urban environment is in the Alexandrian theatre,

which held theatrical performances in late antiquity. This graffito is fairly conventional, reading 'Lord

help the writer'.[388] The simplest reading of the text would be as a display of faith that God would

recognise the author. However, the placement of the graffito in the theatre could also suggest that the

text aimed to protect the prayer and the author from negative forces. The graffito is one of several

religious graffiti found in the theatre, which seems to have maintained a secular use in late antiquity. As

with Aphrodisias, graffiti found in the theatre at Alexandria attests to the antagonistic relationship

between the circus factions in late antiquity, with one text insulting a specific performer named

Lachanas, 'The fortune of Eutochios and the Blues triumphs! Bad year to Lachanas'.[389] The authors may

have been nervous about *phthonos,* and therefore chose to hide their identity to prevent bad actors

wishing them and their team harm. There are many other anonymous graffiti at the site, however as

they do not use explicitly anonymous formulae it is unclear whether the names have been lost or were

never written at all. Anonymity also occurs in the form of monograms. A monogram also appears on a

theatre seat at Alexandria (Figure 2.6). Reconciled as 'Lord help, Michael', this could be either an

invocation to the archangel, or a request for intercession by an individual named Michael.[390] If we

accept the interpretation that this is an invocation, it reinforces the idea that individuals expected God

to understand the meaning. This phrase, which would not mention the author by name, would not be at

risk of invoking the evil eye, and thus the argument that monograms were used to highlight the author's

faith becomes more likely. Once again, we can see how monograms were used in late antique urban

environments to protect authors from potential bad actors.

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[388] EG45. *K(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ γρα|{φ}ψάντί †.*
[389] EG34. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοχίου | κὲ Βενέτων | κακὰ τὰ ἔτη || τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.*
[390] EG53. *K(ύρι)ε βο(ήθησον) Μιχαῆλ.*

The Theban Mountain (Egypt)

The Theban Mountain contains the only examples of graffiti in cryptographic script known thus far.[391] The cryptographic script used in several of these texts offers anonymity to the author. One example, written by a monk named Jacob, read 'I am Jacob . . . pray for me please. Saint Apa Ammôn, the saint martyr'.[392] The decision to hide this text is baffling. It expressed conventional requests for salvation, which would not seem to require any anonymity. Additionally, if Jacob had wished to conceal his name, there were several conventional ways of hiding his identity (such as referring to himself simply as "your servant"), which would not have required him to use the script. The use of the cryptographic script suggests that Jacob did wish to include his name, but he did not want it to be understandable by a significant portion of the inscription's audience. It therefore stands in contrast to the graffiti discussed at the start of this section, where anonymous formulae were used to conceal the identity of the author entirely. It could be possible that Jacob did not want anyone to wish ill upon him, and thus sought to hide his prayer and name so that they cannot be damaged by negative forces. This is certainly possible, and it could indicate that Jacob's desire to be recorded was for religious reasons. Jacob wished for the saint to intercede for him and, by writing in a cryptographic script, showed his faith that he believed the saint would still be able to read and respond to the text. This also highlights the personal nature of prayer in what has typically been assumed to be a public medium. Jacob's prayer remained between himself and the saint, and is not visible to the masses who could desire to harm him. Nevertheless, Jacob clearly felt it was important to communicate his identity in some manner, to ensure that the saint would recognise him.

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[391] The knowledge that these authors chose to use an obscuring script raises questions about other unintelligible graffiti throughout the eastern Mediterranean. What appears to be random selections of letters could be codes, the solutions of which have not survived the test of time.

[392] EG183.

Another cryptographic graffito from the region is not as easy to interpret. In this graffito the name Abraham is written three times, twice in cryptographic script, and once in regular Greek, and a figurative graffito of a peacock is to the side (Figure 2.7).[393] Any literate viewer would have understood at least the Greek section of the graffito, so the decision to use cryptographic script to repeat the name is confusing. This inscription is thus less likely a statement of faith, and more likely either a commemorative graffito or an expression of the author's boredom, as well as his membership of an educated group of monks who were familiar with the cryptographic script. This may be further indicated by the presence of the figurative peacock. There is no explicit intention to the graffito; it is not an explicit acclamation to God, or a prayer, such as a desire for good fortune. Abraham may have been bored, and carved his name multiple times, in multiple scripts, as well as doodled both the common image of the cross, and a peacock. Neither could the graffito be aimed to protect Abraham from negative forces, as the graffito does include his name, which is clear and legible. There does not seem to be any explicit reason for the anonymity, other than the fact Abraham wanted to use the cryptographic script.

2.4.   Conclusions

Expressions of identity in the informal epigraphy of the later Roman empire made use of the inscriptional traditions which preceded them. Following the decline of traditional Roman onomastics with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the third century CE, pre-existing means of self-identification, including patronyms, occupational nouns and toponyms, were all adopted to allow for the expression of identity to an audience. The use of identifiers in graffiti was important for isolating which individual had written a text, and could have practical functions (such as a *topos* inscription identifying the name of a vendor in a marketplace) or might serve more spiritual purposes such as creating tangible evidence of a pilgrim's journey to a holy site before God. These identifiers were not selected randomly, however, and

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[393] EG182. *ΘΗΡΟΔΘΞ | ΑΒΡΑΗΑΜ | ΘΗΡΟΔΘΞ*

we see the appearance of specific identifiers in specific contexts. In the cities of Aphrodisias and

Ephesos, for example, individuals defined themselves by their profession in both secular and urban

contexts; the urban environment being dominated by commercial spaces encouraged the use of these

identities. A similar phenomenon can be witnessed at Grammata Bay at Syros, where the sailors

engaging in economically motivated journeys would identify themselves in these terms whilst they

travelled. Conversely, at Judaean desert monasteries and in Wadi Haggag, there appears to have been

greater emphasis on the familial identities of graffiti authors. Furthermore, the decision to carve an

identifier was strongly shaped by the experience of the author. For example, at Deir el-Bahri a group of

pagan pilgrims included patronyms, toponyms and occupational nouns as a means of identification,

most likely as their financial stake in the subsequent sacrifice meant that they wished to ensure each

individual who took part received the divine recognition they deserved. For an individual traveller, this

would have been less of a concern, as they did not fear their contribution being ignored in favour of a

larger group. Graffiti thus reveals the complexities of identity in the late antique east. An individual's

self-representation was shaped not only by the broader and socially acceptable means of identification

which existed in epigraphy, but was, in fact, also chosen from these broad categories due to context and

personal experience.

Not every text identified the author, however, and it is just as important to study those texts which

purposely hid the author's identity as it is those texts which displayed it. Anonymity served multiple

functions in eastern Mediterranean epigraphic culture. It could be used for religious purposes, as a

display of faith on behalf of the author that God would recognise them without explicit references to

their name. Anonymity also allowed authors to be inclusive, representing large groups who could not all

reasonably be named, such as the deceased, or a large religious community. Anonymity was also a

protective measure, which guarded an individual against negative supernatural forces such as the evil

eye. There were also multiple ways of protecting the author's identity, from its complete exclusion in

anonymous formulae, to the concealment of it in monograms and cryptographic script. Each of these functions of anonymity existed in formal epigraphic traditions, but also in graffiti. Writers in areas as diverse as the pilgrimage routes of the Sinai and the cult sites at urban Aphrodisias both used anonymity as a display of faith.

Some trends do emerge from the corpus. Anonymity as a means of protection seems most common in the urban environments of Alexandria and Aphrodisias, but it is worth noting that these areas both have secular ruins, and therefore it is possible that the fear of negative forces was tied more intrinsically to secular space, than it being tied to urban space. We are once again faced with the lesson that traditions, whilst sometimes reflective of larger culture, did develop locally. This is particularly apparent on the Theban Mountain, where several authors used cryptographic script to hide their text, which does not appear to have been the case elsewhere. Anonymity thus aids us in revealing the complex nature of the late antique graffiti tradition. Just as broad social and environmental factors might shape an author's desire to record their identity, and their means of doing so, they could also encourage an author to hide their identity from those surrounding them. Examinations of identity and anonymity in graffiti therefore highlight the diversity of this tradition, and how graffiti should not be treated as a monolithic means of commemoration, but rather as personal expressions according to the authors' desires.

Both chapter one and chapter two have discussed the relevance of commemoration and identity in religious contexts in late antiquity. The following chapter will examine this factor in more depth, considering the religious purpose of late antique graffiti.

3. Graffiti and Religion

Graffiti have been associated with religious expression in almost every study on the informal epigraphy of the antique world. Michal Artzy associates late bronze age ship graffiti from Cyprus and the near east with thanksgiving to deities for safe-travel.[394] In the seventh or eighth century BCE, an Egyptian priest carved his feet on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, and such inscriptions by priests are examined in the explicit context of seeking divine aid.[395] Similarly, informal inscriptions requesting remembrance found scratched on a city gate at Dura Europos are regarded as invocations to deities.[396] Similarly, late antique graffiti is also sometimes characterised as fundamentally religious, with many comparative or introductory studies of informal inscriptions from the fourth to seventh centuries emphasising the religious purposes of much graffiti. Examples include: Yasin's study on the materiality of religious graffiti, Handley's study on pilgrimage graffiti in the western Mediterranean, and the recently edited volume *Cultic Graffiti in the Late Antique Mediterranean and Beyond*.[397] However, the association between late antique graffiti and religion is not only informed by the association between graffiti and religious expression in other historic disciplines, but rather has been shaped by the limitation in available late antique sources.[398] The religious ideology which motivated excavations has also shaped our understanding of late antique graffiti. Many of the early excavations at late antique sites were carried out by Christian archaeologists, who prioritised recording churches and other ecclesiastical

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[394] Artzy 1999: 25.
[395] Paul van Pelt and Staring 2019: 3-4.
[396] Baird 2018b: 25-26.
[397] Yasin 2015; Handley 2017; Stern 2018. Felle and Ward-Perkins 2021
[398] The over-representation of Christian spaces when studying the late antique graffiti has fundamentally shaped the way late antique graffiti is discussed. Although much religious graffiti is found at Pompeii, no scholar who would claim that Pompeiian graffiti had a religious motivation. However, analyses of the late antique data have frequently examined the material through a purely Christian lens.

architecture.[399] This approach means that much of the published graffiti in this period is Christian – if

primarily churches and monasteries are excavated, the published data will primarily be Christian.

As a consequence, this chapter will primarily (but not exclusively) examine the relationship between

Christianity and graffiti in the late antique eastern Mediterranean. Although the Christianisation of the

eastern Mediterranean was not a linear or immediate process, Christianity was the majority religion in

this period, and its influence would only increase between the fourth and seventh century.[400] Thus, for

both historiographic and antique reasons, Christianity will be the main religion discussed in this chapter,

although the religious expressions of both pagan and Jewish groups will be considered when the

evidence is available, notably Aphrodisias and Syros for Jewish texts and Deir el-Bahri for pagan texts.

Initially, I will begin with an investigation of religion in the late antique period, to establish a baseline

understanding which will underscore the discussion of graffiti in the remainder of the chapter. I will

consider the relationship between material and tangible religion and the religions of the ancient world

(Judaism, Graeco-Roman paganism and Christianity). As was established in chapter one, it is necessary

to understand the materiality of graffiti to contextualise its roles in the ancient Mediterranean, and it

was due to the materiality of many religious practices which made graffiti and religion so intertwined in

this period. To fully discuss late antique religious graffiti, we should therefore understand the material

practices which underscore it. The remainder of the chapter will focus on case studies from the

catalogue of late antique graffiti to examine the exact roles graffiti played in late antique religious

expression. These case studies will be divided across three different thematic approaches to religious

graffiti: examining the carving of graffiti as a religious ritual, graffiti as a means of manifesting prayer

and the use of religious iconography in graffiti. These categories will examine religious graffiti from

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[399] Caraher and Pettegrew 2019: 5. See section 0.1.2 for a discussion on the focus on Christian material in late antique epigraphic studies.
[400] For an examination of the complexities of the process of Christianisation see the volume edited by Busine 2015.

multiple different aspects, including spatial and social factors, as well as the importance of text and iconography in late antique religious practice.

3.1. Religious Graffiti and the Act of Carving

3.1.1. The Material in Late Antique Religion

To comprehend the relationship between graffiti and religion, it is necessary to first contextualise the role of the material in late antique religious practice. As Chapter One established, graffiti was an inherently material medium, leaving physical evidence of the author's action. This chapter will demonstrate the various ways the materiality of graffiti served late antique faith practices. First, however, this section will examine the role of materiality across the three faith groups which arguably had the greatest influence on late antique religious practices: Graeco-Roman paganism, Judaism and Christianity. Through understanding these influences which were fundamental to the ways peoples practiced their religions in the fourth to seventh centuries, it will be possible to examine the role of graffiti in late antique religion more fully going forward. Whilst it is not practical to describe every material facet of these faiths in the following section, I will provide brief overviews of some of the major ways Graeco-Roman paganism, Judaism and Christianity utilised tangible objects and rituals as means of religious expression, and how these frequently tied to graffiti.

3.1.2. Graeco-Roman Paganism

Throughout the Hellenistic and the Roman imperial period, pagans often utilised material objects in religious ritual. Generally, Graeco-Roman paganism was founded on a belief in reciprocity which motivated sacrifice, or the donation or physical objects, as votives to a deity.[401] This is evidenced in epigraphy from the period, with some votives explicitly making requests of a deity.[402] One inscription

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[401] For Greece, see Bremmer 1998: 130. For Rome, see King 2003.
[402] L. Aho 2017. 'Tracing Motivations in Greek and Roman Votive Inscriptions', https://thevotivesproject.org/2017/11/03/motives/. [Accessed 31.08.2022]

dated between the first century BCE and first century CE (Figure 3.1) features the depiction of ears,

accompanied by the inscription 'Cutius Gallus once vowed these ears to you, offspring of Phoebus,

[now] being healthy as regards [his] ears'.[403] This inscription highlights he reciprocal nature of the

religion – the model ears were donated as thanks for Cutius Gallus' actual ears being healed of an

affliction. This inscription falls within a broad category of anatomical votives, which would be dedicated

to a deity in request for the healing of a body part, or to give thanks for a body part being healed, as is

similarly highlighted by figure 3.2. This figure represents the donation of a sculpted leg by a woman

named Tyche, who is donating the leg as thanks to Asklepios, presumably for healing her own leg from

ailment.[404] Although votive dedications would partially rely on the ephemeral, the belief that a deity was

responsible for healing illness and injury, it is apparent that the materiality of the votive was equally

important in this ritual. Graeco-Roman votives highlight a close tie between the religious experience and

the material – if an individual received the requested divine aid, they would gift the god a physical

object as thanks.

Furthermore, Graeco-Roman pagans often used graffiti as a means of expressing their religious

devotion. At several sites, this occurred in the form of *proskynema* inscriptions. These were inscriptions

which featured the authors name accompanied by the Greek *προσκύνημα,* a term which refered to an

act of reverence of worship. *Proskynemata* would commonly appear in graffiti at a cult site as a means

of expressing the authors devotion to a deity. *Proskynema* inscriptions are frequently recorded in Egypt,

at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri Ptolemaic and Roman visitors left around 127 of these

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[403] Spurlock Museum of World Cultures. Accession No. 1900.12.0090. https://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/.
[Accessed 31.08.2022] *Cutius has auris Gallus tibi voverat olim | Phoebigena, et posuit sanus ab auriculis.* 'Cutius
Gallus once vowed these ears to you, offspring of Phoebus, [now] being healthy as regards [his] ears'.Trans.
Spurlock Museum of World Cultures.
[404] British Museum Online Collections. Registration no. 1867,0508.117.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1867-0508-117. [Accessed 31.08.2022*] Ἀσκλη|πιῷ | καὶ |
Ὑγείᾳ || Τύχη | εὔχαρις | τηριον.* 'Tyche [dedicated this] to Asklepios and Hygieia as a thank offering'. Trans. British
Museum.

inscriptions, whilst this is also a common and informal votive inscription from the Paneion at El-Kanais.[405] Religious devotion is also recorded in the Roman graffiti from Pompeii and Smyrna. A Greek dipinto from Pompeii invokes Herakles and Zeus to protect a building from harm, indicating that the through writing the names of these deities, the author believed they could manifest their protection.[406] A graffito from Smyrna records the dedication of a votive, following the author's prayer, highlighting that graffiti could also be tied to the process of physical dedication, and might act as further physical confirmation of this dedication to a deity.[407] Consequently, not only was Graeco-Roman paganism a fundamentally material in its practices, but graffiti was one of these practices.

3.1.3. Judaism

Judaism, like Graeco-Roman paganism, influenced the development of Christianity from its earliest days and into the late antique period. Jewish faith in the Hellenistic and Roman periods also included material requirements of its adherents, ranging from the alteration of the physical male body in the form of childhood circumcision, to ritual sacrifice and votive practices. Circumcision was considered an intrinsic part of Jewish religious communities, providing physical evidence of the tie between the Israelites and God, as is described in the *Book of Jubilees*: 'And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction'.[408] Sacrifice also played a key role in Jewish faith, as with Graeco-Roman paganism sacrifice acted as a votive for Jews, establishing a connection between themselves and God, and ensuring they received divine recognition.[409] This is explicitly stated in the

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[405] Łajtar 2006: 113-391; Stern 2013: 179.
[406] AGP-EDR175967. Ὁ τοῦ Διὸς | παῖς καλλί|νεικος Ἡρακλῆς|Ϛ[---]ΑΔΑΙ (ἐνθάδε) ||κατοικεῖ | μηδὲν εἰ |σειάτω |κακόμ. 'Heracles, the triumphant son of Zeus, lives here. May no evil enter.' Ed. R. Benefiel and M. Panciera
[407] AGP-SMYT00161. Ed. R. Bagnall. Χαρίας ὁ κα[ὶ] Λου|κος εὐξάμενος | περὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν |τοὺς λύχνους ἀπέδωκε || ἔτους σι. 'Charias also called Louk(i?)os, having prayed concerning his eyes, dedicated the lamps. Year 210.' Trans R. Bagnall.
[408] Jubilees 15:26. Trans. R.H. Charles 1914. For further discussion on the relationship between circumcision and Jewish identity, see Thiessen 2011.
[409] Gilders 2011: 96.

Second Temple period by Philo of Alexandria, who wrote that 'for it was right that no check should be

given to the forwardness of those who pay their tribute to piety and desire by means of sacrifices either

to give thanks for the blessings that befall them or to ask for pardon and forgiveness for their sins'.[410]

Whilst it is not possible to fully explore other facets of Jewish faith, circumcision and sacrifice both

highlight that some Jewish religious practiced were inherently grounded in the physical world, and these

practices were a means of identifying oneself as a member of the Jewish faith, or receiving divine

attention and aid.

Jewish peoples in the ancient world also expressed their faith through inscribing graffiti. There is

substantial evidence of Jews materialising their faith through informal inscriptions in the Hellenistic and

Roman periods. At the Ptolemaic Temple of Pan at El-Kanais, two texts identify the author as Jewish, and

both express devotion to God.[411] Both texts include the invocation 'Bless God' before identifying the

author, along with the cultural title Ἰουδαῖος.[412] The graffiti carved by Jewish visitors to the Temple of

Pan thus served to materialise their faith and devotion in a permanent manner.[413] Casual Jewish prayers

are also found carved in the Synagogue of Dura Europos, where much of the graffiti is devotional,

requesting the author be remembered (by God, given the cult context).[414] Thus, as with Graeco-Roman

traditions, graffiti formed a part of Jewish religious expression in antiquity.

3.1.4. Christianity

Emerging within the context of both Jewish and Graeco-Roman pagan traditions, early Christian

practices also featured many material aspects. This is perhaps most clearly identified through the

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[410] Philo of Alexandria, *Special Laws*. 1.67. Quoted and Translated in Gilders 2011. It should be noted that whilst the importance of the *immaterial* world is present in much of Philo's writings, he nevertheless emphasises sacrifice as an important part of the Jewish faith, Gilders 2011: 98.
[411] Stern 2013: 182. Stern uses onomastic evidence to suggests a third text at El-Kanais was written by a Jewish author.
[412] Stern 2013: 183. The two texts include the invocations εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν and θεοῦ εὐλογία respectively.
[413] Stern 2013: 186.
[414] Stern 2012: 178.

connection between pilgrimage and the veneration of relics by Christian populations – as supplicants would travel to see the literal body or possessions of holy figures and saints which were believed to hold supernatural powers and facilitate contact with the divine.[415] The Christian approach to relics in this period is succinctly described by Gary Vikan, who writes 'each of these pious travellers was driven by the same basic conviction; namely, that the sanctity of holy people, holy objects, and holy places was in some measure transferable through physical contact'.[416] The emphasis on contact appears to have been ascribed to physical remains of saints in the mid-late fourth century CE, and it is possible to track this development through examining pilgrimage accounts of the period.[417] The anonymous pilgrim from the Bordeaux Itinerary does not list visiting the tombs of any saints in 333-334 CE (although he does mention visiting sites associated with biblical figures).[418] Meanwhile, Egeria's late fourth century pilgrim account emphasises her visitation to locations associated with biblical figures, martyrs and saints, including the Cave of Moses on Mount Sinai, the Tomb of Job, and the tomb of a martyr named Helpidius.[419] Ultimately, physical proximity (varying between touching objects or simply being close) to the material aspect of Christianity became vital. The importance of physically interacting with a relic as a facet of the pilgrimage experience had become fully integrated by the sixth century.[420] The Piacenza pilgrim records acting physically with relics from the life of Christ, he claims he kissed both the true cross and the *titulus* from the crucifixion, as well as drinking water from the sponge given to Christ in the gospel of Matthew.[421] The material importance of these relics is supported archaeologically: the Monza and Bobbio *ampullae*, a collection of pilgrimage tokens carrying water, oil or dust from the Holy Land,

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[415] Wiśniewski 2019: 2-3. Kristensen 2012: 67-75. Kristensen discusses the relationship between the materiality of early Christian pilgrimage and Graeco-Roman pagan pilgrimage.
[416] Vikan 2010: 5.
[417] Bitton-Ashkelony 2005: 12-13.
[418] Wiśniewski 2019: 21-22.
[419] Egeria. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria,* 4-5; 24; 37. Trans. M.L.M. McClure and C.L. Feltoe.
[420] Frank 2000: 120.
[421] *The Piacenza Pilgrim* 20.

were designed to be taken from the place of pilgrimage back to the origin place of the pilgrim, thus continuing the supplicant's proximity to the holy object.[422] Nor was this a process tied only to the holy sites of the Levant; the martyrium of Saint Menas in Egypt produced pilgrim flasks filled with water or oil from the site, and these flasks were taken by pilgrims. These objects were a way of perpetuating the personal, ephemeral experience of the pilgrimage.[423]

Whilst Christian worship incorporated the material in the form of religious objects, encouraging touch and veneration of saint's bodies or contact relics, they also used other means of physically manifesting their faith. As with their pagan contemporaries and predecessors, Christians made use of amulets, often containing prayers or scripture, to keep them safe from negative supernatural forces.[424] For example, a Christian amulet probably originating in Syria bore two inscriptions, one requesting the archangels make the bearer fertile, and the second invoking two saints to drive off demons.[425] These amulets provided a physical protection – when the mind was not focused on prayer and protection, they could still be protected by the presence of tangible evidence of their religious dedication.

The use of graffiti, a physical medium, in Christian contexts was therefore not accidental. Not only did early Christians practice a religion with fundamentally material facets, but the religious landscape in the fourth century onwards was shaped by faith groups in which physical objects and the carving of graffiti played a large role. Individuals were believed to benefit from the physical proximity to holy objects – which may have explicit healing or protective powers. Thus, it is apparent that late antique religion was

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[422] Hunter-Crawley 2012: 136; Vikan 2010: 10.

[423] For examples of the spiritual and material benefit of pilgrims' flasks and tokens see Vikan 1982: 30-31.

[424] Dell'Aqua 2020: 235-236.

[425] CSLA E01695. The obverse reads ἵππος, Μιχαήλ, Γαβ | ριήλ, Οὐριήλ, βοήθ[ι] | [σ]ε σπ<ε>ίρε<ι>ν· ἄλ<ε>ιψε Θε(- - -) | [- - -]ΕΟΥ μεθ' ἡμ[ῶν] 'Horse, Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel, help make you fertile! (He?) anointed The[- - -] is with us.' The reverse reads φεύ<γ>ε, φεύ<γ>ε Αβιζι|ον. ἔνθα γὰρ κατοικῖ | [Σι]σίννις και Σισιννία |]ολαβραξ. Κ<ύριε> (?), φύ| [λαξ]ον Θεόδωρον, ὃν ἔτη|[κεν Χ]ριστίνα· εἷς θ[ε]ός | Τ Λ 'Run away, run away, Abizon! Because here dwell Sisinnios and Sisinnia [- - -]. Lord (?), protect Theodoros, whom Christina bore. One God.' Trans. P. Nowakowski.

fundamentally tied to tangibility and the physical world, and relied on materiality to record temporal

experiences. As the remainder of this chapter will indicate, the physicality of graffiti ensured it acted as a

tool for the expression of a variety of devotional practices in the late antique period.

3.2.   Religious Ritual and Graffiti

The first thematic strand associated with graffiti and religion I would like to explore is that of ritual.

Graffiti nestles neatly into modern conceptions of ritual. Ritual is an activity which is recognised by a

social group as having meaning and repeated by members of that social group.[426] It is easy to see how

graffiti slots into this category: graffiti is carved by late antique peoples with certain meanings in mind.

Chapter One for example examined the commemorative meaning of graffiti in the late antique east,

which would have been understood to have this meaning by its contemporaries. However, in this

chapter I would like to delve further into this understanding – examining specifically the religious means

ascribed to the carving of graffiti in the late antique period. An examination of what precisely

constitutes a religious ritual is present in the work of Catherine Bell, who speaks of religious 'ritual of

exchange and communion'.[427] These rituals are those in which 'people make offerings to a god or gods

with the practical and straightforward expectation of receiving something in return'.[428] Through

undertaking actions, such as votive offerings of prayers, individuals could request aid or benefit from the

divine.[429] In many instances, late antique ritual is temporal, such as the words spoken during a church

service or the movements made during a procession. These events rarely leave significant material

evidence to reconstruct them, and we are largely reliant on textual sources such as the tenth century

Book of Ceremonies to establish how rituals manifested themselves. Nevertheless, by looking at both

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[426] Kyriakidis 2007: 293-295.
[427] Bell 1997: 117. The complete list of rituals given in Bell include rites of passage, calendrical rites, rites of exchange and communion, rites of affliction, rites of feasting/ fasting or festivals and political rituals. For a more detailed list, see Bell 1997: 84.
[428] Bell 1997: 117.
[429] Bell 1997: 117.

textual sources and the material remains which are left behind, several different religious rituals emerge in early Byzantine contexts which are relevant to the discussion here.

1. Liturgy: the practices undertaken in formal church services and processions, including the words spoken by both the clergy and the laity, and the ways they move physically around church. Liturgy is not a static or universal concept: several different liturgies were used throughout the Byzantine empire, and it can be difficult to reconstruct what texts were used where and when. Nevertheless, we do have some evidence of late antique liturgical practices and the changes to them. The Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, The Liturgy of Saint James and the Liturgy of Saint Mark all appear to have been used in the late antique period.[430] Liturgy intersects with graffiti through the language used in informal inscriptions, with many prayers and formulae adopted from the spoken words in church. Prayers and terminology found in the liturgy help us reconstruct the ways individuals might have engaged with the liturgy, seeking to strengthen their connection to this ritual by memorialising the words they said aloud by carving them in stone or plaster.

2. Pilgrimage: this was visits to sites of spiritual importance with the aim of gaining religious benefit. These sites could be local or at a great distance from the traveller.[431] We can reconstruct long distance pilgrimage routes through the textual evidence. The Itinerary of the fourth century Bordeaux pilgrim, from Gaul to the Holy Land, makes explicit the travel expected of a pilgrim.[432] Similarly, the pilgrimage of Egeria highlights the intersection of pilgrimage with liturgy, as Egeria travels to holy sites to partake in religious practices.[433] The sixth century

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[430] Galadza 2017: 157-158. The liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom appears to have had its origins in Antioch, the Liturgy of Saint James was used in Jerusalem, and the Liturgy of Saint Mark in Alexandria.
[431] Elsner 2017: 269. Elsner defines pilgrimage as a consciousness decision on the behalf of the author to visit a holy space with religious motive, regardless of the distance between the place of origin and the final destination.
[432] *The Bordeaux Pilgrim.* Trans. A. Jacobs.
[433] *The Pilgrimage of Egeria.* 84-85.

account of the Piacenza pilgrim lists the many stopping places on the journey, indicating the

traditional locations he intended to see.[434] Graffiti could be used by pilgrims at way points or the

end of their pilgrimage to materialise the ephemeral ritual of travel, and leave a piece of lasting

evidence of their journey, as occurs in the record of the Piacenza pilgrim.[435]

3. Votives: A votive was a donation to God or ecclesiastical institution with the intention of

   receiving some form of benefit. Votives were frequent in the Ancient world, accompanying

   Hellenistic prayers.[436] In late antiquity, large inscriptions and images could act as a votive,

   dedicatory inscriptions such as those from the church at Kibbutz Kissufim, in which a female

   donor 'Lady Syltous' was visually depicted in a mosaic distributing money to the church,

   therefore permanently recording her donation.[437] Graffiti, as an informal text, functioned as a

   parallel to formalised votives. Texts and image were a way for the supplicant to casually and,

   sometimes spontaneously, create a votive to a deity as a reflection of their religious devotion.

Each of these religious rituals would have been recognised as carrying meaning by late antique

populations, and thus when graffiti interacted with these traditions meaning would similarly have been

ascribed to the informal texts. This section will thus examine case studies of late antique graffiti –

beginning with sites of pilgrimage such as Jerusalem and Deir el-Bahri, to consider the ways carving

intersected with these religious rituals, and continue to consider graffiti at other sites and how they

inform us about late antique graffiti and the religious rituals individuals partook in. I will then examine

two sites in which the text and images reveal the social nature of this ritual, with the inscription of

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[434] For example, the pilgrim visits the house of Peter at Capernaum (*The Piacenza Pilgrim* 7) and and the Tomb of Lazarus (*The Piacenza Pilgrim* 16).
[435] *The Piacenza Pilgrim* 4. 'Then we went three miles to Cana, where the Lord attended the wedding (John 2), and we reclined on his very couch, where I (unworthy!) inscribed the names of my parents.'Trans. A. Jacobs.
[436] Raja 2018: 138.
[437] Cohen 1993: 277-279.

specific texts and images being part of social religious expression – the two sites being Horvat Qasra and Syene. Finally, I will examine the relation between space and ritual in Aphrodisias.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

A good case study for the relationship between religious ritual and late antique graffiti is the informal epigraphy from the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy in Jerusalem. The graffiti in the cave largely consists of personal names (forty-five inscriptions feature at least one personal name), and a few simple prayers (about seventeen).[438] The existence of these two different types of graffiti aids in the understanding of late antique ritual and the commemoration of this ritual. Through the inscription of a personal name, the author simply and clearly commemorated their visit to the cave church, providing tangible evidence of their pilgrimage.[439] Simultaneously, the carving of a prayer represents the authors' memorialisation of the divine petitions they mind whilst at the site.[440] Each of these two rituals, the pilgrimage and the prayer, were experienced by the late antique pilgrim, and the addition of graffiti was a way to grant permeance to a ritual experience, and in doing so the act of carving became a new ritual undertaken by supplicants at the site. Consequently, through analysing the graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, it is possible to see how the commemorative functions of graffiti allowed late antique Christians to materialise the religious rituals they partook in.

Deir el-Bahri (Egypt)

As with Jerusalem, the graffiti at Deir el-Bahri highlights particularly how informal inscriptions could overlap with pilgrimage as a ritual practice for pagan faith groups. What is also notable, however, is that

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[438] 45 of 76 inscriptions is 59%. 17 of 76 inscriptions is 22%. The following inscriptions feature a prayer: IP116; IP115; IP113; IP110; IP111; IP107; IP108; IP105; IP102; IP100; IP97; IP98; IP87; IP73; IP49; IP42 and IP44.
[439] For examples of personal names carved at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, see IP66. *Αἰλιανός*. 'Ailianos'; IP63. *Ζήνων* 'Zeno'; IP90. *Μακάρι<ο>ς* 'Makarios' and IP86. *Δάφνιν | Δάφνιν*. 'Daphnin, Daphnin'.
[440] For examples of prayers at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, see IP100. *Μνήσθητ[ι] Ἀντω[νιου?]* 'Remember Antonios' and IP44. *Χρ(ιστέ) ἐλέησον Θεόδοτον ΤΑ[--]Ν [-- ἐ]λέη<σ>ον Κ(ύρ)ιε ἐλέησον | Κύ(ριε)* 'Christ, have mercy on Theodotos … Have mercy, Lord, have mercy, Lord.'

the texts specifically record a ritual pilgrimage and sacrifice, thus tying together the votive nature of graffiti with the pilgrimage aspect. The authors emphasise their travels to the site, stating their place of origin, and they also emphasise what they choose to record, their sacrifice. In this case, the carving of the graffiti served to commemorate that journey.[441] A pilgrimage is, by its nature, ephemeral. Although pilgrimage accounts existed in antiquity, and were shared and read, it is not reasonable to assume that every pilgrimage was recorded by the author. While they might live on in the speech and recollections of an individual, pilgrimages relied on material evidence to perpetuate the spiritual benefit of the journey, ensuring that the individual who undertook the pilgrimage would continue to receive spiritual benefit in the existence of physical reminders of their travel.[442] The graffiti at Deir el-Bahri highlights a different way of perpetuating the spiritual aid, and the recording of the religious ritual. Through carving a text which memorialised the ritual beyond the visit of the guild of ironworkers, physical proof remained to ensure the deities (probably Amenhotep and Imhotep who were worshipped at the site in the Roman era) would grant spiritual benefit to the participants in the aftermath of the journey.[443]

Horvat Qasra (Israel)[444]

The graffiti at the church of Horvat Qasra is illustrative of informal inscriptions functioning as a ritual within a community. In total, there are eighteen informal inscriptions within the church, however I would like to focus on a selection of six texts. Three inscriptions are found on a column capital, which originally was attached to a column supporting the chancel screen. The second three are found in an arch to the right of the apse. Although these six inscriptions are found within relatively close proximity of each other, each group of inscriptions features distinct formulae. The graffiti on the column capital each open with the prayer 'Remember', whilst those written to the right of the apse begin with the

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[441] For the inscriptions which mention the place of origin of the ironworkers, see: EG111; EG110 and EG117.
[442] A good pre-Christian example of this belief is the letter from Nearchos to Heliodoros, discussed in section 0.3.4 (pages 21-22), in which the author explicitly describes leaving graffiti so his friends will receive eternal divine aid.
[443] Łajtar 2006: 11-22.
[444] For a discussion of Horvat Qasra, see Appendix 2.4.2.

petition 'Lord, have mercy'.[445] The distinct formulae written closely together, suggests that visitors to the cave chapel at Horvat Qasra did recognise that differing spaces within the church were appropriate for different prayers, the carving of these prayers was thus determined by local ritual. Alternatively, it could be argued that ritual graffiti was an organic process, as authors recognised the inscriptions written by previous supplicants, they came to see these prayers as the appropriate ones too inscribe within that space.

Supplicants at Horvat Qasra, when expressing their religious experiences and desires for divine aid, did so within a socially regulated system. This system was not out of line with what might be expected in late antiquity, with the space people stood within a church and the words they spoke being heavily controlled in official liturgical services and processions. Nevertheless, whilst other locations display less regulated traditions in graffiti, Horvat Qasra highlights how the expression of prayer could be done in a ritual and socially guided fashion.

Syene (Egypt)

The graffiti at Syene is analogous to the graffiti at Horvat Qasra, using similar phraseology and the same imagery. The late antique graffiti found at the Temple of Isis at Syene reveals an additional interaction between ritual and informal inscriptions in the late antique period. The site is notable for the high number of cross graffiti, which is featured on the walls of the temple (Figure 3.3), within which a church was constructed in the sixth century CE.[446] The presence of so much graffiti of the same type allows us to reach several conclusions about the role figurative graffiti played at the site, and the way in which

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[445] For the graffiti on the column capital see: IP25. ⳨μνίσϑιτι Γ.Τ | ἀμίν. 'Remember, … Amen.'; IP26. μν(ήστηϑη), | κ(ύρι)ε 'Remember, Lord' and IP24. μνήστηϑη{τη}, κ(ύρι)ε, | τοῦ δούλου σου ΑΣΟ|ΜΕΥ κὲ ὁμοῦ ΡΗΣΟ | κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Ωτρησου κὲ || ΤΡΗΜΟΥ κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Ἀδημ 'Remember, Lord, your servant Asomeos (?) with Resos and with Otresos and with Tremos and with Adam.' For the graffiti written to the right of the apse, see: IP28. κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέη|σων τὸν | δοῦλόν σου | Ζαχαρήα. 'Lord, have mercy on your servant Zacharias'; IP29. κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον 'Lord, have mercy' and IP30. κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ|ησον τ(ὸν) | Ῥάντη(?). 'Lord, have mercy on Rhantes'. IP27 is also found to the right of the apse, but the meaning of this text is very uncertain.
[446] Dijikstra 2011: 412-416.

graffiti acted as a ritual object. Just as the graffiti at Horvat Qasra reveals how certain formulae were

encouraged as a means of expressing prayer, the graffiti at Syene suggests that locally, figurative graffiti,

and particularly the cross, was an encouraged method of expressing devotion. Visitors to the site would

engage in a community ritual, in which it was considered acceptable to carve a cross upon the building

as a means either to record the trip or the prayers undertaken there. It is also clear that this was not

merely a consequence of illiteracy, meaning individuals could only carve a cross. Eleven Coptic graffiti

from the site feature the inscription of names, possibly either personal names or references to popular

Egyptian saints.[447]

The graffiti at Syene highlights the intersection between community, and social and religious ritual. At

the temple of Isis, there was an accepted and encouraged means of expressing religious sentiment, and

this was manifested and ensured throughout antiquity by the presence of pre-existing cross graffiti. The

graffiti at Syene is also notable because the cross separated the graffiti from pre-existing pagan

proskynema at the site. In a Christian context, individuals could ritually alter the site, recording not only

their devotion but also building a community through this ritual by using important Christian imagery to

distinguish themselves from their pagan predecessors. Therefore, it is apparent that the cross graffiti

from the Temple of Isis at Syene reveals important information about religious expression and

ritualisation in late antiquity.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

A final case study for different ways graffiti could act as a religious ritual to manifest religious expression

is from Aphrodisias. The graffiti from the Church of the Archangels at Aphrodisias can reveal information

about the ways graffiti could form part of ritualised religious practice in late antiquity, both when

initially inscribed, and in its afterlife at the site. The notable graffiti here is that carved on the west door

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[447] See Dijkstra 2012 for the Coptic graffiti at Syene.

at the entrance to the church where eight texts and images are found on two door posts.[448] The texts

are carved surrounding formally carved crosses (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The placement of this graffiti,

which varies greatly in its content from prayers to monograms and acclamations, is illustrative of how

individuals might interact with the sacred space, and how carving the text could play into ritual roles at

the site.

The door post was a liminal space, not located in a prominent sacral area of the church, and bordering

the atrium in which an individual would pass when leaving the cult site to the street – it existed very

much as a dividing line between the divine and secular worlds.[449] As such, the door post was a ritually

and religiously important space, in which all supplicants would have to travel through to enter the holy

precint. Presumably, the texts could not have been carved during a religious procession – to do so would

have taken up far too much time – but what the carving does reveal is that individuals sought to

integrate their religious expression into this transitionary area between the secular and divine.

Furthermore, we must consider how the placement of these texts allowed them to be used in further

rituals, something which is suggested by their placement close to the formal crosses. Crosses in late

antiquity and the early Byzantine period held important processional and religious roles and were

closely tied to the material aspects of the religion. Icons and relics were tangible parts of religion in the

most literal sense, designed to be touched, and the same is true of other aspects of formal Christian

decoration in cult sites. The Piacenza Pilgrim interacts with the cross in the most literal sense, and

described touching and kissing the true cross in Jerusalem, however carrying a cross as a symbol of faith

could also grant spiritual aid.[450] In the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite,* Edessa is subject to a series of

natural disasters due to the sins of its inhabitants, which only ends once the laity of the city process

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[448] There are 37 inscriptions in total at the Church of the Archangels.

[449] The differences in graffiti traditions between the secular and religious spaces of Aphrodisias can be seen in Chapter Four: Graffiti and the Landscape.

[450] *The Piacenza Pilgrim.* 20.

through the streets holding crosses and palm branches.[451] Crosses placed on doorposts would have been

seen and interacted with by supplicants crossing into the church. Incorporating their text so close to this

ritual decoration would have resulted in their graffiti being re-performed –following the inscription of

the graffiti they would have been touched and read by future visitors to the church, thus perpetuating

the religious practice beyond the initial inscription.

3.3. Prayer in Late Antique Graffiti

3.3.1. Epigraphic Prayer Traditions in Late Antique Graffiti

The majority of prayer in late antique graffiti can be placed the category of the standard epigraphic

prayer which is a feature of late antique inscriptions. These prayers are highly formulaic, following a

specific set of phrases and language. Prayers were frequently inscribed in official contexts on

architecture and were often associated with donor inscriptions or liturgical phrasing – and it is the

language used in these contexts which became most frequently adopted in prayer graffiti. Definitions of

prayer vary between simple acknowledgements of deity, and more specific definitions which request

divine recognition and aid. This section will use the second and narrower definition, so as to

differentiate prayer from more general invocations and expressions of faith. L. Edward Phillips identifies

prayer as 'The act of addressing a god in praise, confession, or supplication'.[452] Here, I would like to

focus explicitly on the final aspect of prayer established by Phillips – that of supplication, particularly

requests for divine aid on the behalf of individuals and groups. Within the late antique world, prayer

with requests for divine aid was common in both private and communal contexts. Matthew 6:5-7

indicates that prayer for Christians should be an entirely private matter: rather than praying publicly in

an attempt to gain social capital, prayer should be done without viewers, with only the intention of

having a divine audience ('But when you pray, go into your room, close the door and pray to your

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[451] *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* 36. Trans. W. Wright.
[452] Phillips 2018: 571.

Father, who is unseen. Then your Father, who sees what is done in secret, will reward you'), by the late antique period prayer was often done in communal settings.[453] Despite prayer sometimes being viewed as an entirely private endeavour, it was simultaneously an often public and communal act in late antique communities. "Official" Christian texts, such as the *Didache*, sought to monitor and regulate prayer practices by late antique individuals, suggesting praying three times a day.[454] Prayer was used in public contexts such as liturgical and official ceremonies: the liturgies of Saint Mark and Saint James both feature guided prayer in which the clergy leads the laity in communal contact with the divine.[455] Similarly, the *Book of Ceremonies* highlights how communities in Constantinople through the late antique and middle Byzantine period would repeat the language of prayer in public ceremonies. For example, the description of the coronation of Anastasios I records the people of Constantinople cheering 'Lord have mercy' in honour of Empress Ariadne.[456] This section will examine the prayers which were common in the late antique period, before seeing how these prayers were manifested in graffiti, thus aiding our understanding of how graffiti materialised the religious experience of late antique individuals.

This language of prayer is derived from a variety of sources – certain prayer formulae which appear in both formal and epigraphic sources are derived from the liturgies used in the late antique east. One prominent example of this is the formula "Lord, have mercy" which is present as a common prayer found in the late antique epigraphic and liturgical world. For example, it is repeated multiple times by the laity in the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.[457] This type of prayer is also frequent on the formal epigraphy of the late antique world, as can be seen on extant bricks from the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi

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[453] Matthew 6:6; John Chrysostom *Homily 19 on Matthew* 3-4. Trans. G. Prevost. Chrysostom addresses this verse. Chrysostom argues that the bible is not suggesting all prayer should be done in private, but rather than even if one is praying in church, one should focus on God and divine worship, rather than appearing as pious to others.
[454] *The Didache* 8. Trans. M.B. Riddle.
[455] *The Divine Liturgy of Saint James*. Trans. J. Donaldson; *The Divine Liturgy of Saint Mark*. Trans. J. Donaldson.
[456] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Book of Ceremonies* 1.92. Trans. A. Moffat and M. Tall.
[457] John Chrysostom. *Divine Liturgy*. Trans. Orthodox Diocese of America

which feature the invocation 'God, have mercy!'.[458] Other liturgical prayers which appear frequently in

epigraphy include requests for God to "have mercy" and to "save" the individual. These prayers formed

part of the linguistic landscape of late antique religion – appearing thirty-eight and seventeen times in

the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom respectively, as well as frequently in formal epigraphic prayer

inscriptions.[459] When examining the ways prayers appeared in graffiti therefore, we must consider the

phrases which derived from pre-existing religious expressions in both the liturgy and formal epigraphy,

to understand the extent to which these were used and appropriated for personal expressions of prayer.

Another popular late antique prayer formula is that which explicitly requested divine aid from the

author with the invocation "Lord, Help". The "Lord, Help" invocation and its variants is by far the most

prolific prayer found in late antique graffiti, appearing in just over ten percent of all textual graffiti in the

catalogue attached to this thesis.[460] A common variant of "Lord Help" is *Κύριε βοήθει*. The presence of

this prayer so often is notable, as the invocation and direct request for divine aid seems to have few

parallels in Christian literature of the time. Neither the Liturgy of Saint Mark nor the Liturgy of Saint

James feature this prayer; although the laity requests help in both these texts, they do not occur

following a direct invocation to God. Similarly, this prayer is not derived from the Bible, where the

phrase only appears one time and occurs only when referring to personal prayers, rather than as

instruction for Christian communities.[461] Where the "lord, help" invocation is found commonly is in

epigraphy. Several late antique artefacts from the British museum feature the "Lord, help" prayer; for

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[458] ICG 3322. Ed. J. Ogereau. *Θεέ, ἐ|λέησον, |Χριστέ, | [ἐλέησον].*
[459] John Chrysostom. *The Divine Liturgy*. Examples of formal inscriptions requesting mercy include the following: IIP-BSHE0023 (a formal dedicatory inscription from Scythopolis which reads *Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου / ἐλέησον / τὴν φιλ[όχ]ριστον κυρὰν Μαρίαν* 'Christ, God, Saviour of the world, have mercy on the Christ loving Lady Mary) and IIP- SHEP0002 (an mosaic from Judaea which reads *† Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ἐλέ|ησον τὸν | δούλον |σου Ἡσύ||χιν †* 'Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on your servant Hesychin'). An example of a formal inscription requesting salvation includes IIP- MAMP0002, a mosaic inscription from Mampsis which reads *Κύριε σ[ῶ]σον τὸν δοῦλον σου Εἰρηναῖον Ἀμήν* 'Lord, save your servant Eirenaios. Amen.'
[460] 139 of 1313 textual inscription.
[461] The prayer features in Matthew 15:25

example, an onyx cameo from the fifth – sixth centuries reads 'Lord help Paulinos' and highlights the presence of religious prayers on personal artefacts (Figure 3.4).[462] Similarly, a prayer is found on the handle of a kitchen implement from the sixth - seventh centuries – inscribed upon the object is both an extract from Psalm 90, and the "Lord, help" prayer.[463] The presence of prayers on these objects was not accidental, but served a real purpose, both for the owner and viewer. When the owner interacted with the object, either holding or viewing the cameo or using the implement, they would read the text, thus symbolically and literally performing the prayer internally, assuring a constant repetition of their desire for supernatural intervention. Additionally, the inscription of the prayer added a physicality to it, providing a means of tangible evidence of the desire for divine help. The addition of these prayers to physical objects infused these objects with a level of supernatural power, invoking divine agency on behalf of the owner, user, or viewer when they were accessed and read.[464] It is in these avenues that we see an intersection between prayer and graffiti, as the inscription of prayer served to materialise the authors' desire for divine help, in a manner which was firmly established in the religious epigraphic habit of late antiquity.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

A starting point for the examination of prayer graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean is Jerusalem. As a large urban centre intricately associated with the Christian consciousness, the site provides a good insight to the prayers of pilgrims from the period. Perhaps as a consequence of the large numbers of pilgrims visiting the city from throughout the Christian world, the prayer formulae used in Jerusalem are relatively diverse. The site with the most graffiti recorded from the late antique period is the Cave of the

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[462] British Museum Online Collections. Accession No. 1913,0307.330.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1913-0307-330. [Accessed 31.08.2022] *ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΠΑΥΛΛΙΝΩ*
[463] British Museum Online Collections. Accession Number: 1976,0402.1.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1976-0402-1 [Accessed 31.08.2022]
[464] Leatherbury 2020: 244.

Sisters of Mercy, where seventeen inscriptions contain prayers.[465] In these texts are three main requests

of God - ἐλέησον 'Have mercy', μνησθῇ 'Let x be remembered', and βοήθησον 'Help'.[466] All three of

these requests are well supported in literary and epigraphic culture, featuring in the Bible, liturgy, and

formal inscriptions.[467] Similarly, the seventeen inscriptions, though all undoubtedly Christian, invoke

God in different forms and with different language. Eleven of these prayers address 'Lord'.[468] Five texts

feature invocations to Christ, and a further two with invocations to God.[469] One text does not reference

any deity; the divine audience is merely implied through context at the cult site.[470] Two texts reference

the sins of the author, alluding to the guilt which motivated the inscription of the prayer.[471] Notably,

both these texts ask for mercy rather than aid or memory – these texts clearly wanted forgiveness for

the sins of the authors and expressed this desire appropriately. The texts chosen at the Cave of the

Sisters of Mercy seem to be derived from liturgical and literary biblical culture in particularly, with

requests for God to "Remember" and "have mercy" being the most common, as is reflected in the

liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.[472] Another example of the textual and literary culture of the east being

present in the graffiti at the site is the unique invocation in one text, 'Emmanuel is with us', which is a

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[465] The following inscriptions feature a prayer: IP116; IP115; IP113; IP110; IP111; IP107; IP108; IP105; IP102; IP100; IP97; IP98; IP87; IP73; IP49; IP42 and IP44.

[466] The following inscriptions from the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy feature the request for help: IP105; IP102; IP97 and IP49. The following inscriptions feature the prayer for mercy: IP44; IP87; IP98; IP108; IP110; IP111; IP113; IP115 and IP110. The following inscriptions feature prayers for remembrance: IP107; IP102; IP100; IP73 and IP42.

[467] Requests for mercy appear in the Bible in Matthew 9:27, Mark 10:47 and Matthew 15:22. They also occur in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. Requests for remembrance appear in the Bible in Luke 23:42 as well as in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. For an epigraphic example see CIIP 1.2 828 and CIIP 1.2 846. Requests for help appear in the Bible in Matthew 15:25.

[468] For prayers which invoke Κύριε 'Lord' see: IP42; IP44; IP49; IP73; IP115; IP98; IP102; IP105; IP107; IP108; IP113.

[469] For prayers which invoke 'Christ' see: IP44; IP45; IP97; IP110; IP116. For prayers which invoke Θεός 'God' see: IP42 and IP87.

[470] IP100. Μνήσθητ[ι] Ἀντω[νιου?]. 'Remember, Antonios'.

[471] IP116. Χριστέ, | ἐλέησον Φλαβιανὸν τὸν | ἁμαρτολ[ὸν]. Κ(ύρι)ε [--]. 'Christ, have mercy on Flavianos the sinner. Lord ...'. IP87. Θε<έ> τῶν Χρησ|τιανῶν, ἐλέησον | Αναμον τὸν ἁμαρ|τ[ωλ]ὸν κὲ ἐξαφὲς αὐ||τῷ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, [ἀμ]ήν. 'God of the Christians, have mercy on Anamos the sinner and forgive him his sins. Amen.' For comparison, from the Cave of Gethsemene in Jerusalem (IP122) also mentions the sins of the author. ✝Ὑπὲρ μνήμης | κε ἀφέσεως | ἁμαρτῶν | Σαμουὴλ ὑπομένον||τος | Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ[η]σον. 'For the memory and dismissal of sins of Samuel, suffering. Lord have mercy.'

[472] See section 3.3.1. Pages 136-137.

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paraphrase of Matthew 1:23.[473] Another prayer ends with 'Amen', mimicking the language of formalised spoken prayer.[474]

The graffiti from the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy is thus rooted within the textual and spoken culture of prayer within the early Byzantine east. The three prayers chosen, in conjunction with the appearance of biblical quotes and phrases from spoken prayer, highlights that graffiti was a means of permanently manifesting and memorialising the common prayers they came into contact with as a means of expressing their own religious devotion and desires.

Ephesos (Turkey)

The graffiti from the religious institutions at Ephesos indicates the importance of epigraphic prayer to shape the expressions of faith of many late antique people. Sixty percent of the graffiti in the Church of Saint John the Theologian make use of the "Lord, help" formulae which was present in both monumental epigraphy, and the inscriptions of small objects.[475] For example, of the six graffiti carved in the northern corridor of the nave, five begin with a variant of the "Lord, help" invocation.[476] In total, there are nine other graffiti found throughout the church which follow a variant of the "Lord help" formula. These prayers are found throughout the church: in the west dome of the nave, in the narthex and on a marble screen near the bema. The relationship between graffiti and the formal epigraphic culture at the site becomes particularly apparent in one text however. This inscription represents one from a series of inscriptions written on the columns of the church, which have been identified as graffiti by some scholars, whilst they also have the deep carving one would typically associate with a formally

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[473] IP102. Ἐμμανουή|λ ἐστι σὺν ἡμ[ῖν---]. The text in Matthew is itself a quote from Isaiah. The Greek as it appears in Matthew reads Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.
[474] IP97. † Κύ(ριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθησον | τῷ δούλῳ Πέτρῳ Ἀμήν †. 'Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant Petros. Amen.' IP87 also ended in 'Amen'. For this inscription see n.468.
[475] 21 of 35 inscriptions.
[476] TU678; TU679; TU681; TU682; TU683.

inscribed text. The ambiguously formal inscription in the south transept of Saint John the Theologian reads 'Theologian, help your servant, Stephanos, sinner.'[477] Written beneath this inscription is a graffito, which reads 'Theologian, help the servant of God Osontolos in (his) sins, the pipe-maker. Sins….'[478] Both texts share variants of the term *ἁμαρτολὸς* 'sinful'. The similarities between the informal text of Ostontolos, and the formal inscription above it highlight that the graffito author was aware of the language used in formal epigraphy, and sought to replicate this language when inscribing his own prayer.

Nevertheless, even when authors utilised the language of epigraphic prayer, they continued to personalise the texts to meet their explicit theological needs, either as a means of highlighting their piety to a human or divine audience, or ensuring they were recognised as the author and therefore received appropriate spiritual benefit. Many of the texts include personal names, such as 'Lord, Lord, holy Theologian, help your servant Georgios' to longer texts explicitly stating the religious occupation of the supplicant and identifying their family 'Lord, help your servant, the Deacon Konstantinos, and his wife, and his children!'.[479] These texts thus lie at a crossroads between individual expression of prayer and the social habits which surrounded graffiti. Common formulae were used, in line with popular expressions of piety and dedication to the divine. Each text reveals some level of personal engagement, with the use of personal names indicating which individual sought aid. Furthermore, despite the use of the common 'Lord help' formula, many of the texts are nevertheless individualised. Graffiti in the church of Saint John made use of common formulae from material culture to express prayer yet were adapted by individuals to fulfil their needs and express their own requests for divine intervention.

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[477] TU687. *† Θεολό ((cross)) γε, βοΐθι | τοῦ σοῦ δούλου ((cross)) Στεφάνου | ἁμαρ ((cross)) τολοῦ.*
[478] TU688. *θεολόγε, βοήθησον ἁμίν | τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ Ο|ΣΟΝΤΟΛΟΝ ἐν ἁμαρτήᾳ· σολη(ο)|ποηός. ἁμαρτήᾳ ..α.*
[479] TU676. *κ(ύρι)ε, κ(ύρι)ε, ἅγηε θεολόγε, βοήθησον | τοῦ δούλο σου Γεόργηον;* TU663*. κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τῷ δού|λᾳ σου Κο(σ)ταντείνᾳ δηα|κόνου κέ τῆ σύ(ν)βηον αὐτοῦ | κέ τὸ τέκνον αὐτοῦ.*

Stobi (North Macedonia)

The prayers found at Stobi are very uniform, representing a local tradition of expressing prayer. The relevant prayers discussed here are all found in the Episcopal Basilica and are all located on the same mural painting. Ten prayers found on this fresco, eight open with the same invocation ("Christ help").[480] Two feature the inscription "Lord help".[481] Three feature the phrase "the dear ones" referring to those who are beloved of the author.[482] These decisions are notable, as there is little variation amongst this graffiti which also all incorporates the frequently-found "servant" formulae. It can then be ascertained that this graffiti does not necessarily respond to feelings of peril or specific issues affecting the authors, but are general expressions for divine intervention. That is not to say there are not real religious emotions behind the prayer, but rather that the prayers are being expressed in a way considered socially acceptable within the site. In this religious location, individuals not only expressed their desire in a manner considered appropriate for the location, but also built a localised religious community, in which individuals expressed their desires in mutually similar ways, sharing formulae as they carved their inscriptions.

We can thus perceive that late antique graffiti, whilst utilising the language of liturgy, is also an explicit reaction to the late antique epigraphic formulae – particularly a request for "help". Late antique peoples thus interacted extensively with their physical environment, recognised the divine power of that environment, and sought to integrate it into their own expressions of faith, either to give them increased legitimacy or simple to align with what they believed was the proper expression of this faith.

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[480] For graffiti in Stobi which opens with "Christ, help", see: NM1; NM2; NM8; NM9; NM22; NM23; NM24 and NM28.

[481] NM25. *Κ(ύρι)ε, βο[ήθι ...]*. 'Lord, help…' and NM11. *Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τῷ | δούλο σο[υ] Α ΤΟ.* 'Lord, help your servant…'

[482] NM8. *Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου | Μαρτινιανῷ καὶ το[ῖς] φι|λοῦσ[ιν αὐ]τῶ[ν].* 'Christ, help your servant Martinianos and his dear ones'; NM1. *Χρ[ιστέ, βοῆ]|θι τὸ δο[ύλῳ σου | Ο]ὐρσικίνῳ [καὶ] | φιλοῦσιν αὐτῶν.* 'Christ, help your servant Ouriskinos and his dear ones'; NM2. *Χρ(ι)στέ, βο[ῆ]|θι τὸ δούλο| [σο]υ Εὐθηρίο| [κα]ὶ τοῖς φιλοῦ||σιν αὐτόν.* 'Christ, help your servant Eutherios and his dear ones.'

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Three explicit prayers are found at the Temple Church in Aphrodisias. All these prayers make use of the

"Lord, help" formulae.[483] All three of these prayers are personalised, featuring the names of individuals.

One text also lists the economic identity of the individual, a butcher (discussed in chapter two) whilst

another text refers to the author seeking aid as a 'sinner', indicating the guilt which may have motivated

them into seeking divine intervention. The final text does not feature any additional identifiers, yet uses

the same 'Lord help' formula. The graffiti from the Church of the Archangels indicates the desire by the

authors to have their sins forgiven and memorialise their supplication by embedding their prayers into

the fabric of the building. These prayers were inscribed in a liminal space at the entrance to the church,

where anyone entering the building would have seen the texts, and any literate person could have read

them, symbolically reperforming the prayer for the author.

The same conclusions can be reached from the graffiti found throughout Aphrodisias, with the 'Lord

help' formula found in other locations in the city; notably, a variant ('God, help') is found at the

theatre.[484] When necessary, penitent individuals and those seeking divine intervention would rely on

traditional prayers recognised from their epigraphic environment, at Aphrodisias often (but not

exclusively) personalising them with a name.

Alexandria (Egypt)

A final case study of the use of prayers in the late antique urban environment is that of Alexandria. The

graffiti found in the fourth century theatre at Alexandria conforms to the epigraphic prayer tradition

witnessed at the other cities in the eastern Mediterranean, therefore emphasising the universality and

importance of this tradition. Nine prayers are found in the theatre, and each open with the invocation

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[483] TU25. *Θεοφ(ί)λ(ω) | Κ(ύρι)ε βωΐϑι τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λο | μα(κε)λαρή(ω) †.* 'Lord, help your servant Theophilos,
butcher.'; TU24. *† Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐϑι τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λο ΡΟΔΝΙ ΙΙΡΝΟΥΡ[·]ΝΣ.* 'Lord, help your servant…'; TU36. *Λέω(ν).
Κ(ύρι)ε βοε ν.* 'Leon, Lord help.'
[484] TU354. *Θ(ε)ὲ βοήϑι vacat.*

'Lord'.[485] Of these nine, eight feature a variant of the 'Lord help' formula. However, this formula is expressed in different ways. The exact call for aid is spelt in a variety of ways, in both the second person singular *Βοήθησον*, and active indicative *βοήθει*.[486] Even within these two variants, differences occur, with two spelt *βοήθισον* and three spelt *βοέθησον*. These distinctions highlight the nature of prayer at Alexandria, particularly due to the relatively small sample size of the material. Authors drew their religious invocations from a socially accepted lexicon of prayer. Nevertheless, graffiti authors were not unthinkingly copying pre-existing prayers found written on the wall, but writing their own variations of these formulae.

3.3.2.   Prayer as a Response to Danger

So far, the graffiti discussed have largely expressed prayer in a general sense, with authors requesting help, remembrance, or mercy as desired. Although some expressions of prayer do feature individualised references to reasons for help, such as the author's sins, these do not differ significantly from the established linguistics of prayer, and do not relate feelings of peril or specific desires on behalf of the author, instead relying on socially acceptable language. This next section will highlight several examples which differ from that norm, where individuals in situations of peril altered and manipulated their language to highlight their need for imminent divine intervention.

Corinth (Greece)

A starting case study on the relationship between danger and prayer in late antique graffiti is Corinth. The vault in which the graffiti at Corinth is found seems to be from a prison, and the prayers found within relate to the concerns of the imprisoned.[487] Several texts express a desire to be rescued from the

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[485] EG45; EG51; EG46; EG47; EG48; EG50; EG49; and EG44.

[486] For the indicative see: EG45; EG47. For the aorist imperative see: EG46; EG48; EG50 and EG53.

[487] The interpretation of this site as a prison is informed by the content of the graffiti itself, which refers to the author's incarcertation.

prison, with one text reading 'Saint… save (?)… from this place, Andreas, Georgios… and destroy'.[488]

Another text reads 'Lord, God and pure justice release from this place the two brothers, Boudios and Ioannes the *bucellarii* of the eparch. Amen'.[489] These texts reveal that the prayers in this location were tied to the concerns of those who found themselves there – with a focus on being saved from a dangerous situation. Similarly, many of the prayers request the destruction of the prisoners' enemies, particularly those whom they regarded as responsible for their incarceration. One text names the enemies of the author, 'Lord, destroy Leonianos, through whom we came here' whilst another requests their death.[490] Another graffito reframed the the requests of the imprisoned – it reads. 'The fortune triumphs… don't judge unfairly between me and my enemies', highlighting the prisoner's prayers for a fair trial.[491]

Some prayers at Corinth nevertheless continue to rely on typical formulae. One prayer, reading only 'Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant Kosmas. Amen.' indicates that even in this perilous situation, supplicants might rely on common formulae to express deeper concerns and religious reverence.[492] We cannot assume that the use of these formulae represent insincerity on behalf of the authors, or a lack of genuine desire for intervention relating to specific concerns. The author of the text, expecting God to recognise them as a pious supplicant, would also have expected God to know their specific concerns and desires. Nevertheless, as the graffiti at Corinth proves, when individuals were placed in dangerous

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[488] GR14. *† ἅγιε – – – – – – – – – – | ζωμεν – – – – – – – – – – | ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπ[ου τούτου] | Ἀνδρέαν, Γεώρ[γιον, – –]– || † τον, κ(αὶ) ἀπόλεσο[ν – –] | Ι15– – – – – – – – – – – – – –.*

[489] GR15. *† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς καὶ δίκ[ι] κ[α]θαρά | λύτροσε τοῦ τόπου τούτου | τοὺς δύω ἀδερφοὺς | ΞΤ Φ Κ Βούδιν καὶ Ἰωάν||νιν τοὺς βουκελλαρίους | τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἀμίν.'*

[490] GR22. *Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀπόλεσον Λεωνιανό(ν), διὰ | τίνος ἰσήλθαμεν ὅδε.* GR20. *| πόησον Κ(ύρι)ε μόρῳ κακῷ ἀποθάνε τους | 'Lord, make them die a bad death.'*

[491] GR23. *[νικᾷ ἡ] τύχη ΟΙΥ | – – – – – – – – –Ρ– –| – – – – – – – –ΝΕ | – – – – – – –ΚΠΟΥ || Δ[.]ι μ[ὴ π]αραδίκα|σον ἀνὰ μέσο(ν) | ἐμοῦ κὲ τῶν ἐκθρὸν | μοῦ=.'*

[492] GR19. *Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθι τῷ δούλου σου | Κοσμᾶ· ἀμήν. †*

situations and faced imminent threat, the graffiti at these locations were more likely to express their fears in depth and specify their desired outcome of the prayer.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)

The graffiti found at Syros is illustrative of how the dangers associated with a location could alter the prayers made by individuals, and in particular which aspects of those prayers they sought to manifest in graffiti. Eighty percent of the graffiti at Syros features a prayer.[493] The prayer formulae found at Syros are not unique and appear at locations throughout the late antique Mediterranean. The greatest percentage of the prayer graffiti at the site features requests for "help".[494] However, also of note is the frequency with which the term *σῶσον* 'save' and its variations appear, in twenty-five percent of graffiti in the bay.[495] "Lord, save" is a common acclamation from antiquity, particularly in Christian contexts, requests for salvation appear seventeen times in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.[496] The phrase also appears frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies*, for example it is one of the prayers chanted by the audience following a victory in the hippodrome festival, and although this is middle Byzantine it records the spoken words from earlier Byzantine festivals.[497] The phrase also appears in formal ecclesiastical epigraphy, for example a sixth century chancel screen from Paros which contains the prayer 'Lord, save the emperor and hear us!'.[498] Despite the frequency of the phrase within the late antique and early Byzantine literary and epigraphic canon, this prayer is much less frequent in the informal epigraphic record than requests for help, mercy or remembrance. In the catalogue, "save" appears thirty-five times, and of this number sixty-five percent is from the graffiti at Syros.[499]

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[493] 73 of 91 inscriptions.
[494] 47 of 91 inscriptions feature requests for help.
[495] 23 of 91 inscriptions feature requests to be saved.
[496] John Chrysostom, *Divine Liturgy*. Trans. Orthodox Diocese of America.
[497] Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.71.
[498] CSLA E01279. *† Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὼν βασιλέα (καὶ) ἐπάκουσον ἡ|μ|ῶ|ν|†.* Trans. P. Nowakowski.
[499] 23 of 35 inscriptions.

The 'save' prayer may have been popular at Syros due to its nature as a natural harbour for ships. The

sailors who visited the area, and carved their prayers, did so not for explicitly religious purposes, but as a

stopping place on longer journeys. Additionally, the phrase "Lord, save" appears twice in the Book of

Matthew, during the narrative of Christ walking on water.[500] When Peter fears drowing in the ocean, he

asks Christ to save him. Consequently, sailors may have associated the 'Lord, save' prayer in specific with

salvation when travelling by ship. As such, it might be seen that sailors stopping at Syros were

preoccupied not with general expressions of their piety and faith, but with the dangers which could

accompany sailing. This is further emphasised by the presence of inscriptions requesting εὔπλυαν 'good

sailing'. In total, seven inscriptions reference a desire for good sailing, and a nine mention the ships of

the authors and ask for them to be saved from harm.[501]

The decision to carve a graffito requesting 'good sailing' was likely a response to fear of meeting harm

on a ship. Travelling by sea is characterised frequently as a dangerous endeavour in late antique texts,

with different authors elaborating on the potential harms associated with running out of supplies, pirate

attacks and shipwrecks. In the early fifth century Synesios of Cyrene records a particularly harrowing

incident in which his ship was battered by storms, before a lack of wind left the crew stranded in the

sea. A subsequent storm caused damage to the sails, leaving the boat drifting with the crew helpless.

Salvation happened only by chance, as the ship crashed into a reef and the sailors received aid from a

local fisherman.[502] In the sixth century John Moschos relates the fear of the ocean in one of his

narratives, he recalls the words of an Abbot Gregory, who says, highlighting the dangers of running out

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[500] Matthew 8:25; Matthew 14:30.
[501] For graffiti which reference good sailing, see: GR44; GR49; GR70; GR84; GR87; GR90 and GR96. For graffiti which reference ships, see: GR43; GR47; GR68; GR80; GR84; GR90; GR104; GR110 and GR124. GR54 references a dromon. Nowakowski 2021 discusses the graffiti found at Syros, and the relevance of the "good sailing" formulae to authors at travelling by ship, highlighting also the images of ships found in graffiti throughout the eastern Mediterranean. To my knowledge, no images of ships have been recorded in the graffiti found at Grammata bay, although this may be a consequence of the prioritisation of textual material in the published data.
[502] Synesios of Cyrene. *Epistle 5: To Eutropios*. 11-26. Trans. A. Fitzgerald.

of supplies 'When we came in the midst of the high sea, we ran out of water and we were in great

distress. It was a pitiful sight: women and children and infants perishing from thirst, lying there like

corpses. We were in this distressing condition for three days and abandoned hope of survival'. [503]

With the cultural fears of sailing in mind, the graffiti at Grammata Bay makes sense. As the authors of

the graffiti were sailors, passengers, ship captains and other travellers, they would have been intimately

aware of the perils associated with sea travel and therefore sought divine intervention to protect them

from danger. Consequently, the request for 'good sailing', and the emphasis on being saved, suggests

that supplicants carving prayers at Syros were motivated not by general religious devotion, but by the

real and present dangers associated with sailing in the late antique world. As such, the language of

prayer was shaped intrinsically by its environment. It must thus be emphasised that graffiti was not

static across the eastern Mediterranean, but authors reacted to their environment. At Grammata Bay,

the danger of their environment shaped the language authors used.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

A comparable example of graffiti placed in a dangerous landscape is that from the Sinai. Deserts and

wild landscapes were associated with risks of wild animal attacks, banditry and starvation or

dehydration in early Byzantine literature.[504] Although these tropes may have been literary techniques,

intended to express the extreme situations holy figures placed themselves within to demonstrate piety,

they do relate a close cultural association between desert landscapes and danger in the late antique

consciousness. Even if these threats were not as great as they were perceived to be in genre literature,

we cannot assume these risks were not real. Generally, the graffiti at Sinai represents a diverse range of

supplicatory traditions, with several prayer formulae featured. Invocations requesting help, mercy and

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[503] John Moschos. *Spiritual Meadow*. 143. Trans. J. Wortley.
[504] Sophronios. *The Life of Saint Mary of Egypt.* 28. The *vita* details Mary's struggle in the desert without access to adequate food or water. Jerome. *The Life of Hilarion*. 3. Trans. C. White. Jerome describes the threat of bandits Hilarion may face in the Palestinian desert.

remembrance are all frequent. However, several graffiti from Wadi Haggag do indicate authors praying

in direct response to the perils they associated with their journey. One text reads 'Lord, save your

servant Theophilos and those who belong to him, and his travelling companions. Amen'.[505] The use of

the term "save" is reminiscent of the graffiti at Syros, and if read in the same way would represent a

desire to be protected from the perilous situations associated with the journey. The concept of the

journey is further integral to this text, with the graffito referencing the travlling companions

accompanying the author. Seven graffiti at Wadi Haggag similarly feature requests for the author to be

saved, however, as they do not explicitly reference the act of travel it is difficult to ascertain whether

these requests specifically referred to the dangers of the Sinai or were more general expressions for

divine intervention.[506] Another subsection of graffiti which is notable at Sinai is that which requests God

"guard" the author. The term *φυλάξον* 'guard' is not without precedent in late antique religious

literature and epigraphy, yet is uncommon in graffiti, as it appears only eight number of times in the

catalogue.[507] Three of the times this request appears are at Sinai, in texts such as 'Lord guard Kyrillos'.[508]

The use of the term "guard" further suggests an awareness of threat on behalf of the author, which they

pray God would protect them from.

The prayer graffiti from Sinai is not homogeneous, featuring a variety of different requests and

formulae. One explanation for this diversity could be that as a stopping place on a pilgrimage route,

authors at Sinai brought local supplicatory traditions with them, which they then inscribed upon the

rock. However, whilst the majority of graffiti at the site uses typical formulae, several examples stand

out as recording the real and present concerns of pilgrims in a perilous location. Graffiti at Sinai served

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[505] EG281. *† Κ(ύρι)ε σώσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Θεόφιλον κ(αὶ) τοὺς δία φέροντας | αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τ(ὴ)ν συνοδίαν αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν.*
[506] For graffiti at Wadi Haggag which request salvation, see: EG281; EG283; EG285; EG321; EG338; EG351 and EG321.
[507] For examples of graffiti which request to be guarded in the Sinai, see: EG278; EG293 and EG296. For the appearance of this prayer outside the Sinai, see TU743, IP146; IP160; IP173 and SY35.
[508] EG293. *† Κ(ύρι)ε φυλάξον | τὸν Κύριλλον.*

not only to record the general expressions and desires for divine aid, but also the immediate concerns relevant during pilgrimage.

3.4.   Devotional Imagery in Late Antique Graffiti

Section one of this chapter focused on the aspects of ritual associated with graffiti, the act of carving and the similarities and distinctions emerged in different graffiti at the same site. Section two focused on the linguistic aspect of late antique graffiti – how individuals adopted the language of liturgy and epigraphic prayer to carve votives and request aid from a deity. This final section will examine the figurative graffiti which held religious intent in the late antique period, examining the graffiti which manifested as the images associated with religion in the late antique world.

Visual culture and imagery were an important part of late antique Christianity. This chapter has already discussed the important of the material in late antique religion, and a key facet of late antique material religion was religious images and symbols. For example, in the sixth century hagiography, *The Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*, Mary's conversion to Christianity occurs as a response to seeing an icon of the Virgin Mary.[509] Outside of strictly realistic representations of saints, the iconography associated with religion was ascribed supernatural power by late antique individuals, one of the earlier examples being the vision of Constantine. After seeing the image of sign of the cross in the sky, Constantine was instructed to carry the sign of the cross into battle, and in doing so guaranteed his victory.[510] As a consequence, association between these images and the individual developed as a way to demonstrate the faith of the author – and the carving of these images could manifest as an act of devotion. Late antique hagiographies often described pious individuals making the sign of the cross, either to protect themselves or indicate their devotion, and the same emotions would be attached to the action of

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[509] Sophronios. *The Life of Saint Mary of Egypt.* 23.
[510] Eusebios of Caesarea. *Life of Constantine*. 28-31. Trans. A. Cameron and S. Hall.

making a tangible religious image.[511] The following section will explore the ways late antique authors

sought to carve religious imagery in their environments, and what this can tell us about how they

expressed their religious devotion. I will first examine three sites which use the cross as a means of

expressing religious devotion within the urban environment (Aphrodisias and Ephesos) before

examining a similar tradition at Grammata bay, where the Chi-Rho is prevalent as a religiously carved

image.[512] I will then finally examine three case studies from Antinoopolis, a selection of Levantine sites,

and Hierapolis, which feature representations of human figures with religious associations (including

both saints and the *orant* figure) to explore how graffiti could make use of religious imagery to

communicate a diversity of ideas about the author's religious status.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

A good starting point to look at the ways religious iconography was used as a means of expressing

devotion is at Aphrodisias. As one of the larger sites I studied, consisting of not just one building, church

or monastery but an entire city, it has yielded the highest amount of graffiti in the catalogue at 635 texts

and images. Notably, some of the identifiably late antique graffiti at the site are not just Christian, but

also Jewish, allowing an examination of types of religious imagery across faith boundaries.

Both crosses and menorahs, two key identifying religious symbols, are found at Aphrodisias. Stern

highlights how the presence of these symbols, which were associated with specific religious

communities, would assert the presence of the religious group within the public space of the city.[513] This

means of asserting presence in the city would co-exist with devotional intent, with the physicality of a

religious symbol continuing to support the religion in the space.

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[511] For examples of late antique holy figures making the sign of the cross, see: *The Life of Theodore of Sykeon* 18.
Trans. N.H. Baynes and Gregory of Nyssa. *The Life of Saint Macrina* 21. Trans. W.K. Lowther Clarke.
[512] Discussion of the cross as epigraphic punctuation can be found in section 5.4.1.
[513] Stern 2018: 142.

The cross is found frequently in the spaces of Aphrodisias. It often precedes personal names in *topos* inscriptions. In the theatre baths, a commercial space in late antiquity, vendors frequently referenced their Christian identity with a cross. One barber wrote 'Place of Alexandros, Barber', the two crosses signifying the religious allegiance of the vendor.[514] In the urban park, the salesman Zotikos also featured two crosses at the end of his *topos* inscription.[515] Crosses preceding these inscriptions are very frequent, though not universal. Crosses are present in inscriptions outside commercial contexts, preceding two inscriptions on the walls of the city.[516] When preceding a personal name, both relating the identity of vendors and other individuals, crosses served to indicate the faith of the author and assert this faith publicly, thus representing to themselves, their peers and their deity their position as a pious Christian. Beyond the identification of the authors as the member of a faith group, the cross also carried the apotropaic symbolism ascribed to it in religious sources. In *topos* inscriptions, the addition of a cross may have functioned partially as a means of providing supernatural protection to the author. This is an argument given additional weight in the *topos* inscription of Zotikos, the text of which requests good fortune on behalf of the author. The inscription features two crosses, and their addition may have been a way for Zotikos to invoke divine aid to ensure his good fortune (Figure 3.5). Simultaneously, we often find crosses carved on their own unaccompanied by a personal name. A graffito of a cross is found on the seats of the stadium.[517] In the corridor behind the stage of the odeon, performers sought to represent their support for Christianity again with a depiction of a large decorated cross (Figure 3.6), but also representations of the less commonly seen globus cruciger.[518] The addition of these crosses in public space could serve to provide divine aid within that space.

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[514] TU307. *† Ἀλέξαν|δρος | κουρέος | τόπος | †.*
[515] TU634. *τόπος | v. Ζοτικοῦ | v. καπήλου † | v. εὐτυχῶς †.* 'Place of Zotikos, salesman. Good fortune!'
[516] TU136. *† | Λεογ|το v..* 'Leon'; TU137. *† Φιλίππ(ου)ς.* 'Philippos.'
[517] TU263.
[518] TU85 and TU83.

Similarly, the Sebasteion was being used as a commercial space in the fifth century, and once again we see the presence of religious imagery as a method of identifying the faith of inhabitants who occupied this space.[519] Crosses are found in the cellular shops constructed within the Sebasteion.[520] Similarly, two graffiti representing menorahs are found in the cellular shops.[521] It is notable that these images do not appear in conjunction with *topos* inscriptions, as seen in other spaces within Aphrodisias, particularly as the Sebasteion was a commercial area and *topos* inscriptions frequently served commercial purposes. The addition of religious imagery to a space would serve to shape that space, staking ownership to it and altering the way it was perceived by contemporaries. Through the addition of a cross, Christians in late antiquity could alter the space, making it 'perceptibly Christian', whilst the addition of menorahs by late antique Jews could similarly make their identity clear – explicitly stating the presence of Jews, their god and their faith within late antique public spaces.[522]

Although not as frequent as crosses, menorahs were found in other spaces in Aphrodisias. In these graffiti, we see Jewish populations establish their faith within the public arena. Notably, unlike crosses, the menorah never precedes a *topos* inscription at Aphrodisias. This is not unusual for the eastern Mediterranean: Stern notes that the menorah does not appear before *topos* inscriptions throughout the east.[523] The two other menorahs found in Aphrodisias appear on a reused block, possibly initially from a door frame, and on a seating block beside the pool in the urban park.[524]

Chaniotis views the religious imagery at Aphrodisias as evidence of a form of competition between different faith groups; with groups vying for public space and visibility within the city.[525] I would be

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[519] Lavan 2006: 228.
[520] TU130.
[521] TU128; TU129.
[522] Jacobs 2017: 175; Stern 2018: 142.
[523] Stern 2018: 159.
[524] TU56; TU622.
[525] A. Chaniotis 2015. https://www.ias.edu/ideas/2015/chaniotis%E2%80%93graffitti. (Accessed 31.07.2022)

hesitant to use the word competition here, which to my mind creates the impression of conflict, which

may not be accurate, and plays into perceptions of late antique religion as characterised by bouts of

violence between faith groups. Furthermore, it should again be remembered that graffiti is personal.

Although the actions of individuals may represent wider social trends, it is difficult to claim that the

inscription of religious graffiti was *formally* encouraged to Christianise spaces. I do think, however, that

the presence of religious imagery by variant faith groups in Aphrodisias attests to the important roles

religion played in the daily lives of the inhabitants of the late antique city. Through inscribing both

Christian and Jewish imagery, individuals not only asserted their presence within the city, but carved the

image themselves. This was performative, displaying to their peers that they were a pious member of

their faith, and creating a lasting connection between the individual and the material manifestation of

their religion.

Ephesos (Turkey)

Many of the conclusions about the use of religious imagery in the graffiti of Aphrodisias can also be

applied to Ephesos, which provides parallel evidence of late antique urban environments. It is worth

examining Ephesos independently to reinforce that the use of religious iconography was not unique to

one city, but existed in multiple different locations throughout the late antique east. Although it is

notable that religious imagery does not seem to be applied identically in both cities, Christian visual

culture was adopted into late antique graffiti in Ephesos and is evidence of the desire of individuals to

manifest their devotion and invoke the supernatural power of this imagery within their immediate

environment.

As at Aphrodisias, we see that individuals often carved the cross throughout the city. This occurred both

in situations where the graffito could be associated with an individual, and in contexts where there is no

immediate connection between the cross and an individual identity. Crosses feature in the graffiti at the

Church of Saint John, preceding both prayers and invocations.[526] In these instances, the carving of the

crosses would reinforce and bolster the religious benefit of the prayer, an additional way of

memorialising the author's piety, for example one invocation of the saint opens with a cross '✝ Saint

John'.[527] Furthermore, crosses are found in other spaces in the city: for example, a prayer from the

Vedius Gymnasium reading '✝ Lord, help ✝' featured crosses bookending the prayer.[528] Furthermore, a

cross above the graffito of a *tyche* figure on a street pavement (Figure 1.14), integrated a Christian cross

and the figurative representation of the city, and thus guaranteeing religious protection for the *polis*.[529]

Other Christian imagery is also prevalent throughout the city. It is possible the peacocks carved on

Stadium Street were references to the peacock as a Christian symbol of eternal life (Figure 3.7).[530] In the

commercial agora, a detailed representation of a Christian shrine is carved, featuring key religious

imagery such as the alpha and omega, and representative features of church space (Figure 1.12).[531] The

use of religious symbolism thus transformed a "secular" space within Ephesos, materialising a Christian

religious site as part of the permanent imagery of the city, and invoking the supernatural power of the

shrine in the agora.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)

An example of another site where religious imagery in the graffiti is illustrative of how this imagery

served religious purposes for the author is Syros, particularly the graffiti from Grammata Bay. The

graffiti at Syros is representative of a tradition extending beyond late antiquity, with Hellenistic and

Roman graffiti also present at the site, bearing prayers to pagan deities.[532] Similarly, the graffiti from the

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[526] TU665; TU662; TU666; TU667; TU668; TU669; TU684; TU685; TU688; TU690 and TU691.
[527] TU661. *✝ ἅγιε Ἰ[ω(άννη) ---.*
[528] TU786. *✝ | Κύριε βοήϑι | ✝.*
[529] TU739.
[530] Ferguson 1961: 23. For the peacock, see TU755.
[531] TU694.
[532] Kiourtzian 2000: 138.

late antique period consists primarily of graffiti referring to objects of Christian devotion, both God and saints, and requests for help from the sailors passing through the site. As part of this practice, we frequently see the placement of religious imagery. Thirteen inscriptions from Syros feature religious imagery, with a cross appearing eleven times either as ornamental punctuation or otherwise accompanying the inscription.[533] Along with the cross, the Chi-Rho is a particularly common form of religious punctuation, and the Chi-Rho accompanies inscriptions six times, an example of which can be seen in figure 3.8.[534] It is not certain why the Chi-Rho is frequent at Syros; however, the Chi-Rho held an important place in Christian culture. The Chi-Rho was particularly important due to its association with the emperor Constantine but was frequent in late antique material culture, for example figure 3.9, an oil lamp from Egypt which features the Chi-Rho. Preceding several prayers at Syros, the inscription of the Chi-Rho was a method for the authors to further accentuate their piety. It was the chosen method of creating a connection between Christian material culture and the author. Similarly, the menorah appears twice amongst the graffiti, indicating that the authors of these texts were Jewish. One of these texts is preceded by a menorah, and explicitly references the religion of the author in the text, requesting that God recognise the Jewish ship captain Eiortylis 'In the name of the living God, Eiortylis the Jew, safe, for good sailing'.[535] However, it is notable that the other graffito from the site with a menorah is not notably different from the majority Christian graffiti at Syros. Reading 'Lord, help Eunomios and all who sail with him from Naxos' the text does not refer to the religion of the author.[536] Instead, the only way we can identify the religion of the author is through the figurative graffito which is beside it. The invocation "Lord, help" is not an exclusively Christian prayer, however, it can be easily

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[533] For graffiti from Syros featuring the cross, see: GR137; GR108; GR121; GR132; GR131; GR122; GR119; GR105; GR76; GR74 and GR71.

[534] For graffiti at Syros which feature a Chi-Rho, see GR66; GR69; GR77; GR79; GR81 and GR103. For graffiti at Syros featuring a Staurogram, see: GR106.

[535] GR96. *Ἐπι ὠνώματος Θ(εο)ῦ ζõν[τος] | Εἰωρτύλις [Ιουδα]ῖος | σωθίς, ὑπὲρ [εὐπλ]ύα[ς?].*

[536] GR85. *Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τõ δού|λο σου Εὐνομίο | κὲ πάσῃ τῇ συνπλοί|α αὐτοῦ Ναξίοις.*

associated with Christianity, due to its prevalence in the late antique period, most particularly in

religious contexts.[537] As a consequence, it can be easy to assume that every text using this formula is

Christian. This is also what is generally assumed about the graffiti at Syros. Due to religious

demographics in late antiquity, and the prevalence of Christian imagery accompanying the formula not

only at Syros but at other sites, it is likely most of the graffiti there is Christian: one text even invoked a

Christian saint.[538] Subsequently, we can read the use of the menorah at Syros as a means of asserting

Jewish faith in a largely Christian context. Once again, we see the use of a religious symbol as a means of

asserting personal faith and piety.

Antinoopolis (Egypt)

A series of figurative graffiti from two churches at Antinoopolis highlight another tradition of utilising

religious imagery on behalf of the author. The two churches at Antinoopolis feature graffiti of saints,

highlighting a local tradition in which supplicants would represent the whole figure of a holy person.

Saint graffiti is found on two columns from the Church with Ionic Columns in Antinoopolis. Two *dipinti*

on a column represent military saints, one complete image features a saint holding a spear and a shield,

standing above a snake (Figure 3.10).[539] The second graffito from this column also features a military

saint in armour, but the image is unfinished (Figure 3.11).[540] Two similar graffiti were found in the

Episcopal church at Antinoopolis. One graffito of a male figure carries an indeterminate object in his

right hand (Figure 3.12) and there is an *orant* (Figure 3.13).[541] It is not certain who these figures

represent. One possibility for the military figures is Saint George: the name George is inscribed in graffiti

in the Church with the Ionic Columns, and it is not clear whether this is an acclamation to the saint or

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[537] See section 3.3.1 (pages 137-138) for a discussion of the importance of this prayer in Christian epigraphy.
[538] GR43. *Κ(ύρι)ε κα(ὶ) ἅγιε Φωκᾶ σοσον | τὸ πλοῖον Μαρία καὶ το|ὺς πλέοντας ἐν αὐτῷ | [----]πηδάλιο Σ [--] ‖ [--] ΣΗΣ [--] | [---] Ḥ [-].* 'Lord, save your servant Synetos the General with his sailing companions… and Phokas. Amen.'
[539] EG102. ✝ Ὀ ἅγιος [...]. 'Saint'.
[540] EG103.
[541] EG95 and EG96.

the name of a supplicant.[542] The hypothesis that the figures represent Saint George is supported by the

imagery in the graffiti, as the figure standing above the snake is reminiscent of images of Saint George

standing above the dragon, although if this is the case the graffiti must date later in the medieval period

as the legend surrounding the dragon had not developed in the late antique era.[543] Another possibility is

the military saint Victor. The name Victor is also frequent in the two churches, and it is again unsure if

this is an acclamation to the saint or a supplicant carving their name.[544] Saint Victor was also associated

with the area around Antinoopolis, and medieval Coptic hagiography records his martyrdom in the local

area, making this association quite likely.[545]

The decision to carve the saints at the site is notable. Textual graffiti does feature in both churches, with

both including prayers and names.[546] Decisions to carve figurative graffiti were not the result of illiteracy

amongst the local population, but instead represent a method of showing devotion to the saints.

Through carving the image of the saint upon the wall, the supplicant manifested the presence of the

saint in the building. Not only was the saint placed at the site (it is not clear whether the churches at

Antinoopolis were dedicated to these saints or not) but also the supplicant became intrinsically

associated with the being of the saint. This association indicated their own piety. This again exemplifies

the close relationship between carving as action and the individual. In her study of early modern church

graffiti in Italy, Plesch suggests that the practice of writing one's name or prayers upon official imagery

allowed individuals to integrate themselves into the holy figure, and receive spiritual benefit.[547] At

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[542] EG101. *Γεῶγε*. 'George'.
[543] For a discussion of the Saint George mythos and its medieval development see Morgan 2006: 45-61.
[544] EG94. *Βίκτω[ρ] | Ἀλιανέ | Βίκτωρ | {α} Ἀλιανέ.* 'Viktor, Aliane, Viktor, Aliane.' EG100. *Βίκτωρ | Βίκτωρ |. ἐλ(άχιστος) | † Βίκτω[ρ].* 'Viktor, Viktor, most humble, Viktor.'
[545] Van der Vliet 2015: 161-168. A martyrium of Saint Victor may have been located south of Antinoopolis, and the Kastron of of Hierakion associated with Saint Victor's martyrdom was located close to Antinoopolis.
[546] EG92. *Κῦρε | αν* 'Lord'. For Coptic prayers in the churches see: Delattre 2017: no. 13 and Delattre 2017: no. 14.
[547] Plesch 2002: 183.

Antinoopolis, the supplicants take this a step further, creating the representation of the holy image themselves. In doing so, the devotee and the saint became inseparable.

A similar understanding can be read through the carving of an *orant* figure. The figure may have represented a saint, in which case it would have served a similar purpose as the carving of the military saints. Conversely, it could have held an even more personal meaning to the supplicant. The *orant* was a means of displaying prayer, with origins in Graeco-Roman art. In Christian imagery the *orant* was adopted as a means of indicating an individual at prayer.[548] This is a development seen in both art of religious figures, where figures in the *orans* position with outstretched arms represent supplication, and the piety of the individual. For example, it is a trope in early Christian sarcophagi to feature a portrait of the deceased as an *orant*, indicating that they are praying, and thus establishing their posthumous identity as a pious Christian (such as a fourth century sarcophagus from Rome, figure 3.14).[549] The same interpretation could be read in the informal inscriptions at Antinoopolis. The decision to draw *orans* figures is complex. This may have been a way for individuals to represent themselves (or at least the idea of themselves, if the figure was generalised rather than a portrait) at prayer, manifesting their acts of supplication in the church as a permanent fixture of the building. Conversely, even if the graffiti did not represent the individual but a holy figure or saint, the act of carving would require the individual to once again become one with this image and the concept of devotional prayer, manifested through carving.

Levantine Sites (Israel/Palestine and Jordan)

Parallel examples to the *orant* graffiti at Antinoopolis can be found at sites in the Levant. One graffito of an *orant* figure is found at in a cistern at Khirbat el-Waziya (Figure 3.15).[550] Although the figure is not

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[548] Jensen 2000: 35.
[549] Jensen 2000: 35-36.
[550] IP131.

accompanied by any visible text (although it cannot be discounted that a prayer or invocation has been lost) the religious associations of the *orant* figure in the late antique period allow for a reasonably comfortable analysis of this graffito as representing a figure at prayer. Eitan Klein, Boaz Zissu and Nir Distelfeld suggest that the representation of a figure at prayer held an apotropaic function.[551] In this instance, the addition of an *orant* would serve an important religious function, perpetuating prayers and desires of the builders that the cistern would not be damaged. This conclusion is reinforced the presence of Christian iconography at other late antique cisterns throughout modern day Israel, whilst no other cistern so overtly materialises the prayers of builders as the *orant*, the use of crosses, Chi-Rho's and other religious iconography was used to manifest religious presence in the cisterns and protect them from harm.[552]

A comparable example is found at a tomb in Abila. Here the *orant* is found carved next to a prayer requesting remembrance for author of the text (Figure 3.16).[553] In this instance the meaning of the religious iconography is informed by the addition of the prayer. Whilst the text perpetuates the exact desire for remembrance of the author, the addition of a recognisable image associated with prayer reinforces the actions undertaken by the author, and continues the act beyond its duration.

Hierapolis (Turkey)

A final example of late antique authors making use of the religious iconography to express their own devotion can be found at the Martyrium of Philip in Hierapolis. One of the graffiti found at the tomb features a representation of a saint (Figure 3.17) carved above the prayer of the author. The exact saint represented is uncertain, Francesco D'Andria suggests it may be a representation of Saint Philip (suggested both by the placement of the graffito at the tomb of Philip, as well as the prayer itself asking

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[551] Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: 413.
[552] Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: 435.
[553] JO1. *Μνησθῇ Μνησθῇ | σκάψαν…* 'Remember, Remember, Skapsan'.

assistance: 'Lord, help your servant').[554] The figurative graffito bears many similarities to early Byzantine representations of saints and holy men. For example, the robes and beard of the figure, as well as the scroll held, are similar to those seen on the depiction of Jeremiah at San Vitale in Ravenna (Figure 3.18). Whether this graffito represented Saint Philip himself, or the generalised idea of a holy figure, the graffito clearly borrows iconography from formalised religious artwork of the late antique period.

The author of this graffito made a conscious decision to add the image of a holy figure above their own prayer, and in doing so associated the supernatural powers ascribed to image in the late antique and Byzantine period with their own prayer. The author not only received divine recognition for his prayer but was also able to sanctify it with the image of a saint. He may have believed that through the addition of this image, the saint would be more likely to intercede, or protect his prayer from harm.[555] Consequently, the graffito from the Tomb of Philip highlights that the addition of familiar religious imagery to a text could serve to provide supernatural benefit to late antique authors.

3.5. Conclusion:

To fully understand late antique graffiti practices, it is necessary to examine the religious context in which much of it was written. Late antique religion was inherently material, influenced by Graeco-Roman, Jewish and pagan practices which all required their adherents to complete actions in the physical world to attain divine recognition (such as sacrifice, votive dedication and pilgrimage). Within this context, graffiti functioned as another way for late antique peoples to enshrine their pious behaviours in the physical world, through the creation of a tangible, "permanent" mark which attested to their worship.

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[554] D'Andria 2017: 164. TU803. *† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὸν | δοῦλόν σου Τ..Α.*

[555] For a discussion of the harm one could invoke through inscribing a text publicly, see Section 2.3.1. Pages 106-108.

Graffiti thus commemorated the rituals associated with religious practice. Casually inscribed texts memorialised the activities recognised by communities as integral to their faith practices: in Christian contexts this could mean the carving of a personal name or prayer on a church wall to perpetuate the activity, such as at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, or through partaking in communal epigraphic activities, such as the addition of a cross to the Temple of Isis at Syene. The creation of memorials to a communal ritual is also seen in one of the few examples of pagan graffiti of late antiquity, the inscriptions of the ironworkers at Deir el-Bahri.

Informal inscriptions also recorded the prayers of late antique peoples. These prayers were largely schematic, with the common epigraphic prayer "Lord, help" being the most commonly used divine petition. The appropriation of this phrase by individuals, as well as the use of other prayers which featured in liturgy such as "lord, help" and "Lord, save" indicate that late antique authors internalised the common terminology in their religious environments, and replicated it when seeking their own salvation. Further, when individuals felt prescient and physical threats to their person, as can be seen in the graffiti from Syros where authors were at risk of shipwreck or drowning, authors chose petitions pertinent to their situation; at Syros this meant an increase in prayers asking for salvation. This point is further emphasised by the prison graffiti from Corinth, in which the incarcerated requested God smite those who imprisoned them. Prayer graffiti from the late antique eastern Mediterranean thus allowed individuals to perpetuate their desires and religious requests, according to their own needs.

The religious iconography integrated into late antique graffiti further indicates the devotional intent of this material. The frequent use of a cross served to elevate any text, rendering it not only commemorative of the individual who wrote it, or the events they recorded, but also their Christian faith and personal piety. At Syros, the use of the Chi-Rho ensured every prayer and acclamation featuring this symbol asserted the Christianity of the author in an environment with no religious context, sacralising their prayers and the rocks upon which the prayers were inscribed. Additionally, the

inscription of a menorah in the Syros graffiti indicates that not only Christians, but also Jews, sought to record their faith in this context. Furthermore, the act of carving a religious symbol itself ensured the author would be remembered as pious, the tie between an individual and their image could not be severed. The graffito of a saint, possibly Saint Philip, at his tomb in Hierapolis created an unbreakable bond between the author and the image, the creation of which manifested their devotion. The addition of *orant* figures to the church at Antinoopolis served to record and perpetuate the prayers undertaken by supplicants in the church, whose ephemeral devotional practices now featured in the permanent epigraphic record.

The informal religious inscriptions from the late antique eastern Mediterranean reveal much about the personal piety and practices of the individual in this period, particularly in relation to Christian adherents. Religion is not something which just "happened" to late antique peoples, but rather was something they experienced intensely. These experiences were then recorded in the physical world through their casual graffiti.

Part Two - Graffiti and the Environment

4. Graffiti and the Landscape

The first three chapters of this thesis focused on graffiti and its relationship to individual authors, considering the commemorative and religious functions of informal inscriptions. The remaining two chapters of this thesis will take a differing approach, instead examining graffiti in relation to the broader environment in which epigraphy is placed. This chapter will look at the urban landscape, and adopt the methodology of landscape pioneered by Henry Lefebvre, which considers space from two different perspectives. The first considers landscape purely in terms of its materiality, the physical buildings and features which constitute a space. The second perspective, examines landscape through the lens of how individuals experienced a space, how they interacted with and conceptualised the physical nature of their environment.[556] This dual perspective on landscape is readily applicable to the study of late antique graffiti; allowing the examination of graffiti both in terms of its placement on a piece of architecture, but also how the ways one conceptualised a space influenced the authors decision to add the inscription. Some spatial analyses of graffiti have begun to approach the issue of graffiti in the landscape previously, most notably Ine Jacobs' examination of the placement of cross graffiti throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and Chaniotis' publications on the graffiti within the urban landscape of Aphrodisias.[557] Nevertheless, these studies either exclusively consider one type of inscription, or one location. The following chapter adopts a holistic approach, examining graffiti of all different types, across the urban landscapes of the late antique eastern Mediterranean, to establish both the placement of graffiti in these environments, and how this placement can inform us of the experiences of individuals within their urban spaces.

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[556] Lefebvre 1974: 38-39.

[557] Jacobs 2017: 175-223; A. Chaniotis 2015. https://www.ias.edu/ideas/2015/chaniotis%E2%80%93graffitti. [Accessed 28.08.2022]. Chaniotis 2018: 77-91; Chaniotis and De Staebler 2018: 31-54.

As this chapter focuses on graffiti within the urban landscapes of the late antique east, I will initially examine what constituted the late antique "city". The chapter will then be split into four sections examining differing aspects of the late antique urban landscape, including public squares and thoroughfares, bath complexes, theatres and stadia and finally Christian religious sites. For my analysis of the placement of graffiti, and the function graffiti fulfilled in cities, it is key to understand the roles of the late antique cityscape and the behaviours which were manifested in these spaces. Through appreciating the behaviours which took place in the cityscape, we can understand how the landscape was viewed by its inhabitants. Each section will first contextualise the environment in which graffiti is found through examining the late antique use of these spaces, including particularly the social, commercial, and religious behaviours which took part in each space. Having defined these locations, several case studies of late Roman cities (including Ephesos, Aphrodisias and Jerusalem, amongst others) will then be examined. The graffiti be analysed according to both its spatial distribution and these functions. This will allow for a complete understanding of not only where graffiti was placed physically in the late antique landscape, but how it functioned.

4.1.   The Late Antique City

Before examining the graffiti found in the late antique landscape, it is first important to establish what this term means in the context of this thesis. Landscapes have traditionally been understood as either "urban" or "rural", i.e., the city or the countryside.[558] These terms are fluid and changeable, for example whilst Aphrodisias was unquestionably a city, it's urban park features greenery, flora and fauna which would typically be associated with rural environments.[559] Graffiti has been discovered in both urban and rural late antique environments.[560] The focus of this chapter will be on the informal inscriptions from

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[558] Antrop 2013: 13. Antrop describes the lenses through which we examine landscape.
[559] Wilson 2016: 129; Wilson, Russell and Ward 2016: 79-81.
[560] 1200 graffiti in the catalogue have been uncovered in urban environments, including Aphrodisias, Ephesos Mylasa, Hierapolis, Aizanoi, Perge, Sagalassos, Xanthos, Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki,

urban landscapes in the late antique Mediterranean. This decision has been made for practical and

methodological reasons, the monumental architecture of ancient cities has generally survived better

than rural architecture, and a pre-occupation with the civic and cultural centres of Roman and Late

Anitique civilisation in scholarship has led to urban centers receiving great attention.[561] Furthermore,

the variety of different types of buildings in urban environments means it is more appropriate to do a

comparative analysis of the graffiti found in different buildings.

With this in mind, it is necessary to consider what exactly constituted the urban environment in late

antiquity. City status in the Roman Empire was a legal term; it was a title which could be assigned to a

place by the emperor. Despite this however, the late Roman conception of a city went beyond mere

legality; cities were frequently defined by their civic buildings, public services and monuments. This is

evidenced in both literary sources and archaeological ones. In describing Justinian's additions to the

dilapidated city of Kiberis, Prokopios emphasised the importance of monumental architecture to the late

antique concept of a city: 'He also built there baths and guest-houses and numerous dwellings, and all

the other things which make a city notable'.[562] The same view is found in late antique epigraphy: an

inscription from the Orcistus recounts the granting of city status to the town by Constantine. This

inscription reveals the fluidity of what could be considered a city, however. The inscription claimed that

Orcistus previously had city-status, but it had been unfairly revoked, and that the city was deserving of

this status due to its monumental amenities.[563] The late antique city in this chapter will therefore be

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Philippi, Pthiotic Thebes, Stobi, Palmyra, Jerusalem, Halabiyya-Zenobia and Sergioupolis Resafa. It would not be correct to characterise all non-urban environments as rural, due to the fluidity of these terms, and so providing a complete list of graffiti in "rural" environments is not possible. However, the presence of graffiti in areas such as the desert pilgrimage route of Wadi Haggag, highlights that graffiti could be found in non-urban areas.
[561] Burns and Eadie: Xii-xiii.
[562] Prokopios *Buildings* 4.10.21. Trans. H.B. Dewing and G. Downey.
[563] The Orcistus Dossier. Judaism and Rome. https://www.judaism-and-rome.org/orcistus-dossier-cil-iii-352. [Accessed 02.09.2022]. 'On these [roads] it is said to be a suitable and convenient way station for all public [magistrates]. [It is said that there is] a splendid abundance of water there, as well as public and private baths, a forum decorated with statues of former emperors, a population of inhabitants so numerous that the seats there are easily filled'. Trans. R. Van Dam. For this translation see Van Dam 2008: 371.

considered an environment which featured the requirements of city space according to late antique

authors, rather than whether the urban space officially held this title. These requirements included

public squares (agorai), thoroughfares, bath complexes, theatres and stadia and religious institutions.[564]

Within each of these institutions I will then examine where graffiti is placed, in order to consider what

behaviours were manifested in each location, and how graffiti memorialised these behaviours.

4.2. Public Squares, Agorai and Thoroughfares:

The first location which I would like to examine is that of public squares, agorai and thoroughfares.

These spaces constituted significant amounts of the public space of the late antique city, and as a

consequence, this is similarly where we find much of the graffiti from the period. Out of the catalogue

produced in conjunction with this thesis, 160 inscriptions were found in public squares, agorai and

thoroughfares, or roughly nine percent.[565] As such, public spaces such as these make a logical starting

point for considering the placement of graffiti in the urban landscape as a whole. In order to correctly

contextualise and understand the graffiti found in these locations, I will first briefly examine the public

squares, agorai and thoroughfares of cities in the late antique period to establish what behaviours took

place in these spaces, and therefore what behaviours graffiti materialised.

Many cities in the eastern Mediterranean had agorai dating back to the Hellenistic period, or public

squares constructed during Roman occupation.[566] In the eastern Mediterranean, there are several

examples of the construction and renovation of public squares, particularly in new or expanding cities. In

Constantinople, both Constantine and Theodosius I built fora in the fourth century CE whilst a round

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[564] The importance of covered thoroughfares, baths and other public buildings to city life are discussed in Libanios. *Oration in Praise of Antioch*. 211-215, 220. Trans. G. Downey. For Libanios on the benefits of the urban theatre see Libanios. *Oration in Praise of Antioch.* 236a. Prokopios. *Buildings*. 3.4.19 lists the urban elements of the city of Melitene 'their marketplace, and all the other places for the sale of goods, and all the streets and stoas and baths and theatres of the city, and whatever else contributes to the embellishment of a great city'. Trans. H.B. Dewing and G. Downey.
[565] 160 out of 1733 inscriptions.
[566] Lavan 2021: 263.

plaza was constructed in the new city of Justiniana Prima in the sixth century.[567] At Aphrodisias the "Place of the Palms", an urban park which dates to the reign of Tiberius underwent several stages of construction and renovation in the late antique period, with the west portico rebuilt in the fifth or sixth century CE, and the east and south porticoes all undergoing stages of renovation between the fifth and sixth centuries.[568]

These public spaces served several different functions for late antique peoples, with one major role being economic. Both literary and archaeological evidence from as early as the fourth century indicate the appropriation of public space by workshops and commercial institutions.[569] A law from the reign of Zeno made it illegal for individuals to enclose columns for use as shops in porticoes between the Milion and the Capitolium in Constantinople, and legislated that existing booths must comply with specific dimensions so as not to make movement through the city difficult.[570] Similarly, in his *Oration 11* on Antioch, Libanios described the construction of wooden shops in the stoai of the city.[571] The economic roles of these spaces are supported further by archaeological evidence. Although few physical remains

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[567] Lavan 2006: 196-199. There is also evidence for the addition of new public squares to existing cities in this period. In the fourth century, the Forum of Valens was constructed in Antioch, and at Scythopolis in the early sixth century (c. 506/507 CE) a semi-circular plaza knows as the Sigma was built, followed shortly by the addition of a new phase to the late antique agora at the site circa the reign of Anastasios (491-518 CE) (Lavan 2006: 199 for the Forum of Valens, and Tsafrir and Foerster 1997: 117-123 for the squares of late antique Scythopolis). It was not just the construction of new public squares which occurred in the late antique period, but also the renovations of squares. At Ephesos the Tetragonos agora was renovated in the fourth or fifth century. (Lavan 2006: 203.)

[568] Wilson 2016: 106-109. Additionally, the thoroughfares of urban environments went through renovation within this period as the cities were modified for late antique ritual and procession. At Athens a new stoa was constructed circa the fifth century, aligning with the Panathenaic way as it joined the Roman agora. Leslie Shear Jr. 1984: 15-16; Frantz 1988: 61.

[569] Saradi 1998: 17.

[570] *The Codex of Justinian*. 10.12.6. 'But such booths shall not exceed 6 feet in width on their walls toward the street, and 7 feet in height, and passage through four columns from the portico to the street shall be in any case left free'. Trans. B. W. Frier.

[571] Libanios. *Oration on Praise of Antioch.* 254. '[B]etween the columns of the stoai […] these spaces are turned into shops, so that there is a workshop facing almost each one of the buildings. These are wooden huts, with brush wood for the roofs, and no space is without some handicraft'. I have slightly edited the translation of "stoas" to "stoai" for consistency. *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* 29 also describes the presence of shops built in the porticoes along the streets of Edessa, however unlike Libanios, this text views the shops as a negative phenomenon, claiming the new governor of the city 'cleared the streets of the city of filth, and swept away the booths which had been built by the artisans in the porticoes and streets.' Trans. W. Wright.

of the wooden stalls which would have been built in these spaces exist, often the alterations to the local

architecture which facilitated these stalls remain.[572] The presence of post-holes (cuttings in pavements

and columns to hold posts) as well as both formal and informal *topos* inscriptions reveal commercial

presence in agorai and public squares.[573] At Sagalassos, several post-holes are cut into the pavement of

the upper agora, which would have held wooden posts for the construction of market stalls, either on a

permanent basis or to be slotted in on market days.[574]

The roles of the urban public square were not solely economic however, and public squares and

thoroughfares also acted as foci for the social activities practiced in the urban environment. Although

literary sources represent only a selection of the behaviours (and explanations for the behaviours) which

took place in the late antique city, these written sources suggest a wide collection of social activities

were held in the agora. These activites ranged from formal functions, to informal meetings and general

social display.[575] John Chrysostom characterises the agora as a place of idle social gathering on warm

days 'people are not engaged in their works […] when it is bright day, when all are in the market-

place'.[576] Open public spaces were also used for gambling and playing competitive games. Cassiodorus

mentioned playing dice games in the forum as a benefit of urban life.[577] Large, formally carved

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[572] Jacobs 2021: 277-280.

[573] Jacobs 2021: 277-279.

[574] Lavan 2012b: 328-331. At Sardis, a series of shops were constructed in a portico in the north end of the monumental colonnaded street (Rautman 2017: 233.) Beam holes in the side of the adjoining bath-gymnasium complex attest to the addition of wooden rafters to the shops, and a series of irregular walls constructed throughout the colonnade indicate the presence of individual shops. (Crawford 1990: 4-6.)

[575] Lavan 2006: 215-222 for a good summary of the social activities which take place in the *agora*.

[576] John Chrysostom. *Fifth Homily on Acts.* Trans. J. H. Parker, F. Rivington and J. Rivington. John Chrysostom *Homily 79 on John*. 5 further describes the experiences one might have in the agora, including flirtations between individuals: 'But the lovers, if they see but a little servant girl of their mistress […] they stand in the middle of the market-place, and talk with her, as if they were proud and glad to do so'. Trans. C. Marriott.

[577] Cassiodorus. *Variae.* 8.31.8.Trans. M. Shane Bjornlie. Cassiodorus refers to these dice games as the 'calculations of Palamedes.'

gameboards have been discovered in Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Sagalassos and would have provided an

area within public squares for individuals to laze idly and engage in social activity with their peers.[578]

A broad range of religious activities were held in public squares and agorai in the late antique period.

Pagan religious practices associated with the Roman state had frequently been held in public during the

Roman empire, often in public spaces.[579] However, by the late fourth century CE, Christian emperors had

introduced a series of legislation criminalising forms of pagan worship.[580] From the late fourth century

into the seventh century CE, the primary form of religious activity we see in the agora is therefore

Christian. Public worship certainly happened in squares in late antiquity. In many cases this was

facilitated by the proximity of religious spaces to a city's square or main street. For example, at both

Jerusalem and Stobi a major basilica was connected to the main streets of the city. At Jerusalem the

Church of the Holy Sepulchre was constructed in 326 CE alongside the forum, as is illustrated in figure

4.1.[581] Squares and agorai were not only a space for public worship however, but also for private

religious expressions. Chrysostom encouraged his congregation to engage in religious worship, even

silently, when in the agora, stated: 'and even if you be in the market-place, you can collect yourself, and

sing unto God, no one hearing you'.[582]

The public squares and streets of the late antique city were the locus of a variety of different

experiences for individuals, varying between economic, social, and religious behaviours. With these in

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[578] Lavan 2021: 321-322.

[579] Lavan 2006: 230; Lavan 2021: 206-208. For an example of pagan processions continuing into the late antique period, see Himerios *Oration* 47. Trans. R. Penella.

[580] *The Theodosian Code.* 16.10.12; Elsner 2012: 125-126.

[581] Seligman 2014: 4206; Lavan 2006: 234. Egeria. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria.* 88. Egeria describes a procession through Jerusalem to the church of the Holy Sepulchre during Pentecost. Egeria describes the procession through the gates of the church to the market place, where the congregation were singing hymns 'And when the great gates are opened, which face towards the market-place, all the people enter the martyrium with hymns and with the bishop.' Trans. McClure and Feltoe.

[582] John Chrysostom *Homily Nine on Colossians.* 3. Trans. J.A. Broadus.

mind, it is now possible to examine the graffiti which was found in these locations, which also generally

ascribed to this metric, and fulfilled these roles within late antique culture.

4.2.1.   Graffiti and Public Squares

Ephesos (Turkey)

The first case study for graffiti in public squares and thoroughfares I would like to examine is that of

Ephesos, due to the large numbers of graffiti distributed throughout the public spaces in the city, with

149 inscriptions recorded in Ephesos, forty-six of which were in public squares and along

thoroughfares.[583] The graffiti at Ephesos is a testament to the spatial distribution of the individuals

writing graffiti, with informal inscriptions being found on many different levels of the urban

environment. Graffiti were commonly found in porticos. For example, three informal gameboards were

discovered in a portico along Curetes Street.[584] These boards were placed between columns, which

would have provided convenient seating in the shade for competitors and would have prevented

obstruction in the street. An informal gameboard was also found on the steps of the Androcles

monument, which would have provided similar functions of shade and seating. Gameboards are

frequently found carved on the paving slabs of these public spaces in Ephesos, six gameboards have

been discovered on Arkadian Street in total.[585] Three can be found on a paving slab opposite a doorway,

including two mill games (both a square and circular variant) and a five line gameboard (Figure 4.2).[586]

Although both of these games could have been played quickly, sometimes within a matter of minutes,

the placement of these boards on paving close to a front door could have created obstructions at the

point of entry to the building during these times. However, it may also have been a convenient place for

individuals to sit and play in the shade of the building. A board for the game "XII Scripta" is found in

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[583] 46 of 149 inscriptions is the equivalent of 31%.
[584] TU701; TU702 and TU703.
[585] TU639; TU643; TU644; TU645; TU646 and TU647.
[586] TU643; TU644; TU645.

front of a portico on the street.[587] Another text in the State agora is found carved on a bench and reads 'This is the place of… the reader, the deacons (and) the presbyters' and may have been carved to record the place of those stationed there during religious ceremonies.[588] These texts found on low, shaded spaces would have provided cool shaded areas in which the author could carve. However, other texts are found on columns and would have required the author to stand. For example, two texts have been recorded in the square in front of the Celsus library. Both graffiti are found carved into blocks on the south side of the square. One text is a prayer, it read 'Lord help your servant Andrea'.[589] The second text is a *topos* inscription, it read 'Place of Andrea, *meleparchos*'.[590] The placement of these texts on blocks would have required the author to stand and carve them. Similarly, along Stadium Street a series of figurative graffiti can be read on a column, both figurative and textual, which would have required the authors to stand and carve them.[591] However, graffiti is not just found at standing height, but also carved on the paving slabs and benches of the city, indicating the variety of heights and spaces individuals took up in the late antique city. The spatial distribution of the graffiti at Ephesos allows a reconstruction of the diversity of levels occupied by late antique peoples.

We can also use graffiti to recognise the behaviours people undertook in late antique open public spaces. For example, the graffiti of Ephesos reveals the presence of commercial activity in these spaces. On Arkadian Street two inscriptions attest to the 'Silver-smiths'; these inscriptions of uncertain formality may have been carved by either individual silver-smiths, or been part of a broader epigraphic programme indicating where these tradesmen had a right to sell their wares.[592] Other *topos* inscriptions, such as the 'Place of Nikostatos' found in the public spaces of the city do not indicate the profession of

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[587] TU647.
[588] TU762. *οὗτος ὁ τόπος | μαρτ. ἀνα|γνωστο(ῦ) δια|κόνων | πρεσβυτέρων.*
[589] TU748. *κύριε βοήθησον τ|ο δούλο σου Ἀνδρήᾳ.*
[590] TU749. *† Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †.*
[591] TU750; TU751; TU752; TU753; TU754; TU755; TU756; TU757; TU758 and TU759.
[592] TU640 and TU641. *ἀργυροκόπων.*

the author, but may have similarly informed viewers where a named salesman would be hawking their wares. A column from Stadium Street also attests to commercial activity along the city's thoroughfares, or rather the presence of tradesmen.[593] The text which reads 'sausage-maker' is carved beside a figurative graffito of a pig.[594] The text of the inscription is small, with the letters averaging between 1 cm and 1.5 cm high, and as such sausage-maker graffito would not have stood out as a sign attracting customers.[595] Instead, it is a casually carved text which expresses the identity of the author in economic terms and indicates his presence on the streets of the city. These texts indicate the close connection between commercial behaviours and individual epigraphic expression in late antique Ephesos. The authors not only partook in the commercial behaviours which were prevalent in these spaces but sought to record themselves doing so.

Graffiti further attests to the social activities undertaken by individuals in late antique Ephesos which, like the commercial activities, is represented in the informal epigraphic record. In Ephesos, the thoroughfares of the city seem to have formed a focal point for playing on gameboards, with boards appearing on Arkadian Street, Curetes Street, Marble Street, and the South Road.[596] The position of gameboards, lining the thoroughfares of the city, reflects the desire of Ephesians to play and compete with one another. The boards' placement in busy locations would ensure not only opponents for the individual who carved the game, but also observers.[597] However, the public squares and thoroughfares of the city were not just used for gaming, but also for other social activities and personal expressions. A text on Curetes Street acclaiming the Green faction attests to the presence of the circus factions and

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[593] TU744. *Νικωστάτου τόπος.*
[594] TU757. *λοκανι|κός.*
[595] Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 8
[596] For gameboards on Arkadian Street see: TU639; TU643; TU644; TU645; TU646 and TU647. For gameboards on Curetes Street see: TU699; TU700; TU701 and TU703. For gameboards on Marble Street see TU740 and TU741. For gameboards on the South Road see: TU747.
[597] See Trifilò 2011: 329-330 for a comparable discussion of the placement of gameboards and the impact of busy thoroughfares within the Roman Forum.

their supporters within the streets of the city, and may have been carved due to civic ceremony on the street, or just the author showing support for which team he wished to be successful in the next chariot race.[598] Furthermore, the collection of graffiti on the Stadium Street column is largely figurative and serves no clearly commercial or religious purpose, the column includes several faces, a dolphin and a peacock.[599] Beside a graffito of a plant, is the text 'work of Ioannes', as well as the previously mentioned sausage-maker graffito.[600]

The graffiti marks a similar intersection of casual activities. The variety of figurative graffiti do not bear any clear purpose besides providing enjoyment for those who carved them, as noted, the "sausage-maker" inscription could not have served as a *topos* inscription. Instead, as the author carved the image of a pig beside their profession, they were perhaps alluding to the process which produced his wares. Another graffito on this column, reading 'work of Ioannes' may have referred to one of the individuals who carved this figurative graffiti, and was thus a means of displaying to contemporaries his pride in his graffiti. Thus, the graffiti at Ephesos is further representative of the social activities which took part in the late antique city – and indicate that the city was not only the prerogative of city officials and formal art, but a space which could be actively shaped and altered by its inhabitants for their own enjoyment.

Finally, the graffiti in public squares and thoroughfares at Ephesos is indicative of the religious activities and beliefs which were made manifest in the late antique streets. Christian graffiti is found frequently throughout the city, with both overt prayers being carved, but also crosses being used to sanctify either pre-existing or contemporary texts. In the commercial agora, a figurative graffiti which represented a shrine sought to sanctify the space, the physical representation of the shrine (and its accompanying Christian iconography) symbolically bringing the power of this holy image into the secular space, with an

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[598] TU704. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχι | Πρασινῶν.* 'The fortune of the Greens triumphs!'.
[599] TU750; TU751; TU752; TU753; TU754; TU755; TU756; TU757; TU758 and TU759.
[600] TU750. *ἔργον Ἰωάν|νου.* TU757. *λοκανι|κός.*

attached prayer invoking divine aid.[601] A prayer is also carved on the base of a victory statue on Curetes

Street, and invokes divine aid for 'The God of George'.[602] In the square outside the Celsus library, the

topos inscription of the civic official the '*meleparchos*' is surrounded by crosses, whilst a paving

inscription on Curetes Street depicted a foot beside a *Tyche* figure, surmounted by a cross (Figure

1.14).[603] The religious graffiti found at Ephesos attest to a public form of Christian worship John

Chrysostom would have approved of – whilst these streets and squares could be frequently associated

with public religious worship in the form of processions and proximity to the holy space, individuals also

sought to integrate their religious beliefs into the fabric of the city in a more personal way, expressed

through the addition of prayers and religious imagery individuals would practice their faith through

carving graffiti into the urban environment.

Sagalassos (Turkey)
The second site I would like to examine is that of Sagalassos. The graffiti from Sagalassos is varied, and

attests to the spatial distribution of individuals in late antiquity (as well as the requirements to carve a

text, i.e., somewhere with seating and shelter from the elements) and the ways these texts and images

could be used, for example gameboards could be utilised on plaza steps long after they were carved.

The graffiti found within these squares aligns with the trends recognised at Ephesos, nevertheless they

are worth examining in their own right to emphasise some universalities in the late antique graffiti

tradition. They also indicate that late antique individuals felt a connection with every aspect of life in the

public square, including the commercial functions associated with the space but also their leisure and

religious activities. Individuals thus sought to, and found it appropriate, to manifest all these behaviours

at Sagalassos.

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[601] TU694. *κύριε σὺ | βούθ(ε)ι ἡ|μῖν | Χρ(ιστός) ΑΩ. Lord, help me.* See figure 1.12.
[602] TU696. Α *Ὁ θεὸς Γιοργίου | ἀνέγιρον τὸ | μέρος τον ῦδες.*
[603] TU749. *† Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †.* 'Place of Andrea, *meleparchos*'. See also Dey 2015: 96.

Ten graffiti have been recorded in the lower agora of Sagalassos, concentrated in hotspots throughout the square.[604] One of these hotspots is in the north-west corner of the square, where several texts are written on a column in a portico. [605] Graffiti is also found carved in the west portico, and gameboards are found on the nymphaeum base step, and the east portico steps.[606] As at Ephesos, the graffiti in the public squares of Sagalassos are found in spaces where authors could sit or stand in shade or by the cool water of the nymphaeum, rather than the centre of the square, so they would not obstruct traffic. In the case of gameboards, this placement was necessary to allow the creators to play unbothered and comfortably. Other graffiti found at Sagalassos reveals the same trends. In the upper agora, two *topos* inscriptions are found in the west portico, whilst at the Hadrianic nymphaeum Plaza nine graffiti were found on the steps of the nymphaeum.[607] The graffiti found at Sagalassos, placed on portico columns and steps is a testament to the levels occupied by occupants of the Late antique city, who carved texts and images against walls or whilst they were sitting; in fact, anywhere they happened to be.

The graffiti from Sagalassos is also indicative of the commercial activities undertaken by individuals in the late antique city, and in fact not only that these activities occurred, but that urban inhabitants recorded these happening in the spaces surrounding them. Of the three *topos* inscriptions found in the upper agora, only one is still legible enough to be fully interpreted. This text reads 'Place of the Bronzesmiths' and is written on a paving slab.[608] It is possible that this sign indicated where bronzesmiths could be found selling their wares, and this inscription may have been a formal or semi-formal legal designation about where the bronzesmiths had a right to set up their stall. The text may not have been formal, however, and it may also have been the carving of a bronzesmith who wrote it while

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[604] TU835; TU836; TU837; TU838; TU839; TU840; TU841; TU842; TU843 and TU844. Lavan 2012b does mention other informal inscriptions, but details as to their content and location are not given
[605] TU837; TU838; TU839; TU840 and TU841.
[606] For the west portico, see : TU844. For the east portico steps see : TU836.
[607] For graffiti found in the west portico of the Upper Agora, see: TU855 and TU856. For the Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza steps, see: TU827; TU828; TU829; TU830; TU831; TU832; TU833 and TU834.
[608] TU850. *τοπος χαλκο/τυπων.*

business was slow. The two other *topos* inscriptions read *μακεδυρα* and *Ζα[...]ες* respectively and may

have been now-unknown personal names or professional titles.[609] Regardless, these inscriptions testify

not only to the presence of commercial activities within these spaces, but also the casual ways in which

late antique peoples sought to record them.

Graffiti found at Sagalassos also indicates the social experiences of individuals in the late antique east.

Seven gameboards were carved on the steps of the Hadrianic nymphaeum plaza, indicating that large

numbers of people would sit to play these games.[610] Gameboards were also found carved on paving

stones and a drain cover in the upper agora, indicating that this practice was not restricted to one area

of the city but took place in multiple areas. The lower agora further testifies to the way graffiti

functioned as a leisure outlet in the public spaces of Sagalassos, with inscriptions such a figurative

graffito of a man and a dog having no clear purpose beyond the satisfaction of the author carving it.[611]

Some individuals appear to have written graffiti with no ulterior motive beyond their own enjoyment,

with two graffiti from the lower agora at Sagalassos read 'Good Fortune to Patrikos' and 'Health to

Herakles' wishing good things for the authors.[612] Both texts may have existed, carved either by the

author or their friends, simply as a way of wishing them well and good luck. Consequently, it is apparent

that graffiti, aside from being a way of manifesting experiences of an author, was also a leisure activity

for the late antique inhabitants of Sagalassos.

Finally, the graffiti at Sagalassos also indicates the presence of religious activities within the public space

of the late antique city. Religious texts and images are found in the upper agora.[613] Several crosses,

probably dating to the fifth to sixth centuries are found carved into a column base in the wall of the

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[609] TU855 and TU856.
[610] TU828; TU829; TU830; TU831; TU832; TU833; TU834.
[611] TU841.
[612] TU838. *ευτυχν πατρικι*; TU839. *†|υγιενε|ηρακλη.*
[613] TU852. *Εις θεος*. 'One God.'

northeast gate passage, whilst 'The fortune of the Michaeltai' appears on a column fragment.[614] Whilst

the crosses were likely an attempt to either sanctify the space, or manifest the piety of an individual, the

acclamation to the Michaeltai is noteworthy. Nowakowski suggests these were religious associations

dedicated to worshipping the cult of the Archangel.[615] Following this interpretation, the graffiti of the

Michaelitai attests not only to the presence of a religious association in public space, but the attempt to

manifest that presence by a member of that association. Several requests for divine intervention are

also found in Sagalassan public squares. In the lower agora, the prayer 'Lord, help your servant

Eutychios' has a devotional intent, whilst two other inscriptions are simple invocations for the benefit of

an individual, probably the author.[616] An innovation from the Hadrianic nymphaeum plaza reads 'One

God who helps', and is placed beside a cross of uncertain formality.[617] Although these were not

primarily religious environments, they were still locations the authors felt motivation to carve religious

inscriptions. The public squares of the late antique city clearly formed an appropriate canvas in which

individuals could inscribe their concerns and request divine aid.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)
An additional location where we can view the graffiti from late antique public squares and

thoroughfares is Aphrodisias. The graffiti from these public spaces in Aphrodisias supports the

conclusions reached through studying Ephesos and Sagalassos, but nonetheless it is valuable to examine

the distribution of graffiti at this site to confirm the existence of the graffiti practice in sites throughout

the eastern Mediterranean. For example, in the Tetrastoon, a square which bordered the city's theatre,

six graffiti are found across both its west and east colonnades.[618] In the urban park, of the forty-three

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[614] For the crosses, see: TU853. For the inscription; see: TU854. *το [τ]υχ μιχαηλιτω[ν῀].*
[615] CSLA. E00864. Ed. P. Nowakowski. It is unknown exactly what group the Michaelitai were, a comparable inscription from Xanthos (TU859) invokes fortune on the behalf of the Marianoi
[616] TU837. *κυριε βοηθη|τω δουλω σου|ευτχιω.*
[617] TU824. *εις ο θεος ο βο|ηθων.*
[618] In the east colonnade, one graffito is found: TU287. In the west colonnade, five graffiti are found: TU299; TU300; TU301; TU302 and TU303.

graffiti are currently published, thirty-nine of which are found in spaces which coincide with those found

throughout our other examples.[619] Twenty-five of these inscriptions are found in the north portico,

which was adjoined to the north agora and therefore would have had individuals passing through. An

additional three texts are found in the west portico, close to the entrance to the Hadrianic baths.[620]

These spaces would have seen significant traffic as inhabitants of the late antique city moved between

these areas, and it was therefore these porticos in which individuals would sit out of the way to carve

their informal texts and images. What is also particularly notable here is the placement of graffiti along

the edge of the pool of the urban park. Nine texts are found inscribed on seats next to the pool, and this

evidence attests further to the levels inhabited by individuals in the late antique urban environment,

who would take the available seats besides water to carve there, perhaps making use of the cooling

effect of the water on warm days.[621]

Aphrodisias also provides some unique evidence of the ways commercial activities were memorialised

through graffiti. In many ways, the evidence of commercial activity in the informal inscriptions of

Aphrodisias might seem typical. Several different *topos* inscriptions name different individuals and

professions that hint to commercial activity, for example the names of individuals associated with

professions appear in *topos* inscriptions. These inscriptions may reveal the legal placement of certain

shops, or be the informal additions of vendors who worked in the area.[622] For example, an inscription in

the urban park identifies Zotikos as a salesman, and presumably this would have been where he could

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[619] For graffiti in the urban park see TU596 to TU638.
[620] For graffiti in the west portico see TU635; TU636 and TU637.
[621] For graffiti found inscribed by the pool, see: TU620; TU621; TU622; TU623; TU624; TU628; TU629; TU630 and TU633.
[622] Lavan 2021: 377-378.

be found selling his goods.[623] Another *topos* inscription naming Zotikos may indicate another area within

the urban park where this vendor worked.[624]

However, a particularly interesting example of commercial graffiti is found at the Tetrastoon. Here, a

graffito listing several different products and prices is carved in plaster.[625] While the exact function of

this text is uncertain, it certainly does not appear to have been written by a shopkeeper advertising the

prices of their products, as can be seen in figure 4.3, the light carving and rough handwriting of the text

would have been too hard to read to serve this purpose. Roueché suggests it was probably written by a

customer shopping in the area, keeping an informal record of what they have spent.[626] Roueché's

conclusion seems unlikely, as carving an inscription would be a very labour intensive way to record a

shopping list. The text may instead have been an internal record, possibly a shopkeeper, keeping an

informal record of their own prices.[627] This text reveals an interesting way in which late antique peoples

interacted with their environment – the public square of the Tetrastoon was not only a location in which

semi-formal *topos* inscriptions could be carved, but was also a location in which the everyday

inhabitants of the city could casually carve longer lists as they required them. The urban space at

Aphrodisias was thus a canvas for the customers or vendors in the city to carve lengthy texts recording

ephemeral experiences (such as recalling a price or shopping list) rather than simply a space for the

display of elite, monumental texts.

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[623] TU634. *τόπος | ν. Ζοτικοῦ | ν. καπήλου † | ν. εὐτυχῶς †.* 'Place of Zotikos, salesman. Good fortune!'.
[624] TU613. *τόπος| Ζωτικοῦ | [[[·· ? ··]]] | [[[·· ? ··]]].* 'Place of Zotikos'.
[625] TU296. *IKEP ν. μυ(ριάδας) η´ | στορ(ακος) ν. μυ(ριάδας) β´ | ἐλέω ν. μυ(ριάδας) κ´ | λαχαναο̣Ι̣Ι ν. μυ(ριάδας) ιγ´ || μέλιτος ν. μυ(ριάδας) γ´ | [?οἴ]νου ν. μυ(ριάδας) ιε´ | ψουμίον ν. μυ(ριάδας) η´ | [ὄ]σπρου ν. μυ(ριάδας) β´ | [·· ? ··]ΙΥΛΙΟς ν. μυ(ριάδας) δ´ || [·· ? ··]ΙΥΟΥ ν. μυ(ριάδας) β´ | ΔΙ[·· ? ··] ν. μυ(ριάδας) ϑ´ |·· ? ··(scratches and damage over ?2 lines) | ΙΣΝ[·· ? ··] ||ν.* '...8 myriads; storax, 2 myriads; oil, 30 myriads; vegetables, 13 myriads; honey, 3 myriads; wine, 15 myriads; bread, 8 myriads; pulse, 2 myriads… 4 myriads… 2 myriads… 9 myriads…'.
[626] C. Roueché. ALA2004. XI.19, https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html [Accessed 03.08.2022].
[627] C.Roueché. ALA2004. XI.19, https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html [Accessed 03.08.2022].

The graffiti in Aphrodisian public squares also hints at the ways late antique individuals created recreational graffiti in these spaces. Again, it is possible to see the placement of gameboards in the porticoes and the seating of the city as evidence of gaming, gambling and social interaction in these spaces. In fact, six gameboards are found in the urban park and attest to this behaviour.[628] However, I would instead like to focus on a text which reveals a more complex interaction with the urban environment. In the Tetrastoon, two *topos* inscriptions read 'Place of the Hierapolitans', and may indicate where visiting official from Hierapolis stood in official ceremony.[629] However, carved in the north portico of the Tetrastoon is the inscription 'Place of dirty Heortasios'.[630] This inscription reveals the social interaction between an individual and the environment: the city was considered a place of epigraphic display with a particular epigraphic language, and in this latter inscription with Heortasios, an enemy insulting him, or a friend teasing him, made use of this language in an informal inscription. The Tetrastoon thus functioned not only as a public square, but also a space in which individuals experienced the features of their environment and shaped them in their own way.

Athens (Greece)[631]
The graffiti at Athens provides evidence of the same trends of spatial, religious and social graffiti found in Turkey. The graffiti at Athens attests to the different levels inhabited by the inhabitants of this city. Notably, this includes entrances to buildings, such as the east propylon in Athens and the porch at the Tower of the Winds from the same city. Thus, it is apparent individuals would inhabit the space in front of buildings, either sitting down as in the porch of the Tower of the Winds, or standing as in the East Propylon. These spaces, which would have been busy, also featured individuals carving the graffiti. It

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[628] TU619; TU620; TU621; TU623; TU630 and TU633.
[629] TU287 and TU288. τόπος Ἱερα|πολιτῶν. C. Rou^é. ALA2004. XI.13. https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html#XI.13. [Accessed 03.08.2022]
[630] TU298. Ἑορτασίου κο|νιορτοῦ | τόπος.
[631] For a discussion of the history of Athens, see Appendix 2.3.1.

was therefore not considered problematic for individuals to spend considerable time sitting or carving texts in the city.

Two graffiti are located on the eastern arcade of the Roman Agora. The first graffito is a well-defined cross, with the addition of a small loop to the top spar, in an attempt to edit the image into a staurogram, as is visible in figure 4.4.[632] The other graffiti is of a bird, possibly a dove.[633] These graffiti have been dated to the sixth to seventh century CE by Hoff, although an earlier or later date cannot be disregarded.[634] The presence of this religious imagery thus attests to worship occurring within this environment in late antique Athens.

The presence of figurative graffiti can also reveal the use of squares as a leisure space. For example, the presence of a figurative graffito at Athens which may represent a fish.[635] Whoever carved the graffito, they spent significant time in the agora, undertaking an activity they must have found enjoyable. This observation adds to the carving of figurative graffiti to the list of the leisure activities which could be carried out in the agora.

4.3.   Theatres and Stadia

The next type of building I would like to examine is theatres and stadia. Graffiti is recorded frequently in the theatres from the Roman world, for example 156 texts being recorded in the theatre corridor at Pompeii.[636] Theatres and stadia are similarly important to examine in our understanding of late antique graffiti practices, and they form a very significant portion of the graffiti in the catalogue, accounting for around thirty-three percent of the recorded graffiti.[637] As there was clearly a strong graffiti tradition in

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[632] GR5.
[633] GR6.
[634] Hoff 2006: 176.
[635] GR7.
[636] R. Benefiel (ed.) *The Ancient Graffiti Project*. http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/results?property=170 [Accessed 03.08.2022].
[637] 573 out of 1733 inscriptions. The vast majority of these texts (483 inscriptions) are found at Aphrodisias.

theatres and stadia in the late antique world, the following section will examine the placement of graffiti within these spaces.

Theatres and stadia at many sites remained in use early in the late antique period, although many had been abandoned or spoliated by the end of the seventh century.[638] As such, much of the graffiti found in theatres has a *terminus ante quem* in the late antique period, making them a key snapshot into the use of these spaces as well as graffiti practices in late antiquity. There are limited examples of the constructions of theatres and stadia in the late antique period. Perhaps most notable exception is the theatre from Alexandria, which was built during urban renovations in the fourth century, alongside a bath complex, portico and other monumental public facilities.[639] In the Levant, renovations are typically seen to occur following the 363 CE earthquake which damaged many cities in the region.[640] The theatre at Caesarea was remodelled following the earthquake – primarily with material which originated in the theatre and was damaged in the earthquake.[641] Stadia underwent a similar process of renovation and abandonment in the fourth to seventh centuries.[642] The stadium at Aphrodisias was constructed in the first century CE, however its function was altered in the fourth century.[643] At Aphrodisias, the venue retained its entertainment purposes, although a small wall was constructed across the east end of the

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[638] Jacobs 2019: 122.
[639] Majcherek 2010: 471.
[640] Jacobs 2019: 116.
[641] Retzleff 2003: 126.
[642] Campbell 1934: 202; Eastmond 2012: 48-49; Vickers 1972: 30. The stadium in Antioch on the Orontes continued to be used for athletic competitions until the sixth century, a late fifth century mosaic depicts the stadium in between the Baths of Ardaburious and a martyrion. The stadium at Antioch on the Orontes was likely destroyed in an earthquake in 526 CE, ending athletic spectacle at the city. Similarly, the stadium at Thessaloniki was spoliated by the mid-fifth century CE, when the seats were used as foundations for the city's new walls, although public entertainment seems to have continued within the city's theatre until at least the ninth century. The hippodrome in Constantinople is somewhat of an exception here – chariot racing was practiced in Constantinople until at least 1199 CE, and the hippodrome was also one of the primary centres for imperial ceremony and display. Although the last recorded Chariot race, which was organised by Isaac II Angelos, did not take place in the hippodrome, the stadium was in use until it was damaged in 1203 during the fourth crusade.
[643] Welch 1998: 554-556.

stadium, which would have allowed it to function as an amphitheatre and host gladiatorial combat and beast fights (Figure 4.5).[644]

Theatres and stadia both maintained important social and political roles in the late antique period. These roles were often interconnected: as large communal gathering places within a city they were used for multiple forms of public performance, and were a space in which local leaders could directly interact with the populace of a city.[645] Whilst the theatre has traditionally been associated with dramatic and comedic performances – and the stadium chariot racing or athletic contests – these two forms of entertainment became interlinked in the late antique period. The circus factions, which originated in the early empire began to function as the primary organisers of public entertainment – particularly the Green and Blue factions and their associated theatre claques.[646] The theatre claques were groups associated with a faction who could be hired to acclaim performances and lead the applause (or booing) in the audience.[647] The circus factions also integrated with traditional performance groups in this period, with groups of mimes and dancers becoming completely associated with factional groupings from at least the late fifth century onwards.[648] There were changes in the forms of entertainment in the late antique period however, with gladiatorial combat largely abandoned from the late fourth century onwards.[649] The sorts of spectacle one might expect to see in the late antique theatre or stadium are summarised by Claudian in a panegyric of the western consul Flavius Manlius Theodorus. Claudian initially described *munera*, the beast fights which would occur, but also the non-violent spectacle which

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[644] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Stadium". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/stadium.html#prettyPhoto. [Accessed 02.09.2022].
[645] Weiss 2014: 117-118; Webb 2008: 41.
[646] Cameron 1976: 5-24.
[647] Cameron 1976: 234-235. Libanios. *Oration 48* 41.6-9. Trans. A.F. Norman. Libanios was very critical of the theatre claques and those who worked for them.
[648] Webb 2008: 46; Saradi 2006: 297.
[649] Puk 2014: 232.

took place in the public performance spaces of a city.[650] Thus, the textual evidence describing activities occurring within the entertainment venues of a city, combined with the archaeological evidence indicating that these venues were used in this period, highlight that public performance venues remained used for social and political activities within the late antique period.

Late antique entertainment spaces were not just associated with social and political activities, but also religious ones. The theatre and Christianity seem to have become heavily integrated in the late antique period.[651] Proclus' sermon in honour of the Virgin Mary was delivered in the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome in 430 CE, indicating that by the fifth century religious ceremony and the stadium had become integrated.[652] This is further supported in the *Book of Ceremonies*, which records religious acclamations by the general populace taking place in the hippodrome. When discussing hippodrome festivals, the *Book* records the acclamations by the Green faction as 'Holy' and the repetition of the phrase 'Lord, save'.[653] As such, it is apparent how the physical space of a theatre could host both Christian religious activities and social activities.

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[650] Claudian. *Panegyric on the Consulship of Fl. Manlius Theodorus (A.D. 399)*. 294-300. Trans. M. Platnauer. Claudian wrote : 'choose out brave hunters cunningly to lasso the necks of wild animals and to drive home the hunting-spear with unfailing stroke [...] Let smitten lions roar till the people turn pale' he also states 'let the clown be there to move the people's laughter with his happy wit, the mime whose language is in his nod and in the movements of his hands, the musician whose breath rouses the flute and whose finger stirs the lyre, the slippered comedian to whose voice the theatre re-echoes, the tragedian towering on his loftier buskin; him too whose light touch can elicit loud music from those pipes of bronze that sound a thousand diverse notes beneath his wandering fingers and who by means of a lever stirs to song the labouring water. Let us see acrobats who hurl themselves through the air like birds.' Many of the performances discussed by Claudian are replicated in graffiti found in the performance spaces of Aphrodisias, including the *munera*, acrobats and organs. For a discussion of performers choosing to inscribe representations of themselves, see section 1.5. Pages 74 and 76-77. Although Claudian was writing about performances in Rome, the evidence suggests these same practices took place in the theatres of the eastern Mediterranean. Libanios, in a letter from 364, complained that he could not enjoy the beast hunts in the theatre when he was ill with gout, and in another letter discussed how he has a favourite orator he liked to see perform in the theatre Libanios. *Autobiography and Selected Letters*. 138.2 and 74.1. Trans. A.F. Norman.
[651] Saradi 2006: 300-301.
[652] Constas 2003: 13.
[653] Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.71. Bowes 2014: 9, 24. Of note as well is the conversion of many theatres into Christian cult spaces, or, at least, spaces in which the Christian cult could take place. This is shown to have been the case at Aphrodisias. Christian artwork in the north-room of the *scaena* suggests that this room functioned as a place of worship in the sixth century, even though it was likely the theatre itself was still in

Theatres and stadia thus formed a key part of the late antique landscape, and were the locus for different activities within late antique cities. The following section will now examine the graffiti found in these locations, to contextualise the graffiti found here.

4.3.1. Graffiti and Theatres and Stadia

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

The first case study to examine for the distribution of graffiti in theatres and stadia is Aphrodisias. Not only is this one of the only extant cities in which late antique informal inscriptions have been recovered in the stadium, but further graffiti has been found in two other performance venues: the theatre and the odeon. Through examining this site, we can ascertain the different spaces within performance venues individuals would write and reconstruct the spatial distribution of these texts. In all three locations, graffiti is found written on the seats. Some inscriptions on the seats may have been part of formal seating arrangements in the theatre, designating where groups may reside. A *topos* inscription of ambiguous formality on one seat in the theatre reads: 'Place of the butchers. The fortune of the Blues triumphs!' and represents where the local butchers' guild may have sat, as well as indicating which circus faction they supported.[654] Similarly, a text found written across several seats in the stadium reads 'Place of the gold-workers' and may have represented where this social group had permission to sit.[655] However, many other texts and images are poorly or lightly carved, and are clearly not part of a formal seating scheme. Graffiti found on the seats also unsurprisingly attests to individuals sitting on the seats for performances. The graffiti would have been carved by audience members sitting down, and bored during a performance. Interestingly, some of the graffiti is spread out over several seats using large

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use in this period. This can also be witnessed at Caesarea Maritima – after the abandonment of the theatre for public spectacle a Christian chapel was constructed over the earlier pagan one.

[654] TU546. *τόπο τῶν μακελλίτων(sic.) | Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων.* The formality of many of the *topos* inscriptions in the theatre is difficult to ascertain, as similar formulae are used in both deep and well carved inscriptions, as poorly carved small inscriptions. For futher discussion of this ambiguity, and my decision to include them here, see section 0.2. Pages 18-19.

[655] TU215. *vac. | τόπ|ος vac. | αὐραρί|ων vac. | steps.*

letters, such as TU188 and TU202.[656] These would have been impossible for an individual to carve from one seat in the area, instead they would have had to sit or kneel either on the seating in a row directly above or below (although, probably below, as this means the texts would be carved the right way around). Although we cannot know if these texts were carved during events in the theatre and stadium, or before or afterwards, the texts do attest to audience members being mobile in the structure and moving about the area.

Graffiti found in theatres and stadia attest to frequent movement around the buildings. The graffiti is found not only on seating but in all other spaces within the structures, including the *scaena*, backstage rooms and on the stage itself. Graffiti is found carved on both the stage at the theatre and carved in a corridor behind the stage of the odeon. At the theatre, five graffiti are found carved onto the paving of the stage, they include a figurative graffito of tight-rope walker, a graffito of a male face with large eyes, a gameboard and two *topos* inscriptions.[657] A series of figurative and textual graffiti are found on columns from the portico on the theatre stage. The two textual graffiti read 'Zenon wrote (this)' and 'Heliodoros'.[658] An acclamation to the green circus faction is found on the steps between the north parados and the stage, and another acclamation to the Green faction is found on a doorway between the *scaena* and a stage room.[659] These graffiti mirror those found in a corridor at the odeon which similarly features acclamations, genitalia and human figures.[660] The graffiti in backstage rooms, which would have been carved by performers, at the theatres of Ephesos, Aphrodisias and at the odeon at Aphrodisias, indicate that the performers would gather in this area, either before or after leaving the

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[656] TU188. | [···]Ḷ!ΙΙΙΒενέ| vac. | vacat |των vac. | Αὐρ[··] Λ ΛΟ | Ḷ ḶΕΝΙΩΝ |. '… blues…'; TU202. τό|π|ος | [·] | [·]Φ[·] | Λ | Ọ | Ḳ [·] | Ḳ [·] | Ω | Ν | Ṛ Ṇ | vac. 'Place of…'
[657] TU319; TU320; TU321; TU322 and TU323.
[658] TU330. *Ζήνων ἔγρ|ἀφε.* and TU327.*Ἡλιώδọ[ρ](?ος).*Other graffiti found in this area includes representations of human faces and scattered letters on columns and representations of genitalia, see: TU324; TU325; TU335 and TU331.
[659] TU318. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύ[χη] | τῶν Πρασί[νων].* 'The fortune of the Greens triumphs!'; TU361*. νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν Πρασίνων | κ(αὶ) τον μίμον τοῦ | Πρασίν(ου).* 'The fortune of the Greens, and the mimes of the Greens, triumphs!'
[660] For examples of the graffiti in the odeon, see: TU79; TU82 and TU80.

stage. This is an area they would have frequently gathered in, providing them the time to add the inscriptions. The graffiti on the flooring of the theatre stage at Aphrodisias would have required the creator to sit down to carve them. This is emphasised by the placement of a five line gameboard on the theatre stage at Aphrodisias, indicating that those working in the theatre would have sat down to play games during their free moments.[661]

Additionally, the graffiti found at Aphrodisias attests to the variety of social activities which would take place in theatres and stadia, both for entertainment and political reasons. The *topos* inscriptions which claim seats on behalf of spectators in the theatre are manifestations of the social activities which took place in performance venues – with audience members claiming seats for themselves. The *κατέχεται* formula, translating as 'reserved' is found sixteen of times in the theatre, and may have been used to save seating for groups or individuals.[662] However, the graffiti found in these environments attests to social activities beyond simply viewing the entertainment which took place. A variety of figurative and textual graffiti written on the seats attests to the fun activities undertaken by individuals at the site. There are also 151 figurative graffiti in the performance spaces at Aphrodisias, representing a variety of different things, including a Thracian gladiator, a building, human faces and both male and female genitalia.[663] Along with genitalia, there is also a vulgar textual graffito, carved on one seat is the text 'I am one who is penetrated'.[664] Vulgar graffiti is similarly found behind the stage of the odeon and on the theatre stage, indicating that those working in the entertainment venues of the city drew these when they got bored. A series of gameboards found in the stadium attest to the fact gaming was also placed in the environment, by those bored by the entertainment or waiting for the entertainment to begin, or

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[661] TU319.
[662] For graffiti featuring the use of the reserved formula, see TU340; TU343; TU362; TU374; TU376; TU394; TU404; TU414; TU459; TU473; TU475; TU514; TU515; TU516; TU524 and TU526.
[663] TU541; TU439; TU528 and TU560 .
[664] TU571. *Ἐγὼ πυγίστης | εἶμε.* For a discussion on sexual penetration as an insult see section 1.4.2. Page 69.

even artisans working on the theatre who carried the right tools to carve these texts.[665] Acclamations to

the circus factions attest to the memorialisation of the social behaviours which took place in this

environment, with invocations for the victory of a faction recording the spoken acclamations by the

theatre claques. Invocations for the victory of circus factions are found carved eleven times on the seats

within the theatre and stadium.[666] This acclamation has clear parallels in the calls of the claques

recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies,* which noted the calls "The faith of the Blues/Greens triumphs".[667]

Although this phrase differs slightly to that written at Aphrodisias (acclaiming faith, rather than fortune)

it is possible this is a later development as the *Book of Ceremonies* was written around three centuries

after the theatre and odeon at Aphrodisias fell out of use. Social behaviours are also recorded in spaces

the audience could not access, as can be seen in a selection of vulgar graffiti in the stage corridor of the

odeon. The name 'Karmilianos' is found carved above an elaborate figurative graffito of an enthroned

person.[668] Nearby is an insulting text referring to the same individual as sexually passive.[669] The

exchange of insults between individuals reveals the social exchange which was facilitated by graffiti even

in these places of employment and performance. Similarly, the graffito of the tight-rope walker on the

stage attests to the use of a space as a way of relieving boredom on behalf of performers, the theatre

was seen as an appropriate space to carve imagery for the authors satisfaction and no other purpose.

The theatre and odeon at Aphrodisias similarly attest to the intersection between religious and social

life in Aphrodisian entertainment venues. Several prayers are found carved on the seats of the theatre,

highlighting that the minds of spectators were not simply limited to secular pursuits, but also religious

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[665] For examples of gameboards, see: TU197; TU198; TU183; TU187; TU200; TU201 and TU177.
[666] For the stadium, see: TU184; TU195 and TU218. For the theatre, see: TU371; TU390; TU427; TU444; TU449; TU470; TU471 and TU480. This list includes both fragmentary and complete invocations.
[667] Constantine Porphrygenitus. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.69. νικᾷ ἡ πίστις τῶν [...] Βενέτων [...] Πρασίνων. Trans. A. Moffat and M. Tall.
[668] TU77. *Καρμιλιαινός.*
[669] TU76. Καρ[μ]ιδιανός *ΚΑΙΩΝ | παθηκός vac. ΚΥΔΙΑΣ[·].* 'Karmidianos is… penetrated…'

ones. For example, the prayer '… help… your servant Georgios…'.[670] Another inscription reads 'Prayer of

Stephanas'.[671] Religious iconography is common in the form of the cross. Many names are preceded by a

cross, for example 'Place of Spandios'.[672] Another religious acclamation, reads as either 'The fortune of

Phrontinos triumphs!' or 'Phrontinos, the fortune of (the cross) triumphs'![673] There is also religious

iconography found on the seats of the stadium. There is a graffito of a cross, and one gameboard

appears to have been adapted into a Chi-Rho.[674] In the backstage corridor of the odeon, religious

imagery attests to the intersection between religion and entertainment venues on a more practical

level. Amongst this figurative graffiti is a variety of religious iconography, there are several examples of

globi crucigi, some held by human figures and some on their own (Figure 4.6).[675] One graffito is of an

elaborately decorated cross.[676] The figures holding the *globi crucigi* may personify performances of

religious spectacle in the odeon, or the integration of religious practices into late antique performances.

The representations of seated figures holding these objects are reminiscent of representations of

performers in the graffiti at Ephesos and therefore it is reasonable to assume that this graffiti represents

the commemoration of religious performances by those who partook in or observed them.[677] Thus, it is

apparent that it was not only the spectators in the theatre, but also the performers who interacted with

the religious experience in the theatre and chose to record it. Once again, we find a "secular" location in

the late antique city, where religious texts were informally written. Graffiti once again seems to have

been a way of memorialising the religious experience within a space.

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[670] TU465. *[·· ? ··]ǪΙ|Ẏ Ạ ḤΧΗ βοή(ϑι) το ọ [·· ? ··]| δούλο σ(ου) Γεώ(ργιο) vac.*
[671] TU443. *Εὐχὴ Στε|φανᾶ.*
[672] TU481. *† τόπος | Σπανδι | vac. ọ(υ).*
[673] TU497. *Φροντίνου | † Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τοῦ.*
[674] For the cross, see: TU263. For the gameboard, see: TU217.
[675] TU83 and TU77.
[676] TU85.
[677] See section 1.5. Pages 76-77. The interpretation of graffiti as representations of physical performances which were staged is supported by the graffito representing a tight-rope walker at the theatre of Aphrodisias (TU321.) Similarly, depictions of water-organs which would be used in public spectacle in the graffiti in the odeon attests to performers copying what they saw on stage within this space (TU78; TU81).

Ephesos (Turkey)

Another notable case-study for the distribution of graffiti in late antique theatres is that of Ephesos.

Unlike at Aphrodisias, no graffiti has been published from the theatre seats, but a collection of twenty

graffiti published by Roueché from the theatre façade and area behind the space is insightful into the

ways late antique performers used these spaces in antiquity. Ten informal inscriptions are found on the

theatre façade. The graffiti is found carved into recesses on the façade, and were placed at a height

either directly behind performers on the stage, or just above their heads.[678] This height would have

required the individual carving the images to stand with their back facing the audience, suggesting again

this was not done during a performance. There are five graffiti on a stone block between the upper

stage rooms and the stage, all of which are figurative and include human representations.[679] These texts

were inscribed in spaces which would have been used by performers passing between the stage and the

behind the stage area, and thus reveal that they had no qualms about standing in these spaces for

extended periods of time, perhaps whilst waiting to go on stage, or during rehearsals or after

performances. The graffiti here thus attests to the activity of late antique spaces, which were used and

occupied by individuals who saw fit to carve in these areas, rather than hurry through. Thus, it is

apparent at Ephesos performers felt comfortable carving on the spaces of the stage.

The graffiti at the Ephesian theatre appears to have primarily fulfilled social functions, alleviating the

boredom of performers, and functioning as an enjoyable, artistic, endeavour. The graffiti carved here

frequently seems to represent performers themselves, and their performances. For example, one series

of graffiti from the upper stage rooms (Figure 4.7) depict two masculine figures wearing tunics and

standing on a box, one with his arms raised in the air.[680] Another figurative graffiti is of the same subject

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[678] Roueché 2002: 257.
[679] TU774; TU775; TU776; TU777 and TU778.
[680] TU774 and TU775.

but is accompanied by an unintelligible text.[681] A third graffito features a figure sitting within a

pedimented structure, with his arm raised in the air.[682] Similar representations are found on the façade

itself, Nine of the ten graffiti represent human figures or groups of human figures, and four of the nine

feature bald men with prominent ears.[683] The figures are shown in a variety of positions and detail,

including wearing a body suit and shawl, petting a dog, and standing beside a flying figure.[684] The highly

detailed depiction of figures in elaborate clothing and in action could suggest these are representations

of the performers on stage, partaking in ceremony or pantomime performances, as has been suggested

by Roueché.[685] This is further supported by the presence of a graffito which read 'Karmilis two'.[686] The

name Karmilis is very uncommon, however it is similar to the name Karmilianos found carved behind the

odeon at Aphrodisias, and thus may be a diminutive of the name of a travelling performer who visited

both spaces.[687] If this is the case, it would suggest that performers at Ephesos sought to record the

performances they took part in in the theatre informally, perhaps casually inscribing these during

rehearsals or after performances (particularly those on the theatre façade which could not have been

carved during a performance itself). This reading highlights the desire of individuals to record the

ephemeral experience of theatre performance perpetually, but also perhaps just the desire to fill time

by drawing the things they were familiar with and saw around them. Graffiti therefore served as a

recreation activity for the performers in the Ephesian theatre, and the theatre was an acceptable space

for them to carve when they wished to.

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[681] TU776.
[682] TU777.
[683] For graffiti on the façade, see: TU763; TU764; TU765; TU766; TU767; TU768; TU769; TU770; TU771 and TU772. For graffiti of humans, see: TU763; TU764; TU765; TU767; TU768; TU769; TU770; TU771 and TU772. For graffiti featuring bald men with large ears, see: TU763; TU764; TU770 and TU772. Roueché 2002 suggests the prominent ears are designed to represent the large ears featured on pantomime masks in this period. For an example of the comic masks featuring these ears, see Weiss 2014: 137.
[684] TU763; TU767; TU768 and TU770.
[685] Roueché 2002: 254-281.
[686] TU782. *Καρμίλις B̄.*
[687] See section 1.5. Page 69.

A final case study is the graffiti from the theatre in Alexandria. The graffiti here once again highlights the

different social activities undertaken by late antique urban inhabitants, and the ways in which carving

graffiti could fulfil a social and recreational function. As at Aphrodisias, a significant number of

acclamations to the circus factions are found on the seats of the theatre. In total three inscriptions

acclaim a faction, and thus like Aphrodisias attest to the memorialisation of the chants called by the

theatre claques.[688] These texts invoke victory on the behalf of factions or performers, for example the

inscription 'The fortune of the young Greens'.[689] There are also inscriptions which acclaim specific

performers, such as the performer Doros, generally with the common phrase 'The fortune of Doros

triumphs'.[690] A notable collection of graffiti representing chariot races and animals (as well as naming

specific performers in some texts) indicates that graffiti in the auditorium was used to commemorate

the excitement and leisure activities undertaken in this environment. For example, the inscription 'The

fortune of Eutokios and the Blues triumphs, bad year to Lachanas' not only invokes victory for the

preferred blue team and a competitor, but also memorialises the competitive aspect of late antique

performance by wishing bad luck on another performer.[691] Similarly, the presence of six gameboards

indicates that Alexandrians would also play games to amuse themselves whilst they were seated.[692] The

graffiti from Alexandria highlights that the auditorium was a suitable environment for the author to

interact with, writing insults and acclamations familiar to his contemporaries. Graffiti thus facilitated an

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[688] EG33. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν <ν>έων πρ|ασίνων.* 'The fortune of the young Greens triumphs!'. EG32. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πρασίνω[ν] | γεννεώτα|των| Ἀπο κόρυ|φῆς ὡς ὁ||νύχων | ἔπεσεν | τὸ Βένετο.* 'The fortune of the most noble Greens triumphs! From head to toe the Blues fall'. EG34. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοχίου | κὲ Βενέτων.* 'The fortune of Eutochios and the Blues triumphs.'

[689] EG33. *Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν <ν>έων πρ|ασίνων.* 'The fortune of the young Greens triumphs!'.

[690] EG58. *νικᾷ ἡ [τύ]χη | τοῦ Δόρου.* Doros is also acclaimed in the following inscriptions: EG26; EG29; EG30 and EG32.

[691] EG34. *νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοκίου | κὲ Βενέτων· | κακὰ τὰ ἔτη || τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.*

[692] EG80; EG81; EG82; EG83; EG84 and EG85.

additional level of social display within these settings, allowing the auditorium to function as a message board for rivalries and community support.

The Alexandrian theatre similarly features religious graffiti. Much of the religious texts found inscribed in on the theatre seats and in the vestibule are very typical late antique prayers, such as 'Lord, have mercy. Lord, help'.[693] Additionally, simple religious iconography such as a cross are found carved in the seats, suggesting either an attempt to sanctify the space, or the general scratchings of a population already pre-occupied with religion. As with the religious graffiti at Aphrodisias, we also see audiences copy the imagery of religious performances. One graffito depicts a male figure in a tunic emblazoned with a cross holding a palm branch.[694] Although the exact interpretation of this image is difficult, given the similarities to images at Aphrodisias and Ephesos it would not be unreasonable to interpret it as someone performing a religious ceremony in the auditorium. The space was thus perpetually sanctified by the addition of the graffiti, and the auditorium became not just the space for the performances of these behaviours, but one in which an image of these were perpetually recorded, At the same time, the prayers inscribed by late antique visitors attests to the indivisible nature of religion from the late antique experience.

4.4.   Bath Complexes

The third location in which graffiti can be identified through eastern urban environments is bath complexes. Late antique graffiti is found twenty-five times in bath complexes in the eastern Mediterranean. This represents only a comparatively small percentage of the catalogue, at just over one percent.[695] However, as will be shown below, bath complexes were important facets of the late antique environment and therefore this small selection of graffiti is worth considering. Through examining the placement of graffiti within bathhouses it is possible to understand how late antique

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[693] EG46. *Κύριε, ἐ[λ]έησον | [κ]ὲ βοήθησον.*
[694] EG58.
[695] 25 out of 1733 texts.

peoples engaged with this space. Once again, it is first necessary to contextualise how space was used in late antique bathhouses, before examining how behaviours were manifested in graffiti.

As with agorai and thoroughfares, bathhouses formed a fundamental part of the late antique urban landscape. In Prokopios' *Buildings*, baths appear as evidence of the grand nature of Justinian's construction in a given city. In Justiniana Prima he described the 'works of great size and worthy of especial note […] the fountains, the streets, *the baths*, the shops.'[696] Not all of Prokopios' claims can be assumed to be true accounts of Justinian's building programme, the descriptions are very conventional and thus may not represent an accurate account but rather the description of the building programme of the ideal emperor. Nevertheless, they do attest to the cultural importance of the baths as part of the cityscape.[697] There is some archaeological confirmation of the construction of baths in the late antique east. At Corinth, the south stoa baths were constructed between the early and mid-fifth century CE.[698] More common than the construction of new baths however, was the renovation of existing baths.[699] At Ephesos, for example, the Baths of Varius were renovated by a woman named Scholastikia in the late fourth century.[700]

Bathhouses were characterised by contemporary authors as places of social gathering and revelry. Chrysostom describes bathhouses as places one might relax: 'When therefore you see such and such an one luxuriating in baths, in a sumptuous table, or in other matters having troops of attendants'. [701] In

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[696] Prokopios. *Buildings* 4.1.21-23. Trans. H.B. Dewing and G. Downey. Emphasis mine. See also the description of Justinian's building program at Kiberis in section 4.1. Page 167.

[697] Turlej 2016: 98-99.

[698] Biers 2003: 309. Pottery sherds beneath the south stoa confirm it must have at least been constructed after the late fourth century

[699] Zytka 2013: 41.

[700] LSA-741. http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=741&_submit=Go. Trans. J. Lenaghan. [Accessed 03.09.2022]

[701] John Chrysostom. *Homily Nine on First Thessalonians* . Trans. J.A. Broadus. The baths are also considered places of social gathering and conversation, in *Homily Nine on First Timothy* Chrysostom describes womens' conversation in the baths and market-places: 'They may all be seen here talking more than in the market, or at the bath. For, as if they came hither for recreation, they are all engaged in conversing upon unprofitable subjects.' Trans. P. Schaff.

the fifth century, we see the continued characterisation of baths as a place of relaxation, immediately after referencing board games in the forum, Cassiodorus lists visiting the baths with friends as an appropriate way for a young man to enjoy himself.[702] Gaming also appears to have been associated with the baths in late antiquity.

The Roman bathhouse was not only a social institution, but also an economic one. Customers in the baths would pay for services, the price edict of Diocletian regulated the costs of some of these services, for example a cloakroom attendant in a public bath could only charge two denarii per bather, whilst private bathhouses could only charge two denarii entrance fees.[703] Baths are also characterised as spaces in which business deals are made and vendors spend their time, the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* describes artisans as meeting in the baths to celebrate reduced tax laws.[704] Consequently, baths also facilitated economic behaviours in the late antique city.

Public bathhouses and Christianity enjoyed a complex relationship with each other. In many cases, the baths and church seem to have had a close relationship.[705] There is evidence of baths being adopted by clergy to spread Christian thought. Augustine's oration *Acts or Disputation Against Fortunatus* was delivered in a bathhouse in Hippo Regius.[706] Furthermore, bath complexes were sometimes constructed and maintained by the church. For example, at Gerasa the mid-fith century bishop Placcus funded the construction of a bath on church land.[707] Additionally, at Nea Anchialos several bath complexes and basilicas appear to have been constructed in close proximity in the fifth to sixth centuries CE, sometimes

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[702] Cassiodorus. *Variae*. 8.31.8.
[703] *The Price Edict of Diocletian.* 7.1.75 and 86. Trans. A. Kropff. For prices within the baths see Fagan 2002: 208.
[704] *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite.* 31.
[705] DeForest 2018: 201-202. Many public baths were constructed by the clergy within religious compounds, for instance the bishop of Gerasa built public baths on church land. Similarly, baths were frequently found at pilgrimage sites. The Martyrium of Saint Menas in Egypt was accompanied by two bathhouses.
[706] Augustine of Hippo. *Acts or Disputation Against Fortunatus*. Trans. A.H.Newman.
[707] DeForrest 2017: 200. For additional examples of bath complexes constructed on church land see DeForrest 2017: 199-201.

even shared a joint water system.[708] Bathing complexes often began to feature Christian imagery in this period, with images depicting saints or religious symbols placed within public baths.[709] Nevertheless, literary sources sometimes place religious worship (and particularly Christian worship) and the baths in juxtaposition with one another. Public bathing was sometimes associated with paganism, and at the east baths in Scythopolis, the pagan statues in the frigidarium were removed in the sixth century.[710] A common literary trope appears to be the association between demons and the bathhouse, with several narratives recording the presence of harmful spirits in bathing complexes. For example, in the *Life of Saint Gregory the Wonderworker,* the titular saint is attacked by a demon when he attempts to rest in the baths after a long journey.[711] In these narratives, the baths represent a distinct harm to the pious Christian. Nevertheless, despite the concerns of the clergy, the division between religious practice and bathing does not seem to have been a clearly delineated line.

Once again, bathhouses were important parts of the late antique urban fabric, they were constructed, renovated, and used in the late antique east. Multiple behaviours, including economic, social and religious activities took place in the bathhouse. The following section will bear these functions in mind when it examines a series of case studies of graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean bathhouses.

4.4.1. Graffiti and Bath Complexes

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

The first urban environment to examine the bath complexes within is Aphrodisias, where two bath complexes from the city have provided graffiti. Through examining the spaces in which graffiti is found

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[708] DeForrest 2017: 199-201.
[709] Saradi 2006: 330-331. Saradi discusses the integration of Christian worship and symbolisn into public bathing complexes in the sixth and seventh centuries. One example is a public baths from Caesarea Martitima, in which a fresco depicted a jewelled cross.
[710] Saradi 2006: 330.
[711] Gregory of Nyssa. *The Life of Saint Gregory the Wonderworker*. 93. Trans. M. Slusser. The presence of demons in the baths is discussed further in Dunbabin 1989: 34-16.

in these areas, we can gather the spatial distribution of people throughout the building, and consider

which spaces were believed to be an appropriate canvas for informal texts. The first bath complex worth

examining is the theatre baths. Much of the evidence from the theatre baths comes from the east

portico of the building. Two *topos* inscriptions are found on the seventh and eighth columns from the

north of the portico respectively.[712] The east court of the baths also features several gameboards carved

on the floor between stylobate blocks and columns.[713] This would suggest that, as with the public streets

of Aphrodisias, in the baths, patrons sought shaded spaces out of the way of movement through the

building. However, this was not the case. Gameboards are also found carved in spaces in the building

which would have disturbed traffic through the space, and those who both carved the boards and

played with them after completion would have been in the way of other patrons. In the theatre baths

three gameboards are found on the paving at the north entrance.[714] A final circular gameboard is found

on the paving of the street outside the baths themselves.[715] A similar distribution of gameboards can be

seen at the Hadrianic baths in Aphrodisias, where five different gameboards are carved into the central

paving stones of the north court.[716] Thus, the graffiti found at bath complexes in Aphrodisias reveals

that, unlike in the public squares and thoroughfares of the cities, customers were content to carve texts,

images and gameboards in spaces which would disrupt traffic through the area. It is possible that as the

primary function of the bathhouses were seen to be for leisure (although commercial functions did

exist) patrons felt less hurried, and less frustrated by others in the way.

The graffiti found in both the Hadrianic baths and the theatre baths at Aphrodisias attest to the social

activities undertaken in the building, in particular gaming, with gameboards providing evidence of

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[712] TU307. *† Ἀλέξαν|δρος | κουρέος | τόπος ‖ †.* 'Place of Alexandros, barber'; TU306. *Θεοδώρ(ου) | τόπως.* 'Place of Theodoros'.
[713] TU308; TU309 and TU310.
[714] TU313; TU314 and TU315.
[715] TU317.
[716] TU63; TU64; TU65; TU66 and TU67.

gambling as opposed to the more typical leisure activity in these spaces of bathing.[717] The informal

gameboards found in the Hadrianic baths indicate the continuation of this activity within the baths

themselves, as customers would have gathered to compete with one another. Similarly, the ten informal

gameboards found at the theatre baths, which may have been carved before or after their conversion

into a commercial space, reaffirm the act of casually carving and playing games within this environment.

The baths, designated as a social space which late antique authors saw as a place to converse and meet

with friends, also served as a location for casual competition in the form of gaming.

However, the graffiti from Aphrodisian bath complexes similarly indicates that late antique individuals

sought to record the commercial activities they undertook in these spaces. One of the *topos* inscriptions

from the theatre baths reads 'Place of Alexandros, barber', whilst another refers to a 'Theodoros' who

may also have been a vendor in the theatre baths.[718] The theatre baths appear to have taken on

commercial functions in late antiquity. Roueché suggests that these *topos* inscriptions indicate the baths

were converted into a commercial space. [719] This conclusion is supported by archaeological evidence in

the baths. Lavan has noted the presence of modifications to the building which would have enabled the

creation of individual shops.[720] It should be noted however that occupations associated with personal

grooming such as barbers could also have operated when the baths still retained their original

function.[721] Commercial activity is also recorded in the *topos* inscriptions from the baths of Hadrian.

Here, A *topos* inscription is found on the paving stone of the caldarium. This text reads 'Place of

Epiktetos, cloakroom-attendant'.[722] This text is well carved, and it is questionable as to the extent it

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[717] For the association between gaming and gambling see Rieche 2007: 87 and Trifilò 2011: 325-329.
[718] TU307. † Ἀλέξαν/δρος | κουρέος | τόπος || †.; TU306. Θεοδώρ(ου) | τόπως.
[719] C. Roueché. ALA2004. X.12. https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html#toc4. [Accessed 04.08.2022].
[720] Lavan 2012c: 339.
[721] C. Roueché. ALA2004. X.12. https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-XI.html#toc4. [Accessed 04.08.2022].
[722] TU60. † τόπος Ἐπικτήτου † || κανψαρίου [leaf] | †.

could be considered "informal" as it may have been placed there by managers of the baths to show

where their employee could be found. The commercial graffiti from the baths at Aphrodisias attest not

only to these activities, but the ways in which graffiti facilitates evidence of these activities in the

epigraphic record. The relationship between individuals and their environment in Aphrodisias was such

that vendors felt comfortable carving identifying features into the wall – granting a permanence which

may not otherwise have existed. Alexandros the barber must have known the column would outlive

him, it must have preceded him, yet he remained comfortable fundamentally shaping the texture of the

building to include a sign for his occupation. Subsequently, the graffiti from the baths at Aphrodisias

reveal not only the fact commercial behaviours existed in these spaces, but further indicate the

relationship between an individual and this space.

Finally, the graffiti found in the bath complexes at Aphrodisias highlights the ways religion permeated

the late antique urban environment. Even in this "secular" location, we find the presence of a variety of

Christian graffiti. In the bath complexes which still maintained bathing functions in the late antique

period, we find evidence of religious beliefs and affirmations. In the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias,

religious iconography is incorporated into the leisure activities of the baths, as is evidence by a Type

3Rows.11 gameboard with three different crosses carved around the edge (Figure 4.8).[723] The crosses

would not have impeded playing the game as they do not cover any part of the board itself, and it is

possible the player who carved them saw them as a good-luck charm, a way to imbue his playing with

divine help. Similarly, the *topos* inscription of Epiktetos in the same bathhouse is prefaced with a cross.

Whether or not the cross was added with deliberate religious intent, or as a form of epigraphic

punctuation, it does attest to the integration of Christian religious iconography into "secular"

environments.[724] Similarly, the theatre baths feature a variety of Christian religious invocations and

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[723] TU66. A cross has also been carved beside a gameboard at the theatre baths, see TU309.
[724] For the cross as punctuation see section 5.4.1.

formulae. An acclamation to the cross is found carved on a column, reading 'This (the cross) triumphs'.[725] This graffito may have been the consequence of individuals memorialising their religious fervour as they experienced it.

Additionally, one of the most intriguing graffiti for its imagery from the entire late antique period is found in the theatre baths. An extensive prayer is carved on the first column from the north, requesting divine aid on behalf of two men, named Kerekokkios and Kurios.[726] The text is written beneath an extensive figurative graffito depicting a church with many decorative elements, including birds, a large cross and saints holding another cross as well as church decoration such as a thurible. The long graffito and image would have taken significant time to carve, and it displays an attention to detail that underscores a deep familiarity and interest in religious imagery, the author has ensured to include multiple aspects of the church he depicts, including not only the ethereal aspects of the church, such as peacocks and a saint-like figure holding a cross, but also a thurible or lamp (Figure 4.9). This graffito reveals a deeper form of religious practice at the site, where the author of the graffito went to great lengths to record their request for divine aid, and to illustrate it, thereby practicing their religion openly in the bathhouse. Furthermore, by creating such a detailed representation of a church, the author may have served to sanctify the space, creating an appropriate religious shrine in a secular location which was the victim of so much invective from the church fathers.

Subsequently, the graffiti from the bath complexes in Aphrodisias indicate that the baths were not only a place for leisure activities, but that individuals experienced religious fervour and wished to practice their religion in these spaces, not only on a deep theological level with the inscription of prayers and acclamations, but also practically with the addition of crosses to secular leisure activities they undertook

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[725] TU311. *τοῦτο νι✝κα̣.*
[726] TU312. *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς |ὁ ἐπάνο τὸν|οὐρανῶν, βοήθησον | κὲ οἰκονόμεσον |τὸν δοῦλον σου |Κερεκόκκιωντὼν| κὲ Κουρεων.* 'Lord God, who is above the heavens, help and provide (for) your servant Kerekokkionos and Koureos.'

in this environment, such as gaming. Once again, Christianity was practiced in every environment of the late antique city, and thus permeated every facet of life.

The graffiti from bath complexes reaffirms the conclusions reached through studying Aphrodisias, however it is nevertheless worth examining the graffiti from these sites as it proves Aphrodisian traditions were not unique. Although the exact location of many of the graffiti have not been recorded, or not recorded in large enough numbers to complete a spatial analysis, an analysis of behaviours can nevertheless be done.

A *topos* inscription of uncertain dating is found in the harbour baths. The baths were renovated by Constantine, and it is possible that the inscription therefore post-dates these renovations.[727] Furthermore, as evidenced by the late antique *topos* inscriptions in the theatre baths at Aphrodisias, the additions of these inscriptions to the baths in late antiquity is consistent. The inscription is found in the atrium of the baths, on a column base, and read 'Place of the bakers'.[728] The *topos* inscription of the baker in the harbour baths in Ephesos may attest to vendors also working in the baths during this period. At the baths of Varios, an inscription reads 'Metrodoros the barber' and may have functioned like a *topos* inscription, revealing the location in which one could receive a haircut.[729] Commercial activity clearly was occurring, even if the baths retained a primarily recreational function in the late antique era.

The Vedius gymnasium and bath complex appears to have maintained some use in the late antique period. An *opus sectile* floor was added to the building in the fifth century, however stratigraphic layers and pottery finds suggest that the complex had fallen out of use by the sixth century.[730] The building

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[727] Foss 1979: 59.
[728] TU735. *τόπ[ος τ]ῶν | φυρατῶν.*
[729] TU650. *Μητρόδορος | κόρος.*
[730] Schreilbeiter 2008: 264; Ladstätter and Sauer 2008: 114-120.

appears to have been subsequently stripped of many materials before being fully abandoned in the seventh century.[731] Nevertheless, two graffiti can be dated to roughly the late antique period. One graffito, a Christian prayer, was found on a column fragment, and reads 'Lord, help'.[732] The second graffito is also probably from a prayer, and reads '… help'.[733] It is difficult to date the graffiti from the Vedius Gymnasium in Ephesos; the two Christian prayers may have been carved when the baths were still functioning, but they could also have been carved during the spoliation of the building. If these were carved during the building's use, as would be consistent with the evidence from the theatre baths at Aphrodisias, it is once again possible to recognise the integration of the Christian religious faith into the secular environment in late antiquity and to understand that this faith was practiced everywhere. Religious acclamation was further viewed in such terms it was always appropriate to add religious invocations to a "secular" building.

4.5.   Christian Religious Sites

The next type of urban space I would like to examine in the late antique city is religious space. Graffiti written in Christian religious space consists of a significant portion of the graffiti found in the catalogue attached to this thesis, in total twenty-one percent of graffiti is found in ecclesiastical urban architecture, one of the largest selections.[734] As such, in order to fully understand graffiti found written in these locations, it is necessary to examine these locations in their late antique context. The only urban religious spaces in which graffiti which can be reasonably dated to the late antique period has been recorded are those associated with Christian cult practices: cathedrals, small churches and shrines.[735] As such, this section will prioritise the examination of graffiti in the Christian cult spaces in late antiquity.

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[731] Ladstätter 2017: 241.
[732] TU786. *† | κύριε βοήϑι | †.*
[733] TU787. *[----] βοήϑι.*
[734] 372 out of 1733 inscriptions.
[735] This may be largely due to the nature of the evidence. Ladstätter 2019: 14-15 discusses the prioritisation of the Roman imperial evidence over the late antique evidence during the first excavations of Ephesos. Ladstätter also

In the Hellenistic and Roman period, religious space was an integral part of urban civic space, with temples and altars located at prominent areas within the city space.[736] Throughout the fourth century, a transformation occurred however, in which traditional urban pagan religion was replaced with Christian institutions.[737] Christian buildings were constructed in the urban environments of the late antique east consistently in the late antique period, both sponsored by the imperial family (such as the Constantinian churches built in Jerusalem, e.g., the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which was first constructed in 326 CE.[738] Churches were also constructed in the urban space by the clergy, for example the fourth century basilica at Stobi was built by the local bishop.[739]

Christian institutions in the late antique urban environment facilitated Christian worship within the city scape. Public processions associated with religious festivals frequently utilised the church space of the city. Stational liturgies, in which pious members of the urban community travelled between shrines and church buildings, served to promote and consolidate Christian presence within public space.[740] Furthermore, these processions through the city established Christian groups as prominent communities who were partakers in urban life.[741] Although these processions leave little (if any) tangible remains, they are well attested in late antique literature. For example, the *Book of Ceremonies* records travel in Constantinople for religious processions, and the pilgrimage account of Egeria does the same with churches in Jerusalem.[742] A general view in early Christian and late antique literature was that Christian space was not an appropriate location for non-religious behaviours. The third century *Didascalia*

notes that in early excavations, Christian archaeologists focused on excavating Christian sites. See section 0.1.2 for this issue more broadly.

[736] See Raja 2012: 66-68, 130 for the presence of temples in the public urban spaces of Athens and Ephesos.

[737] Jacobs 2012: 125.

[738] Kelley 2019: 10.

[739] Snively 2012: 185.

[740] Baldovin 1987: 247-248.

[741] Baldovin 1987: 247-248.

[742] Describing celebrations for the Monday of Renewal week, Constantine Porphrygenitos *Book of Ceremonies* 1.10. recorded visits to the church of the Holy Apostles, the Church of Saint Polyeuktos and the tomb of John Chrysostom, amongst other religious sites. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*. 12.

Apostolorum criticised any activity in the church which was not devoted to the worship of God.[743] Late antique authors were critical of individuals who sought to entertain themselves in church when they should have been devoted to religious pursuits; John Chrysostom criticised the forms of social display by wealthy citizens in church, arguing a focus on the types of clothing one is wearing would distract the mind from proper worship.[744] Similarly, Caesarius of Arles criticises those who leave Church services to conduct business or trade, emphasising the importance of sole focus on divine salvation during services.[745] Although this literature is written by clergy who would have naturally promoted religious devotion over secular pursuits, late antique texts provide at least a small insight into a selection of attitudes towards behaviours in religious space in this period. These attitudes emphasised religious devotion over secular behaviours.

The construction of new Christian buildings in the late antique period means these buildings are frequently datable to this period, establishing a clear *terminus post quem* for the graffiti written in these spaces. Subsequently they provide a significant corpus of late antique graffiti. The following section will examine urban churches to see which behaviours were manifested in graffiti of the period.

4.5.1. Graffiti at Religious Sites

Ephesos (Turkey)

The graffiti from the Church of Saint John is exclusively Christian in nature. Sixty percent of informal inscriptions open with an invocation of God to help the author, for example 'Lord, help your servant Nikola, of Christ (?)'.[746] Whilst invocations to "Lord" account for the majority of prayers in the church, ten inscriptions explicitly reference the Saint associated with the church - for example 'Saint John, help

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[743] *Didascalia Apostolorum* 7. 'And let the deacon also see that no one whispers, or falls asleep, or laughs, or makes signs. For so it should be […] they watch in the Church, with ears attentive to the word of the Lord' Trans. R. Hugh Connolly. For a summary of behaviours criticised in Late Antique Churches, see Lavan 2021: 367.

[744] John Chrysostom *Homily Three on Second Thessalonians.* Trans. J.A. Broadus.

[745] Caesarius of Arles. *Sermon 74.3*. Trans. Sr. M.M. Mueller

[746] 21 of 35 inscriptions. TU689. *κ(ύρι)ε, βοήϑη το δο|ύλ(ο) Νηκόλα Χρήστ[ου?].*

your servant Lazaros'.[747] Texts which do not feature a prayer remain explicitly Christian, for example an

invocation of the Saint which is unaccompanied by additional acclamations or requests.[748] There are,

however, no secular graffiti found within the church. All the graffiti recorded has been textual, and this

evidence exclusively includes prayers and invocations to a Christian deity or holy figure. There have been

no figurative graffiti recorded, but it is apparent that supplicants within the church were focused

exclusively on religious behaviours within the building.

The same trends can be recorded in the Grotto of Saint Paul. The recorded graffiti in the grotto is

exclusively religious in nature – again including a variety of prayers and acclamations of Christian holy

figures. Examples include invocations of God, 'Lord, have mercy' and prayers to the saint associated with

the site 'Paul, help'.[749] Once again, there is no recorded evidence of figurative graffiti in the cave chapel

– but what the evidence does suggest is that late antique individuals only saw fit to carve religious

expressions at the site.

The Church of Mary features fewer recorded graffiti than other religious sites in Ephesos – with only six

recorded texts. Once again, the informal inscriptions recorded at the site are exclusively textual and

each record a prayer. The texts, perhaps due to a weaker tradition of informal inscriptions at the site –

do not feature the same repetition of key phrases as is seen at the Church of Saint John and the Grotto

of Saint Paul – but they do all feature requests of a deity or holy figure – for example the prayer 'Lady

Aurilia. Save lord Aurilis a Christian of the same father', a text which requested the salvation of the

author.[750] The graffiti from the Church of Mary therefore supports the same traditions seen at other

sites within the city of Ephesos – in the Christian religious institutions, only Christian graffiti was found.

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[747] TU659. † ἅγ(ι)ε Ἰω(άννη), βοήθη τὼν σὸν δοῦλον Λάζαρον. For texts which reference Saint John, see: TU666; TU656; TU660; TU661 and TU662. For texts which reference the saint as "Theologian", see: TU688; TU687; TU685; TU680 and TU676.
[748] TU661. Ἰοάνι †. John.
[749] TU731. κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέη[σ]|ον. and TU708. Παῦλε, β[ο]ή[θει
[750] TU658. κυρα Αὐριλία † | Σοτηρία κ(ύρο)ν Αὐρ|ιλιν Χρηστιον | τὸν ὁμόπατριν.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

Having examined the secular spaces of Aphrodisias, we can therefore consider whether the same trends

can be observed in the religious spaces of the city. Outside the church, we find two gameboards carved

upon a step, where people could have sat and played whilst coming in and out of the church.[751]

However, within the church building itself the situation is very different. There are only two examples

which may be termed secular, the so-called "prayers of the builders" which records the construction of

the building, and Roueché suggests may predate the conversion of the temple into a Christian space.[752]

This ambiguous example aside, all examples of graffiti inside the church are identifiably Christian.[753] The

doorways at the entrance to the church are covered in prayers, crosses and other religious iconography.

Furthermore, a selection of prayers and invocations can be found alongside the columns within the

church, such as a prayer to the archangel Michael. The lack of secular graffiti within the church building

itself would suggest that it was not acceptable to write secular texts in the holy space, which was

reserved for purely religious purposes. Even the aforementioned step outside the church with game

boards also included invocations of Michael, and several names found within the church might be

interpreted as requests for God to recognise the presence of supplicants.[754] Thus, we can recognise a

dichotomy in the treatment of space in the late antique city of Aphrodisias. Whilst secular public spaces

could be appropriated to show religious devotion and allegiances, religious space was reserved for

purely religious purposes.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

All the graffiti found within the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy is religious in nature, featuring either

invocations of God or commemorating the visit of pilgrims. The religious intent is most overt in the 'God

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[751] TU47 and TU48.

[752] TU39. ΛΑ]ΙΒ *οἱ οἰκοδόμοι.* '… the builders'; TU40. *ἐ[πι]μελ(ηθέντος)* 'Under the supervision of…?'

[753] Several personal names are inscribed in the church which are not accompanied by Christian symbolism, such as TU29. *Στέ|φ|ά|ν(ος).* 'Stephanos' and TU37. *Ὀνήσιμος.* 'Onesimos'. However, supplicants would often carve their names as a means of devotion without attaching religious imagery. It is still likely these personal names were therefore carved with devotional intent.

[754] TU46. This inscription is carved adjacent to TU47 and TU48.

of the Christians, have mercy on Anamos the sinner and forgive his sins. Amen'.[755] However, the content

of this text does have a similarity with the large portion of graffiti in the chapel which is not identifiably

religious. This is the feature of the personal name – which features in fifty-nine percent of texts at the

site.[756] The carving of a personal name within a religious environment was a means of assuring divine

recognition of an individual – something which would be particularly pertinent at a pilgrimage site in

Jerusalem. Consequently, it is apparent that the graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy can be

contextually understood as seeking to ensure divine recognition. At the cave chapel – no individual

carved a secular text.

Other religious sites in Jerusalem support the same conclusions. The burial chamber beneath the

Martyrium of Melania the Younger features the inscriptions of three names – which like the graffiti from

the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy likely also aimed to receive the recognition of God.[757] Similarly, an

acclamation or prayer in a tomb located in Saint Stephen's Church is clearly religious in nature, it read

either 'Lord Jesus Christ the highest King' or 'Lord Jesus Christ, help'.[758] A prayer is found at the tomb of

Zacharia.[759] Consequently, it is apparent that religious sites in Jerusalem featured exclusively Christian

graffiti. These sites were not viewed as a location in which individuals could express other behaviours.

Antinoopolis (Egypt)
The graffiti recorded in the churches at Antinoopolis confirm the previous assertions – representing a

distinct trend in the late antique urban environment. The religious institutions at the city have several

graffiti written and drawn within them – each of which are religious in content.

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[755] IP87. *prayer Θε<έ> τῶν Χρησ|τιανῶν, ἐλεήσον | Αναμον τὸν ἀμαρ|τ[ωλ]ὸν κὲ ἐξαφὲς αὐ|τῷ τὰς ἀμαρτίας, [ἀμ]ήν.*
[756] 45 out of 76 inscriptions feature a personal name. 29 out of 76 inscriptions feature only a personal name.
[757] IP127. *Γαιανό[ς]*. 'Gaianos'; IP128. *Παῦλος* 'Paulos' and IP129. *Ἄμος*. 'Amos'.
[758] IP126. *Κ(ύριος) Χ(ριστὸς) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Β(ασιλεὺς) | ὕ(ψιστος) or Κ(ύριε) Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰ(ησοῦς) β(οήθει).*
[759] IP140. *[Κ(ύρι)ε or [Χ(ριστ)έ, β(οή)θι ἡμοι* 'Lord, help me *or* Christ, help me.'

There are sixteen textual and figurative graffiti at the Church with Ionic Columns. Generally, these can be understood to have devotional intent. Several inscriptions of these inscriptions appear to invoke Saint Victor.[760] Conversely, these text could be written by a supplicant who shared the name with the saint or was even named for them. In this instance, even though the text lacks overt references to religion or religious figures – it would not be unreasonable to read this as a supplicant expressing their devotion – certainly in the undamaged version. The church also includes figurative graffiti with a religious intent – including representations of military saints and an *orant*.[761] Another graffito represents a boat. [762] Boats occur frequently in the graffiti of the ancient and medieval world, particularly at religious sites. Boat graffiti may have been a way to invoke religious protection for a supplicant who often travelled by ship, ensuring their means of transport was protected from the dangers associated with this travel.[763]

Two graffiti at the site do not appear to have any religious purpose. A series of cross-hatched graffiti and a collection of geometric shapes cannot be immediately interpreted as having any religious significance (Figure 4.10).[764] It could be argued that the mere carving of the shapes and hatches would represent the integration of an individual into the holy site – creating a lasting connection between their bodies and the images they left behind. However, this interpretation is unlikely to be accurate. If the individuals who carved the graffiti wished to express any form of religious devotion – they could have more easily carved a symbol with religious meaning, such as a cross or Chi-Rho. Consequently, these two graffiti were more likely carved by the laity during sermons or routine visits to the church, and do not hold a

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[760] EG99. *Βίκ*. 'Victor (?)'; EG100. *Βίκτωρ | Βίκτωρ |. ἐλ(άχιστος) | † Βίκτω[ρ]* 'Viktor, Viktor, most humble, Viktor'. See page 158 for a discussion on Saint Victor at Antinoopolis.
[761] See page 158 for a discussion on how carving this would manifest devotion.
[762] EG106.
[763] For ship graffiti as a means of ensuring divine protection, see Demetischa 2013: 113 and Nakas 2021: 55-56. Westerdahl 2013: 341-344 examines votive ship graffiti in a northern European context. For a discussion on the dangers associated with travel by ship see section 3.3.2. Pages 147-148.
[764] EG98. and EG104.

theological purpose, but instead represent the idle and spontaneous scratchings of ordinary people in antiquity. These graffiti are unique in the corpus – being the only graffiti from a religious site which does not have a possible religious intent, and thus highlighting that even when trends seem universal across the eastern Mediterranean, we still must account for local variations.

The graffiti from the episcopal church is all religious in content. Of the three textual graffiti one invoked the Lord, and another may have invoked Christ.[765] The third textual graffito features two names repeated 'Victor, Aliane, Victor, a Aliane'.[766] There are several possible interpretations of these names. Victor, though it could be a personal name, may relate to the local Saint Victor who was perhaps venerated in the local churches. Although Aliane appears to be a personal name, I have not been able to find a parallel for it outside of this graffito. It may be a local name or a local variant of another name. Nevertheless, the text invoked Saint Victor, likely on behalf of an individual named Aliane. Like the Church with Ionic Columns, the church also features figurative graffiti with religious meaning – including an orant and a figure holding an object, which may be interpreted as a military saint. The graffiti from Antinoopolis represents the same traditions recognised in other urban environments from throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The graffiti found within the church is exclusively religious – suggesting that the physical site of a cult space was held in regard and was not seen by the general populace as an environment in which it was appropriate to carve informal inscriptions – unless these inscriptions were associated with the religious behaviours one undertook in the space.

4.6.   Conclusion

Examining graffiti through the lens of space and landscape allows for a more nuanced understanding of the role and function of informal texts and images in the late antique city. Throughout the eastern

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[765] EG92. *Κῦρε | αν.* 'Lord'. EG93. *χρυ. α. [ ].* 'Christ (?)
[766] EG94. *Βίκτω[ρ] | Ἀλιανέ | Βίκτωρ | {α} Ἀλιανέ*

Mediterranean, graffiti is found in clusters within the urban environment. The placement of graffiti suggests that authors prioritised writing these texts in spaces where they could sit in shade and would not obstruct traffic through public spaces. At Ephesos, graffiti was written in stoai along Arkadian Street and Curetes street, whilst at Sagalassos graffiti is found carved in the porticoes of public squares. At Aphrodisias and Athens, graffiti was carved on columns, which would have required the authors to stand to carve these texts, however they would have remained in shaded areas. The same patterns are recognised in other urban spaces, at theatres and stadia graffiti was carved on the seats of these venues by the audience, but also in the corridors behind the stage, highlighting that performers would congregate in these areas. Graffiti thus appears in the spaces which were inhabited by groups of people, who were at leisure to write it.

Through examining the graffiti written in areas of the late antique Mediterranean, it is possible to recognise the ways in which the environment did not just exist, but individuals interacted with and lived with this environment. Graffiti was not written across the landscape with no cause, but rather examining the types of text written in each area of the landscape allows us to reconstruct the behaviours of these individuals. It also clearly indicates the complexity of graffiti, even when carved casually and spontaneously (such as, perhaps, the figurative graffiti from Stadium Street in Ephesos, or acclamations of named performers in the Alexandrian theatre) this graffiti still followed the general trends of where carving these texts was viewed as acceptable; commercial texts are found carved in agorai and public squares such as the urban park at Aphrodisias, and gameboards are scratched in spaces where one might relax, such as on theatre seats. Religious graffiti permeated all aspects of the late antique city; Christian prayers and symbols are found universally throughout the environments of the late antique eastern Mediterranean, attesting to the embedded nature of religion in the lives of late antique peoples. Notably, the lack of "secular" graffiti in churches and at cult centres once again highlights a universality

in late antique graffiti culture: writing non-Christian inscriptions at a Christian site was socially

unacceptable and entirely avoided.

To fully comprehend late antique graffiti culture, it must be studied in light of its placement within a

broader landscape. Whilst it has been only possible to consider graffiti in urban environments within this

chapter, trends emerge which highlight the complexities graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean. Texts did

not merely appear but were carved according to the concepts of space held by late antique peoples, and

what was appropriate to place within that space. Having examined the relationship on the macro level

between graffiti and the late antique environment, the final chapter will take the same approach in

terms of the wall and formal artistic practices.

5. Graffiti and the Wall

Having examined the relationship between graffiti and the landscape in chapter four, the final chapter of this thesis will examine the relationship between graffiti and the environment on the micro scale. This chapter will consider the connection between informal inscriptions and the visual culture carved or painted on the wall. There have been limited studies on this connection, and although this relationship has been occasionally studied in the context of figurative graffiti (for example, Mustafa Büyükkolancı and Charlotte Roueché note the ways figurative graffiti in Ephesos appear to represent statues, and Angelos Chaniotis notes the same regarding graffiti in the urban park at Aphrodisias).[767] Frequently, the lack of study on this topic might be due to the lack of a clear distinction between "formal" and "informal" art. Although graffiti and formal inscriptions are treated as distinct in scholarship, this can be difficult to establish in practice.[768] As noted in my introduction; I define formal art as texts and images which were commissioned and inscribed with a purpose key to the function of a space (such as epitaphs, or dedicatory inscriptions recording construction or renovation) whilst informal inscriptions are secondary.[769] Nevertheless, It can be very difficult to distinguish between art which has been commissioned but poorly done, and art which was non-commissioned but well executed, particularly in mediums such as paint which degrade quickly. As such, it is understandable for scholars to avoid this topic due to its difficulties. In spite of these difficulties, this chapter shall attempt to rectify these issues and begin to dissect the way graffiti interacted with the formal artistic practices in late antiquity.

This chapter is divided into four sections, which examine the relationship between graffiti and the visual culture of late antiquity. Initially, the first section analyses the relationship between visual culture and

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[767] Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 87-92. Chaniotis 2018: 77-91.
[768] Graffiti and formal inscriptions are frequently listed in different sections of epigraphic volumes and archaeological reports. For example, in Ulbert's 1986 volume *Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis*, the Greek inscriptions and the Greek graffiti are published in separate chapters (edited by Gatier and Römer respectively).
[769] See section 0.2.

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graffiti more generally, discussing the issues which have stymied discussion on the topic, such as terminology and practical concerns. The following three sections examines late antique graffiti in relation to late antique visual culture more directly: with section one considering the physical interaction between formal artistic practices and informal artistic practices on the wall, investigating the reasons one might choose to inscribe over or avoid formal art through case studies. The second section examines the relationship between informal inscriptions, with case studies to consider the reasons late antique peoples either avoided or defaced the graffiti of others, and what this can tell us about informal texts and personal interactions. The third section of this chapter will be the longest, examining several different facets of formal artistic culture in their own right (including the epigraphic cross and the epigraphic frame) and drawing together case studies of these practices within graffiti, to ascertain the relationship between formal and informal visual culture. This chapter will thus contextualise graffiti as a physical object – an output which is produced alongside commissioned artwork, to examine not only the varying roles it played within its immediate environment, but the ways in which it borrowed and solidified aspects of pre-existing visual culture c. 300-700 CE.

5.1. Studying Late Antique Art: The Problems

The majority of late antique graffiti was probably inscribed into plaster on a wall, however the study of this data has been made difficult by the deterioration of the walls on which these inscriptions were carved. Unfortunately, at many of the sites discussed in my thesis, much of the decorative elements of the structures have been lost. In particular, much of the original plaster from antique sites are now lost due to weathering, particularly in ruinated cities. This art has mainly survived either through accident or circumstance. For example, the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy was abandoned as a cult site in the seventh or eighth century, and the cave was cut off from the elements, protecting the plaster in the cave (and its

accompanying graffiti) from the elements.[770] Sites which remain in use today, or were used frequently

throughout the last millennia, are more likely to have their original artwork preserved. For example, the

Grotto of Saint Paul in Ephesos retains its fifth century frescos. The grotto was in use between the fourth

and eighteenth centuries, and the original plaster layers were protected by a coat of whitewash, which

has since been removed, and which protected the graffiti carved beneath.[771] Where late antique and

early Byzantine plaster is still found, it is typically in dry, sheltered locations where the plaster was

protected from the elements. Irrespective of the loss of wall art however, plaster was omnipresent in

late antique spaces. Walls were covered in plaster not only in religious contexts, but also in domestic

buildings at Ephesos and Alexandria, as well as at theatres and catacombs.[772] Epigraphic and sculpted

materials have undergone similar processes, with much lost either through exposure to the weather, or

destruction in both antiquity and the present day.[773] In this chapter, I will through necessity focus on

those sites which retain extant graffiti and formal artwork, examining a series of case studies which

either highlight trends reflective of the wider informal epigraphic tradition, or reveal unique information

about localised graffiti practices. Whilst this approach is necessary due to the nature of the evidence, it

must be acknowledged that all graffiti in the thesis would have engaged with late antique visual culture

in some form; either reflecting official artistic trends, or being located in reasonable proximity to formal

artwork. However, unfortunately due to damage to many sites, only a small number of case studies can

be discussed. Nevertheless, these case studies represent a broad selection of late antique architecture,

including religious buildings and theatres, allowing for a detailed analysis of the relationship between

formal and informal art in the period.

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[770] Di Segni 2012: 160-163.
[771] Pillinger 2000: 18-19.
[772] For Alexandria, see Majcherek 1995: 137. For Ephesos, see Zimmerman 2011: 619-627. Plaster has been preserved behind the stage of the Aphrodisian odeon as can be seen in IAph2007 2.3.
[773] Damage to late antique sculpture in the form of lime-production is discussed in section 1.2. Page 39.

5.2.   Graffiti and its Physical Proximity to Formal Art

This first section will examine the physical relationship between graffiti and formal art, and thus allow us to reconstruct how late antique peoples viewed both graffiti and formal art according to its location. When an informal inscription was scratched into stone or plaster it was inevitably going to interact with the formal artwork and architecture of the wall, and the authors of the texts and images would have decided whether to inscribe their text on top of, or surrounding, the decorative features. These decisions are key to discovering the ways in which historic peoples interacted with art produced both by their contemporaries and in previous eras. This relationship has primarily been studied in religious environments, particularly in Christian contexts, due to better excavation and preservation in these locations. Frequently, these studies have focused on the placement of graffiti on religious wall painting. One example is Plesch, who pioneered the study and examined the placement of graffiti in close proximity to images of saints in an early modern Italian churches. Plesch saw this graffiti as evidence of the belief individuals could express devotion through integrating their prayers in saints' bodies.[774] This theory may also be applicable to late antique graffiti in which the author carved a physical representation of a holy figure, another way of integrating their identity into the image of a saint.[775] Twelfth century and later graffiti found on wall-paintings in Cyprus has also been viewed as a means of integrating personal devotion into formal artistic and religious motifs. Mia Gaia Trentin notes that at churches in Cyprus, Latin graffiti is found carved close to church entrances and façades, whilst Greek graffiti is found carved near representations of saints, suggesting that the Greek authors sought to assimilate their religious beliefs into the body of the saint, whilst the Latin graffiti was purely commemorative.[776] Although these studies can be useful methodologically, it is important to examine late antique case studies themselves to understand the relationship between the individual and art. In

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[774] Plesch 2002: 183.
[775] See section 3.4. Pages 159-161.
[776] Trentin 2010: 300-301.

the few cases where this does receive considerable attention in late antiquity, it is in the context of

Christianisation and the Christian response to pagan art.[777] Art in late antiquity was often understood as

holding special social status, primarily in religious, but also in secular contexts. Icons and religious

images in churches were seen as important manifestations of supernatural power; evidence of icons

having power is recorded in the the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers.* The vision of Abbot Daniel of Skete

stated his prayers before an icon of the Virgin Mary are rewarded with an appearance by the Virgin

herself.[778] Even in secular contexts, art and architecture was frequently described in superlative terms,

for example in his *Oration on Antioch*, Libanios describes the ornately adorned buildings of the city as

like stars.[779] Whilst this was frequently a result of genre, with popular rhetorical techniques such as

ekphrasis intending to vividly and poetically describe art, these texts do not always help reconstruct the

relationship between art and individual beyond the literary elite.[780] Through the examination of how an

individual would interact with formal artistic practices, it is possible to see a more usual relationship

between late antique peoples and their visual culture. When authors were no longer bound by genre

conventions, did the separation between the individual and visual culture remain; or was this art

something that the individual could interact with? Studying graffiti in this context is thus paramount to

understanding the relationship between individuals and art in late antiquity. The following case studies

will provide examples of the diverse relationships' individuals had with formal artistic practices.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

One site which is illustrative of the relationship between formal and informal art on the wall, is the

Church of the Archangels. The two doorframes at the entrance to the church feature both formal and

informal epigraphy (Figures 1.1 and 1.2), with two formally sculpted crosses surrounded by graffiti. The

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[777] Curran 1994; Prusac 2011.
[778] *Saying of the Desert Fathers*. 465. Trans. J. Wortley.
[779] Libanios. *Oration in Praise of Antioch.* 194.
[780] Webb 2016: 1.

majority of the graffiti was likely written after the addition of the crosses, as none of the graffiti appears

to have been damaged by their carving. In fact, the graffiti seems to shape itself around the cross. The

first example is the cross monogram 'Theophilos', which is written almost exactly above the official

iconography and mimics the form of the cross (Figure 2.3).[781] Beside 'Theophilos' is a prayer requesting

divine aid, possibly written by the same author, and it is aligned closely with the inscribed cross,

although it does not encroach upon the official decoration visibly. Similarly, a μ carved into the wall is

almost exactly aligned with the crossbars of the formal decoration, suggesting the author considered the

aesthetic look of their graffiti, and wanted it to complement the formal carvings. This can be seen again

on the other doorframe from the site. In this example, the inscription 'Ascension of the Lord' is of

noteworthy.[782] The first word of the inscription is deeply carved, and Roueché associates it as part of the

same decorative scheme as the formally carved cross on the door post.[783] However, the second half of

the inscription is carved poorly. These inscriptions could be understood in different ways, either the full

inscription was unfinished, and the final words had therefore not been deeply incised yet, or the second

half of the inscription was a later addition by a graffiti writer. I hesitantly posit that the latter is the case,

as the completed inscription does not seem to match well with the beginning. If this is the case, it

suggests that the second author consciously mimicked the curved script of the formal inscription. These

examples highlight a complex interaction between the formal decoration of the cult-space and graffiti.

The authors seem to be attempting to imbue their prayers and names with the holiness attributed to

the cross. They placed their own identity and religious reverence at the boundary to the holy space.

However, the authors in Aphrodisias were reluctant to damage the image, suggesting a level of respect

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[781] TU25. *Θεοφ(ί)λ(ῳ) | Κ(ύρι)ε βωῖϑι τῷσῷδ(ού)λο | μα(κε)λαρή(ῳ) ✝.* 'Lord, help your servant Theophilos, butcher'.

[782] TU23. *ἀνάληψης τ(οῦ) Κ(υρίο)υ.*

[783] C. Roueché. ALA2004. VIII.8. https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-VIII.html. [Accessed 03.09.2022]

held for the iconography, instead leaving it untouched, whilst associating themselves with it by proximity and stylistic imitation.

Ephesos (Turkey)

An example of this practice in Ephesos is from the Church of Saint John the Theologian. Of note is one graffito written beneath a donor inscription on a column. Unfortunately, no images exist of this graffito, but there is a detailed description. The donor inscription reads **'**Theologian, help your servant Stephanos, sinner', and was written in the four quarters of a cross.[784] At the foot of the cross is a graffito, reading 'Theologian, help the servant of God Osontolos in (his) sins, the pipe-maker. Sins….'[785] It is notable that the author of this text chose not to write it alongside other graffiti in hotspots around the church, but instead to inscribe their message within close proximity to the pre-existing holy symbol. That they do not appear to have damaged the inscription whilst doing so suggests a level of respect was held for it. Furthermore, Osontolos has written the inscription not just in close proximity to the sacred image, but also has chosen to mimic the language of the inscription. Specifically, Osontolos has chosen to use the term "sins", which, though not unusual, was not common in late antique informal inscriptions; references to the author as a sinner, or requesting salvation from sins, occurs nine times in the eastern Mediterranean.[786] This term appearing directly below a formal inscription using the same language thus suggests that the author of the graffito was copying the language of the formal text. Osontolos presented his inscription as valid an act of devotion as the commissioned piece. Consequently, graffiti in the Church of Saint John was conscious of, and interacted explicitly, with the artistic scheme of a church,

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[784] TU687. *† Θεολό ((cross)) γε, βοΐϑι | τοῦ σοῦ δούλου ((cross)) Στεφάνου | ἀμαρ ((cross)) τολοῦ.*
[785] TU688. *θεολόγε, βοήϑησον ἀμίν | τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ϑεοῦ Ο|ΣΟΝΤΟΛΟΝ ἐν ἀμαρτήᾳ· σολη(ο)|ποηός. ἀμαρτήα ..α*
[786] For graffiti which references the sins of the author, see: TU5; TU687; TU688; TU721; EG302; IP21; IP87; IP116 and IP122.

however, it was careful not to damage the formal decoration. The example indicates how some late antique graffiti authors respected and revered formal cult-iconography and sought not to damage it.

The graffiti at the Grotto of Saint Paul suggests a different relationship with formal imagery to that from the Church of Saint John. In 1998 a layer of plaster in the grotto was removed, revealing a fresco of Saint Paul, dating to the fifth to sixth century CE. The plaster layer and fresco in the church had in excess of 300 graffiti written upon it, although due to a lack of effective publication it is not always apparent where the graffiti is found in the cave. In Renate Pillinger's publication, it is possible to identify an informal and fragmentary dipinto transcribed by Pillinger as 'For a vow ... his household'. The graffiti was written in paint, and has been added in close proximity to the image of Theokleia, mother of Saint Thecla (Figure 5.1).[787] The text curves around name of Theokleia. The author has specifically tried to write their text close to the image, but however, has avoided damaging it in any way, indicating that whilst authors may wish to associate their graffiti with the fresco, they did not want to damage the image itself. It is possible that the use of paint to write the inscription impacted this decision, as the medium would obscure the art below.

However, images in Sabine Ladstätter's *Wall Painting in Ephesos* reveal the location of some scratched texts in the plaster which do overlap onto the formal art in the cave. Unfortunately, as the graffiti is not the focus of these images, the photos are not clear enough to confirm if the texts are the same as those published by Pillinger. Several texts are found on the white plaster, which cannot be transcribed or translated (Figure 5.2). What is notable however is the presence of a graffito in the centre of Saint Paul's chest (Figure 5.3). Although it cannot be confirmed exactly which, if any, of the graffiti published by Pillinger it aligns with, the text is clearly a prayer, with the terms *Παῦλε* and *βοηθῇ* possible to read.[788] The prayer on the chest of Saint Paul highlights that formal art was not seen as untouchable in the

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[787] TU733. *[- - -] ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς [- -] τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ [- - -].*
[788] TU734. Zimmerman and Ladstätter 2010: Fig. 369.

Grotto, but that supplicants felt comfortable writing across the holy figures. This may have had a religious purpose. In Chapter Three, I discuss the importance of the holy figure to supplicants, who may seek to replicate this figure in their graffiti as a sign of their devotion.[789] In this instance, the supplicant at the Grotto of Saint Paul sees the image of the saint as a canvas upon which to express their own request for divine aid. The formal artwork and the body of the saint imbues supernatural benefit into the text. Plesch states: the artwork of the saint will 'break boundaries between the depicted holy figures and the "real" world of the devout' and allows 'a contact, between the devout and the divine'.[790] Therefore, in this instance we can recognise that individuals did interact with the formal artwork at a site, at the Grotto recognising holy figures as a way of imbuing extra supernatural power into their text.

The different traditions at the Church of Saint John and the Grotto of Saint Paul may reflect differences in the extant evidence: the graffiti at the Church of Saint John is found carved into stone, whilst the graffiti at the Grotto of Saint Paul is in plaster. Unfortunately, there are no extant wall paintings with published graffiti from the church of Saint John at Ephesos; if there were it would maybe be possible to see how the text interacted with the wall paintings, and if the "canvas" of the wall affected graffiti's relationship with formal art.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

The graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy allows us to study the relationship between formal art and epigraphy on the wall in the inverse: essentially, how did formal art added after graffiti interact with the prior informal texts? Although this is not the only site in the eastern Mediterranean, in which formal art was added post the addition of late antique graffiti, the well documented nature of the cave makes it an ideal place to examine as a case study. The majority of the graffiti in the cave can be dated to the

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[789] See section 3.4. Pages 159-161.
[790] Plesch 2002: 182-183.

fifth to sixth centuries CE, with some from as early as the fourth.[791] Then, in the late sixth or early

seventh century, a coat of limewash was added to the east wall of the cave, and a painted inscription

and formal representation of an altar as well as painted crosses and staurograms were added to the

wall.[792] These additions covered the graffiti on the east wall, but the inscriptions on the south, north and

west walls would have remained visible.

The addition of the formal art to the north wall of the cave indicates that graffiti, whilst important on a

personal level, was not considered important on a broader social scale. This does not equate to a disdain

for graffiti – it was clearly considered acceptable and large swathes of graffiti in the cave were left

untouched. However, it does indicate that graffiti was not assumed to hold great social importance.

Despite the similarities between formal and informal epigraphy, in both content and style, graffiti was

seen in Jerusalem as disposable – it could be covered without disrespect to the supplicants who had left

their requests for divine aid behind.[793]

5.3.   Graffiti and its Physical Proximity to Other Graffiti

Having established the relationship between graffiti and formal art in antiquity, indicating that the ways

of interacting with these texts varied according to location, the next section will now examine how

graffiti interacted with other informal inscriptions on the wall. Contextualising this relationship is vital to

understanding the role of graffiti in late antiquity as a whole, allowing to us reconstruct the ways in

which individuals viewed the additional informal texts and images at a site, and in particular if they were

viewed with the same relative reverence as appears to have been ascribed to formal imagery by graffiti

authors. This is a subject which has received even less attention than studies of the relationship

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[791] Di Segni 2012: 160-161.
[792] Di Segni 2012: 160-161, 165. For the dating of the art see Taylor 1990: 464.
[793] It should be noted the covering of late antique art is not unique to this site, however this cave merely presents a good example of the practice. The same could be said at the Grotto of Saint Paul, where the late antique art was covered by a layer of white wash, although the dating and reason for the covering at the Grotto are far more ambiguous.

between graffiti and formal art. Occasionally, the relationship is commented on. Epigraphic volumes

may note when graffiti crosses over into other texts, for example Di Segni comments on texts which are

written over one another in the CIIP.[794] However, in this case the graffiti is discussed primarily as a way

of dating the usage of the site, as opposed to understanding the ways the centuries of graffiti interacted

with one another, and what instances made it acceptable or unacceptable to inscribe one text of one

which had been carved prior. Similarly, this is not a realm in which we can turn to literary evidence to

discuss – authors do not discuss their response to earlier texts. As such, this section will aim to fill this

gap, examining the relationship between graffiti and pre-existing inscribed texts and images, examining

the multiple means of interaction with informal texts at sites. Whilst looking at this section however, it

must be acknowledged that in some instances there will always be more graffiti found in some

locations. On extant plaster, more graffiti is typically found as it was easier to inscribe. Therefore, we will

have more evidence of how graffiti interacted with each other in locations with extant plaster.

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

There are several opportunities at Aphrodisias to see the interaction between informal texts. The first is

a plaster-covered recess behind the odeon. This wall features numerous graffiti, both textual and

figurative, including genitalia, plants, human images, insults, and invocations.[795] Of particular note is a

graffito of an enthroned figure, which has straight lines etched across the bottom of the image (Figure

4.6). The texts found here have no official or semi-official purpose, they represent the personal and

spontaneous inscriptions made by performers whilst waiting to go on stage. As such, there is little

respect shown to the texts and images; they are informal and their preservation and legibility was not

prioritised by those who carved them, and those who carved over them. This is made particularly

explicit through the addition of line graffiti which partially obscures earlier texts. The lines do not appear

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[794] See Di Segni 2012.
[795] Genitalia: TU82. Plants: TU84. Human figures: TU79; TU77; TU87; TU90; TU88. Insults: TU76. Invocations: TU80.

to have been added explicitly to damage the earlier inscriptions, as all the inscriptions beneath are still largely intelligible, but rather suggests that a bored individual could casually carve designs over early inscriptions without social repercussion.

A similar trend can be recognised in Church of the Archangels. Here, although the extant graffiti sought not to damage formal inscriptions at the site, texts show little fear in crossing one another. The extant prayers from a stone block (Figure 1.7) reveals that, even when carved, graffiti could cover over other texts, even in this more serious context. This series of invocations within the church features texts written haphazardly crossing over one another, indicating it was acceptable to damage the religious invocations of another individual. [796] Notable at Aphrodisias is the willingness to cross over and damage other texts exists in all contexts. On the steps of the church we can witness the overlap of text invoking the Archangel Michael, and gameboards (Figure 5.4). It might be expected that the presence of the invocation would damage the gameboard or make it harder to play, but this does not seem to have been a concern for late antique peoples at Aphrodisias, who were happy to write over one another's inscription. A similar example can be recognised in the urban park, where insults have been written across another gameboard (Figure 5.5).[797] What this highlights, is that late antique peoples recognised the presence of other informal inscriptions, but nonetheless chose to draw over them at Aphrodisias. The city acted as a blank canvas, upon which graffiti could be drawn and redrawn, regardless of how this affected the legibility of the texts.

Horvat Qasra (Israel/Palestine)

The graffiti found at Horvat Qasra indicates the different ways individuals would act with the texts which preceded them at a site, and multiple different traditions can be witnessed at this site. Carved in a

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[796] For these texts, see: TU16; TU17 and TU18.
[797] TU633. An acclamation is also written across a gameboard in the Hadrianic baths, see: TU64.

tabula ansata at the site is the inscription 'Chapel of Saint Salome'.[798] Other graffiti encroached onto this inscription, with a row of crosses drawn across the bottom line of the *tabula,* with some beginning to cover the lower letters of the text itself (Figure 5.6).[799] These crosses and several other textual graffiti also written surrounding the *tabula ansata* similarly intercept one another. It is possible that those who drew the crosses and wrote texts sought to integrate their inscriptions with the invocation of the saint, even though this text was similarly informal, and did not object to writing over parts of this earlier text to do so. Another inscription from Horvat Qasra indicates authors did not always wish to write over earlier texts. The graffito *† XA* is written on a wall in "Room Five" of the complex.[800] A prayer is written surrounding this text, it read 'Lord, have mercy on your servant Zacharias' (Figure 5.7).[801] On the penultimate line of this inscription, the author left a gap in the term *δοῦλόν* 'Servant' to avoid covering the earlier text with the same inscription. It is not certain why this author chose not to damage the earlier inscription, it is possible Zacharias did not want to impact the legibility of his own prayer (although if this was the case it is unclear why Zacharias chose to carve around another text initially). What the graffiti at the chapel at Horvat Qasra do indicate however, is that the decision whether to write over an earlier text was a personal one taken by the author, and sometimes differed even in the inscriptions at the same site.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

The graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy indicates that authors had no qualms about writing over the texts of their contemporaries. Many of the inscriptions in the cave directly interfere with their antecedents, making inscriptions harder to read and interpret. For example, the personal name

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[798] IP18*. ἱερὸν τῖς | ἀγία Σαλώμη.*
[799] IP19.
[800] IP27. Interpretations of this text include: *χα(ρά) or χα(ῖρε) or Χ(ριστέ), ἀ(μήν).* 'Greetings *or* Christ, amen.'
[801] IP28. *κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέη|σων τὸν | δοῦλόν σου | Ζαχαρήα*

Popienos is written over the personal name Sobios (Figure 5.8).[802] Similarly, the invocation 'Christ!' [803]

was carved over a prayer (Figure 5.9)'.[804] The willingness of later authors to write over earlier

inscriptions suggests there was no social taboo about doing so. Therefore, this would suggest that at the

cave, there was no concern about damaging religious invocations. Instead, authors saw the plastered

wall as a living object in which they could inscribe upon and alter.

Sergiupolis-Resafa (Syria)[805]

Finally, the graffiti found in Basilica A at Sergiupolis-Resafa is frequently written over each other. All of

the graffiti at Sergiupolis-Resafa are prayers or religious invocations, however authors did not feel any

concern about damaging other texts. For example, the large prayer 'Lord Help' (Figure 5.10) has been

written over several prior texts, reducing their legibility.[806] This point is further emphasised by another

plaster fragment from the same church, where several texts are obfuscated by seemingly unmotivated

cross-hatched scratchings (Figure 5.11). The cross-hatching is reminiscent of that found at the odeon in

Aphrodisias, and its presence here highlights that graffiti was not necessarily afforded greater

importance if it was carved in a secular or religious space. The graffiti from this basilica therefore

suggests that supplicants did not hold the prior texts carved on the wall in any great regard, and nor

were they viewed as sanctified and important texts, but rather recognised as the casual scratchings of

other individuals. As such, those visiting the church found it appropriate to carve over the earlier texts,

and these inscriptions were not seen as untouchable.

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[802] IP77. *Ποπιῆνο(ς?)* and IP78. *Σοβι(ος?).*
[803] IP65. *Χρησ[τός] or Χρησ[τή].*
[804] IP42. *Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ ϑ(εο)ς ὁ ἐγ<ε>ίρας τόν Λάζαρον ἐ[κ] νεκρῶν | μνήσϑητι τοῦ δούλου σοῦ Ἀσκληπίου κέ | Χιονίου τῆς δούλης [σο]ῦ.* 'Lord God who rose Lazarus from the dead, remember your servant Asklepios and your servant Chionion.'
[805] For a discussion on Sergiupolis-Resafa, see Appendix 2.4.3.
[806] SY15. *κύριε βοέ[ϑησον.*

5.4. Replicating the Practices seen in Formal Art

Having established the ways in which graffiti physically interacted with other inscriptions on the wall, the following section of this chapter will examine the ways in which graffiti reacted to formal artistic practices through appropriating the conventions found in commissioned epigraphy. Considering this relationship is key to interpreting how late antique peoples viewed the visual culture in their surroundings, and examples of individuals intentionally mimicking formal art provides the strongest evidence that these individuals recognised and internalised the meanings present in visual culture. Throughout this thesis, I have discussed multiple times the ways in which graffiti resided within a late antique epigraphic language (most notably, the use of an "epigraphic prayer formulae" in Chapter Three) however, epigraphic language extended beyond textual features.[807] As Elizabeth Wueste notes, we must not only view epigraphy as a text but as an object, and as an object it was subject to decorative display, and the addition of non-textual visual elements which communicated meaning within the social world of the later Roman empire and early Byzantine east.[808] In the following section, I have isolated three different aspects of epigraphic design from the late antique east, including the epigraphic cross, the *nomina sacra,* and the epigraphic frame, and provide broader context on the place of these conventions in late antique culture as a whole, before examining case studies where each appear in informal inscriptions. Through examining these case studies, not only will the use of formal epigraphic conventions in informal inscriptions be highlighted, but I can reach conclusions about how graffiti thus reveals individual interactions with late antique visual culture and the fluidity of formal inscriptional practices.

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[807] See section 3.3.1.
[808] Wueste 2019: 232-237.

5.4.1.   The Epigraphic Cross

The first epigraphic convention I would like to examine is that of the epigraphic cross, as not only has it

already received some attention in this thesis, it also is illustrative of the religious function held by many

epigraphic conventions in antiquity. In Chapter Three, I discussed the use of the cross in informal

inscriptions as a method for Christianising a space, and highlighting the religious identity and personal

piety of the author.[809] The cross, in variously ornamental forms, is a frequent aspect in late antique

sculpture and decorative programmes throughout the eastern Roman empire, for example the *crux*

gemata, can be seen in the seventh century church of Saint Stephen in Cappadocia (Figure 5.12).

However, the cross is not only relevant for its disambiguated form, but it was also a frequent addition to

epigraphic texts, as a form of ornamental punctuation.[810] Epigraphic punctuation had been a frequent

part of Roman epigraphy since the republican period, distinguishing the beginning and end of entire

texts as well as the beginning and ends of words or abbreviations.[811] In the imperial period, the *hedera*

(ivy-leaf) was a frequent form of punctuation, which enjoyed universal use across the Roman world, as is

evidenced by its appearance on statue bases from both England and Asia Minor.[812] In late antiquity

however, the *hedera* was usurped by the cross to punctuate epigraphic texts.[813] This usage is

exemplified by a funerary inscription from Jerusalem, which features the *hedera* to symbolise the

beginning of the inscription, and uses the cross to symbolise its end (Figure 5.13).[814] Similarly, the use of

a cross to precede the text is found in religious and civic contexts. It is probable that the use of the cross

in formal contexts had similar purposes, in funerary inscriptions it would indicate the faith of the

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[809] See section 3.4. Pages 150-157.
[810] Salway 2014: 372.
[811] Edmondson 2014: 126-127.
[812] Edmondson 2014: 127. For an English example, see RIB 3253. For an example from Asia Minor, see IAph2007 5.211.
[813] Salway 2014: 372.
[814] CIIP 1.2 869. For another example of the *hedera* and cross both appearing as punctuation in the same inscription, see: CSLA E00792. Ed. P. Nowakowski.

deceased, and in religious dedicatory inscriptions and within civic inscriptions it symbolised the Christian

faith and power behind the patron. The cross must have carried a layer of authority as well, and authors

highlighted the social and religious power of the cross.[815] As such, we can understand the growth of the

cross as a form of epigraphic punctuation as both a way of signifying the patron's faith, and sanctifying

the text itself. The following section will examine the cross in graffiti landscapes from throughout the

eastern Mediterranean, to consider how the casual inscriber made use of this form of epigraphic

punctuation.

5.4.2.   The Cross in Graffiti[816]

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

Both formal and informal inscriptions at Aphrodisias feature the cross as a means of punctuation,

highlighting the pervasive use of the cross. A carved cross precedes donor inscriptions within the Church

of the Archangels (Figure 5.14). The cross also punctuates civic inscriptions, a plaster inscription

honouring civic officials is ended with a cross, and the cross appeared punctuating an otherwise

"secular" donor inscription from the Hadrianic baths '✝ Hermias gave three thousands of gold to this

bath, and obtained an everliving fame ✝'.[817] The cross is also a feature in funerary inscriptions, notably

the seventeen-line long inscription of a woman named Philosophia (dated to 551 CE) begins and ends

with a cross.[818]

The cross is also used to punctuate informal texts. At the Church of the Archangels, the cross is used to

precede and end texts in a manner reminiscent of the ways it was added to formal donor inscriptions

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[815] See section 3.2. Pages 134-135.
[816] Thus far, I have not included punctuation such as the epigraphic cross in the translations of texts (except occaisionally in Chapter Three), as these conventions often cannot be accurately presented in English. In the following section, I will feature the cross in translations to give a general idea of how the epigraphic cross is used.
[817] IAph2007 8.408; IAph2007 5.204.ii. ✝ χρυσῶν | χιλιάδας | τρῖς ὤπασε | τῶιδε λοετρῶι || Ἑρμίας | κὲ μνῆστιν ἀ|ειζώουσαν | ἐφεῦρεν ✝. Trans Roueché.
[818] IAph2007 13.309.

within the same space. Theophilos the butcher carved an informal prayer on the west door of the church, and ended the inscription with a cross 'Lord, help your servant Theophilos, butcher. †' (Figure 2.3).[819] Similarly, the supplicant Leon wrote simply his name, but gave it the aura of official inscriptions through the addition of a cross before and after the name, in doing so mimicking formal inscriptions from the same space and therefore suggesting that his text had an additional legitimacy '† Leon †' (Figure 5.15).[820]

Outside of overtly religious contexts the cross is used to precede and conclude other informal inscriptions, and is particularly frequent in *topos* inscriptions. The dubious formality of *topos* inscriptions is discussed in the introduction, and they are found fulfilling both commercial and personal roles in Aphrodisias.[821] Adding a cross to the beginning and end of an inscription would not only suggest the piety of the author, but would also make the inscription look more official. For vendors and artisans, such as Alexandros the barber, the placement of the cross after his *topos* inscription may have added an air of legitimacy to this informal method of marking his shop in the public space '† Place of Alexandros, barber†'.[822] Similarly, in the theatre, a topos inscription on the seats is preceded by a cross '† Place of Spandios' and invocations to the circus factions sometimes feature the iconography.[823]

The use of the cross to punctuate Aphrodisian inscriptions suggests that inhabitants of Aphrodisias were acutely aware of the epigraphic traditions, which surrounded them, and sought to replicate these traditions in their own hand. It is possible they saw the use of the cross as adding additional legitimacy to their inscriptions, in particular here we might look at the place inscription of Spandios in the theatre, through inscribing the cross besides his name he implied his claim to the seat was more formal that it

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[819] TU25. *[Θεοφ(ί)λ(ῳ)] |Κ(ύρι)ε βωῖϑι τõ σõ δ(ού)λο |μα(κε)λαρή(ῳ)†.*
[820] TU30. *† Λέων †.*
[821] For *topos* inscriptions see section 0.2. Page 18.
[822] TU307. *† Ἀλέξαν|δρος | κουρέος | τόπος || †.*
[823] TU481. *† τόπος | Σπανδι | vac. ọ(υ)*; For an example of the cross in an inscription of the circus factions, see: TU480. *† Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων*. 'The fortune of the Blues triumphs!'

actually was – and might dissuade others from trying to sit in his spot. Similarly, the commercial

inscription accompanied by crosses, such as that of Alexandros the barber, in the epigraphic tradition,

may have had the same goal. Falling into a nuanced category between formal and informal (where the

inscription may have represented where the individual had a legal right to sell, though the inscription

itself appears to be poor quality and not officially sanctioned) the addition of established epigraphic

iconography from Aphrodisias could serve to imply further formality and legality to this as the vendor's

space. On another level, the utilisation of the cross in this way may suggest a less deliberate emulation

of official inscriptions at the site, but imply that individuals did see, read and interact with their

inscriptional landscape, and copied this unintentionally in their graffiti.

Ephesos (Turkey)

The cross appears several times as punctuation in the religious graffiti in Ephesian churches. Eight texts

from the Church of Saint John feature the cross to indicate the beginning of a text, such as '✝ Holy John,

help your servant Lazaros!' and 'John ✝'.[824] Similarly, the cross is found in an inscription from the Church

of Mary. 'Lady Aurilia. ✝ Save lord Aurilis a Christian of the same father'.[825]

We find the cross used in its epigraphic tradition in informal graffiti found in non-religious public spaces

less frequently than at Aphrodisias. This may be a local variation in graffiti traditions; but another issue

is derived from dating the graffiti at Ephesos. As the graffiti at Ephesos has not been published as

comprehensively as that at Aphrodisias, there has not been as coherent an effort to date the texts and

images, and thus it is possible that significant portions of the graffiti outside of church spaces were

inscribed prior to the late antique period, and thus before the cross had become an integral part of

Christian epigraphy.[826] However, a few informal inscriptions found in secular spaces do feature the

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[824] TU659. ✝ ἅγ(ι)ε Ἰω(άννη), βοήθη τὼν σὸν δοῦλον Λάζαρον and TU662. Ἰοάνι ✝.
[825] TU658. κύρα Αὐριλία ✝ | Σοτηρία κ(ύρο)ν Αὐρ|ιλιν Χρήστιον | τὸν ὁμόπατριν.
[826] For details on epigraphic corpora for Ephesos, see Appendix 2.1.2. Identifying texts which feature the cross is made more difficult, as not all publications record the cross in their transcription of the graffiti, it may in fact be

epigraphic cross. The first is the *topos* inscription of Andrea, reading '†Place of †Andrea, *meleparchos*†'

the cross has been used as a means of punctuation, both opening the text, and indicating the beginning

and end of the word *meleparchos*.[827] Similarly, the cross is found preceding and ending a prayer from

the Vedius Gymnasium, which reads '† Lord Help †'.[828]

Whilst the graffiti at Ephesos does not suggest that individuals within the city engaged with the

epigraphic cross to the same extent as at Aphrodisias, though reaching definitive conclusions on this

topic is difficult, the data does suggest that in religious space at Ephesos late antique individuals did seek

to replicate the epigraphic conventions familiar to them. Not only would the addition of the cross allow

them to derive spiritual benefit from the holy symbol, but would also elevate their inscription, giving it

design features in common with formal and commissioned texts.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

Wadi Haggag was entirely different from both Aphrodisias and Ephesos, being a pilgrimage route

through a desert rather than an urban environment.[829] Nevertheless, there seems to be a strong

awareness of the epigraphic conventions in formal inscriptions in the graffiti at the site. Of the 232

informal inscriptions at Wadi Haggag, 102 use the cross as punctuation. The cross frequently precedes

the inscription, for example '† Prokopianos son of Magis' (Figure 5.16), but also features at the end of

texts, bookended the text and thus marking both where it begins and ends, such as '† Iob son of

Stephanos, son of Koproseos.†' (Figure 5.17) and '† Let the writer of this live †'.[830] Using the epigraphic

cross at Sinai is illustrative of the important connections between formal and informal epigraphy in the

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more frequent than it appears simply from reading published texts. For example, TU749 the *topos* inscription of Andrea the *meleparchos* does not feature a cross when it is appears in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, a sketch of this graffito is shown in Dey (2015) which shows the inscription features three crosses.

[827] TU749. *†Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †.*

[828] TU786. *† | κύριε βοήϑι | †.*

[829] For an introduction to Wadi Haggag, see Appendix 2.2.4.

[830] EG353. *† Προκο|πιάνου | Μάγις*; EG224. *†Ἰὼβ Στεφάνου | Κοπροσέου †* and EG212. *†Ζήση | ὁ γράψ|†ας.*

late antique east. Sinai was not a landscape filled with formal epigraphy – individuals who used the cross

in this way were not copying what they saw surrounding them (although it is possible they copied one

another) in formal epigraphy, but were copying the inscriptions they were familiar with from their home

locations, or the Monastery of Saint Catherine. It is clear from the graffiti at Wadi Haggag that late

antique peoples were acutely aware of the epigraphic world they lived within. By mimicking the

iconography of formal epigraphy in their graffiti, they created a new epigraphic landscape, which

incorporated elements with which they were familiar, and elevated the status of their graffiti to that of

formal inscriptions. What this reveals however, is that the use of the cross was not designed to make

graffiti compete with formal inscriptions. The cross was not only used at sites where graffiti might be

compared to formal epigraphy and considered less elaborate and therefore less worthy (granting less

social and religious currency to the author) but also may have been symbiotic. Both informal texts and

formal texts made use of the same epigraphic language and thereby reinforcing this language in multiple

contexts.

5.4.3.   The Nomina Sacra

The second epigraphic convention I will examine is that of the *nomina sacra,* an abbreviation of the

name of God or another holy figure, often with a suprascript line accompanying.[831] The *nomina sacra*

appears frequently in the graffiti of the eastern Roman empire, and as the convention bears broad

similarities to the cross (in that as well as being a general convention, it also held a religious meaning) it

is a natural comparison. The *nomina* originated in early Christian scribal culture, with textual evidence

from as early as the second century CE found in P. Egerton 2, which features several uses of differing

nomina sacra, such as IH for *Ιησους* and KC for *Κυριος* (Figure 5.18).[832] In its initial usage and scribal

form, the *nomina sacra* may have been derived from Jewish traditions, in particular the

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[831] Hurtado 1998: 658.
[832] Hurtado 2006: 97.

tetragrammaton.[833] However, the growth and use of the *nomina sacra*, particularly in its epigraphic

form, must owe something to Hellenistic and Roman inscriptional culture. Abbreviations were

frequently used in the epigraphy of the Roman empire.[834] This is emphasised by the importance of

epigraphic abbreviations in long inscriptions, in which common names and phrases would be shortened

to save space, with the understanding that these names could be read by their audience, such as AVG

for Augustus or Augusta, or HAR for Haruspex.[835] It is in this cultural sphere we see the emergence of

Christian abbreviations, of which the *nomina sacra* is part. For example, in the late antique west, EPS

became an accepted epigraphic abbreviation of the Latin *Episcopus* 'Bishop'.[836] Similarly, it is from as

early as the third century we see the emergence of the *nomina sacra* in Christian epigraphic contexts,

one of the earliest examples being a prayer hall from Meggido dated to the third century.[837] A donor

inscription of a man named Akeptous uses three *nomina sacra* abbreviations, ΘΩ, ΙΥ and ΧΩ (Figure

5.19) which read as 'God', 'Jesus' and 'Christ' respectively.[838] Over the Byzantine period, the words

which were abbreviated would grow in number, not just to titles for the Christian God, but also religious

figures such as the Virgin Mary, and titles for Christ, such as "saviour". A table giving examples of

common forms of *nomina* can be seen in figure 5.20.[839] Deriving from these earlier traditions, the use of

a *nomina sacra* in formal epigraphy was omnipresent throughout the eastern Mediterranean by the late

antique period, found in Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and the Levant.[840] It should be noted that in many

cases the Chi-Rho can be translated as a *nomina sacra* acting not only as a religious symbol, but a

stylised abbreviation of Christ. The *nomina sacra* provides an interesting example of an epigraphic

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[833] Hurtado 1998: 661.
[834] Hurtado 2006: 99.
[835] Bruun and Edmonson 2014: Appendix II: 788 and 791.
[836] Mathisen 2003: 13.
[837] Di Segni and Tepper 2006: 26-36; Garipzanov 2018: 28.
[838] Di Segni and Tepper 2006: 36. *Θεος, Ιησους* and *Χριστος*
[839] Hurtado 2006: 97.
[840] For examples from Greece see: ICG 3647. Ed. J. Ogereau and ICG 2803. Ed. M. Veksina. For examples from Asia Minor see CSLA E00829. Ed. P. Nowakowski and CSLA C00871. Ed P. Nowakowski. For the Levant see: CIIP 1.2 846 and CIIP 1.2 861b. For Egypt see CSLA E07308. Ed. M. Krawczyk.

convention in antiquity which had its roots in literary culture, and therefore provides a key example of how formalised, literary concepts could be democratised through their appearance in formal inscriptions. Through examining the appearance of the *nomina sacra* in graffiti it is possible to see how a scribal convention could be adopted by any individual familiar with their own visual culture, regardless of their literacy. The following case studies will provide examples of the *nomina sacra* in graffiti from late antique to consider this issue.

5.4.4. The Nomina Sacra in Graffiti

Aphrodisias (Turkey)

The inscriptions of Aphrodisias were created in the context of the Graeco-Roman epigraphic tradition and, as such, many of the inscriptional conventions discussed in this chapter are found throughout the site. Abbreviations of common words are found throughout the epigraphy of the city. For example, in one inscription of Flavios Ampelios, we see multiple abbreviations including INΔ standing for *ἰνδικτίωνος* (indiction), to relate the year construction was undertaken, and ΣΧ for *scholastikos*, one of Flavios Ampelios' titles.[841] Within this context the *nomina sacra* appears in various forms throughout the formal inscriptions of the city. ΘΕ as a variation of the *nomina sacra* is found several different times at Aphrodisias, it is a contraction of the vocative invocation of *θεός*. ΘΕ appeared three times within the formal epigraphy of the city.[842] Other contractions of *θεός* in various forms appear a further four times.[843] Additionally, KE as an abbreviation of *Κύριε* 'Lord' appears three times in formal epigraphy in the city, notably in an epitaph of an individual named Theodokios, in which the *nomina sacra* is

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[841] IAph2007 2.19. The inscription reads *ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀφροδισιαί[ων μητροπό]λεω[ς] καὶ [το]ῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς παλέστρας ἐγέν[ετο ἐπὶ ?Φλαβίου Ἀμπελίου] το[ῦ] ἐλλογιμ(ωτάτου) σχ(ολαστικοῦ) καὶ π[ατρ]ός ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) ι΄ εὐτυχ(εστάτῃ)*. 'For the good fortune of the splendid metropolis of the Aphrodisians, this work of the palaestra also took place [?under Flavius Ampelius] the most eloquent scholasticus and pater, in the tenth indiction. With good fortune.' Trans. C. Roueché.
[842] IAph2007 1.37k; IAph2007 11.111 and IAph2007 15.102.
[843] For ΘΣ, see: IAph2007 1.16.1 and IAph2007 13.309.16. For ΘΥ, see: IAph2007 12.328.3. For ΘΩ, see: IAph2007 8.906.3.

distinguishable from the word κὲ 'and' which follows, by the presence of the suprascript line, highlighting how the use of epigraphic conventions could improve the readability of a text.[844]

The *nomina sacra* was also used in graffiti at Aphrodisias. Variations appear six times at the church of the Archangels in the prayers carved by supplicants at the site.[845] For example, KY (an shortening of the genitive *Κυρίου*) appears in the acclamation *ἀνάληψης τ(οῦ) Κ(υρίο)υ* 'Ascension of the Lord' whilst a second prayer on this post uses the KE variant, addressing God in the vocative at the start of their prayer.[846] Similarly, within the church a graffito uses several abbreviations *Ἰω(αννης) | μ(ήτη)ρ [ϑ(εο)]ῦ* 'Ioannes. Mother of God.' And in doing so abbreviates 'Mother of God', whilst another graffito from this block uses KE to refer to the Lord.[847]

The *nomina sacra* appears in prayers outside the religious buildings in Aphrodisias. The KE variation appears twice on a column from the "bishop's palace", a late antique house west of the odeon.[848] A graffito on the stage of the theatre addresses God in the vocative *nomina sacra* ΘE (Figure 5.21).[849]

The presence of the *nomina sacra* in Aphrodisian graffiti attests to the universality of the convention. Individuals did not copy the *nomina* straight from an epigraphic text in front of them in religious settings, but were familiar with the epigraphic traditions of the city they inhabited, and utilised these traditions in their own informal texts. Using the *nomina sacra* and other epigraphic conventions may have improved communication through graffiti – with Aphrodisians recognising easily what the abbreviation represented. The graffiti at Aphrodisias therefore was not merely a copy of the formal

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[844] IAph2007 8.275. *[·· ? ··]ΩΟΝΙ[·· ? ··] | [··]ΟΥ ἀναπ[α]|[ῦ]σε Θεωδ|[ο]κίου· μνή[σθη] ||τ|αὐτὸν Κ(ύρι)[ε] | βρίτι Κ(ύρι)ε κὲ | [···]ς αὐτοῦ Μ̣ | [·]ι̣ v.* '[·· ? ··] rest, of Theodokios. Remember him, Lord. Help. Lord, and [·· ? ··] him [·· ? ··].' Trans. C. Roueché.
[845] For the *nomina sacra* at the Church of the Archangels, see: TU14; TU15; TU18; TU23; TU24 and TU25.
[846] TU23; TU24. *† Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθι τῶ σῶ δ(ού)λο ΡΟΔΝΙ Ι̣Ι̣ΡΝ̣Ο̣ΥΡ[·]Ν̣Σ̣.* 'Lord, help your servant'.
[847] TU15. The full inscription reads *Ἰω(αννης) | μ(ήτη)ρ [ϑ(εο)]ῦ . Μιχ(αὴλ) τ(οῦ) Παλμα Κω(?νσταντῖνος) τ(οῦ) ΒΤΗ | Μηχαὴλ.*
[848] TU6. *v. Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθησον v.* 'Lord, help' and TU5. *Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθη Κ̣Α̣Τ̣Α̣Κ̣ΟΥΛΩΝ ἀμαρτολών †.* 'Lord, help... sinner.'
[849] TU354. *Θ(ε)ὲ βοήϑι v.* 'God, help.'

epigraphy, nor was it a unique and distinct language, but was symbiotic with, and inhabitants were knowledgeable of, the conventions of epigraphy, and used them when they saw fit.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)

Another site with frequent use of the *nomina sacra* is Grammata Bay. In particular, we see the repeated use of KE as an abbreviation of *Κύριε*, which appears in forty-five percent of texts at the site.[850] The KE appears most frequently in prayers, beginning the prayer by using the vocative *nomina* to invoke the presence of the Lord to the site. Other abbreviations of *Κύριε* are also found, for example KY in the inscription *Κύ(ριε) βοήϑι Κυρι|ακοῦ ναυκλίρου* 'Lord, help Kyriakos the Captain…'.[851] Notably, the graffiti at Syros also features many invocations to Christ, in which the *nomina* is used, for example IY XE, in the text *Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ βωήϑι* 'Jesus Christ Help'.[852] Of additional relevance here is the presence of the Chi-Rho. In Chapter Three, I acknowledged the unusually high presence of the Chi-Rho at Syros; it could be that the Chi-Rho was functioning as an additional *nomina sacra*, invoking the presence of Christ as well as representing the faith of the author. This is how the text has been translated by Kiourtzian, for example ☧ *βοήϑει* becomes 'Christ Help'.[853] This reading seems appropriate, as the Chi-Rho was an abbreviation of Christ's name, late antique peoples may have read it as such.

Grammata Bay was not a built environment with formal and monumental inscriptions, and the presence of the *nomina sacra* at this site attests its place in the late antique consciousness. Individuals were not copying the epigraphic language which surrounded them, as although most of those who carved here were probably literate, often identifying themselves as the owners or captains of ships, at the same time

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[850] 41 of 91 inscriptions.
[851] GR42.
[852] GR78.
[853] GR69. ☧ *βοήϑει τῷ δούλῳ σου | Εὐλιμενίῳ | Ἐφεσίῳ χ() τῆς | Ἀσίας καὶ τοῖς συν||πολίτες τοῖς αὐραρίοις.* 'Christ] Help your servant Eulimenios of Ephesos in Asia and his fellow citizens the *aurarii*…' For another example, see: GR77. ☧ *σῶσων τὴν σ[ύνπλ]υα̣[ν--] | [τοῦ δούλ]ου σο[υ] Α̣ Λ... Ν[--] | [---------------] | [---------------].* '[Christ] save your servant [and] his sailing companions….'

they were not scribes deeply familiar with manuscript traditions. As such, it is apparent that the

language of epigraphy in late antiquity was understood on an instinctual level by late antique

individuals, who utilised this language in their own inscriptions, even in non-urban environments.

Jerusalem and Levantine Sites (Israel/Palestine)

The *nomina sacra* also appears in several forms at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, for example as ΚΣ in

the text *Κ(ύριο)ς Κ(ύριε) ἐ(λέησον)* 'Lord, Lord have mercy' and as ΚΕ ΙΥ ΧΡΕ in *Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(σο)ῦ Χρ(ιστ)ἐ*

ἐλ[π]ίσω | ἐπι σέ (?) ††† 'Lord Jesus Christ, I have hope in you'.[854] The presence of the *nomina* at this

site reveals a lot about how individuals engaged with the epigraphic practice – although the precise

nature of the cult site is unknown, we do know it probably received pilgrims from non-local areas.[855]

Jerusalem does feature the use of the *nomina* frequently in its epigraphy, for example a piece of

liturgical furniture found at the YMCA cemetery reads *Κ(ύρι)ε μνήσθιτι* 'Lord remember', with ΚΕ

appearing as the abbreviation of *Κύριε*.[856] As such, the widespread use of the *nomina* in the epigraphic

practices in the late antique graffiti tradition can be attested to. At the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, this

was not a case of the supplicants copying the graffiti which already existed on the wall – as the majority

of the graffiti at the site only consisted of a personal name, and there is no particular degree of

uniformity in the use of the *nomina* in the graffiti at the site.[857] Individuals visiting the site and using the

nomina sacra were all familiar with their use as a universal epigraphic language, and sought to utilise

this language in their own carved texts.

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[854] IP98 and IP45.
[855] See page 53.
[856] CIIP 1.2. 867. For two other examples of the *nomina sacra* in Jerusalem, see CIIP 1.2. 861 and 846.
[857] For example, four different *nomina sacra* are used to represent the term *Κύριε.* Four texts use the abbreviation ΚΕ (IP42; IP73 and IP102) One text uses the abbreviation ΚΡ (IP112). Two texts use the abbreviation ΚΥ (IP95 and one text uses the abbreviation ΚΥΕ (IP115). One inscription may read ΚΕ or ΚΣ, with the exact interpretation uncertain (IP98). Other *nomina sacra* are used frequently throughout the cave, for example ΧΡ (IP44) and ΘΣ (IP42).

The graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy existed within the context of the epigraphy of the Levant.

Informal inscriptions are found at sites throughout the late antique Levant and represent the diverse

spaces in which the *nomina sacra* is found. Whilst the graffiti from the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy

highlights how the *nomina* was used in urban contexts, through looking at the graffiti from monasteries

in Israel, we can recognise that the *nomina* was also a common part of the epigraphic language in these

contexts. For example, at Nahal Og, in the monastery of Theoktistos both the formal and informal

inscriptions feature the *nomina*. One formal painted inscription uses the variation KE in a biblical quote

Κ(ύρι)ε εἰ ἦς ὧδε οὐκ ἄπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφ[ός] 'Lord, if you had been here, (my) brother would not have

died'.[858] Informal examples include KE in the text *κ(ύρι)ε, φύ[λαξον] τὸν [δοῦλόν σου ..]* 'Lord guard your

servant' and XE in *Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθι | Προκόπι* 'Christ help Prokopis'.[859] The *nomina sacra* is found at

comparable sites in the Levant, including the Monastery of Mizpe Shivta, in which the KE variant is found

in two different inscriptions, and at the North Church in Oboda a graffito also features the KE variant,

reading *Κ(ύρι)ε, σῷ(σον) [· · ? · ·]Ζωι[· · ? · ·]Χ* 'Lord, save…'.[860] The evidence from the Levant, in both

Jerusalem and the Judaean desert monasteries, thus highlight the widespread use of the *nomina sacra*

in informal epigraphy across the region.

Alexandria (Egypt)

The final case study I would like to examine is that of the theatre at Alexandria. The graffiti written on

the seats of the theatre features many prayers and requests for divine aid; and seven of these prayers

are preceded by the *nomina sacra*, for example *Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ γρα|{φ}ψάντί ✝* 'Lord help the writer'

features the KE variant, whilst the KY abbreviation appears in four different inscriptions.[861] The graffiti in

the Alexandrian theatre existed in an urban context similar to Aphrodisias, with a strong epigraphic

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[858] Goldfus, Arubas and Alliata no. 1.1 The inscription is a quote is from John 11:32.
[859] IP153; IP149.
[860] For Mizpe Shivta see IP141. ✝ *Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς* 'Lord God'; For the church at Oboda see IP168.
[861] For graffiti featuring the KE variant, see: EG44; EG45; EG46 and EG53. For examples of the KY variant, see: EG48; EG49; and EG51.

tradition.[862] It is possible that the use of the *nomina* in Alexandrian graffiti was informed by the presence

of the *nomina* in the wider inscriptional culture of the city. However, considering the universality of the

abbreviation throughout the eastern Mediterranean, in urban and non-urban contexts, the *nomina* was

likely used not in specific reference to the Alexandrian inscriptions, but as part of a broadly known

epigraphic language.

5.4.5.   The Frame

The final epigraphic convention which is also replicated in graffiti which I would like to examine is that of

the epigraphic fame. The frame was used in some form in Roman graffiti consistently throughout the

empire. One is example an unintelligible graffito from Pompeii, which encased the first line of the text in

a rectangular frame, and a framed acclamation to the city of Sardis from the Agora at Smyrna.[863] The

frame and its use in these contexts highlights a consistent understanding and appreciation for the visual

culture of the Roman empire by those who carved casual inscriptions. Epigraphic frames could take

many forms, and were a foundational and ubiquitous aspect of Roman epigraphy, appearing in both the

east and west. A frame could be as simple as a box surrounding a text, as seen in a cinerary chest from

the late first to early second century CE where a series of rectangular boxes were used to separate the

register of the inscription from the pedimented design of the rest of the urn (Figure 5.22). Similar frames

were found in the inscriptions of Roman Britain. For example a funerary inscription in which a box

encompasses the text.[864] These frames highlight a key aspect of the feature: they are functional, and

serve to isolate the text from the rest of the stone, and improve its legibility. Increasing the legibility of a

text was undoubtedly an important reason for the development of the frame. However, it is only part of

the reason the frame may be used. Frames in a variety of different designs could carry social messages

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[862] Like Aphrodisias and Ephesos, Alexandria featured civic inscriptions commemorating the imperial family and local government. For an imperial example, see LSA-2672. Ed. U. Gehn. For an example of a local official see LSA-872. Ed. U. Gehn.

[863] AGP-EDR142440. Ed. R. Benefiel and K. Helms. AGP-SMYT00131. Ed. R. Bagnall.

[864] RIB 3060.

within the context of Mediterranean culture.[865] For example, on a dedicatory inscription from the second century CE, listing the prizes of an athletic contest, figurative representations of the prizes themselves form the frames, with amphora and garlands framing the texts informing the audience of the prize won.[866] The same tropes continued into late antiquity. Leatherbury provides an example from Chlef in Algeria of the Bishop Reperatus, whose funerary inscription was encased within a mosaic wreath.[867] The wreath communicated specific messages about the bishop in his funerary inscription to the audience. The wreath was associated with victory and martyrdom, and thus implied to the audience that Reperatus encompassed these virtues.[868]

One form of frame worthy of special note, due to its frequency in antiquity, is the *tabula ansata*, literally the "board with handles". The *tabula ansata* was a rectangular box with two triangular attachments at each end (Figure 5.23).[869] The *tabula ansata* had its origins in archaic and classical Greece, when it was initially used as a plaque for votive inscriptions, and the handles were functional to suspend the plaque.[870] In the classical period, the design, including the handles, began to be used in stone inscriptions, and it developed into a popular epigraphic frame in the Roman period.[871] The *tabula ansata* appears in all contexts, and was not tied to any specific meaning or use. The frame appears in religious contexts, in both the Roman imperial period and late antiquity; a gem from the third century CE with apotropaic purposes features the inscription 'protect from evil' within a *tabula ansata*.[872] Two donation

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[865] Leatherbury 2020: 82-88.
[866] Metropolitan Museum of Art Online Collections. Accession no. 59.11.19. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255013?ft=59.11.19&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=1 [Accessed 08.08.2022].
[867] Leatherbury 2020: 88.
[868] Leatherbury 2020: 89.
[869] Leatherbury 2020: 1.
[870] Leatherbury 2020: 384-385.
[871] Leatherbury 2020: 384-385.
[872] British Museum. Accession Number: 1851,0908.1. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1851-0908-1 [Accessed 08.08.2022.]

inscriptions from a chapel outside Jerusalem are both written within this frame.[873] The *tabula ansata*

also appears in funerary contexts, on gravestones and sarcophagi.[874] The *tabula ansata* was also

frequent in civic and commercial contexts. At Ostia different social and commercial groups marked their

space to sell in *tabula* mosaics from the second century CE, whilst the *tabula* was also used in military

triumphs, as is evidenced from its depiction alongside the soldiers carrying the spoils of war on the first

century CE Arch of Titus (Figure 5.24).[875] It was perhaps a consequence of the widespread use in official

contexts that the *tabula* gained a degree of social currency. The *tabula* had a 'documentary authority',

due to the prevalence of the frame in public inscriptions it became associated with the recording of

important information.[876] Similarly, Leatherbury views texts within the *tabula* as imbued with a sense of

monumentality, due to its association with formal, commissioned, civic inscriptions.[877] Those who used

the *tabula ansata* in their informal inscriptions would integrate perceived social authority into their

texts.

As a frequent feature of formalised epigraphic culture in the Roman empire into the early Byzantine

period, the frame is also a common convention adopted by those carving graffiti. To understand the

reasons for this and the social meanings which accompanied its inscription, I will examine several key

case studies of its use below.

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[873] CIIP 1.2 855 and and CIIP 1.2 856.
[874] For a late antique example see Petzl 2019: Cat. 711.
[875] Leatherbury 2017: 386-389.
[876] Borbonus 2014: 115.
[877] Leatherbury 2017: 389.

Grammata Bay, Syros (Greece)

Two styles of frame are found in the graffiti at Syros. The *tabula ansata* appears in fourteen inscriptions, whilst a simple rectangular box without handles appears in eight.[878] These frames could serve a practical purpose, due to the high number of inscriptions at the site (there being ninety-one extant Christian or late antique inscriptions, as well as numerous Hellenistic and Roman era texts) the use of a frame could serve to isolate a text from others in its surroundings, as can be seen in figure 5.25, a prayer for the salvation of Isidoros son of Apikrantios.[879] Both the rectangular frames and the *tabulae ansatae* served this functional role for the graffiti, isolating the text and improving its readability amongst the graffiti at Grammata Bay.

The decision to use the frame extended beyond functionality. Each frame used in the graffiti at the bay contained a prayer.[880] The use of frames and particularly the *tabula ansata* therefore seems calculated by the authors, rather than simply functional. The frame's civic and religious function impacted how the *tabula ansata* would be read by visitors to Syros, as donation inscriptions and prayers in religious Christian institutions frequently used the *tabula ansata* in late antiquity. The addition of a frame would not only separate the text from others surrounding it, but also create a separation between the inscription and the rock upon which it was written: the boundaries of the frame made it not only writing on stone, but its own delineated object, in which the religious faith and requests for divine aid were expressed.[881] The use of the *tabula ansata* and other frames at Grammata Bay was thus a way of

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[878] For graffiti at Syros featuring the *tabula ansata*, see: GR54; GR57; GR58; GR70; GR95; GR100; GR103; GR74; GR84; GR85; GR89; GR99; GR101 and GR104. For graffiti at Syros featuring a rectangular frame, see: GR49; GR59; GR86; GR98; GR108; GR110; GR111 and GR112.
[879] GR95. *Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὴν σύμ|πλυαν Ἰσιδῴρου | Ἀπικραντίου Γυα|ρίτου, ἀμὴν Χριστέ*. 'Lord, save Isidoros son of Apikrantios of Gyaros and his sailing companions. Amen. Christ.'
[880] The one exception to this is GR89, in which the text is unintelligible. It is likely however, given the types of text found at Syros, that it was a prayer, or at least a form of religious invocation.
[881] Platt and Squire 2017: 7.

elevating the content of the frame from beyond the level of scratched informal inscription, and aligning

the text with formal expressions of devotion and supplication found at holy sites. Once again, the bay at

Syros was not a religious space itself, but the decision by authors to use the frame indicates how late

antique sailors were familiar with the epigraphic language which surrounded them in daily life and

incorporated it into their own inscriptions. Individuals at Syros therefore copied the frame as seen in

formal epigraphy, in their own informal inscriptions, to isolate their texts physically, as well as ascribe to

them a sense of social currency.

Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine)

One informal text of the seventy-six found in the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy features *a tabula ansata*

(Figure 5.26). This text includes the name Latin name Glyceria, as well as some damaged letters making

it difficult to reconstruct the text as a whole (although looking at the extant letters I would propose it

read *Μνήσϑη*, 'remember').[882] The presence of this text is notable, although a few other texts have a

frame (although there are no other attempts at a *tabula ansata*) these are infrequent in the cave, and

the frames do not seem to have been used to improve the legibility of the inscriptions. For example, in

figure 5.27 two graffiti, one in Latin and another in Greek, both breech the boundaries of the simple

frame they are written within.[883] The graffiti at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy is relatively uniform,

consisting mainly of personal names and a few prayers, so we must wonder why the Glyceria chose to

frame her text. It is unlikely it was to isolate the text and make it more legible, looking at other graffiti in

the cave legibility does not seem a concern.[884] Therefore, we can assume there was some other reason

she chose to use the *tabula*. I would propose it was due to the social capital she hoped to gain from

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[882] IP51. *[--] EN [--|--] MṆ [--] TIN [--] |Glyceriae.*
[883] For the Greek text see IP98.
[884] See pages 224-225.

using the epigraphic convention, visually elevating the text from a simple graffito, to a formally commissioned epigraphic text, an elevation codified by the addition of the features of formal epigraphy.

Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Egypt)

Similarly, of the 232 texts at Wadi Haggag, only four feature a *tabula ansata*.[885] One example of this frame contains the prayer 'God, remember Masoud'.[886] Considering the presence of other epigraphic formulae at the site, it seems likely that the graffito of a *tabula ansata* from Wadi Haggag represents a desire to elevate the text, from simply a carving on the wall, to a prayer with the social implication of official donor inscriptions, transplanting the formal epigraphic language from official cult sites, into the desert, and thus formalising the pilgrimage, journey and religious experience of Masoud. Another graffito from Wadi Haggag similarly places graffiti in a frame, however rather than a *tabula ansata*, this text (a prayer on behalf of an individual named Theone) is found carved in a frame designed to replicate an *aedicula*, or shrine featuring two columns and a pedimented roof.[887] In the case of the graffito at Sinai, the *aedicula* frame is placed adjacent to another frame featuring a cross in the centre (Figure 5.28).[888] The *aedicula* appears commonly as a frame in late antique inscriptions, particularly in religious contexts, as the association with a shrine served to further sanctify the text, placing it within the confines of a physical church and thus invoking divine power.[889] The use of the *aedicula* frame within the desert at Wadi Haggag therefore served further to sanctify the space, and the prayer carved within, symbolically removing the inscription from its context along the pilgrimage route, and instead placing it within a holy space. Thus, the frame graffiti found at Wadi Haggag serves to isolate the texts found within, granting them a symbolic social and religious authority.

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[885] For graffiti at Wadi Haggag with a *tabula ansata*, see: EG217; EG221; EG224 and EG269.
[886] EG269. *† Μνήσθη | τὸ Δεος | Μασούδου | ﬧ̄.*
[887] Olovsdotter 2019: 137.
[888] EG266. *Εἷς Θεὸς | ὠ βοηθῶν | τὸν δοῦλός | σου Θεωνη || μετὰ γυνή|κος καὶ τη | καὶ τήκνον.* 'One God, help your servant Theone with his wife and children.'
[889] Olovsdotter 2019: 137.

Another site where it is worth examining the use of the *tabula ansata* is from Basilica A at Sergiupolis-Resafa. One informal inscription within the church has been carved within the frame, reading 'Symeon Maras'.[890] Notably, however, the frame does not isolate the text from the other prayers and invocations carved on the wall. As can be seen in figure 5.29, despite the text within the frame having been written, other texts are inscribed over it, reducing the legibility of the inscription. This is frequent at the site, as can be seen in figure 5.10 where the graffiti can be seen inscribed over a prayer. It is possible that the original author sought to isolate their text from others on the wall, however later supplicants at the basilica chose to carve over the frame regardless. The author of this text may have been motivated by a desire to associate the prayer with the authority afforded to formal epigraphy, and replicate this design.

Horvat Qasra (Israel)

The graffiti found in the cave chapel at Horvat Qasra reinforce the conclusions reached thus far. Although the inscription 'Chapel of Saint Salome' is carved within a frame, the frame does not serve to isolate the graffito from other written on the wall.[891] As established, crosses and illegible textual graffiti still cross the borders of the frame.[892] Nevertheless, the two graffiti which do feature *tabulae ansatae* at this site are notable. The first example, 'Chapel of Saint Salome' may have been intended to replicate a building inscription, with the frame borrowed from formal epigraphic practices to add a suggestion of officiality to the informal text. The second text to feature a *tabula ansata* also invoked Saint Salome, 'Saint Salome, have mercy on Zacharias son of Kyrillos. Amen'.[893] The author, probably Zacharias, when he wished to gain the attention of the saint, sought to present his prayer in a suitably formal manner, replicating the designs seen in formal donor inscriptions. Thus, whilst the chapel at Horvat Qasra affirms

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[890] SY30. *Συμεώ | Μάρας.* 'Symeon, Maras.'
[891] IP18. *ἱερὸν τῖς | ἀγία Σαλώμη.*
[892] See section 5.3. Pages 225-226.
[893] IP16. *ἀγία Σαλώμη, ἐλέ|ησον Ζαχαρίαν ΥΥ | Κυρίλλου. ἀμήν.*

that frames did not always isolate inscriptions, it can be seen that the use of epigraphic conventions such as the frame served to suggest the inscriptions had the same authority as formally carved texts.

5.5. Conclusions

Graffiti in the eastern Mediterranean displayed a diverse relationship with the physical wall upon which it was inscribed. No singular rule emerges to categorise the relationship between texts and formal inscriptions, traditions appeared locally as individuals reacted to prior traditions. This is particularly clear in the evidence at Ephesos, whilst the graffiti from the Church of Saint John the Theologian suggests that authors sought not to damage formal inscriptions (instead associating themselves with commissioned texts through proximity and the use of similar language), whilst a text from the Grotto of Saint Paul is carved into the wall art depicting the saint. The picture seems a little more uniform with regards to graffiti's interaction with other informal inscriptions, in many instances (for example at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy in Jerusalem, the odeon at Aphrodisias and Basilica A at Sergiupolis-Resafa) informal inscriptions are written over one another, or designs such as cross-hatchings are carved across prior texts. This does somewhat reveal the relationships late antique peoples had with the graffiti of others, which in general does not seem to have been ascribed the same authority as formal inscriptions and was viewed as unofficial, however further study with more space to focus purely on this relationship could aid this analysis, as the lack of suitable extant evidence prevents further discussion here.

Another way in which late antique individuals interacted with formal artistic practices in antiquity was through the use of pre-existing epigraphic conventions. Whilst the cross had a religious purpose, it additionally served as a means of punctuation in epigraphy, and served this function frequently in informal texts also, opening and closing inscriptions. Similarly, the use of the *nomina sacra* indicates a familiarity with formal artistic practices by individuals, and their use helps to close the gap between formal and informal inscriptions, indicating the existence of a universal epigraphic language which could

be used across all inscriptional traditions. Meanwhile, the use of the frame indicates that late antique individuals sought to use this language to ascribe additional social and religious authority to their own graffiti (as is indicated by the existence of graffiti at transitionary spaces such as Grammata Bay and Wadi Haggag). Fundamentally, reading the relationship between graffiti and formal inscriptions highlights that late antique peoples were deeply aware of the epigraphic culture which surrounded them, and felt connected enough with this culture to make use of it in their own inscriptions.

6. Conclusions

Late antique graffiti is complex and made nonetheless so by modern approaches to the medium. Whilst contemporary society debates the artistic value of street art, studies of ancient graffiti have been hamstrung by those seeking to use these inscriptions to support their own ideology. Nevertheless, graffiti can provide a deep and necessary insight into late antique peoples and places, the forms of self-expression they engaged with, and their movement through urban spaces. Contrary to some claims, late antique graffiti did not exist as an overly pious contrast to a freer classical graffiti tradition, but neither did it represent a direct continuation from this tradition.[894] Developments such as the integration of Christian language and imagery into everyday inscriptions were comparatively new to the post-Constantinian period, whilst graffiti remained firmly rooted in the pre-existing epigraphic traditions of the Roman era. Thus, late antique graffiti is a medium which is wholly its own, which provides us with a direct link to the casual expressions of those living in a period of cultural transformation. In the conclusion, I will summarise the two key thematic strands of this thesis, to see what they reveal to us about the totality of the late antique graffiti tradition.

6.1. Graffiti and the Person

6.1.1. Universalities

This thesis has demonstrated that some aspects of graffiti were universal. Throughout the eastern Mediterranean graffiti was used as a means of personal commemoration. In this way, informal inscriptions were a parallel to their similarly universal formal counterpart. Epigraphy in the Roman world was utilised to memorialise people and their experiences, thoroughly underlined by the perceived permanence of the medium. Just as emperors and the elite sought to leave their impression on the ancient city via monumental inscriptions, the "everyman" of late antiquity could do the same, through

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[894] Johnson 2007: 198.

casually recording their presence on the wall. The desire for personal commemoration is made most apparent through the use of personal names in the graffiti of the east; found in a wide variety of locations from Greece, Rome, Egypt and the Levant, late antique individuals sought to leave tangible evidence of their presence at sites they visited. In many cases, the desire to codify one's presence at a location was underscored by the use of specific terms to indicate the exact identity of the author. At Grammata Bay, sailors provided occupational nouns, toponyms and patronyms to indicate their identity and ensure they received attention from God, whilst in the graffiti of Aphrodisias and Ephesos pilgrims carved their occupation into the walls of the church. The desire to leaves one's mark was thus ever-present in the late antique world.

Commemoration extended beyond the individual's person however, with many seeking to record their experiences. Acclamations to the circus factions found in Ephesos, Alexandria and Aphrodisias all highlight the desire of individuals to record the phrases they called during performances, perpetuating these experiences even after the performance had ended. At the same time, insults found carved into the walls and seats of performance spaces in these cities, such as the invective against certain performers in Alexandria, and the insults at the sexual passivity of Karmidianos at Aphrodisias, indicate the intention to record the personal interactions and thoughts of the author. Additionally, figurative graffiti allows us to recognise the antique world as it was seen by its inhabitants, with images carved throughout the ancient Mediterranean.

Religious graffiti is found almost without exception in the settlements of the late antique east. Not only present at religious sites such as the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy and pilgrimage routes of Wadi Haggag, but the island landscape of Grammata Bay and cities here, the desire to record one's religious (and particular Christian) experience was universal. Furthermore, religious expression was deeply rooted in the pre-existing epigraphic language of the eastern Mediterranean, as is particularly highlighted by the use of the "Lord, help" formula, which was primarily an inscriptional tradition. The use of this formula,

combined with the consistent use of prayers, religious invocations and Christian imagery (even in otherwise secular inscriptions) highlights the integration of religion into the everyday experience of late antique individuals, and the persistent desire to record one's presence as a pious Christian.

6.1.2. Distinctions

Nevertheless, despite the use of graffiti for commemorative purposes throughout the eastern Mediterranean, the exact manifestation of these practices appears to have developed locally, and could vary greatly from site to site. This is made clear through the recording of personal names and identity, which though found in every region of the late antique east, still varied significant as a result of context. At the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, it was very common for pilgrims to leave only their personal name as an indication to God that they had visited and prayed at the site, whilst at the Church of Saint John in Ephesos, personal names were most frequently added in prayers. Furthermore, although the identity of the author was specified frequently through the use of the identity markers throughout the east, the exact way the identity was recorded varied according to location. At Grammata Bay sailors travelled through the site on commercial journeys, and thus recorded their economic identity, and similarly in the Urban environments of Aphrodisias and Ephesos late antique peoples utilised the occupational nouns they recognised from *topos* inscriptions to indicate their profession. At the same time, in the pilgrimage sites of the Levant, the focus of identity was more firmly fixed on the patronym or toponym of the individual, with their economic identity being seen as less relevant in this rural and religious setting.

Although we see the commemoration of personal experiences in graffiti throughout the eastern Mediterranean, the exact experiences recorded are strongly tied to the location in which they are written and drawn. This was particularly the case in figurative graffiti, which often recorded the specific sites seen by late antique peoples surrounding them. For example, at Aphrodisias an individual in the urban park sought to record their environment by drawing the elongated pool which defined their

space, and in performance spaces in Aphrodisias, Alexandria and Ephesos we see graffiti of performers frequently added. Even within these similar spaces however, the exact graffiti added was unique, with graffiti of fish and anchors found in the theatre of the harbour city of Alexandria, and not in the inland city of Aphrodisias. Furthermore, at Elephantine are a selection of graffiti of boats, depicted on a quay wall because this is what people could see in their immediate environment. Distinctions thus exist highlighting that graffiti was a fundamentally local practice, with the same desire to commemorate experiences manifesting differently according to location.

The same is witnessed in the development of religious invocations, which are universal throughout the eastern Mediterranean but not uniform. In prayer, variation is seen at sites where the author was experiencing peril, such as the prison at Corinth, or the sailors at Grammata Bay. Graffiti authors thus expressed themselves according to need, requesting salvation from specific dangers, when these dangers were experienced. Furthermore, even at sites which follow more traditional means of epigraphic prayer we still see variation, at the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, the authors prioritised only their personal name, whilst those at Syene preferred the ritual carving of crosses. People in late antiquity experienced the desire to carve text or image universally, however the exact tradition developed locally with current authors responding to the traditions established by those prior, or according to the social nature of the location.

6.2. Graffiti and Space

6.2.1. Universalities

In a spatial context, graffiti experiences a lot of the same universalities it experiences in a social context. Graffiti is found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and although evidence is particularly strong in the ruinated cities of Asia Minor, such as Aphrodisias, Ephesos and Sagalassos, extant graffiti discovered in living cities such as Jerusalem, Athens and Alexandria attests to the presence of a graffiti tradition

throughout the urban environments of the east. Within these sites, we see that individuals carved graffiti in spaces seen as acceptable for that graffiti to be written. Within these environments, graffiti appears to have been closely tied to the space it was written in, as can be seen by the behaviours graffiti recorded in certain spaces. At locations in which leisure was practiced, such as the baths and theatre, we find gameboards, figurative graffiti and casual insults. Meanwhile, at locations which were fundamental to the economy of the antique city such as agorai and public thoroughfares, *topos* inscriptions are found which attest to the presence of vendors casually inscribing in these locations. Of particular note is the near lack of secular graffiti found at religious sites. At the three churches of Ephesos, the basilica at Antinoopolis and the religious sites in Jerusalem, we find exclusively religious graffiti in the spaces, whilst at the Church of the Archangels in Aphrodisias the secular graffiti of gameboards stops abruptly on the steps, not crossing the boundary into the sacred space of the Church. Thus, graffiti can provide a key insight into the social norms of the late antique Mediterranean, helping us to reconstruct not only what behaviours took place within a space, but values regarding appropriate behaviour which were help across the entire eastern Mediterranean.

Furthermore, individuals directly responded to the artistic and inscriptional practices they recognised in their environment. This is made apparent through the use of the *nomina sacra* and the epigraphic cross, again both of which exist universally throughout the east, found in Alexandria, Jerusalem and the Levant, Syros and the ruinated cities of Turkey. The replication of these formal artistic practices reveals a deep connection between the individual and their physical environment, they recognised the formal artistic traditions which surrounded them and replicated these in their own self-expressions.

6.2.2. Distinctions

Once again, however, whilst graffiti follows distinct spatial trends throughout the eastern Mediterranean, local traditions nonetheless emerge. The exact ways individuals responded to space

differed, particularly in relation to the formal artistic practices at a site. One particularly relevant case study here is Ephesos, where we see different trends emerging within the cult sites at the city. For example, at the Church of Saint John, graffiti authors have attempted to associate their text with pre-existing formal art through language and proximity, but not encroached onto the formal art itself (something which is paralleled at the Aphrodisian Church of the Archangels) whereas at the Grotto of Saint Paul we witness graffiti carved directly on the body of a saint. Furthermore, the exact artistic practices used by late antique individuals varied significantly, with those at Grammata Bay frequent opting to use the Chi-Rho to preface their inscriptions, whilst those at Wadi Haggag favoured the more traditional epigraphic cross.

6.3.   Final remarks

In the process of writing this thesis, I created a catalogue of more than 1,700 inscriptions. Going forward, I hope that this catalogue can be used by further researchers as a foundational resource for further study of the field. Several key areas emerge which would be fruitful areas of further analysis.

The linguistic scope of this thesis has been limited to the Greek material. In the future, I believe that the field would benefit from scholars with knowledge of more languages examining the Greek data in conjunction with non-Greek graffiti. To an extent, this research has already begun. The *Epigraphies of Pious Travel Project*, based in Vienna and Moscow and of which I am lucky enough to be part, is focused on collating Greek and old Russian pilgrimage graffiti from the Byzantine and Russian spheres, and will allow for a more detailed comparison of the ways pilgrims from different cultural backgrounds sought to express their faith. Nevertheless, there is ample need for further examination of other late antique and medieval language groups (including Coptic, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic) to create a truly complete picture of informal inscriptional practices.

When contextualising the graffiti in my catalogue, I relied on Roman and Greek inscriptional precedents, as well as the few literary references we have to writing graffiti in the ancient world. Although this was appropriate for this thesis, I do believe we have much to gain by examining late antique graffiti in the context of its medieval equivalents. Understanding what the late antique graffiti practice developed *into* may be just as helpful for understanding what is was, as examining its antecedents. In particular, medieval pilgrimage accounts such as that of Felix Fabri not only mention the act of graffiti being inscribed, but also the authors emotional reaction to the text (which in the case of Fabri was decidedly negative).[895] Expanding our dataset of comparative material can only strengthen our understanding of graffiti prior to the modern era.

The late antique graffiti tradition is messy, both figuratively and literally. For every rule which emerges in our understanding, we find just as many contradictions, as the broad strokes of late antique informal inscriptional traditions were expanded upon or redefined at each location in the late antique east, and as individuals responded to the growing inscriptional tradition at local sites. Through examining this data, we are able to understand the means of self-expression and production of late antique people and we gain a direct insight into their experiences in a way few other media allow. Going forward, investigating this form of unofficial self-expression is crucial to understanding the late antique person, and the environment they lived within.

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[895] Felix Fabri. *The Book of Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*. Trans. A. Stewart. 249-250.

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Figures

Figures Accompanying Chapter One

Figure 1.1. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. West door. Graffiti written around a formal cross.
IAph2007 1.21i

Figure 1.2 Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. West door. Graffiti written around a formal cross.
IAph2007 1.22ii.

Figure 1.3. TU67. Aphrodisias. Graffito written on a column base. IAph2007 11.67.

Figure 1.4. Jerusalem. The Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. Graffiti on the north wall. CIIP Fig. 842c.

Figure 1.5. TU330. Aphrodisias. Graffito of Zenon, on column supporting the stage architrave. IAph2007 8.94a.

Figure 1.6. Aphrodisias. Graffito from the corridor behind the stage of the odeon. IAph2007 2.3iv.

Figure 1.7. Aphrodisias. Graffiti from the Church of the Archangels. IAph2007 1.34iii.
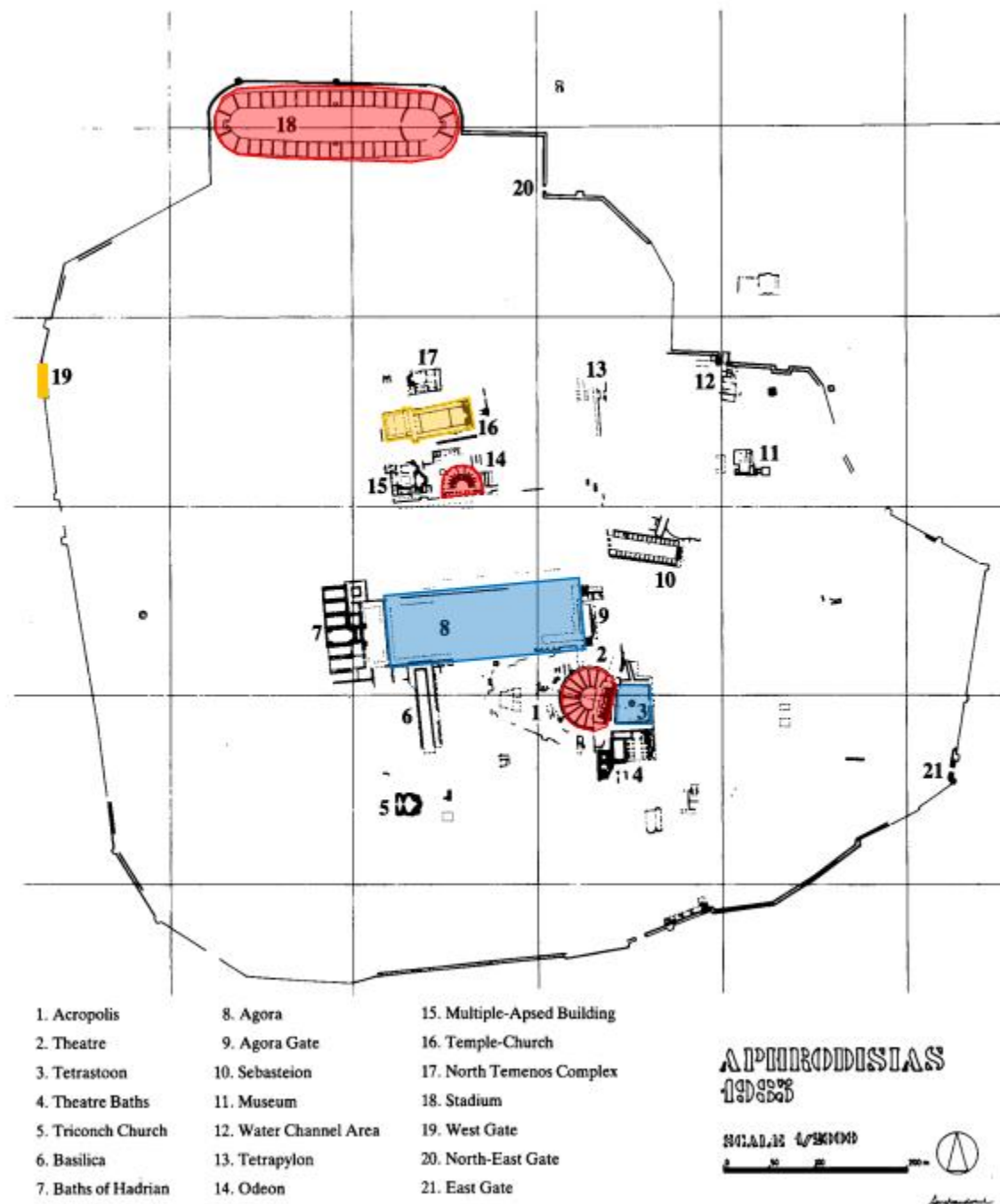
Figure 1.8. Map of Aphrodisias, showing the locations of figurative graffiti which depict entertainment. Entertainment venues are highlighted in red. Buildings and areas adjacent to entertainment venues are highlighted in blue. The Church of the Archangels and the North-west gate are highlighted in orange. Aphrodisias Excavations. Roueché 1989: 328. (Highlighting added by author).

1. Acropolis
2. Theatre
3. Tetrastoon
4. Theatre Baths
5. Triconch Church
6. Basilica
7. Baths of Hadrian
8. Agora
9. Agora Gate
10. Sebasteion
11. Museum
12. Water Channel Area
13. Tetrapylon
14. Odeon
15. Multiple-Apsed Building
16. Temple-Church
17. North Temenos Complex
18. Stadium
19. West Gate
20. North-East Gate
21. East Gate

APHRODISIAS
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Figure 1.9. TU541. Aphrodisias. Theatre. Graffito of a Thracian gladiator.
IAph2007 1.34iii.

Figure 1.10. TU321. Aphrodisias. Theatre. Graffito of a tight-rope walker. IAph2007 8.12.c
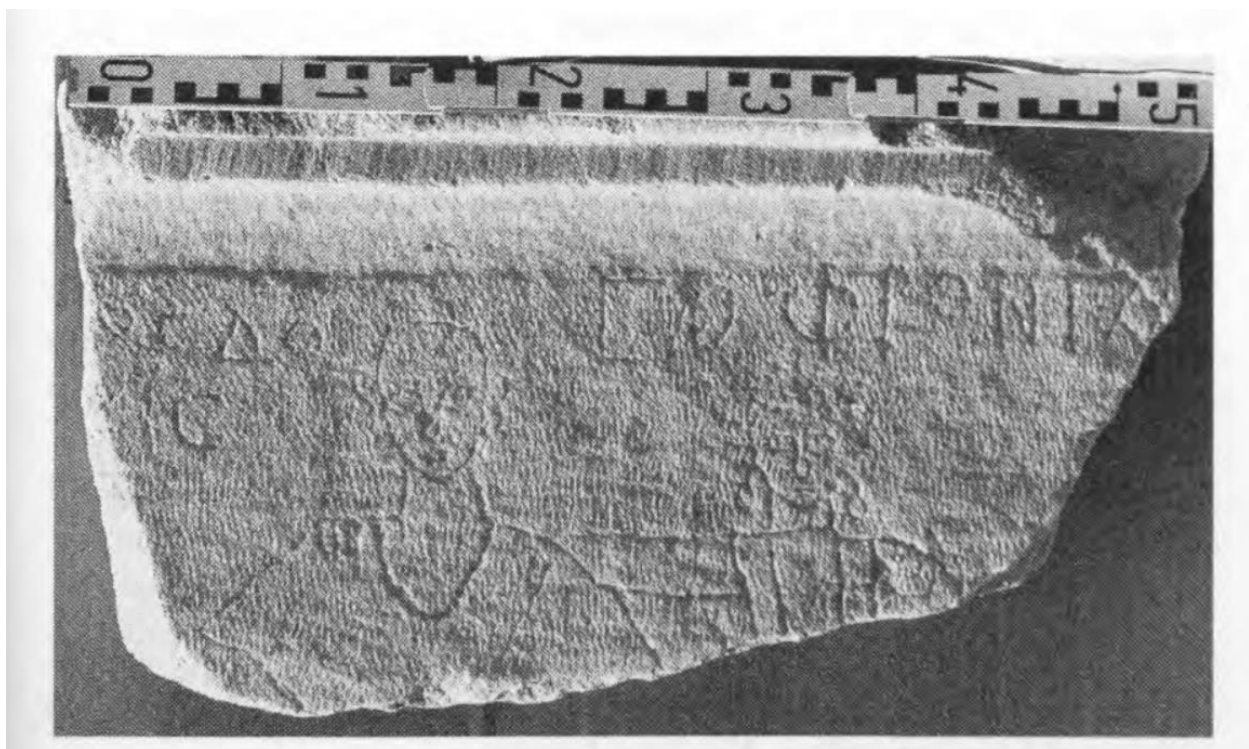
Figure 1.11. TU772. Ephesos. Theatre. Graffito of a male and female performer. Roueché 2002: Fig. 46.
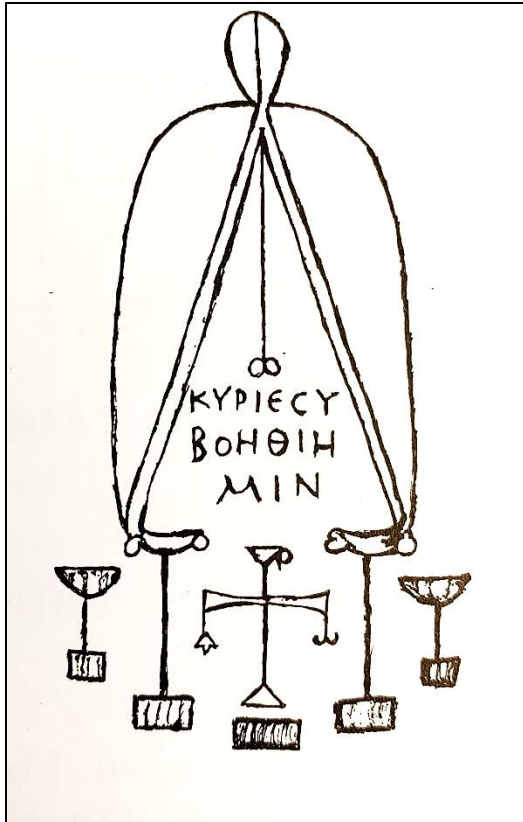
Figure 1.12. TU694. Ephesos. Commercial Agora. Graffito of a Christian shrine. I.Eph 1367 1

Figure 1.13. TU758 and TU759. Ephesos. Stadium street. Graffito of a statue on a pediment. Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: Fig. 6.6.

Figure 1.14. TU739. Ephesos. Paving slab. Graffito of a *tyche* figure and a foot. I.Ephesos 580.
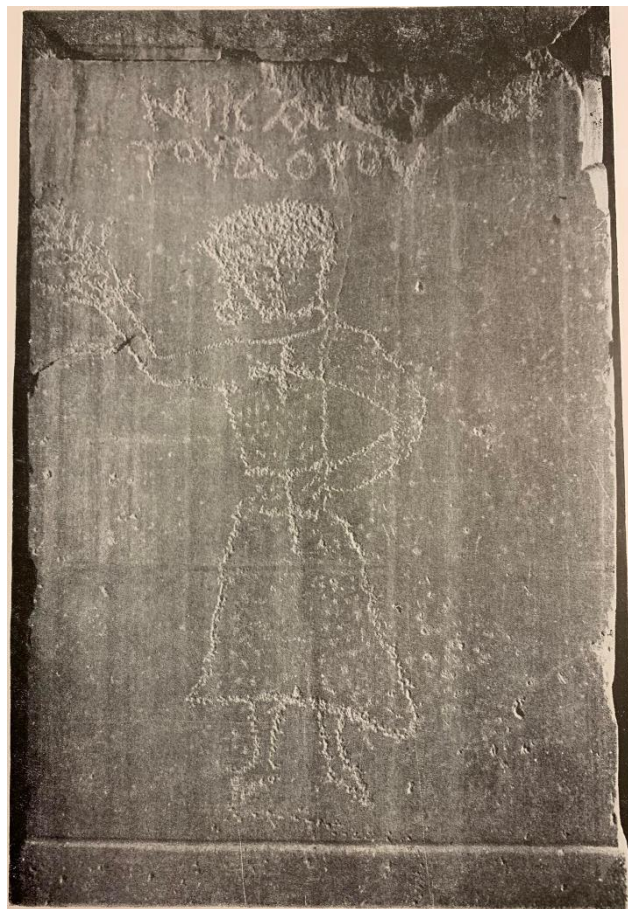
Figure 1.15. EG58. Alexandria. Theatre. Graffito of a performer holding a victory wreath. Borokowski 1981: Fig. 1.
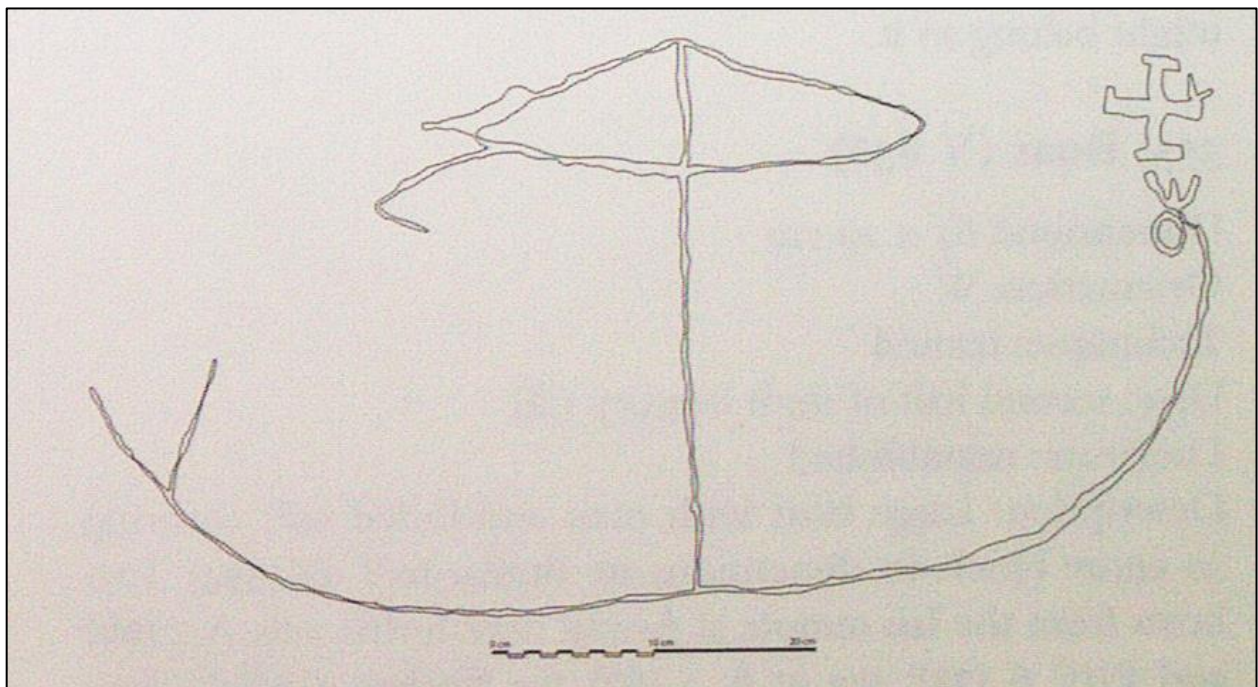
Figure 1.16. EG123. Elephantine. Late antique quay. Graffito of a boat. Dijkstra 2012: No. 354.
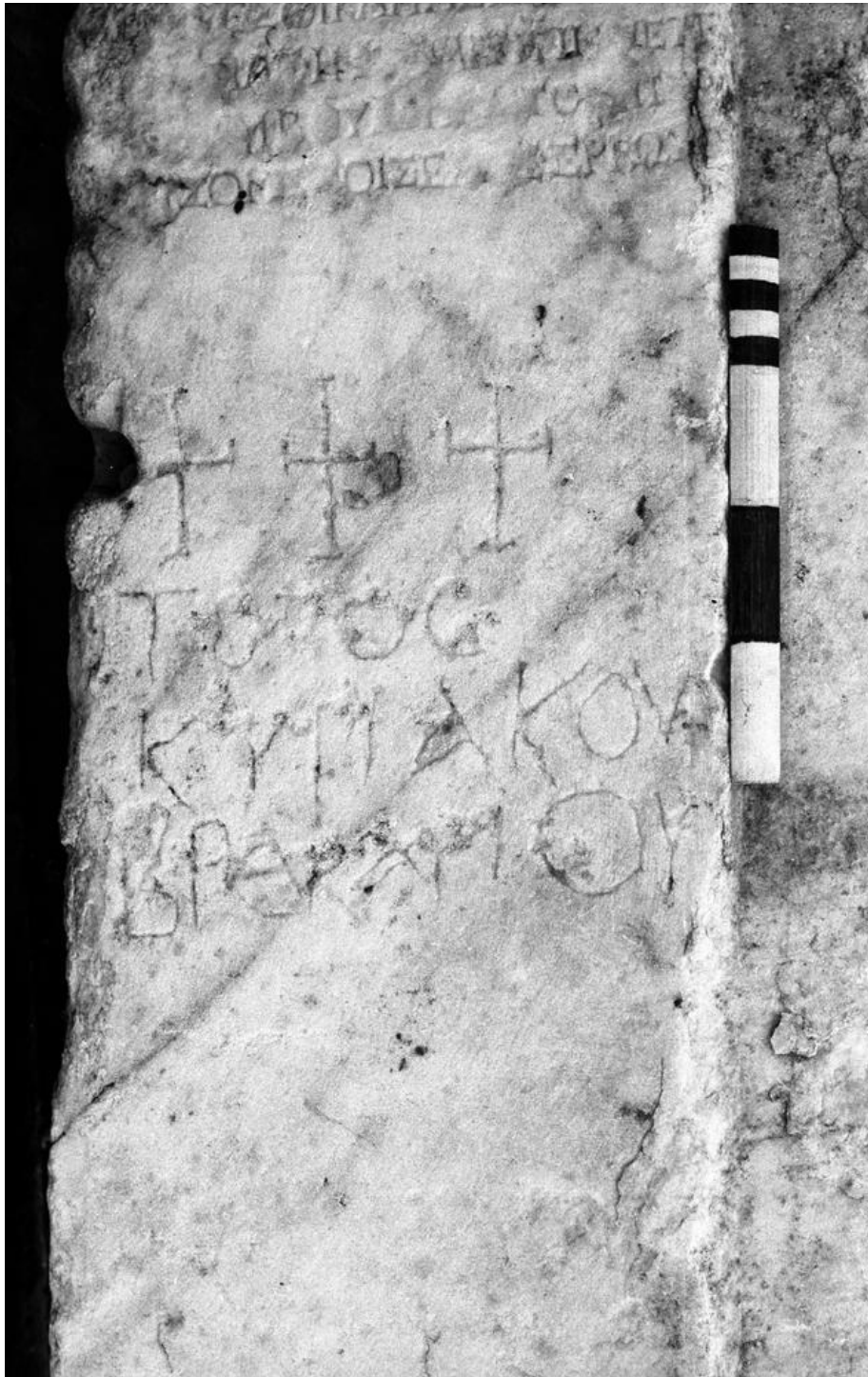
Figure 2.1. TU51. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. North temenos.
Topos inscription of Kyriakos the trouser-maker. IAph2007 1.301b
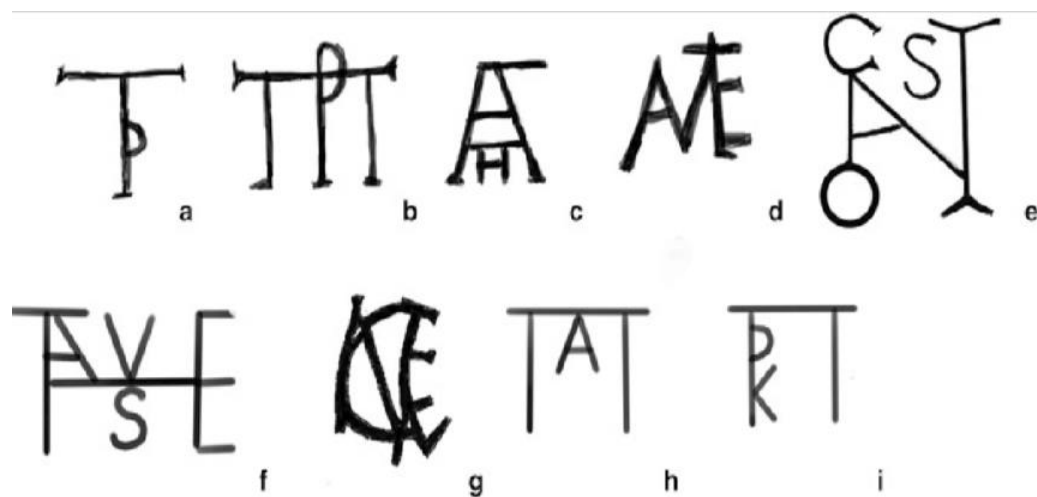
Figure 2.2. A selection of monograms from the Roman catacombs. 3rd-4th Century CE.
Garipzanov 2018: fig. 4.3.
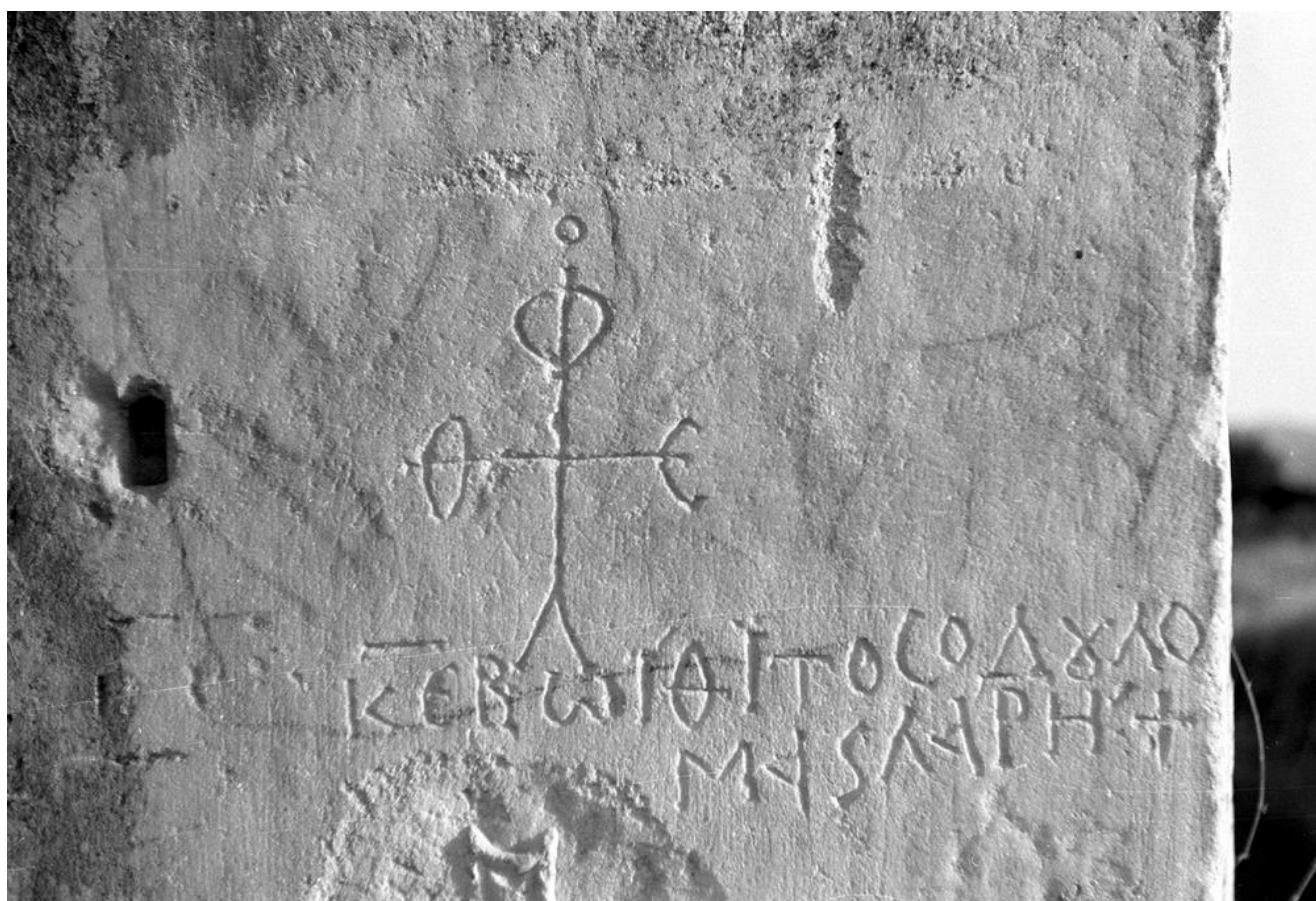
Figure 2.3. TU25. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. West door. Monogram of Theophilos the butcher. IAph2007 1.21i

Figure 2.4. TU8. Aphrodisias. The "Bishop's palace". Monogram of Romanos. IAph2007 2.402iv.

Figure 2.5. TU387. Aphrodisias. monogram on a theatre seat. IAph2007 8.55.12.
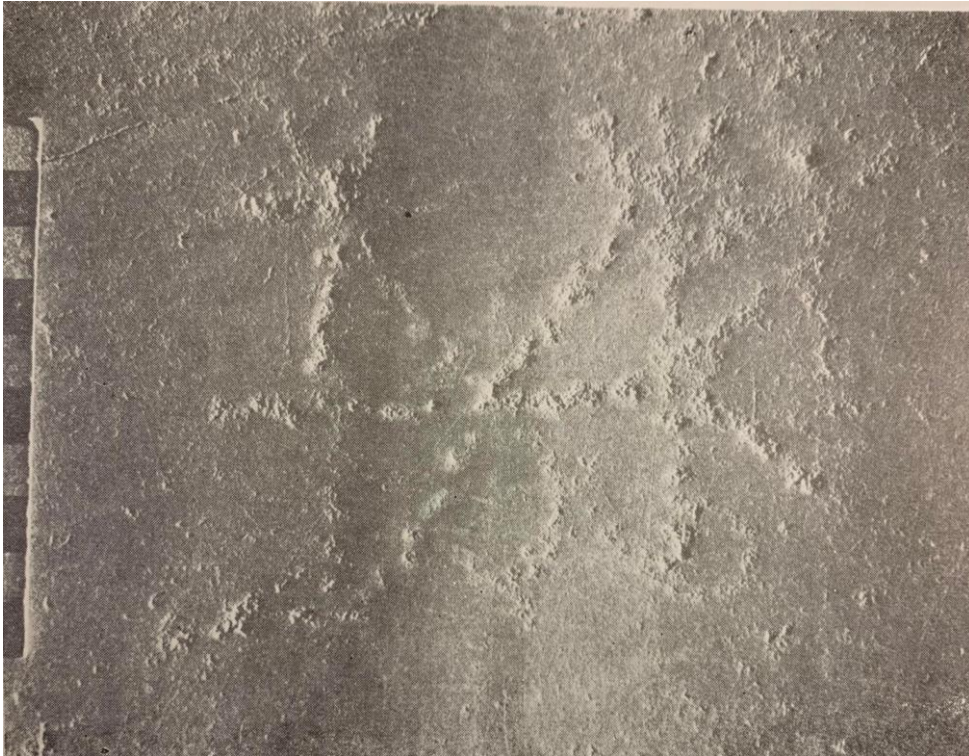
Figure 2.6. EG53. Alexandria. Theatre. Monogram. Borokowski 1981: Fig. 43.

Figure 2.7. EG182. Theban Mountain. Cryptographic graffito of Abraham. Delattre 2018: fig. 2.6.

Figures Accompanying Chapter Three

Figure 3.1 Anatomical votive of Cutius Gallus. 1st Century BCE. Spurlock Museum of World Cultures: Accession No. 1900.12.0090.

Figure 3.2 Anatomical votive of Tyche. British Museum Online Collections. Registration no. 1867,0508.117.
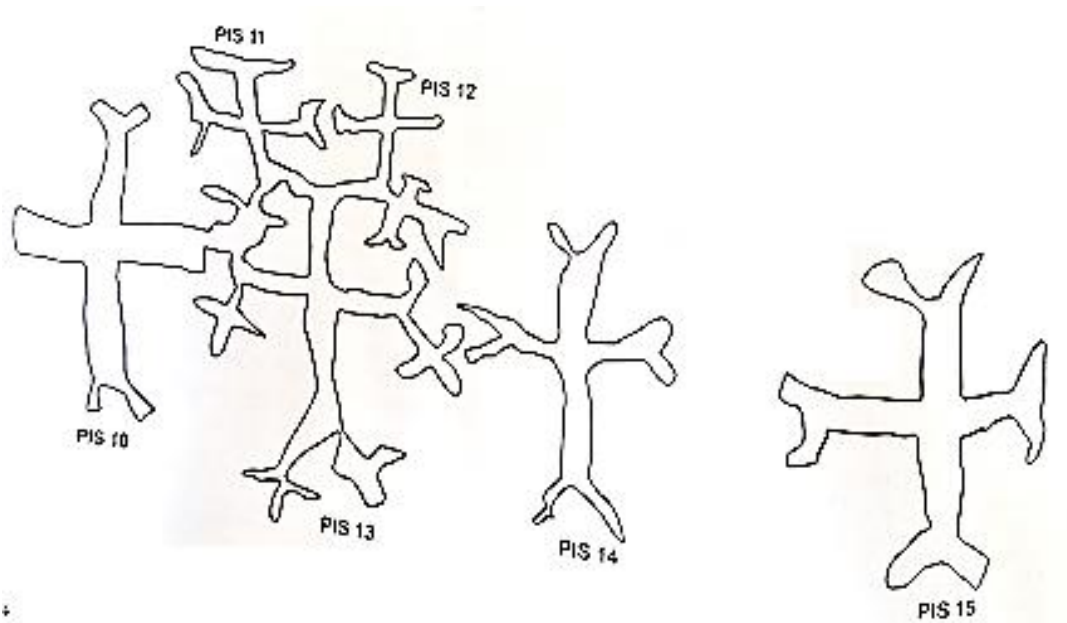
Figure 3.3. Syene. Temple of Isis. A selection of late antique cross graffiti.
Dijkstra 2012: Nos. 126-131.

Figure 3.4. Cameo featuring the prayer 'Lord, help'. British Museum Online
Collections. Registration no. 1913,0307.330.

Figure 3.5. T634. Aphrodisias. Urban park. *Topos* inscription of Zotikos. IAph2007 4.9.

Figure 3.6. TU85. Aphrodisias. Odeon backstage corridor. Graffito of a decorated cross. IAph2007 2.3i

Figure 3.7. TU755. Ephesos. Stadium Street. Graffito of a peacock. Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: Fig. 6.3.
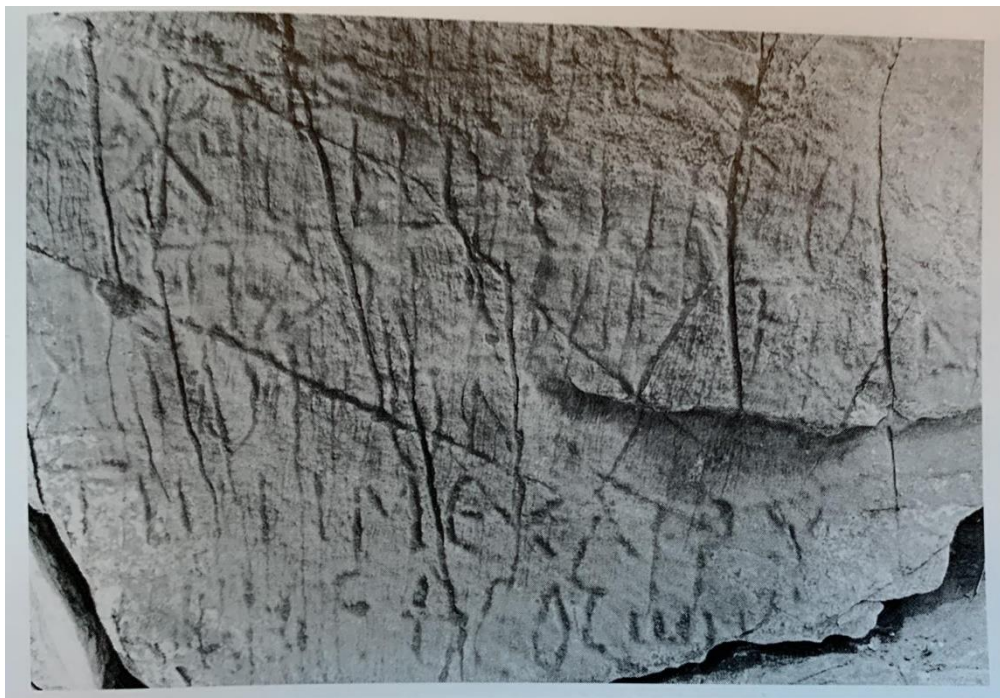
Figure 3.8. GR66. Syros. Grammata Bay. Graffito featuring a Chi-Rho. Kiourtzian 2000: Plate 29.

Figure 3.9. Oil lamp featuring a Chi-Rho. 3rd-7th century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art Online Collections. Accession no. 17.194.1813

Figure 3.10. EG102. Antinoopolis. Church with Ionic Columns. Graffito or dipinto of a military saint. Delattre 2017: no. 16.
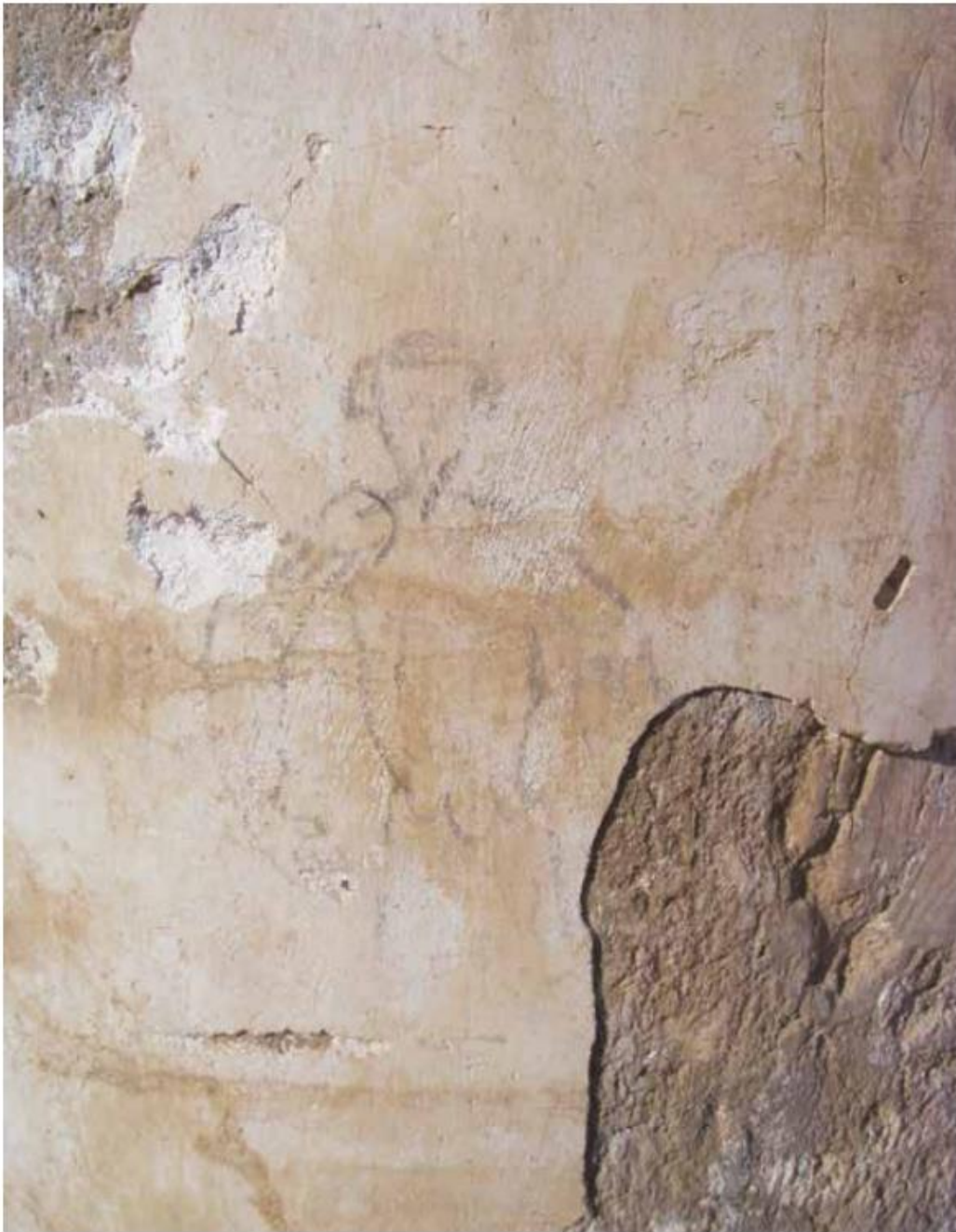
Figure 3.11. EG103. Antinoopolis. Church with Ionic Columns. Dipinto of a military
saint. Delattre 2017: no. 17.

Figure 3.12. EG95. Antinoopolis. Episcopal church. Graffito of a male
person, holding an indeterminate object. Delattre 2017: no. 4.

Figure 3.13. EG96. Antinoopolis. Episcopal church. Graffito of an
orant. Delattre 2017: no. 5.

Figure. 3.14. Sarcophagus depicting the deceased as an *orant*. Vatican Museums. Photo: R.H. Banes.
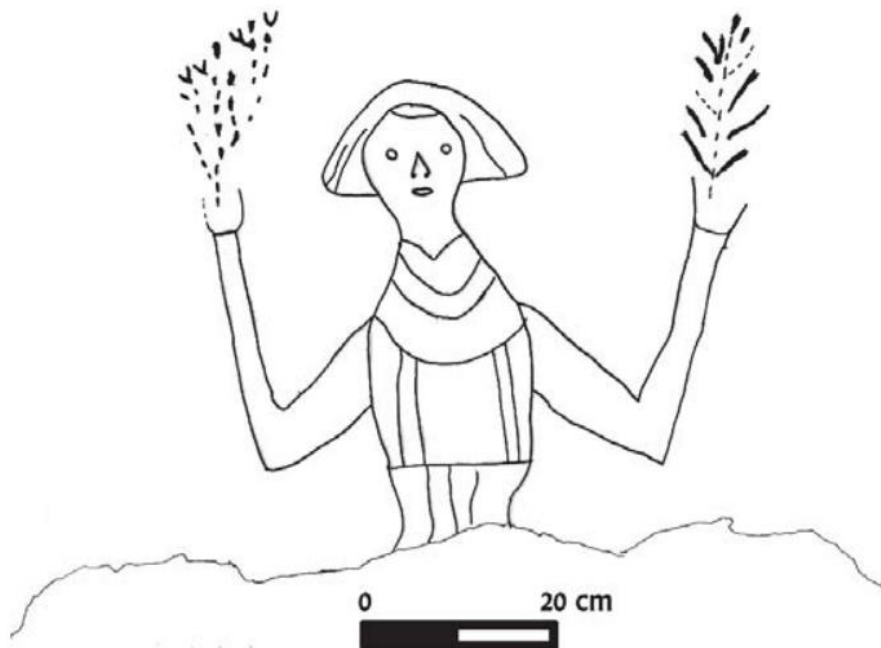
Figure 3.15. IP131. Khirbat el-Waziya. Cistern. Figurative graffito of an *orant*. Klein and Zissu 2015: Fig.5.
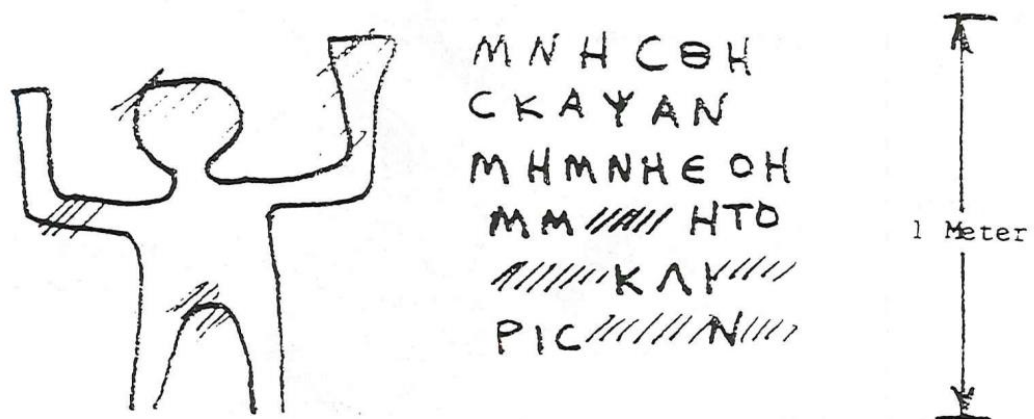
Figure 3.16. JO1. Abila. Painted tomb. Graffito of an *orant* figure. Mare 1982: Fig. 12.

Figure 3.17. TU803. Hierapolis. Martyrium of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. Graffito of Saint. D'Andria 2017: Fig.35.

Figure 3.18. Ravenna. Mosaic depiction of Jeremiah. ArtStor. https://library-artstor-org.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/#/asset/SCALA _ARCHIVES_10310196656. [Accessed 01.02.2023]
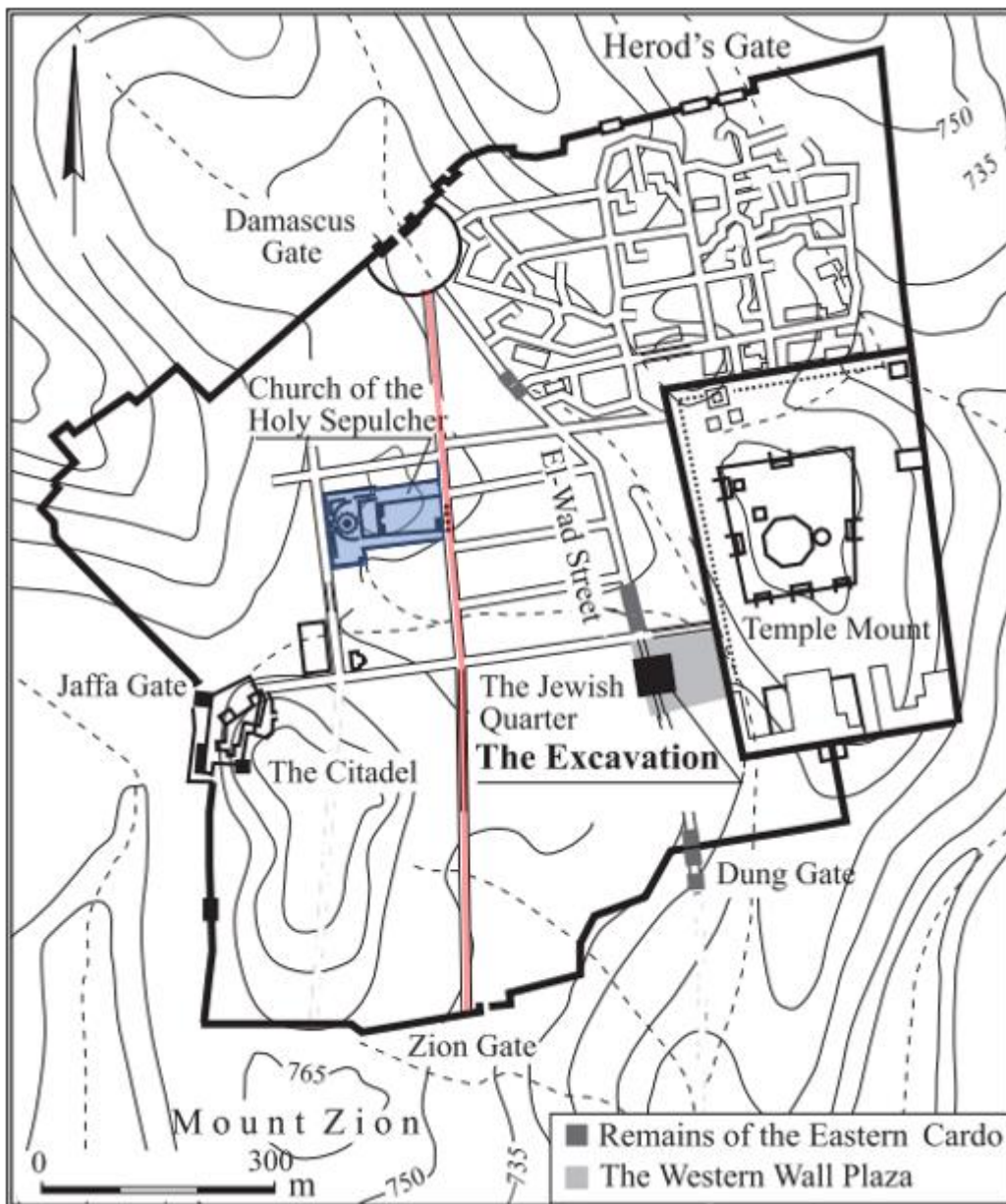
Figure 4.1. Map of Jerusalem. The Cardo is marked in red. The Holy Sepulchre is marked in blue. Di Segni and Weksler-Bdolah 2012: Fig. 1. (Highlighting added by author)

Figure 4.2. Three gameboards from Arkadian Street. Locus Ludi Project.
[https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/] [Accessed 02.09.2022]

Figure 4.3. TU296. Aphrodisias. Tetrastoon. Price list carved faintly in plaster. IAph2007 8.404.
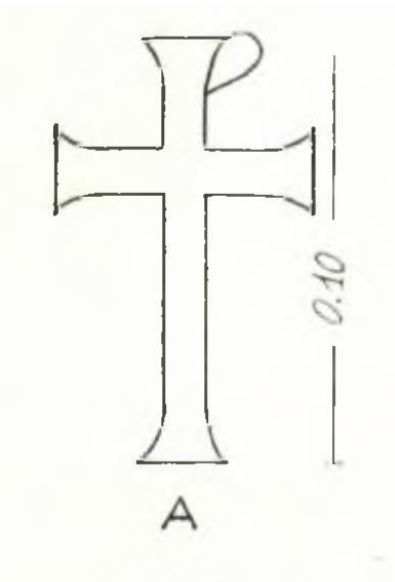
Figure 4.4. GR5. Athens. Agora. Eastern arcade. Graffito drawn on a column. Orlandos 1964: fig. 110a

KEY

A CITY WALL	J WALL 3
B TRIBUNAL SEAT	K 1968 TRENCH
C BARREL-VAULTED ENTRANCE TO TRACK	L RAMPED VAULT
D PODIUM	M WALL 4
E NICHE IN PODIUM	N WALL OF LATE ANTIQUE AMPHITHEATER
F EAST FAÇADE	O NICHES IN PODIUM OF AMPHITHEATER
G BARREL VAULT	P BARREL-VAULTED ENTRANCE INTO AMPHITHEATER
H WALL 1	Q WALL OF ARCADED RECESSES ATOP AMPHITHEATER
I WALL 2	

SURVEYED, A. LEUNG K. WELCH
L. BIER V. DRUGA

DRAWN, A. LEUNG, 1994
REV. A.L. 1996

DRAWN 1:500

Figure 4.5. Aphrodisias. Stadium. A 4th century wall has been added at the east end. Aphrodisias Welch 1998: Fig. 2.
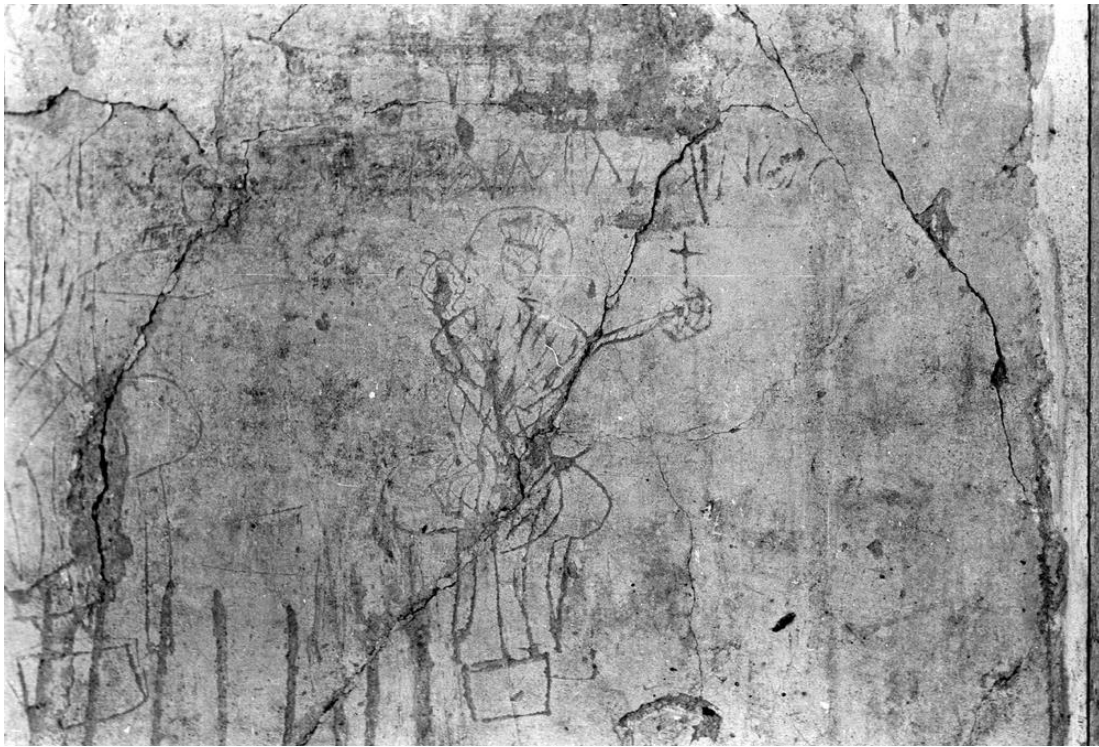
Figure 4.6. TU77. Aphrodisias. Odeon. Recess behind stage. Graffito of a figure 'Karmilianos' enthroned and holding a *globus cruciger*. Scratches damage the enthroned figure sitting on the right. IAph2007 2.33ii

Figure 4.7. TU754 and TU755. Ephesos. Theatre. Graffiti of two male stage performers, one of whom has his arms raised in the air. Roueché 2002: Fig. 40.

Figure 4.8. TU66. Aphrodisias. Hadrianic Baths. North court. Paving stone. Gameboard featuring crosses. IAph2007 5.1i

Figure 4.9. TU312. Aphrodisias. Theatre Baths. East portico. Detailed figurative graffito of a Christian shrine or church, drawn above a prayer. IAph2007 8.603.

Figure 4.10. EG98. Antinoopolis.
Church with Ionic Columns.
Column A. Cross-hatching graffiti.
Delattre 2017: no. 7

Figure 5.1. TU733. Ephesos. Grotto of Paul. Wall painting of Theokleia. A red dipinto is written to the right of the painting. Pillinger 2000: Fig. 8.
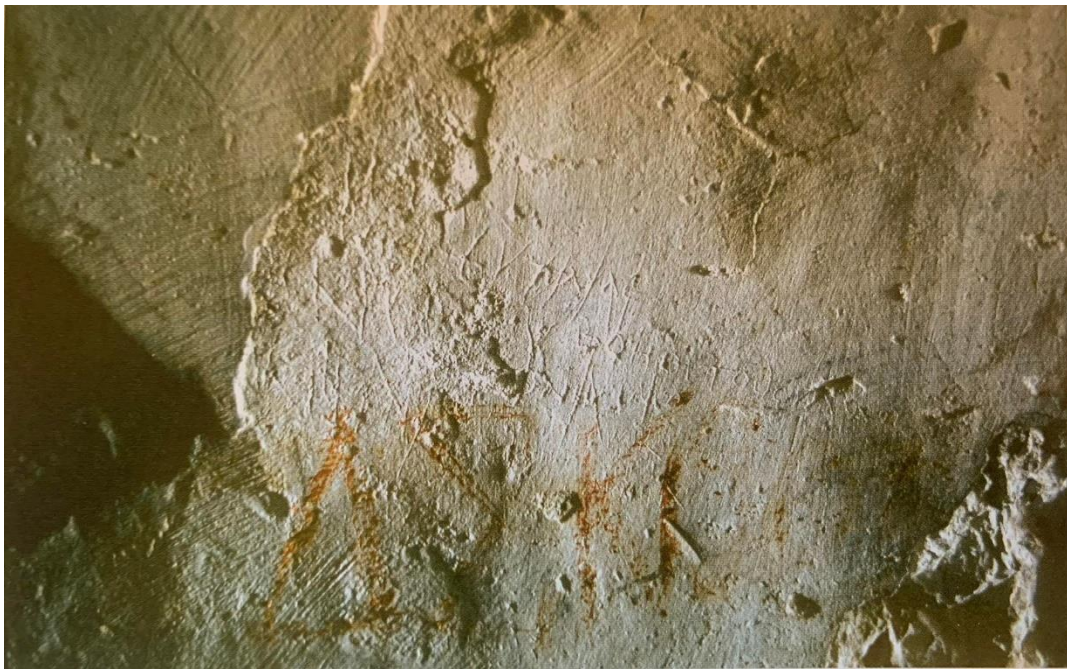
Figure 5.2. Ephesos. Grotto of Paul. Graffiti written on a layer of plaster. Pillinger 2000: Fig. 5
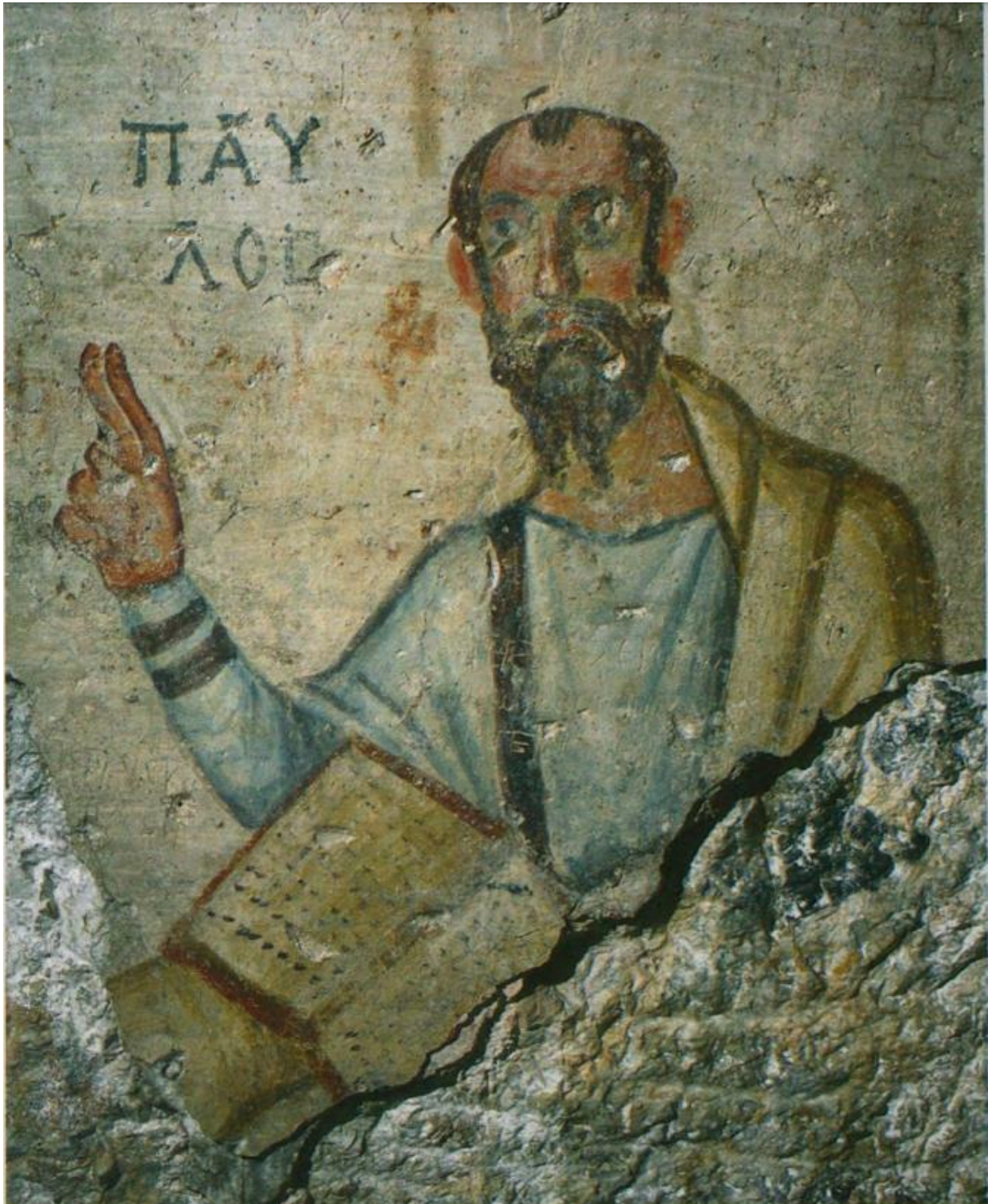
Figure 5.3. TU734. Ephesos. Grotto of Paul. Wall painting of Saint Paul, with a prayer written across his chest. Zimmerman and Ladstätter 2010: Fig. 369.

Figure 5.4. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. Church steps. Graffiti of gameboards with an invocation to Michael. IAph2007 1.10.

Figure 5.5. TU633. Aphrodisias. Urban Park. Gameboard <mark>with textual graffiti</mark> carved upon it. IAph2007 4.6iii

Figure 5.6. IP18. Horvat Qasra. Chapel of Saint Salome. Graffito in a *tabula ansata*, with several crosses carved over the lower register of the *tabula*. CIIP 4.2. Fig. 3974.1.
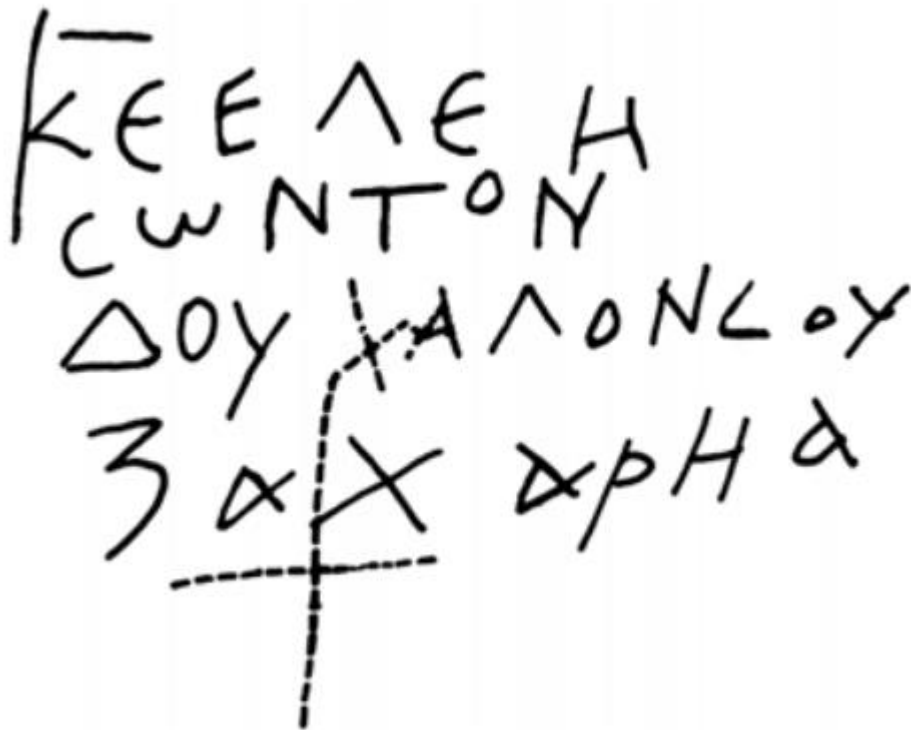
Figure 5.7. IP16. Horvat Qasra. Chapel of Saint Salome. Graffito of a prayer of Zacharias. A Space has been left in the third line to accommodate an earlier inscription. CIIP 4.2. Fig. 3801.2

Figure 5.8. IP77. Jerusalem. Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. Two graffiti. The personal name Popienos has been written over the name Sobios. CIIP 1.2. Fig. 842.33

Figure 5.9. IP65. Jerusalem. Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. Two graffiti. The invocation 'Christ!' is written over a prayer. CIIP 1.2. Fig. 842.23.2

Figure. 5.10. Sergiupolis-Resafa. Basilica A. Fragment of plaster with several graffiti written across it. Römer 1986: Plate 52.

Figure 5.11. Sergiupolis-Resafa. Basilica A. Cross-hatching graffiti drawn on plaster. Römer 1986: Plate 54.

Figure 5.12. Cappadocia. Church of Saint Stephen. Wall painting of *crux gemata*. 7th century CE. ArtStor. https://library-artstor-org.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/asset/AMCDONALDIG_10313950863. [Accessed 04.09.2022]

Figure 5.13. Jerusalem. Funerary chapel between the Old City and the Hinnom Valley. The inscription is punctuated by both a *hedera* and a cross. CIIP 1.2. Fig. 8.61.1.

Figure 5.14. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. A formal donor inscription featuring an epigraphic cross. IAph2007 1.14.

Figure 5.15. TU30. Aphrodisias. Church of the Archangels. A graffito of Leon, featuring two crosses. IAph2007 1.25ii.

Figure 5.16. EG353. Wadi Haggag. "Rock 3". Graffito of Prokopianos, featuring a cross. I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 119.
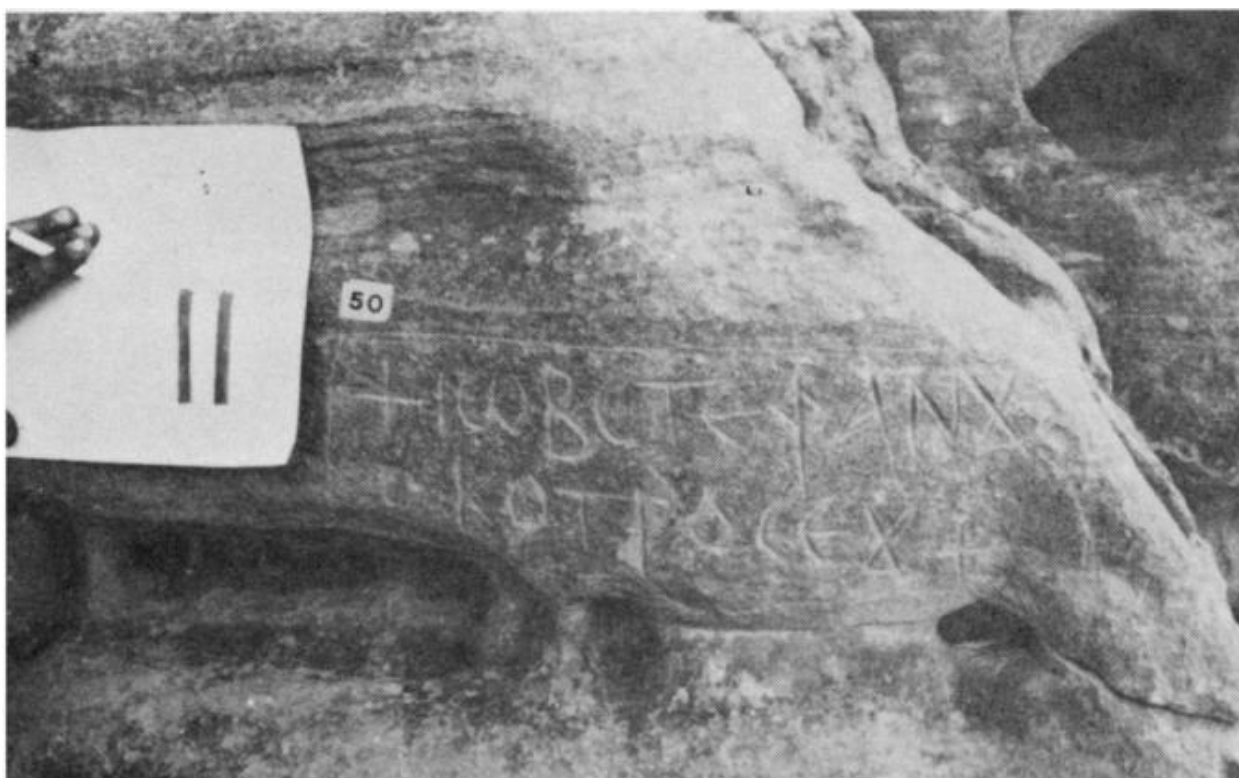
Figure 5.17. EG224. Wadi Haggag. "Rock 2". Graffito of Iob, featuring two crosses. I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 40.
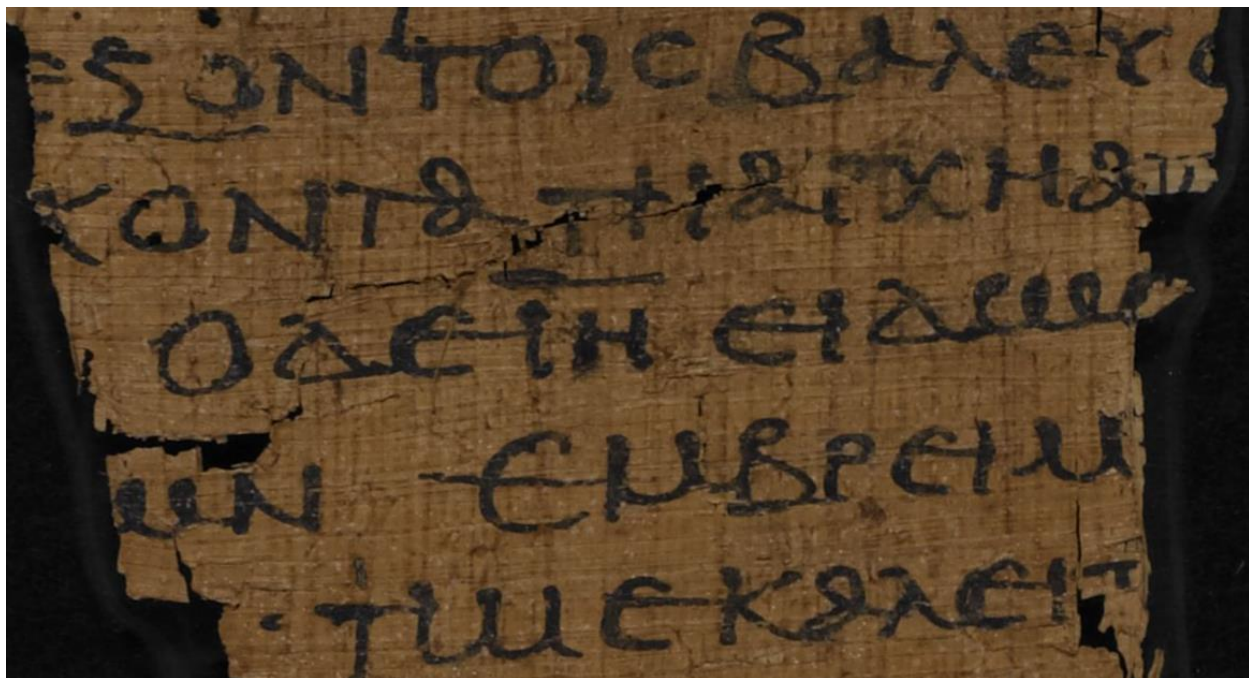
Figure 5.18. A section of P. Egerton 2, featuring the *nomina sacra* IH. British Library Digitalised Manuscripts. https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_papyrus_2_f001r. [Accessed 04.09.2022]. This image is cropped from the original.

Figure 5.19. Meggido. Donor inscription of Akeptous, featuring several different *nomina sacra*. Di Segni and Tepper 2006: 36.

1. Four Earliest *Nomina Sacra* (from second century manuscripts onward)

Ιησους — Contracted form = $\overline{Ις}$, $\overline{Ιυ}$, etc.; suspended form = $\overline{Ιη}$; conflate form = $\overline{Ιης}$

Χριστος — Contracted forms = $\overline{Χς}$, $\overline{Χυ}$, etc.

Θεος — Contracted forms = $\overline{Θς}$, $\overline{Θυ}$, etc.

Κυριος — Contracted forms = $\overline{Κς}$, $\overline{Κυ}$, etc.

2. Other *Nomina Sacra*

Πνευμα — $\overline{Πνα}$, $\overline{Πνι}$, etc.

Υιος — $\overline{Υς}$, $\overline{Υυ}$, etc.

Δαυειδ — $\overline{Δαδ}$

Μητηρ — $\overline{Μηρ}$, etc.

Πατηρ — $\overline{Πηρ}$, etc.

Ισραηλ — $\overline{Ιηλ}$

Σωτηρ — $\overline{Σηρ}$

Ανθρωπος — $\overline{Ανος}$

Ιερουσαλημ — $\overline{Ιλημ}$

ουρανος — $\overline{ουνος}$

σταυρος — $\overline{στς}$, and variation, e.g., $\overline{στρος}$, $\overline{στρω}$, $\overline{στρν}$, $\overline{σρν}$

(Also, the "staurogram" [attested in some early manuscripts, e.g., P66, P75 (ca. 200 CE)] = $\overline{σ\!\!\!/os}$)

Figure 5.20. A list of common forms of the *nomina sacra*. Hurtado 2006: Fig.1.

Figure 5.21. TU354. Aphrodisias. Masonry block. Prayer featuring a *nomina sacra.* IAph2007 8.110.

Figure 5.22. Roman cinerary chest with an inscription. The inscription is surrounded by a frame. 90-110 CE. Metropolitan Museum Online Collections. Accession no. 27.122.2a, b. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252917. [Accessed 04.09.2022]
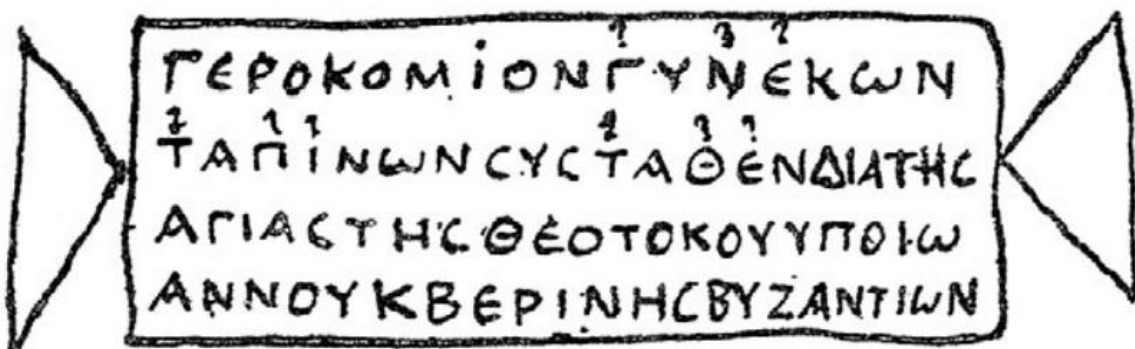
Figure 5.23. Jerusalem. Building inscription written within a *tabula ansata*, commemorating the establishment of a home for poor women. CIIIP 1.2 Fig. 859.2

Figure 5.24. Rome. Arch of Titus. Depiction of a military triumph, in which soldiers are carrying *tabulae ansatae*. ArtStor. https://library.artstor.org/#/asset/LESSING_ART_1039490342. [Accessed 04.09.2022]
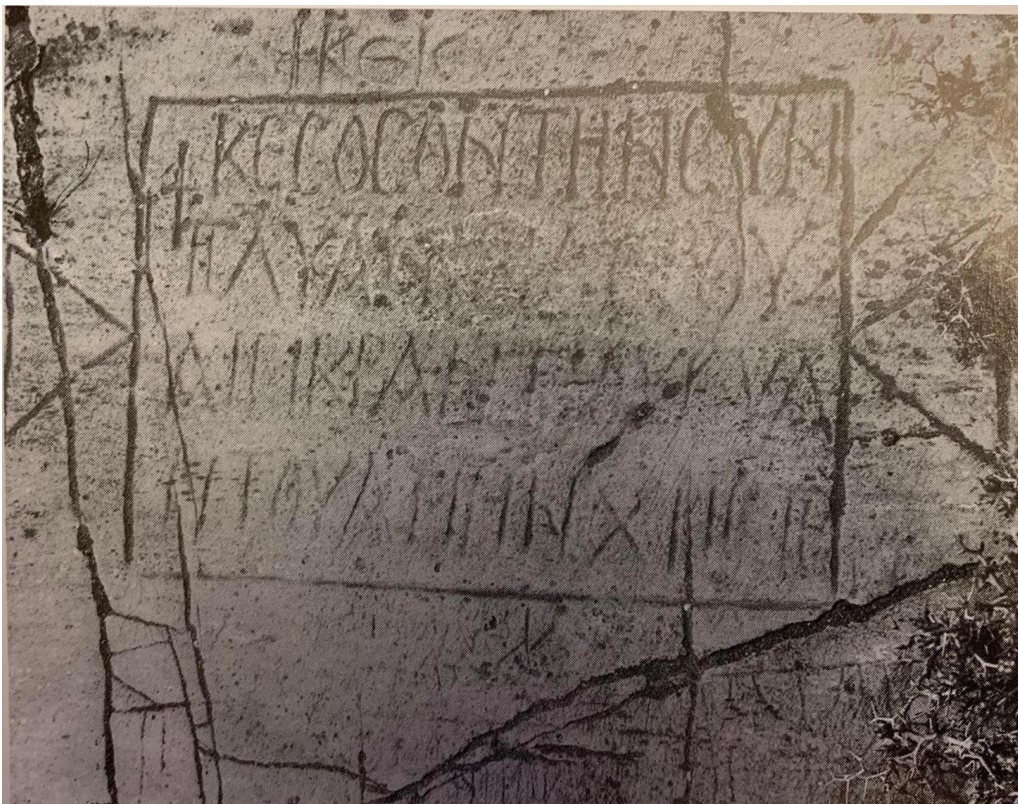
Figure 5.25. GR95. Syros. Grammata Bay. Graffito written in a *tabula ansata*.
Kiourtzian 2000: Plate 37.
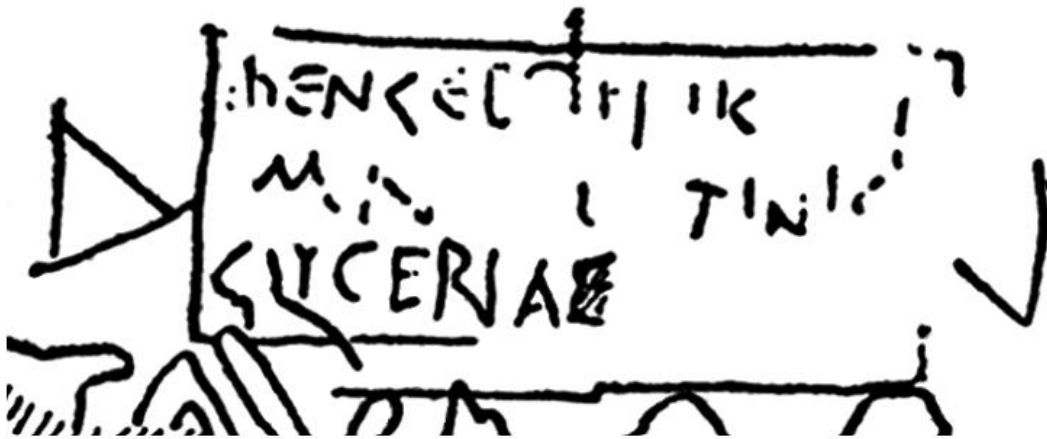
Figure 5.26. IP51. Jerusalem. Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. Greek and Latin graffito written in a *tabula ansata.* CIIP 1.2. Fig. 842.10.2.

fig. 842.51.2 (a-b)

Figure 5.27. IP98. Jerusalem. Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. Greek and Latin graffiti written within a simple frame. CIIP 1.2. Fig. 842.51.2.
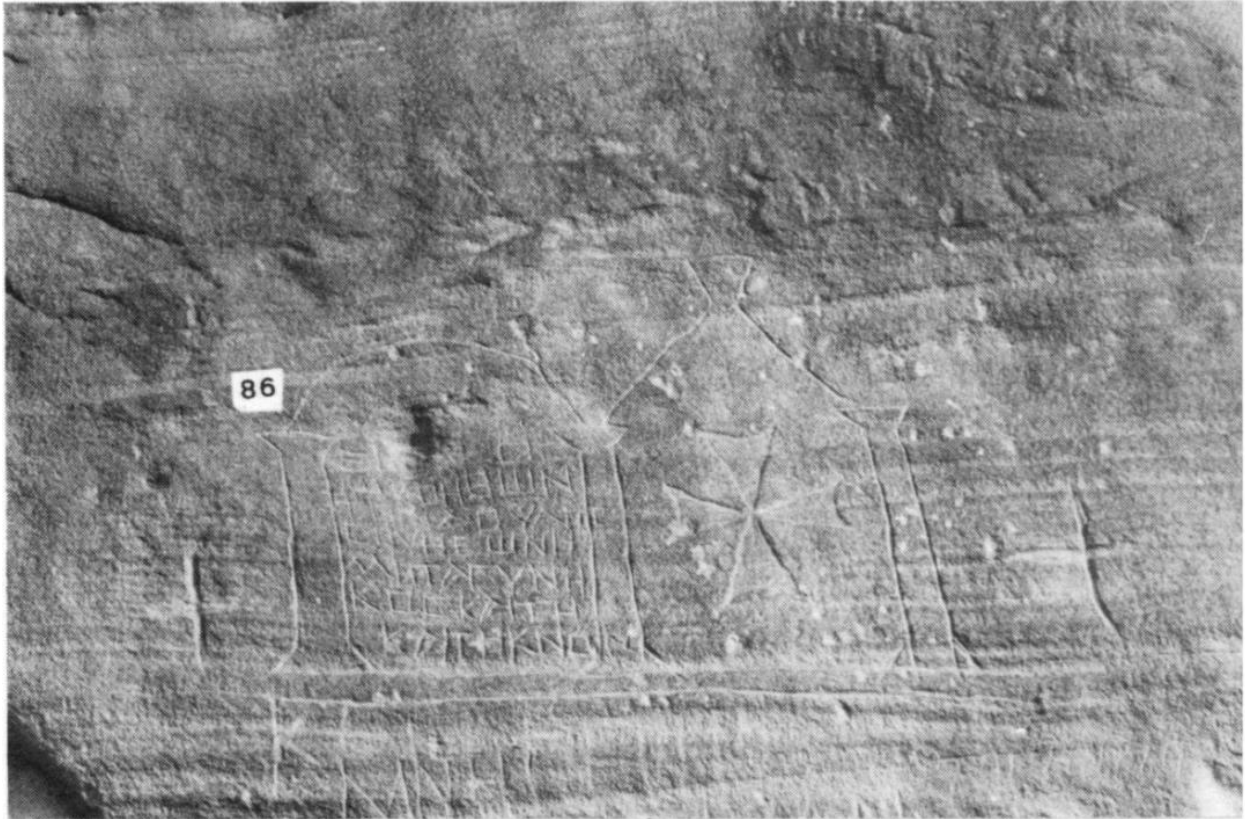
Figure 5.28. EG266. Wadi Haggag. "Rock 3". Graffiti written within a frame, designed to resemble a shrine. Negev 1977: Fig. 64.

Figure 5.29. SY30. Sergiupolis-Resafa. Basilica A. A graffito written within a *tabula ansata*. Römer 1986: Plate 52. This image is cropped from the original.

Appendix One

Notes on the Creation and use of the Catalogue

1.1. Layout and Reference Numbers

The catalogue is divided geographically according to modern day state. Graffiti from the following

countries are included: Turkey, Egypt, Greece, North Macedonia, Israel and Palestine, Syria and Jordan.

Each graffito has been assigned a reference number, each number is preceded by a tag according to

their country in which they are found: TU (Turkey), EG (Egypt), GR (Greece), NM (North Macedonia), IP

(Israel/Palestine), SY (Syria) and JO (Jordan). Within these geographic categories, the graffiti is listed

alphabetically according to individual location.

1.2. Epigraphic Conventions

In the majority of cases, the graffiti featured in this catalogue has not been edited, but copied verbatim

from its original presentation in the corpora in which it appears. The decision not to reedit this data is

due to the inconsistencies in how the original editors present the data. For example, whilst Charlotte

Roueché has edited the Greek text in *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* into its correct grammatical forms

featuring diacritics, Luke Lavan has not added diacritics into his publication of material from Sagalassos.

Additionally, epigraphic corpora frequently collate material from several sources which record their data

differently, meaning the epigraphic conventions used to display texts within the same volume may

differ.[896] Trying to edit these texts to consistently would be a fool's errand, as I would frequently be

guessing what the original text said, especially in cases where photographs were not provided.

Generally, therefore, graffiti has been represented as it appears in the original volume.

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[896] A good example of this is data from *Die Inschriften von Ephesos.* Whilst the entry for TU665 includes a cross which features in the original inscription, the entry TU749 does not include the crosses which feature in the original inscription.

There are a few exceptions to this decision however. In some cases, it has been necessary to edit texts for consistency. These changes are simple, including the insertion of a religious symbol (such as a cross or staurogram) in unicode when it is listed in the original text. Furthermore, when a text is written surrounding a cross, a common means of displaying inscriptions in antiquity, I have noted the change in register with the note *((cross))*. All the graffiti are reproduced in modern Greek script, and paleographical features such as lunate sigmas and cursive omegas are not included.

I am currently in the process of re-editing a selection of pilgrimage graffiti for the *Epigraphies of Pious Travel* project (EPT), which will produce an online database of informal pilgrimage inscriptions from the Byzantine and medieval Russian spheres. This project is currently using the epigraphic conventions provided by the *RusAfricum* database, as these ensure epidoc compatibility for the online database.[897] Rather than reproduce older editions of graffiti when I have recently produced a new edition, I have included the versions which will appear on the EPT database. I have included an asterix beside the reference number for each entry which has been re-edited for EPT.

1.3.   Translations

All translations are my own, although in the case of simple texts these will frequently be the same as those offered by the original editor. Personal names have been transliterated from Greek, and different variants of personal names have retained their differences in the English transliteration. When a name refers to a historical or religious figure commonly known by an English name, such as Saint Paul or Lazarus, I have used this version to distinguish them from individuals of the same name. Occupational titles and the titles of civic officials have generally been translated into English, for example

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[897] Epidoc Converter. *RusAfricum.* http://www.rusafricum.org/en/epidconv/convert/ [Accessed 27.08.2022]

συνκλητικούς becomes senator, and *γραματεώς* becomes secretary.[898] In instances where there is no

known English equivalent, such as *μελεπάρχος*, a transliteration of the Greek has been used.[899]

1.4.   Figurative Graffiti

When an inscription is accompanied by a figurative graffito, I have preceded the diplomatic text with a

description of this image. When a figurative graffito appears on its own without accompanying text, I

have listed the figurative graffiti in the diplomatic column. For pavement signs and gameboards, I have

followed the typology established by Roueché.[900]

1.5.   Dates

As with the epigraphic conventions used, it has been necessary generally to follow the dates provided by

the original editor. Many editors do not provide a specific century for when the graffiti they list was

written, as is particularly apparent in the graffiti from Syene which is listed merely as 'late antique', the

graffito from Knidos which is 'early Christian' and the graffiti from Siyagha, which is listed only as 'early

Byzantine'.[901] When the initial editors have not specified these dates further, it is often futile to guess

what date they mean, and in many cases I have not attempted to narrow it further but reproduced the

original broad category, although again exceptions may occur for sites I have re-edited for *Epigraphies of*

Pious Travel. Due to the large amount of data associated with this project, it has not been possible to

investigate the date of every site in depth. However, for those sites which feature as a case study at

least twice in the analysis of the catalogue, I have explored the history of the site further, and these are

featured in Appendix Two "Introduction to Key Sites". Appendix Two examines the history of these sites

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[898] For a graffito of a senator, see: TU225. For graffiti written by a secretary, see: TU651; EG110; EG111; EG114 and EG117.
[899] TU749.
[900] Roueché 2014: 141-159.
[901] For the graffiti at Syene, see: EG132-EG180.For the graffiti at Siyagha, see: JO5-JO9. For the graffiti at Knidos, see TU818.

and their graffiti in depth, and cases in which I disagree with the dating offered by the original editor

have been noted.[902]

1.6.   Selecting Material

The aim of the accompanying catalogue of this thesis is to compile known examples of graffiti from

throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the late antique period. It would be optimistic to claim this

data represents the majority of late antique graffiti. Not only would this require reading every book on

late antique epigraphy, and searching through ever epigraphic catalogue or archaeological report which

exists. To narrow down the texts I examine, I began by searching major epigraphic corpora such as the

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum for references to graffiti, and then finding the original sources of

this material. However, more data is constantly being published. As an example, parallel to the

completion of this project, the book *Cultic Graffiti in the Late Antique Mediterranean and Beyond* was

published, which brought my attention to several sites of which I had not been previously aware. The

material in the catalogue has been drawn from a wide variety of sources, with the aim of providing as

comprehensive analysis of the late antique graffiti tradition as is possible, with the acknowledgement

that new information is constantly emerging.

1.6.1.   Epigraphic Corpora

Much of the data for this project has been found in epigraphic corpora, in particular the publications of

Roueché, Zbigniew Borokowski, Avraham Negev, Georges Kiourtzian, Leah Di Segni and Avraham Negev.

With the exception of Negev's, *The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai*, and Borokowski's publication on

Alexandria, none of the epigraphic collections used specialise in graffiti, rather providing corpora of

inscriptions from a given site or region. For example, whilst Roueché's *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*

provide detailed descriptions of the graffiti found at the site, this is within the context of wider

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[902] Although Athens is only discussed as a case study once within the thesis, it is featured in Appendix 2 as the dating of graffiti requires in depth discussion.

Aphrodisian epigraphic culture. Similarly, Kiourtzian includes a list of ninety-one informal inscriptions

from Syros in *Receuil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes des Cyclades,* however this is one chapter

within the context of a broad selection of Christian formal inscriptions from the Cyclades. These corpora

are invaluable resources for the study of late antique inscriptions, as by placing informal texts alongside

their formal counterparts it allows for a complete study of the multitude of ways the epigraphic

tradition could manifest. However, in many instances these volumes do not adequately distinguish

between formal and informal texts, particularly where ambiguity exists. For example, although many

topos inscriptions must have been informal, this is not made clear in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, which

in some instances note a text as graffiti, and in others does not, despite no clear distinction between the

two.[903] This ambiguity is increased in publications from before the late twentieth century, as the terms

graffiti and dipinti were not yet associated wholly with informal inscriptions, and thus are frequently

used to refer to texts which would not fall into my definition. An example of this is a dipinto from the

Bagawat Cemetery in Egypt, which was included as an informal text in an early version of this thesis.

However, the dipinto seems to form part of the formal decorative scheme of the tomb, and thus I have

not included it in this project.[904]

1.6.2.   Online Databases

An additional resource which has proved invaluable for this study are online databases of inscriptions.

Some databases, such as *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, focus on specific site, in this instance digitalising the

work of Roueché and Joyce Reynolds on Aphrodisias. Other examples, such as the *Cult of Saints in Late*

Antiquity database (CSLA) do not offer exclusively graffiti, but provide information on a multitude of

topics, and are searchable by graffiti. Similarly, the *Inscriptiones Christianiae Graecae* (ICG) records

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[903] See, for example, IEph 4311b which is listed as a graffito, and IEph4314 which is listed as an inscription. Ida Toth
has since identified IEph4314 as a graffito. Toth 2016: 40. In my catalogue these texts are listed as TU699 and
TU685.
[904] SEG 38-1696.

Greek-Christian inscriptions from throughout the Mediterranean. The *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG) is another invaluable resource. Whilst these websites can be excellent, they often repeat the problems found within physical editions, particularly when digitalising old data which lacks the association of graffiti with informality. An additional problem which complicates using both physical and online versions is the unequal publication of images, or quality images, which can make it difficult to distinguish between informal and formal texts when the written description is insufficient.[905] Furthermore, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I have been unable to travel to any sites mentioned in this thesis to verify the presence and reading of texts without images.

1.6.3. Books, Articles and Chapters

A final source I have used is sourcing graffiti when it is discussed in published literature or analyses of the subject. These texts frequently reference graffiti, often from published epigraphic corpora, but often as a result of the authors' research. As a consequence, when a text does discuss graffiti of which I was not previously aware, and I cannot access through another method, I have referenced the author and page number for the inscription.

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[905] For example, the SEG does not publish images online.

Appendix Two

Introduction to Key Sites

The following is an introduction to sites which appear as a case study multiple times within the text of this thesis.

2.1 Turkey

2.1.1. Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias was the capital of the late antique province of Caria.[906] The area of the late Roman city had been inhabited since the sixth millennium BCE, but the city proper was established in the second century BCE.[907] The city was established close to a sanctuary to Aphrodite, the patron goddess of the city who would give it its name.[908] The city was particularly notable for its large local deposits of marble, which led to the construction of large marble monuments locally in the Roman and late antique periods.[909] The marble which formed much of the local architecture, combined with the presence of sculptors and artisans who carried chisels and similar equipment, has led to an extraordinarily high percentage of graffiti recorded in the city, largely catalogued by Charlotte Roueché and Angelos Chaniotis.[910] I will briefly discuss many of the key locations in Aphrodisias where graffiti is found (although this is not exhaustive) to provide context on the site as well as information regarding the dating of texts.

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[906] Roueché 2007: 183 and Dalgıç and Sokolicek 2017: 270.

[907] Dalgıç and Sokolicek 2017: 270; Aphrodisias Excavations. Hellenistic & Augustan periods". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/history.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]

[908] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Pre-History" and "Hellenistic & Augustan periods". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/history.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]

[909] Long 2012: 165.

[910] A. Chaniotis 2015. 'Studying Graffiti in the Ancient City: The case of Aphrodisias'. https://www.ias.edu/ideas/2015/chaniotis%E2%80%93graffitti. [Accessed 28.08.2022]

2.1.1.2. The Church of the Archangels (The Temple of Aphrodite)

The Temple of Aphrodite was initially constructed in the 30s BCE, over a sanctuary to the Goddess

dating to at least the third century BCE.[911] The temple underwent several additions and renovations

during the Roman era, including the addition of outer columns and a colonnaded court.[912] However, the

most significant change to the building was c. 500 CE, when the temple was converted into a church

(one of four churches excavated at Aphrodisias, the Church of the Archangels has been the most

extensively published upon).[913] During the conversion the building was extended and re-oriented east,

with an atrium constructed at the west end to provide a gathering space to enter the church.[914] The

necessary features of a late antique church were added to the site, including a narthex, baptistry and

apse.[915] The church appears to have been the main cathedral of the city, and was likely dedicated to the

Archangel Michael, as is evidenced by the number of graffiti which mentions Michael by name, as well

as an inscription from the tenth or eleventh century which invokes the 'leader of angels'.[916] Ultimately,

the church was destroyed c. 1200 in the Seljuk invasion of the region, providing a *terminus ante quem*

for the graffiti at the site.

2.1.1.3. The Urban Park

The urban park lay at the physical centre of Aphrodisias as well as the metaphorical centre – at the heart

of city-living. Many of the sites which have been excavated at Aphrodisias, the theatre, theatre baths

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[911] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Pre-History" http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/history.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022] and "Temple of Aphrodite". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/templeofaphrodite.html [Accessed 18.09.2022].
[912] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Temple of Aphrodite". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/templeofaphrodite.html [Accessed 18.09.2022].
[913] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Temple of Aphrodite". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/templeofaphrodite.html [Accessed 18.09.2022]; Dalgıç and Sokolicek 2017: 270 and Table 23.1. There is not to my knowledge any graffiti currently published from the other churches at Aphrodisias, which is why they have not been addressed in this thesis.
[914] Cormack 1990: 32.
[915] Cormack 1990: 32-33.
[916] For the formal inscription mentioning the 'Leader of the Angels', see: IAph2007 1.37. For graffiti in the church, see: TU20 and TU21.

and odeon, were accessible through the urban park. The earliest textual reference to the park refers to it as the "Place of the Palms", and is a first century CE inscription by the *strategos* Artemidoros Pedisas, who promises to build a palm grove within Aphrodisias.[917] The palm grove mentioned by Artemidoros Pedisas can be identified as the late antique "Place of the Palms" with relative certainty, as it is unlikely there would be two within the same city. The oldest section of the urban park dates to this era; the north portico of the structure was constructed during the reign of Tiberius. The site is a rectangular plaza, initially surrounded by porticos on all four sides and was initially interpreted as an agora, it is still referred to as the "south agora" in in many scholarly works.[918] The site is rendered unique by its oval pool, at nearly 170 x 190 m (168.4 x 187-188.8m) the pool dominates the park and is without parallel in antiquity.[919] It is not clear exactly when the pool was constructed, but Andrew Wilson suggests the Hadrianic era, when the site underwent several renovations, including altering the west portico to make way for the entrance to a set of Hadrianic baths.[920] The next building phase at the site can be dated to the late antique era. Several different renovations appear to have occurred under different officials. Ampelios, who held the title "Father of the City", and Dulkitios, the governor, are both attested in mid-fifth to century dedicatory inscriptions which describe their building works in the area, likely around the east gate where they are discovered. Wilson further associates an alteration to the drainage system of the pool with the renovations by Dulkitios.[921] In the late fifth century, the south portico was given a new roof by an individual named Philippos, son of Herodianos, who held the title of *thaumasiotatos* and is attested in an inscription at the site.[922] The west portico seems to have been refurbished in the late fifth

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[917] C. Roueché. ALA2004. IV.20. https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/sec-IV.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[918] For example, see Aphrodisias Excavations. "South Agora". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/southagora.html. [Accessed 18.09.2022]
[919] Wilson, Russel and Ward 2016: 78
[920] Wilson 2016: 107.
[921] Wilson 2016: 109.
[922] IAph2007 4.19.

or early sixth century, by the *lamprotatos* Albinos.[923] The intensity of the building work at the urban park

in the late antique period means it is not unreasonable to date much of the graffiti to this period, with

the religious iconography and acclamations found in these texts supporting the conclusion.

2.1.1.4. The Theatre

The Aphrodisian theatre was initially constructed in the Hellenistic era, but underwent renovations in

the Augustan period with the addition of a new stage with a three-storied *scaena*.[924] The seats of the

theatre could hold c. 7,000 individuals, and were renovated in the first century CE, meaning all the

graffiti found in the location most post-date this change. Sixth century frescos from the theatre stage

indicate that a Christian chapel was constructed in this space in this period, and thus may have

simultaneously functioned as a space for civic and religious performance.[925] The space must have fallen

out of use in the seventh century CE, when the *scaena* was subsumed into the construction of a new city

wall, and the entrance to the theatre was blocked.[926] The graffiti found at the site likely predates the

seventh century as a result.

2.1.1.5. The Odeon

The odeon was initially constructed as a bouleuterion, a city-council meeting space, with the current

structure built in c. 200 CE.[927] The building resembled the theatre, consisting of a stage-like structure

which supported the statues of civic dignitaries, and a seating area which could have held about 1,700

people.[928] The area was then converted into a *palaestra*, a space for athletic and theatrical

performances, in the fourth century CE, as is attested in the inscription by the civic official, Flavios

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[923] IAph2007. 4.21. 1.xv. An inscription reads: *αὔξι Ἀλβῖνος | ὁ κτίστης καὶ τούτου | τοῦ ἔργου*. 'Up with Albinos, the builder of this work also!'. Trans. C. Roueché.
[924] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Theatre". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/theatre.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[925] Bowes 2014: 93-114.
[926] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Theatre". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/theatre.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[927] Quatember 2019: 17.
[928] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Council-House". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/bouleuterion.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]

Ampelios, who funded the change.[929] The changes to the building included the addition of an orchestra

space.[930] Graffiti found on the seats of the odeon may well date to the late antique period, as several of

the graffiti found have similar content to that found in the theatre, suggesting it was inscribed during

the building's use as a performance space.[931] Graffiti written by performers found in recesses behind the

stage similarly can be dated to after the conversion of the site.

2.1.1.6. The Theatre Baths

The bathhouse adjoining the theatre was constructed in the second century.[932] In late antiquity, they

appear to have been repurposed as a commercial space (it is not clear whether the baths still

maintained leisure functions in this period) evidenced by *topos* inscriptions which indicate the presence

of vendors, and which can be dated to late antiquity due to their iconography.[933]

2.1.1.7. The Stadium

The Aphrodisian stadium has been dated architecturally to the second century CE, however as there are

no surviving inscriptions commemorating the construction of the building it is impossible to narrow this

further.[934] Unlike the other entertainment centres at Aphrodisias, the odeon and theatre, the Stadium is

not at the centre of the city, but is situated along the north edge.[935] The stadium appears not just to

have been used for athletic contests, but also beast fights and civic festivals.[936] The stadium was still in

use in at least the fifth century, c. 400 CE the east end of the structure was converted into an

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[929] IAph2007 2.9.
[930] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Council-House". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/bouleuterion.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[931] Graffiti found in both the theatre and the odeon invoke the circus factions. For example, TU124 in the odeon invoked the Blue faction. TU371 in the theatre invoked the Green faction.
[932] Aphrodisias Excavations. http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/theatrebaths.html [Accessed 27.08.2022]
[933] For example, TU307, a *topos* inscription which features the cross.
[934] Welch 1998: 554-556 and Aphrodisias Excavations 2019. "Stadium".
http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/stadium.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[935] Welch 1998: 556.
[936] Welch 1998: 557-561.

amphitheatre (Figure 4.5).[937] Although much of the graffiti and *topos* inscriptions from the stadium likely pre-dated the late antique period, due to their placement throughout the stadium, this is not certain. Some of the graffiti must have been late antique however – acclamations of the Blue and Green circus factions are found exclusively at the east end of the theatre – suggesting they were inscribed by supporters of these factions following the conversion by those watching a performance in the new ampitheatre.[938]

2.1.2. Ephesos

The city of Ephesos was severely damaged in 262 CE attack by the Ostrogoths, which led to the damage or ruination of many of the city's most famous pre-Christian monuments, including the Library of Celsus and the Temple of Artemis.[939] The city was substantially rebuilt in the third and fourth century however, and many of the extant streets and monuments were defined in this period. This also allows for the dating of informal inscriptions found along these streets, with reasonable judgement, to the late antique period.

The publication of the late antique graffiti from Ephesos is not as comprehensive or as accessible as that from Aphrodisias. Much of the data is published in *Die Inschriften Von Ephesos,* which only rarely includes images and dates. Roueché has published several articles on Ephesos which discuss the graffiti found in the "secular" spaces of the city, such as Curetes Street and the Ephesian theatre. The evidence which exists suggests a strong graffiti tradition at Ephesos, which may have initially rivalled that of Aphrodisias, with 150 texts reproduced in this catalogue. However, due to the disparate nature of publication, combined with differences in how texts are recorded between authors, ultimately it is not possible to collate as much data and reach as broad conclusions about the graffiti at this site.

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[937] Aphrodisias Excavations. "Stadium". http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/stadium.html. [Accessed 13.09.2022]
[938] Welch 1998: 568.
[939] Foss 1979: 3-4.

2.1.2.1. Church of St. John

The Church of St. John was located outside Ephesos proper, on Ayasolouk hill. The church was

constructed over the ruins of the Temple of Artemis.[940] According to tradition, the church was

constructed over the tomb of Saint John the apostle, also known as Saint John the Theologian (a title he

is given frequently in the graffiti of the church).[941] The extant church was constructed in the reign of

Justinian.[942] All the graffiti must therefore post-date this construction. After Ephesos was conquered by

the Ottomans in 1304, the church was converted into a mosque by in the early fourteenth century,

providing an end date for the Christian graffiti at the site.[943]

2.1.2.3. Church of Mary

The initial church of Mary was dedicated in the early fifth century CE, but like the Church of Saint John

underwent substantial renovation in the sixth century, when it was re-designed to include a dome.[944]

The church was an important cult site within the city, housing the 431 Council of Ephesos.[945] The church

was renovated again in the eighth century, and in the tenth or eleventh century received the addition of

a new *templon* screen.[946]

2.1.2.4. Grotto of Saint Paul

The Grotto of Saint Paul is the final cult site which has significant amounts of published graffiti. The cave

chapel is found outside the bounds of Ephesos proper, on the Bulbudag hill.[947] The cave chapel appears

to have been dedicated in the fourth century CE, with a wall painting of Paul and Thekla dated

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[940] Ladstätter 2017: 241-242.
[941] See Roueché 2002 for the Theatre, and Roueché 2007 for Curetes Street,
[942] Karydis 2016: 15-16.
[943] Foss 1979: 144-146.
[944] Ladstätter 2017: 241
[945] Ladstätter 2017: 243.
[946] Pallis 2017: 148-149.
[947] Pillinger 2000: 16.

stylistically to the fifth century. [948] This painting is where much of the graffiti in the cave is found. At an uncertain date, the depiction of Paul and Thekla was covered with new plaster and later whitewash, which protected the inscriptions below.[949]

2.1.2.5. Curetes Street

Known in Greek as the *Embolos*, Curetes Street was one of the major thoroughfares through late antique Ephesos, and played significant ceremonial roles.[950] Curetes Street was endowed with statuary of the imperial family in the late fourth century, and the street remained in active use into the sixth century, when the stoai of the street were repurposed into covered shops.[951]

2.1.2.6. Arkadian Street

Arkadian street is the second street in Ephesos which seems to have undergone extensive renovation in the late antique period. The street, previously known as the harbour road, was remodelled in the reign of Arcadius (c. 395-408 CE) which provides a *terminus post quem* for the graffiti found there.[952]

2.1.2.7. Theatre

Graffiti has been found behind the stage at Ephesos, depicting performers, which are datable to the fifth century by their attire.[953] There has been no systematic catalogue of the graffiti in the theatre at Ephesos, and therefore it is difficult to compare the traditions found at the Ephesian theatre to others I examine. To my knowledge, there has been no publication of graffiti found on the seats of the theatre.

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[948] Pillinger 2000: 19, 29; Yasin 2015: 46.
[949] Ohm Wright 2004: 229.
[950] I have opted to use the "street" title for Curetes Street and Arkadian Street, both of which are often known by other titles (the Embolos and Arcadiane respectively). This has been decided to maintain consistency with the other streets in Ephesos, which are more frequently given names by archaeologists, including Stadium Street and Marble Street.
[951] Ladstätter 2019: 21-33, 37.
[952] Foss 1979: 56.
[953] Roueché 2002: 275.

However, this does not mean that this graffiti does not exist, merely that it has not been recorded or published – and further study is needed to confirm this.

2.2.2.8. Harbour Baths

The Harbour Baths of Ephesos were in use in the late antique period, and they were remodelled in the reign of Constantius II.[954] They likely remained in use until the mid-fifth century, and thus the graffiti from the baths may date to this era.[955]

2.1.3. Sagalassos

Another ruinated city in Asia Minor which has yielded significant amounts of graffiti datable to late antiquity is Sagalassos. The city has been well preserved since antiquity, with the city's high altitude leading to only limited deterioration of material, and there has been a general lack of spoliation of the site.[956] In the reign of Diocletian, the city was incorporated into the new province Pisidia.[957] The city underwent a new era of building under the Theodosians, with the addition of a new city wall in the early fifth century and a series of churches constructed over the next century.[958] As the graffiti recorded in Sagalassos is found in the public squares of the city, however, this will be the primary focus of this introduction.

2.1.3.1. Public Squares and Agorai

The construction history of the public squares in Sagalassos allows us to reasonably date the graffiti found here to this period.

The upper agora was originally constructed in the Hellenistic period, however it remained in frequently use until at least the end of the sixth or early seventh century, when an earthquake damaged the area

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[954] Foss 1976:59.
[955] Ladstätter 2019: 23.
[956] Lavan 2008: 201.
[957] Poblome, Talloen and Kaptijn 2017: 302.
[958] Poblome, Talloen and Kaptijn 2017: 302-303.

and led to its abandonment.[959] Significant remodelling of the area occurred in the late fifth and sixth

centuries, with cellular shops constructed in the late fifth or early sixth century.[960] A monumental

staircase constructed in this era connected the upper agora to the Bouleuterion Church, and led to the

relaying of several paving stones in the north-west corner of the agora which had previously been

placed in the first century CE.[961] Concurrent with these alterations seems to have been modifications to

the square which allowed it to function as an open air market, holes were placed in the floor to allow for

market stalls to be added and it is with this period that the *topos* inscriptions found in the upper agora

were added.[962]

The lower agora underwent a similar process in the late antique period, allowing for the graffiti to be

plausibly dated to this era. The lower agora also saw the addition of a staircase in the early sixth century.

In this instance the staircase designed to connect the square to a colonnaded street which had its own

floor re-laid c. 500 CE.[963] Cellular shops were also constructed in the lower agora using spoliated

material throughout the sixth century.[964] Graffiti from the Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza features similar

content, and therefore can likely be dated to the same period.

Consequently, the remodelling of the squares in Sagalassos prior to the abandonment of the agorai in

the seventh century creates a reasonable period in which to place the graffiti written in these areas,

which is supported by the Christian content of many of the inscriptions.

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[959] Talloen 2021: 301, 313.
[960] Waelkens 2019: 21.
[961] Waelkens 2019: 20-21.
[962] Waelkens 2019: 21.
[963] Lavan 2008: 202.
[964] Waelkens 2019: 21.

2.2. Egypt

2.2.1 Alexandria

The late antique graffiti from Alexandria is located in the neighbourhood of Kom el-Dikka, near the centre of the historic city.[965] In the late fifth or early sixth century, an education complex and theatre were constructed in Kom el-Dikka, providing a *terminus post quem* for the texts found there.[966] An edition of this graffiti was produced by Zbigniew Borokowski in 1981, who has argued that the graffiti was written within a short time span, something supported by the repetition of several names within the texts.[967] Borokowski suggests that these texts were written in the early seventh century, during the uprising of Heraclius, and suggests that the antagonism towards opposing factions shown in the graffiti represents the two opposing candidates for emperor chosen by the factions in the civil war, with the Greens supporting Heraclius and the Blues supporting Phocas.[968] This conclusion hinges on one graffito which is particularly degrading of the Blue faction, it stated 'From head to toe the Blues fall…' which the editor suggests was too strong a message to be related to chariot-racing or athletic contests.[969] Borokowski's argument for this narrow dating is severely flawed however, and is likely the consequence of the relatively early date this work was published, as Borokowski did not have enough comparative material to examine. As can be seen in the publications of Roueché on the graffiti from the theatre at Aphrodisias, antagonistic and insulting graffiti was commonly found in entertainment spaces in the eastern Mediterranean, and one graffito from Alexandria which reads 'Bad year to Lachanas' is directly paralleled in a graffito from Aphrodisias, reading 'Bad year for the Greens!'.[970] The Aphrodisian theatre ceased to have an entertainment function in the sixth or seventh century, and therefore antagonistic

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[965] Majcherek 2010: 471.
[966] Majcherek 2010: 471.
[967] Borokowski 1981: 75. For example, the names Kalytuchos and Doros appear in EG30; EG26; EG27; EG28 and EG32.
[968] Borokowski 1981: 84-86.
[969] Borokowski 1981: 84. For this inscription, see: EG32. Ἀπο κόρυ|φῆς ὡς ὁ||νύχων | ἔπεσεν | τὸ Βένετο.
[970] EG34. κακὰ τὰ ἔτη || τοῦ Λαχανᾶ; TU390. Κακὰ τὰ̣ ἔτη | τῶν Πρασίνων

texts from the building certainly cannot be associated with the uprising of Heraclius.[971] Rather, it seems

that the graffiti found at Alexandria is representative of a generally hostile relationship between the two

major circus factions in the late antique period, rather than any particular conflict. In the early or mid-

seventh century, the dome of the theatre collapsed, and thus the early seventh century represents the

final possible dating for the graffiti from the theatre. Ultimately, it seems most appropriate to ascribe

the creation of the graffiti in Alexandria to between the late fifth and early seventh centuries.[972]

2.2.2. Antinoopolis

Antinoopolis was founded c. 130 CE by the Emperor Hadrian.[973] However, the late antique graffiti

recorded at the site is found at two churches, the Episcopal Basilica and the Church with Ionic Columns,

which likely also functioned as a martyrium of the local saint Kollouthos.[974] Both of these churches were

constructed in the late fifth or sixth century.[975] As a consequence, Delattre dates the graffiti in the

church to the sixth century at the earliest, and the eighth century at the latest, although a reason for this

latter date is not given.[976] Although the city surrendered to Arab forces in the mid eighth century,

pottery shards found in the Church with Ionic columns indicate it was in use until at least the ninth

century.[977]

2.2.3. Deir el-Bahri

Deir el-Bahri is located on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes.[978] In the fifteenth century BCE,

the Pharaoh Hatshepsut constructed a temple dedicated to the god Amun at the site.[979] After a period of

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[971] For the dating of the Aphrodisian theatre see Appendix. 2.1.1.4.
[972] Kiss 2007: 203.
[973] Grossmann 2017: 70.
[974] Grossmann 2017: 70-71.
[975] Grossmann 2017: 70-71.
[976] Delattre 2017: 493.
[977] Grossmann 2017: 70; Grossmann 2011: 85.
[978] Łajtar 2006: 3.
[979] Łajtar 2006: 5-6.

abandonment, the temple was renovated in the Ptolemaic era, and appears to have become associated with the cults of the gods Amenhotep and Imhotep.[980] Pilgrims to the temple in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman era frequently left graffiti on the walls of the site indicating they had come to worship the gods.[981] Dated inscriptions from the temple abruptly stop in 162 CE, and the temple appears to have been abandoned between the late second century and the late third century, when dated inscriptions resume.[982] Several of the late antique graffiti at the site is easier to identify than others in the Mediterranean due to the dates written in the text, with the fist dated inscription after 162 CE coming in 283 CE.[983] This inscription is also the earliest which refers to the corporation of the Ironworkers, who visited the site on pilgrimage.[984] The inscriptions of the ironworkers date to between 283 CE and 333/334 CE, and thus represent a relatively short period of dated religious worship at the site, although Adam Łajtar suggests that the ironworkers were merely making use of the abandoned temple, rather than suggesting the temple was formally reopened.[985] Łajtar suggests that the workers travelled to Deir el-Bahri to celebrate the Choiak-Nechebkau festival. Łajtar's reasoning is twofold, firstly the ironworkers' graffiti is dated to the first or second day of the month Tybi, whilst the Choiak-Nechebkau would be celebrated in the final days of the preceding month of Choiak.[986] Secondly, the inscriptions mention sacrificing a donkey, which is also mentioned as being the sacrifice of choice for this festival in inscriptions from Karnak and Edfu.[987] Therefore, the graffiti of the ironworkers represents concrete evidence of pagan worship at the temple in the late antique period. Following the mid-fourth century the temple appears to have been largely abandoned again.[988] A monastery was established in the upper

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[980] Łajtar 2006: 31-37.
[981] Łajtar 2006: 37-38.
[982] Łajtar 2006: 37, 101.
[983] Łajtar 2006: no. 161.
[984] Łajtar 2006: no. 161.
[985] Łajtar 2006: no. 161; 102.
[986] Łajtar 2006: 98-99.
[987] Łajtar 2006: 99.
[988] Łajtar 2006: 102-103.

terrace of the temple from the sixth century to the eighth century, before once against being abandoned. The non-dated graffiti from this temple can therefore probably be dated to between the fourth and eighth century.

2.2.4. Wadi Haggag

The desert landscape of Wadi Haggag was a place of rest for pilgrims and travellers in the Sinai for centuries, which is reflected in a collection of diverse linguistic graffiti. Nabataean graffiti might represent the expression of either local inhabitants or Nabataean traders in the region until the second century CE.[989] Avraham Negev dates the Greek graffiti to late antiquity, during the period of Christian pilgrimage to Sinai.[990] The presence of Christian imagery such as the cross, and invocations to the Christian God in many of the inscriptions support this assertion. Negev suggests slightly different chronologies for the Christian inscriptions however. He suggests the majority of the Greek-Christian inscriptions were written in the fifth century or later, but distinguishes the northernmost rock in the Wadi, labelled "Rock Five" by Negev, as having graffiti dating from the early fourth century.[991] Negev's argument for these different dates are unconvincing, and hinge on the dating of one inscription from the rock face. This inscription lists the indiction year, and therefore must date to the reign of Diocletian or later.[992] However, the indiction was used as a means of recorded the date throughout the late antique period, and so it does not follow that the graffiti on the rock must unequivocally be dated to the fourth century, nor that all graffiti on "Rock Five" is earlier than other Greek-Christian texts at the site. Christian pilgrimage to the Sinai is well attested from the fourth century onwards, as is highlighted in the account of Egeria which begins with her description of her visit to the Sinai.[993] We can therefore assume a date of the fourth century as the earliest for the majority of the Greek-Christian graffiti at Wadi Haggag. A

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[989] Negev 1977: 73-74.
[990] Negev 1977: 76.
[991] Negev 1977: 76.
[992] EG 405.
[993] Egeria. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*. 1-10.

terminus ante quem is a little harder to ascertain. Armenian and Arabic graffiti found at Wadi Haggag

attest to pilgrimage and travel in the area beyond the seventh century, Michael Stone dates the

Armenian graffiti from the ninth to the fifteenth century CE, for example.[994] Notably, whilst the

Armenian graffiti frequently mentions Saint Catherine, and none of the Greek graffiti does, it would be

tempting to suggest that the Greek texts predate the construction of Saint Catherine's monastery by

Justinian in the mid-sixth century.[995] This cannot be said with any certainty however, and there is no

particular reason to believe that pilgrims would have invoked the saint before they reached their

destination, and as only one Greek text invoked a saint, it may simply be that the Greek speaking

pilgrims would rather dedicate their prayers to God or Christ than an intermediary.[996] Consequently, a

broad dating of the fourth century or later must be accepted for the graffiti of Wadi Haggag.

2.3. Greece

2.3.1. Athens

Although Athens is most famous for its classical heritage, the city was continuously occupied through

the late antique period. Sixty percent of the graffiti from Athens in the catalogue of this thesis originates

in the Athenian agora, although unlike the publications on Ephesos and Aphrodisias this data has not

been published in any epigraphic volumes, but rather collected from several different authors who have

referenced graffiti in articles and book chapters.[997] The Athenian agora experienced continual use in the

late antique period, as is evidenced by the presence of a late fourth century dedication inscription for an

altar which indicates the continued presence of pagan religious worship in the public space of the city.[998]

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[994] Stone 1981: 8-11.
[995] For Justinian's construction at Sinai, see: Prokopios *Buildings* 5.8.
[996] For this text, see EG264: Ἅγιε Στέφ(ανε) | φυλάξον [τὸν] | δοῦλόν σου Θε|όφιλον. 'Saint Stephen guard your servant Theophilos'.
[997] Hoff 2006: 176-182; Orlandos 1964: 6-59; Schädler 1995: 73-99 and Grigoropoulos 2016: 239-268. A short book *Graffiti in the Athenian Agora* was published by Mabel Lang in 1988, however this volume focuses almost entirely on graffiti written on pottery and as such is not relevant to this thesis.
[998] IG II/III² 13253. http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%20II_III%C2%B2%2013253. [Accessed 16.08.2022]. Frantz 1988: 19.

Athens has been characterised as a pagan holdout against a wave of Christianisation in the fourth and fifth centuries.[999] It is certainly the case that Athens did continue to have a prominent pagan population in this period, as is highlighted by the dedication of the previously mentioned altar, and the continuation of the pagan Panathenaic festival into the later fourth or fifth century.[1000] The view that Athens was a pagan city has complicated study of late antique graffiti in the city however. As established in the introduction to this thesis, one of the most common ways of dating a graffito to the late antique period is a Christian content, and it is uncommon for a Christian graffito in Athens to be dated prior to the sixth century as a consequence.[1001] This thesis thus includes those Christian graffiti of questionable date, and although they are ascribed to the sixth century onwards by the original editor, an earlier date cannot be precluded. Additionally, this thesis includes graffiti from the Tower of the Winds, a building attached to the agora. The Tower graffiti features three different gameboards of uncertain date, although the Tower was constructed in the first century BCE, the games are each well-attested in the Roman era.[1002] As each game has direct parallels to gameboards found which are securely dated to the late antique period at Ephesos, Aphrodisias and Sagalassos, and it is certain the Athenian agora was used in the late antique period, these gameboards have been included in the thesis, however the exact time of their inscription remains uncertain, and they may very well have been inscribed outside the timespan examined in this thesis.

Four additional graffiti featured in this thesis catalogue can be dated to the late antique period. Three of these graffiti are figurative representations of ships from a cistern located near Piraeus, and can be

[999] Frantz 1988: 19-20.
[1000] Frantz 1988: 19-20.
[1001] Orlandos 1964: 58; Hoff 2006: 176-179.
[1002] Schädler 1995: 74-81.

dated due to renovations which occurred in this area in the fourth century.[1003] The final inscription

found in Kerameikos is datable due to its context and the gravestone upon which it is written.[1004]

This thesis has not included the Christian graffiti from the Parthenon. Several of the Parthenon graffiti

are accompanied by dates, and although the earliest graffito from the Parthenon is dated to 693 CE

which does fall within the time period examined in this thesis, the majority can be dated to between the

eighth and twelfth centuries.[1005] These texts are representative of a middle Byzantine inscriptional

tradition which deserves to be studied in its own right, and thus these texts have not been examined

here.

2.3.2. Grammata Bay, Syros

Grammata Bay is a natural harbour located on the island of Syros in the Cyclades.[1006] The harbour acted

as a stopping place for ships both prior to and during the late antique period, with the earliest graffiti at

the site dating to the Hellenistic period, and continuing into the Roman era.[1007] Of the c. 200 graffiti

which have been recorded at the bay, around eighty-nine are identifiably Christian, through their use of

common Christian formulae or Christian symbolism. The majority of these texts are grouped together on

two walls at the bay, labelled Wall A and Wall B by Georges Kiourtzian, who published an edition of the

texts in 2000.[1008] Wall B was a former marble quarry, which was abandoned before the addition of these

graffiti.[1009] Kiourtzian's edition focused on the publication of the Christian data, and these are also the

only graffiti at the site securely datable to the late antique period of later due to their content. Two texts

do provide a date of inscription, but they list only the month and not the year the graffito was

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[1003] Grigoropoulos 2016: 260-261.
[1004] ICG 1945. Ed. U. Huttner. In the catalogue, this text is listed as GR1.
[1005] Xenaki 2016: 236.
[1006] Kiourtzian 2000: 137.
[1007] Kiourtzian 2000: 138; Nowakowski 2021: 111.
[1008] Kiourtzian 2000: 138.
[1009] Kiourtzian 2000: 138.

inscribed.[1010] Kiourtzian generally dates the graffiti to the fifth to seventh centuries; in particular before

649 CE at which time he claims conflict with the Arab fleet would have led to a decline in shipping, and

therefore would have precluded the presence of large numbers of sailors on the island.[1011]

Nevertheless, the content of some of the inscriptions points to perhaps a middle Byzantine date. One

inscription references the middle Byzantine naval office *kentarchos*, which is otherwise not attested

before the ninth century CE (and Kiourtzian suggests this graffito remains late antique, and is the earliest

reference to the title).[1012] Whilst the *kentarchos* graffito may still be late antique, a middle Byzantine

date cannot be precluded. Nevertheless, unless we assume a complete break with the Hellenistic and

Roman graffiti traditions at the site, many of the texts must have been written in the late antique period

as previously pagan sailors converted to Christianity and continued to inscribe graffiti whilst their ships

resupplied. Ultimately, the graffiti from Grammata Bay can probably be dated to the fifth century

onwards, with the majority of the texts predating the presence of the Arab fleet, with some texts

written during or after this period.

2.4 The Levant

2.4.1. Jerusalem

Compared to the ruinated cities of Asia Minor, relatively little graffiti has survived from late antique

Jerusalem. As the city has been continually occupied since the late antique period many of the

monumental buildings in which me might expect to see graffiti preserved have been remodelled since

their original construction. The major site with graffiti datable to late antiquity which is discussed in this

thesis is the Cave of the Sisters of Mercy, which appears to have functioned as a Christian cult site in the

late antique period, although the exact function of the site is unknown. The cave is located just outside

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[1010] For graffiti from Syros listing the date, see: GR107 and GR82.
[1011] Kiourtzian 2000: 138-141; Nowakowski 2021: 121.
[1012] Kiourtzian 2000: 197. No. 133.

Jerusalem proper in Bethany, and gains its name from the Franciscan Convent "The Sisters of Mercy", in whose grounds it was discovered.[1013] The cave appears to have been in use in the fourth through sixth century, due to pottery finds from this period found within the cave, with some dipinti placed on a layer of whitewash possibly being dated later.[1014] The cave's use as a Christian site is evidenced not only by the religious nature of the graffiti in the cave, but also the addition of a painted altar and Christian imagery, possibly in the early Islamic period, when Joan Taylor asserts that it may not have been safe or practical to maintain a Christian altar at the site.[1015] The cave has been associated with the Cult of Mary, Martha and Lazarus on account of a long *dipinto* of questionable formality which references Lazarus, but this is highly speculative. As the cave is not referenced in any literature, and there is little graffiti following the addition of whitewash to the walls, it is reasonable to assume the cave was abandoned in the early Islamic period, possibly the eighth century.

2.4.2. Horvat Qasra

The graffiti at Horvat Qasra has been found in a cave chapel. The cave functioned as a tomb in the first-second century CE.[1016] The cave was adapted into a chapel at some time in the next few centuries, Amos Kloner initially ascribed this transformation to the seventh to eighth centuries, however this date was challenged by Walter Ameling and Dieter Knibbe, who suggest a date in the fifth or sixth centuries on the grounds of the palaeography of the graffiti in the cave.[1017] One inscription from within the cave identifies it as the 'Chapel of Saint Salome', and it is assumed it is to this figure the chapel was dedicated.[1018] Di Segni and Joseph Patrich suggest that this Saint Salome was the midwife of Christ featured in the *Protoevangelium of James*, and that fifth century Christians who found the burial cave

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[1013] Di Segni 2012: 160-163.
[1014] Di Segni 2012: 162.
[1015] Taylor 1990: 463.
[1016] Ameling and Knibbe 2018: 1265.
[1017] Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: 129; Ameling and Knibbe 2018: 1265-1266.
[1018] IP18. ἱερὸν τῖς | ἀγία Σαλώμη.

associated the grave of a woman named Salome with this figure.[1019] Arabic graffiti found in the cave also

invokes Saint Salome, and thus attests to the continued use of the cult site following the Arab conquest

of the region in the seventh century.[1020] The cave appears to have been abandoned around the eleventh

century.[1021]

2.4.3. Segioupolis-Resafa

The graffiti found at Sergiupolis-Resafa are located in Basilica A, in the south-east corner of the city. The

basilica was constructed c. 559 CE, when the relics of Saint Sergios were transported to the new church,

as is attested by a dedicatory inscription recording this transfer.[1022] The graffiti found in the basilica can

likely be associated with the cult of Saint Sergios, and Sergios himself is invoked in six informal

inscriptions from the church.[1023] The city and was abandoned in the mid thirteenth century, and this

provides a *terminus ante quem* for the graffiti at the site.[1024]

[1019] Di Segni and Patrich 1990: 33-34.
[1020] Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: 137-138.; Di Segni and Patrich 1990: 31.
[1021] Ameling and Knibbe 2018: 1265-1266.
[1022] Ulbert 1986: 147. For the inscription, see: CSLA E01440. Ed. P. Nowakowski.
[1023] For graffiti invoking Saint Sergios, see: SY24; SY27; SY29; SY37; SY52 and SY61.
[1024] Ulbert 1986: 153; Al-Khabour 2016: 381.

The Catalogue

Turkey

Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text.	Translation	Reference.
TU1	Aizanoi	Stoa. North-east end. On column.	Christian period.	*	ὠμὸς | Σισίννις κοῖρος	Cruel Lord Sisinnis	SEG 45 1715
TU2	Aizanoi	Stoa. North-east end. Western most column.	Undated.	*	[..]λιανὸς ζήσὶ	… live.	SEG 45 1716
TU3	Aizanoi	Column.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a man with a ball.]	*	*	Lavan 2012a: 59-61.
TU4	Aphrodisias	Acropolis. Reused seating block from theatre.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑ·ΤΥ·[·] | ΚΥΡΙΕ··[······] | ΜΑ·[- - -]	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχ[η] | Κύριε μν[?ήσθητι] | ΜΑΥ[·· ? ··]	The fortune triumphs! Lord, remember…	IAph2007 8.78
TU5	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	ΚΕΒΟΙΘΗ···Α·Ο·ΛΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΟΛΩΝ †	Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθη ΚΑΤΑΚΟΥΛΩΝ ἁμαρτολών †	Lord, help… sinner.	IAph2007 2.402 i
TU6	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	ΚΕΒΟΙΘΗΣΟΝ	ν. Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθησον ν.	Lord, help.	IAph2007 2.402 ii
TU7	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	ΒΑ | ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ	ΒΑ | Θεοφάνης	Theophanes	IAph2007 2.402iii
TU8	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	[Monogram] †† ΡΩΜΝ	†Ρωμ(α)ν(ός).	Romanos	IAph2007 2.402iv
TU9	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	ΦΗΛΙΠΠΟΣ	Φήλιππος .	Philippos	IAph2007 2.402v

TU10	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	ΙΣ ((cross)) ΧΣ | ΝΙ ((cross)) ΚΑ	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ((cross)) Χ(ριστὸ)ς | νη ((cross)) κ᾵	Jesus Christ triumphs!	IAph2007 2.402vi
TU11	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Carved on a blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	[Several illegible graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.403
TU12	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Central peristyle court. Carved on paving slab.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Well-cut design. Type CCCC.1. Four leaves decorate the exterior of the design.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.401 ii
TU13	Aphrodisias	"Bishop's palace". Corridor leading to Odeon. Carved on floor.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4]	*	*	IAph2007 2.401 i
*TU14	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	ΓΑΙΟΡΓ·ΟΣ † | †† ΓΕΟΡΓΗΙΟΥΚΕ † ΒΩ | ΓΕΟΡ	Γαιόργηος † | †† Γεοργηίου Κ(ύρι)ε † βω(ήθι). | Γεορ v.	Gaiorgios son of Georgios. Lord, help. Georgios…	IAph2007 1.33ii
*TU15	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	ΙΩ | ΜΡ[·]ΥΜΙΧΤΠΑ··ΑΚ ΩΤ··· | ΜΗΧΑΗΛ	Ἰω(αννης) | μ(ήτη)ρ [θ](εο)ῦ Μιχ(αὴλ) τ(οῦ) Παλμα Κω(νσταντῖνος) τ(οῦ) ΒΤΗ | Μηχαήλ	Ioannes, mother of God, Michael son of Palmas, Konstantinos… Michael	IAph2007 1.33iii
*TU16	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	[··]ΚΗΦ | [- - -]ΜΙΧΥΠΔΤ ΜΙΧΠΑΤ[- - -] | vacat | ΒΑΔ·ΝΜΙΧ	[Νι]κηφ(όρος) | [·· ? ··] Μιχ(αὴλ) ὑπ(ο)δ(ιάκονος) τ(οῦ) υ.	Nikephoros. Michael the Subdeacon, son of	IAph2007 1.34i

					Μιχ(αὴλ) ΠΑΤ [·· ? ··] | *vacat* | ΒΑΔͅΝ Μιχ(αήλ)	Michael… Michael.	
*TU17	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	† ΙΩΤΟ··[- - -] | (*lower down)* | ΚΩΤ | (*at lower edge)* | ΜΙΧ[- - -] | † ΚΩΤΑΠΩΠΛΩ[- - -]	† Ἰω(άννης) ΤΟΥΟ̣ [·· ? ··] | (*lower down)* | Κω(νσ)τ(αντῖνο ς) | (At lower edge) | Μιχ(αήλ) [·· ? ··] |† Κω(νσ)τ(αντῖνο ς) ΑΠΩ̄ ΠΛΩ[·· ? ··]	Ioannes… Konstantinos… Michael… Konstantinos.	IAph2007 1.34ii
*TU18	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	[- - -]··· ((*scroll*)) | ΠΙΣΤ[- - -] | (*lower down)* | ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣΟΓΡ ΑΨ[·· - - -] | [- - -]··Ω ‖ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ···ΤΔΧΡ	[·· ? ··]Ι̣Ι̣Ι *scroll* | ΠΙΣΤ[·· ? ··] | (*lower down)* | Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ γράψ[ας ·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··]Ι̣ΙΩ ‖ Μιχαὴλ Υ̣Ι̣Λ τ(ὸν) δ(οῦ)(λον) Χρ(ιστοῦ)	Konstantinos the writer… Michael… servant of Christ…	IAph2007 1.34iii
*TU19	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels.	5th-13th century CE.	[- - -]Τ[- - -] | ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΣΤ····[- - -]	[·· ? ··] τ(οῦ) [·· ? ··] | Θεοφύλακτος τ(οῦ) Ρ̣Γ̣Λ̣Χ [·· ? ··]	…Theophylakto s…	IAph2007 1.33i
*TU20	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium.	5th-13th century CE.	† ΜΗΧΑΗΛΔΟΥ|ΛΟΣΤ Η †	† Μηχαὴλ δοῦ|λος ΤΗ †	Michael, servant…	IAph2007 1.23

*TU21	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. Column laying loose on ground.	5th-13th century CE.	MHXAH	Μηχαή(λ).	Michael.	IAph2007 1.28
*TU22	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the north door post. South face of door post.	5th-13th century CE.	[Monogram. Letters include ΠΕΤΡΟ]	[Monogram] Πέτρο(ς).	Petros.	IAph2007 1.22i
*TU23	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the north door post. South face of door post.	5th-13th century CE.	ΑΝΑΛΗΨΗΣΤΚΥ	ἀνάληψης τ(οῦ) Κ(υρίο)υ.	Ascension of the Lord.	IAph2007 1.22ii
*TU24	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the north door post. South face of door post.	5th-13th century CE.	† ΚΕΒΟΙΘΙΤΟ͂ΣΟ͂ΔΛΟΡΟ··Ι·····Υ·[·]Ν·	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθι τõ σõ δ(ού)λο ΡΟΔΝΙ ἸΙΡΝΟΥΡ[·]ΝΣ	Lord, help your servant…	IAph2007 1.22iii
*TU25	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the south door post.	5th-13th century CE.	ΘΕΟΦΛ | ΚΕΒΩΙΘΙΤΟ͂ΣΟ͂ΔΛΟ | ΜΑΛΑΡΗ †	Θεοφ(ί)λ(ω) | Κ(ύρι)ε βωΐθι τõ σõ δ(ού)λο | μα(κε)λαρή(ω) †	Lord, help your servant Theophilos, butcher.	IAph2007 1.21i
*TU26	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the south door post.	5th-13th century CE.	ΚΟΝΣΤ·[··]ΙΝΟΣΔΗΑΚΩΝ	Κονστα[ντ]ῖνος δηάκων	Konstantinos, deacon.	IAph2007 1.21ii
*TU27	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium. West door. Inscribed on the south door post.	5th-13th century CE.	[- - -]Π·Ν | [- - -] Η···Ο·	[·· ? ··]ΠΑΝ | [·· ? ··] v.. ΗΣΥΜΟΙ	*	IAph2007 1.21iii
*TU28	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Atrium.	5th-13th century CE.	Μ | [·]ΟΣ | † |Τ	Μ | [·]ΟΣ | † |Τ	*	IAph2007 1.21iv

		West door. Inscribed on the south door post.					
*TU29	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-13th century CE.	ΣΤΕ|Φ|Α|Ν	Στέ|φ|ά|ν(ος).	Stephanos.	IAph2007 1.25i
*TU30	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Blue marble column. Laying loose on ground.	5th-13th century CE.	† ΛΕΩΝ †	† Λέων †	Leon.	IAph2007 1.25ii
*TU31	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Exterior. South wall. East end.	5th-6th century or later..	ΛΕΟΝ | ΒΟΗΘΗΤ	Λέον | βοήθη Τ *v.*	Leon, help.	IAph2007 1.19ii.
*TU32	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Inscribed near apse.	5th-13th century CE.	[- - -]Ν··ΚΙΤ·Ε'ΠΡ'····	[·· ? ··]ΝΙ̣Ρ̣ΚΙΤΥΕΠΡ̣Ι̣ ΛΙ̣Λ	Niketas, priest *or* Victory to the Greens	IAph2007 1.194
*TU33	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. North aisle. East end.	5th-13th century CE.	ΓΕΩΡΓ·ΟΣ | ΓΗΟΡΓΗΣ ΡΣΚ | ··ΛΕΟΝ···ΟΜ | [- - -]ΟΣ[- - -]	Γεώργηος | Γηόργης υ. ΡΣΚ | Ι̣Ι Λέον Ι̣Ι δομ(εστικός) | [·· ? ··]ΟΣ[·· ? ··]	Georgios, Gergios... Leon, *domestikos*	IAph2007 1.32
*TU34	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. North aisle. Fourth column from west.	5th-13th century CE.	ΑΓΙΟΣ	Ἅγιος	Holy *or* Saint...	IAph2007 1.31
*TU35	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. North aisle. Second column from east.	5th-13th century CE.	ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ	Γεώργιος *v.*	Georgios.	IAph2007 1.36
*TU36	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. North aisle. Second column from west.	5th-13th century CE.	ΛΕΩΚΕ·ΟΕ	Λέω(ν). Κ(ύρι)ε βοε *v.*	Leon, Lord help.	IAph2007 1.29

*TU37	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. North aisle. Third column from west.	5th-13th century CE.	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ	Ὀνήσιμος.	Onesimos.	IAph2007 1.30
*TU38	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. South aisle. Fourth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a nude man with a phallus and palm branch, likely representing an athlete. The man is standing beside a building.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.20.
*TU39	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. South aisle. Third column from the east. South face.	1st-10th century CE.	ΛΑ··ΒΟΙΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΟΙ	ΛΑ̣Ι̣Β οἱ οἰκοδόμοι.	… the builders.	IAph2007 1.3i
*TU40	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. South aisle. Third column from the east. South face.	1st-10th century CE.	Ε[··]ΜΕΛ	ἐ[πι]μελ(ηθέντος)	Under the supervision of…?	IAph2007 1.3ii
*TU41	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos, east wall. Marble door jamb from right side of door.	Undated.	††† ΤΟΠΟΣ | ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ | ΒΡΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ	††† | τόπος | Κυριακοῦ | βρακαρίου.	Place of Kyriakos, trouser-maker.	IAph2007 1.301b
*TU42	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. East end, south side. Carved on marble column.	5th-6th century CE.	† [?τόπος] | Τρύφωνος | ἀρχιδεκά|νου † . ‖ [·· ? ··] †† | [·· ? ··]Ρ̣[·]Ι̣? | [·· ? ··]Τ̣ΩΟ[··] | [·· ? ··]Ν †	† [?τόπος] | Τρύφωνος | ἀρχιδεκά|νου †. ‖ [·· ? ··] ††| [·· ? ··]Ρ̣[·]Ι̣? | [·· ? ··]Τ̣ΩΟ[··] | [·· ? ··]Ν †	Place of Tryphonos, archdeacon…?	IAph2007 1.35.
*TU43	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. East end, south side.	Undated.	† ΧΜΓ | ΤΟΠΟΣΛΟΥ | ΚΑΦΙΛΟ|ΠΟΝΟΥ	†ΧΜΓ | τόπος Λου|κᾶ φιλο|πόνου	Mary bore Christ. Place of	IAph2007 1.11.

		Carved on marble column.				Loukas, Philoponos.	
*TU44	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. Steps to the south colonnade. Inscribed on the top step. East end.	4th-13th Century CE.	ΝΗΚΗΤΑΣ	Νηκήτας	Niketas.	IAph2007 1.10i
*TU45	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. Steps to the south colonnade. Inscribed on the top step. East end.	4th-13th Century CE or later.	ΜΗΧΑΗΛ	Μηχαήλ	Michael.	IAph2007 1.10ii
*TU46	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. Steps to the south colonnade. Inscribed on the top step. East end.	4th-13th Century CE or later.	ΖΕΡΚΝΗΣ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ	Ζερκ(ού)νης | Μιχαήλ	Zerkounes.	IAph2007 1.10iii
*TU47	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. Steps to the south colonnade. Inscribed on the top step. East end.	4th-13th Century CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 1.10.
*TU48	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Temenos. Steps to the south colonnade. Inscribed on the top step. East end.	4th-13th Century CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type SS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 1.10.
*TU49	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. Wall between narthex and main church. Inscribed on the west face.	5th-13th century CE.	† |ΦΙΛΙ[·]ΟΣ	† | Φίλι[π]ος.	Philipos.	IAph2007 1.26

*TU50	Aphrodisias	Church of the Archangels. White marble architrave block. Lying loose on ground.	5th-13th century CE.	† | vacat |ΣΤΕΦΑ[··]ΣΥΠΟ	† | *vacat* | Στέφα[νο]ς ὑπο(διάκονος.)	Stephanos, subdeacon.	IAph2007 1.24
TU51	Aphrodisias	City walls. East section.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.19.
TU52	Aphrodisias	City walls. North-west gate. Passage. South wall.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.18.
TU53	Aphrodisias	City walls. North-west gate. Written on block inside gate.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Graffiti of three pairs of gladiators.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.17.
TU54	Aphrodisias	City walls. Written to the west of tower 21.	Undated.	[Circular graffito with a mark in the middle. May represent a map of the city with the theatre hill marked in the centre.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 81.
TU55	Aphrodisias	City walls. Written to the west of tower 21.	Undated.	ΟΡΘΟΝ	ὀρθόν	*	Chaniotis 2018: 81.
TU56	Aphrodisias	East of theatre. Reused marble block. Originally from a doorframe.	late 4th-7th century CE.	[Figurative gaffito of a menorah.] ·· ···ΤΩΟΙΚΩ | ΤΟΥΤΩ | [·]Ν·Ι | [·· ? ··	·Υ v. ΩΡΑ τῷ οἴκῳ | τούτῳ | [·]ΝΔΙ | [·· ? ··	… this house…	IAph2007 8.267
TU57	Aphrodisias	East walls of city. Written on north part of the walls.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.5.] ΣΑΜΑΤΙΣ	σαματισ	*	IAph2007 12.208
TU58	Aphrodisias	East walls of city. Written on south part of the walls.	2nd10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 12.315

TU59	Aphrodisias	East walls of city. Written on south part of the walls. Currently in museum garden.	1st-4th century CE.	ΜΗΝ | ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ[···]·· | ΔΙΟΓΕΝ·[··] ‖ [···]·····	ΜΗΝ *vac.* | Διογένης[···] ης | Διογένο[υς] | *vac.* ‖ *vac.* | [···]μσνης	… Diogenes son of Diogenes….	IAph2007 12.310
TU60	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. Caldarium. Originally a marble revetment, reused in paving.	2nd-10th century CE.	† † | [[[········]]] | [[[·········]]] | † ΤΟΠΟΣΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ † ‖ ΚΑΝΨΑΡΙΟΥ leaf | †	† *v.* † | [·· c. 8 ··] | [·· c. 10 ··] | † τόπος Ἐπικτήτου † ‖ κανψαρίου (*leaf)* | †	Place of Epiktetos, cloakroom-attendant.	IAph2007 5.11
TU61	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. East court. East side. Fragment of marble capital, carved during re-use.	6th century CE or later.	ΣΥΝΟΔΙΟΥΤΟΠΟ[·]	Συνοδίου τόπο[ς]	Place of Synodios.	IAph2007 5.12 ii
TU62	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North atrium. Written on the east side of the cistern.	4th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito of a fountain.] ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ	*	Patrikios.	Chaniotis 2018: 83.
TU63	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North court. Central pacing slabs. North side, second slab from east.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard or design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 5.1 iv
TU64	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North court. Central paving slabs. North side, first slab from east.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Invocation carved over Design. Design type C.2.]	*	The fortune is Our(ania)	IAph2007 5.1 iii
TU65	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North court. Central paving slabs. North side, third slab from east.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard or design. Type C.7.]	*	*	IAph2007 5.1 v
TU66	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North court. Central paving	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. A variation on type 3Rows.11. A circle	*	*	IAph2007 5.1 i

		slabs. South side, second slab from east.		with a cross appears in the dividing line, and two crosses appear on the edge of the board. A possible third cross has been damaged.]			
TU67	Aphrodisias	Hadrianic Baths. North court. Central paving slabs. South side, third slab from east.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard or Design. A variation on type CC.7. The "Wheel" has only four spokes,and no central circle.]	*	*	IAph2007 5.1 ii
TU68	Aphrodisias	North of museum. Written on statue base.	5th-6th Century CE or later.	† ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣΑ	† Γεώργιος Α.	Georgios.	IAph2007 11.67
TU69	Aphrodisias	North walls of city. Written on north wall of the stadium.	1st-3rd century CE.	ΥΨΙΚΛΗ	Ὑψικλῆ(ς).	Hypsikles.	IAph2007 12.9
TU70	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΔΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.9i
TU71	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΥ	*	*	IAph2007 2.9ii
TU72	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΠΑΛ	*	*	IAph2007 2.9iii
TU73	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[·]ΔΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.9 iv
TU74	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[···]ΜΑ ΑΝ[···]	[···]ΜΑ v. ΑΝ[···]	*	IAph2007 2.9 v
TU75	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Carved on loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΛ[···]	*	*	IAph2007 2.9 vi

TU76	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	ΚΑΡ[·]ΙΔΙΑΝΟΣΚΑΙ·Ν |ΠΑΘΗΚΟΣ ΚΥΔΙΑΣ [·]	Καρ[μ]ιδιανός ΚΑΙΩΝ | παθηκός *vac.* ΚΥΔΙΑΣ[·]	Karmidianos is… penetrated…	IAph2007 2.3i
TU77	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of three figures in radiate crowns with halos. Two of the figures are enthroned. One holds an orb, another a globus cruciger. The third figure wears a toga. On figure is damaged by scratches.] ΚΑΡΜ·Λ·ΑΙΝΟΣ	Καρμιλιαινός	Karmilianos	IAph2007 2.3ii
TU78	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of an organ.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3iii
TU79	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a seated man from the rear. Nude execpt for a cloak over one shoulder.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3iv
TU80	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	··ΚΑΗΤΥ|ΧΗΤΗΣΠΟ ΚΤΟΥ | ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΣ	Ν̣ικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη τῆς πό(λεως) κ(αὶ) τοῦ | γράψαντος	The fortune of the city and of the writer, triumphs!	IAph2007 2.3iv

TU81	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito on an organ on a vertical support. The support has been carefully hatched.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3v
TU82	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a penis.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3
TU83	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of several *globi crucigi.]*	*	*	IAph2007 2.3
TU84	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of plants.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3
TU85	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of decorated cross.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.3i
TU86	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	ΜΑΥΚΟΜ·ΤΙΣ?ΚΑ·ΤΑ··ΚΝ[·]Α | [*Additonal erased letters*] Κ··Μ····	Μ(?άρκος) Αὐ(?ρήλιος) Κομητις ?καὶ τὰ τεκν[·]α | ΚΩ · ΜΟ̣ΤΜ̅Λ̅	Markos Aurelios Kometis and the child...	IAph2007 2.4i
TU87	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a person with curly hair. The	*	*	IAph2007 2.4ii

		plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.		figure possibly has wings.]			
TU88	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bearded face.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU89	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a short bald figure.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4ii
TU90	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man standing in front of palm tree?]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU91	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU92	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU93	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU94	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage	1st-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4

		corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.					
TU95	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Several illegible textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU96	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Several illegible textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.4
TU97	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	Ψ ΝΥΜΦΕΡ·[· - - -] |· Ι ΜΥΣ·[- - -] |ΣΟΙ	Ψ *vac.* Νυμφέρῳ[ς ·· ? ··] Ι̣ *vac.* Ι *vac.* ΜΥΣΩ̣ [·· ? ··] Ι σοι *vac.*	… Nympheros… you…	IAph2007 2.5
TU98	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Several illegible textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.5
TU99	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	1st-6th century CE.	[Several illegible textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.5
TU100	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΗΤΗΜΑ | ΑΨΥΧΟΝΥΠ·[··]ΟΥ | [·····] ΕΥΤ	ζήτημα | ἄψυχον ὑπο̣ [··]ΟΥ | [·· c. 5 ··] *vac.* ΕΥΤ *vac.* | *vac.*	Riddle, lifeless . . .	IAph2007 2.10

TU101	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a figure in a long robe, with decorative hatched edges. The figure holds a cornucopia in the right hand, and an unidentified object in left hand.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.11 i
TU102	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a profile of a crowned head.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.11 ii
TU103	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of male figure with fringe and straight hair. Wearing a tunic.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.11 iii
TU104	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man riding a horse. Man has fringe and hair. The horse has a bridle.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.12
TU105	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man riding a horse. Very faint.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.12
TU106	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Easternmost recess behind backstage corridor. Scratched in plaster. Currently in Aphrodisias Museum.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man riding a horse.]	*	*	IAph2007 2.12

TU107	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 1.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΓΟ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 1
TU108	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΗ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 4.i
TU109	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΡΑ̣Η	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 4.ii
TU110	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΗ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 4.iii
TU111	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟ|ΣΝΕΟΤΕΡΩ[·]	τόπο|ς νεοτέρω[ν]	Place of the young men.	IAph2007 2.6 5.i
TU112	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 5.ii
TU113	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 5.iii
TU114	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΗ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 5.iv
TU115	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΔΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 5.v
TU116	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΡ̣Ι *stop* ΗΡΙ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 6.i
TU117	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΔΡ ΑΔΡ ΑΔΡ ΑΔΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 6.ii
TU118	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΔΡ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 7.i
TU119	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΛΕ stop ΑΛΕ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 7.ii
TU120	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΡΑ	*	*	IAph2007 2.6 7.iii
TU121	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block B. Row 8	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ⋯ΕΩΝ	τόπος Ἑβρέων	Place of the Jews.	IAph2007 2.6 8
TU122	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block C. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΗ	*	*	IAph2007 2.7

TU123	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block D.	1st-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣΒΕΝΕΤΩΝ | ΕΒΡ·ΩΝΤΩΝ··ΛΕΩΝ	τόπος Βενέτων | Ἑβρέων τῶν παλεῶν	Place of Blues, of the elder Jews.	IAph2007 2.18
TU124	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block E. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	τό|[[πός]] [[Βενέ(τ ων)]]	τό|[[πός]] [[Βενέ(των)]]	Place of the Blues.	IAph2007 2.8.7
TU125	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block E. Row 5.1	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross]	*	*	IAph2007 2.8.1
TU126	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block E. Row 5.5.	2nd-6th century CE.	[··]BENET··	··] Βενέτου	… of the Blues…	IAph2007 2.8.5
TU127	Aphrodisias	Odeon. Seating block E. Row 5.9	2nd-6th century CE.	† ΣΦ	*	*	IAph2007 2.8.9
TU128	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. Cellular shop.	5th century or later.	[Graffito of a menorah.]	*	*	Lavan 2012a: 66
TU129	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. Cellular shop.	5th century or later.	[Graffito of a menorah.]	*	*	Lavan 2012a: 66
TU130	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. Cellular shop.	5th century or later.	[Graffiti of crosses.]	*	*	Lavan 2012a: 66
TU131	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. Loose marble fragment.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1]	*	*	IAph2007 9.115 i
TU132	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. Loose marble fragment.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1]	*	*	IAph2007 9.115 ii
TU133	Aphrodisias	Sebasteion. North portico. Ninth column from east.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Unfinished figurative graffito of a rosette and a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.21
TU134	Aphrodisias	South east walls of city. Carved on south face.	6th century CE or later.	[Monogram. Letters read ΑΒΙΕΟΥ.]	*	*	IAph2007 12.541.
TU135	Aphrodisias	South east walls of city. Carved on south face.	6th century CE or later.	[Monogram. Letters may read ΠΟΣΤΥΜ.]	Ποστύμ(ιος)	Postumios.	IAph2007 12.541.

TU136	Aphrodisias	South walls of city. West part of the walls. Carved on south face.	5th-6th Century CE or Later.	† | ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΟ	† | Λεον|το ν.	Leon.	IAph2007 12.718.i
TU137	Aphrodisias	South walls of city. West part of the walls. Carved on south face.	5th-6th Century CE or Later.	† ΦΙΛΙΠΠς	† Φιλίππ(ου) ς	Philippos.	IAph2007 12.718.ii
TU138	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Block 21. Row V.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1. V
TU139	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Block 21. Row X.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. type 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1. X
TU140	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Block 21. Row Y.	2nd-5th century CE.	Α	*	*	IAph2007 10.1. Yi.
TU141	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Block 21. Row Y.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1. Yii.
TU142	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ[- - -]	| τόπος | [·· ? ··]	Place of…	IAph2007 10.35
TU143	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ	τόπος	Place of…	IAph2007 10.36
TU144	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a gladiator.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.36
TU145	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a person with a bow and arrow.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.36
TU146	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΠ	*vac.* ΕΠ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.37
TU147	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΡΖΗ	*vac.* ΕΡΖΗ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.38
TU148	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Loose seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	·ΑΡΙΣΤ··	*vac.* ΛΑΡΙΣΤΝͅΙ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.39
TU149	Aphrodisias	Stadium. On seats.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣ	ἡ πατρίς	The fatherland.	IAph2007 10.40
TU150	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. H.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 AA.

TU151	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 AA.
TU152	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row K.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.4. Figurative graffiti of two animals.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 K.
TU153	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a dear, beside an object, possibly a net.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 Z.i
TU154	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito, possibly a bird.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 Z.ii
TU155	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 1. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.19 Z.iii
TU156	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row D.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΥΒΥ· ΣΕΩΝΣ·[·······]	Υ β|υ|ρ| *vac.* | σ|έ|ω|ν| σ|υ|[ντεχνία]	… tanners…	IAph2007 10.11 D
TU157	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row H.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [·]ΙΥ[·]ΤΕ[···]ΩN(*five seats*)M ΕΙΛ scroll Τ[·]Π[··]	*steps* | [·] | ΙΥ | [·]ΤΕ | [···] | ΩΝ | (*five seats*) | Μ *vac.* ΕΙ | λ *scroll* τ|[ό]π|[ος] |	Place of…	IAph2007 10.11 H
TU158	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row J.	2nd-6th century CE.	[··]ΚΥ·[·][·]ΕΩ··[- - -]	| [··] | ΚΥ | Ι̣[·] | [·]Ε | ΩΡ̣ | Ι̣ | [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 10.11 J
TU159	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row L.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ	Αἰ | λι | α | νοῦ | ν.	Ailianos.	IAph2007 10.11 L
TU160	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row M.	2nd-6th century CE.	steps [·]Γ[··][·]ΕΥΑΡ ΑΣΤΟΥΤΟΝΗΣ (*four seats to end*)	*steps* | [·]Γ | [··] | [·] Ε | ὐ | αρ | άσ | του | τό(?πος) | ΝΗΣ | (*four seats to end*)	Place of Euarastos…	IAph2007 10.11 M

TU161	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 10. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠ[·]ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ[·]	*vac.* | τόπ(ος) | [Ἀ]ντιγό | νο[υ] | *vac.*	Place of Antigonos.	IAph2007 10.11 R
TU162	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row F.	2nd-6th century CE.	[··]ΑΥ··[- - -]····ΝΟΜΟΥ *tribunal*	[··]ΑΥΠΙ | [·· ? ··] ο̣ἰκ̣ο̣|νόμου *vac.* | *vac.* | *tribunal*	… the oikonomos…	IAph2007 10.10 F
TU163	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row G.	2nd-6th century CE.	τόπ[ος] | [·· c. 5 ··] Υ οἰκονόμ(ου) | *vac.*	τόπ[ος] | [·· c. 5 ··] Υ οἰκονόμ(ου) | *vac.*	… the oikonomos…	IAph2007 10.10 G
TU164	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row H.	2nd-6th century CE.	[····] ΜΟΥ ··ΜΟΥ	[·· c. 4 ··] *vac.* Μ | ΟΥ *vac.* Ι̣ΙΜΟΥ *vac.* |	*	IAph2007 10.10 H
TU165	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row N.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [···]ΙΤΕΑΣ[·] ·· ΦΙΑ[···]	*steps* | [···] ΙΤΕΑΣ | [·] | *vac.* Α̣Υ | *vac.* ΦΙΑ[···] |	*	IAph2007 10.10 N
TU166	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row P.	2nd-6th century CE.	Υ	*	*	IAph2007 10.10 P
TU167	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row S	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.10 S
TU168	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 11. Row U	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [·· ? ··]·ΟΥ·Ε···[·]···ΓΤΟΥ ·ΓΝΑΤ[···]Ι̣Η··ΥΨΙ·Λ·· Σ[··]ΙΟΚ··Ν[··]··ΑΝΟ Υ[···]	*steps* | [·· ? ··] | Ι̣ΟΥ Τ̣ΕΙ̣Ι̣ | [·] Ι̣ΕΗ̣Γ | του | *vac.* Ἰγνατ[? *vac.*] | ίη κ̣ὲ | Ὑψικλεις [··]ΙΟΚ̣Ι̣Ν[··]Ι̣ΙΑ ΝΟΥ | [···]	… Ignatios and Hypsikles…	IAph2007 10.10 U
TU169	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 12. Row C.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard or Design. Type C.2] Π.	*	*	IAph2007 10.9 C.i
TU170	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 12. Row P.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	*	Place of Philo…	IAph2007 10.9 P

TU171	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 12. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	*	Place of Claudia Seleukeia… Chrys…	IAph2007 10.9 Y.i
TU172	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 12. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	*	… The association of…	IAph2007 10.9 Y.ii
TU173	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 13. Row S.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.8 S
TU174	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 14. Row J.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]　T　··IT *steps*	[·· ? ··] | *vac.* | *vac.* | T | *vac.* | *vac.* | Ị P̣IT | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.7 J
TU175	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 14. Row Q.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]ET·E　*steps*	[·· ? ··] | E | T | Ị | E | *vac.* | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.7 Q.
TU176	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 14. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]·ΩN *steps*	[·· ? ··] | Ṃ | Ω | N | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.7 R.
TU177	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row E.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.6 E
TU178	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row M.	2nd-5th century CE.	*steps* [- - -]ΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ	*steps* [·· ? ··] | Μ | ΟΣΤΡΑ | ΤΟΥ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.6 M
TU179	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row U.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type R.6, with 6 holes in each row.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.6 U.i
TU180	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row U.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.6 U.ii
TU181	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row V.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.] | *steps* | [·] Ḅ Ị Ọ Ị Λ | σιέων| *vac.*	| *steps* | [·] Ḅ Ị Ọ Ị Λ | σιέων| *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.6 V
TU182	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 15. Row X.	2nd-5th century CE.	[·····]·ΝΙΟ·[·]··[·]ΜΑΤ Ο·ΛΥ·Ο·	[Ἀπο | λλ]ωνίου̣	Apollonios the sculptor.	IAph2007 10.6 X

					[ἀ]γα|[λ]ματογ λυφου		
TU183	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 16. Row W.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.5 W
TU184	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 18. Row A.	5th-6th century CE.	[··]ΟΙ·Ρ··ΝΠΡΑΣΙΝ[··]	[··]ΟΙΕΡΚ ΟΝ Πρασίν[ων]	… of the Greens.	IAph2007 10.4 A
TU185	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 18. Row A.	2nd-6th century CE.	*vacat* ΤΟΠΟΣΜΑΣ ΤΑΥ··[·······]	*vacat* | τό|πος | Μα | σταυρο | [?πολίτων]	Place of the Mastauropolitans.	IAph2007 10.4 O
TU186	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row A.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 A.i
TU187	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row A.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 A.ii
TU188	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row K.	2nd-6th century CE.	[···]····ΒΕΝΕ|ΤΩΝ | ΑΥΡ[··]··Ο··ΕΝΙΩΝ	| [···]ΙΙΙΙΒενέ| vac. | *vacat* |των vac. | Αὐρ[··] Λ ΛΟ | Ι ΙΕΝΙΩΝ |	… blues…	IAph2007 10.3 K
TU189	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row O.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 O
TU190	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row P.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟ·	τ|ό|π(ος)	Place of…	IAph2007 10.3 P.i
TU191	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row P.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 P.ii
TU192	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row T.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 T
TU193	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row U.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 U
TU194	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ[·]ΟΥ·ΑΙΦΟΙ···ΙΟΥ	τόπος | Ἀνδρονικοῦ | [τ]οῦ καὶ | Φοιβερίου	Place of Andronikos, also called Phoeberios	IAph2007 10.3 V.i
TU195	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΤΥ|ΧΗ·	Νικᾷ τύ|χη ! *vac.*	The fortune of… triumphs!	IAph2007 10.3 V.ii

TU196	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠ	τόπ(ος)	Place of…	IAph2007 10.3 V.iii
TU197	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 V.v
TU198	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.3 X
TU199	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 2. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type CCC.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.18y
TU200	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 2. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.18 Z.i
TU201	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 2. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.18 Z.ii
TU202	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block M.	2nd-5th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ[·][·]Φ[·]···[·]·[·]·Ν··	τό|π|ος | [·] | [·]Φ[·] | Λ | Ọ | Ḳ [·] | Ḳ [·] | Ω | Ν | Ṛ Ṇ | vac.	Place of…	IAph2007 10.2 m
TU203	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block N.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.2 n
TU204	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block T.	2nd-5th century CE.	ΤΟ[·]Ο[·]:···Ρ[- - -]	τό|[π]|ο|[ς] | ΦΥΛ | Ọ | Ρ[·· ? ··]	Place of…	IAph2007 10.2 t
TU205	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block U.	2nd-5th century CE.	Φ·ΟΥΜΤΟΠΟ	φρου|μ(?ενταρ ίων) τόπο(ς) vac.	Place of the Frumentarii.	IAph2007 10.2 ui
TU206	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block U.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.2]	*	*	IAph2007 10.2 uii
TU207	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block U.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.2 uiii
TU208	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 20. Block U.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.2 uiv
TU209	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 21. Row V.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1 v
TU210	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 21. Row Y.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1 yii

TU211	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 21. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	A	*	*	IAph2007 10.1 Y.i
TU212	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 22. Row S.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΠΑΠΙΩ[·]ΟΣ [Gameboard. Type H.4)	*steps* | *vac.* | Πα | πίω | [ν] | ος | [Gameboard. Type H.4)	Papionos.	IAph2007 10.34 S
TU213	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 23. Row A.	2nd-6th century CE.	Κ·Ι	*vac.* ΚΛΙ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.33 A
TU214	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 23. Row G.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.33 G
TU215	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 23. Row N.	2nd-6th century CE.	Τ·ΠΟΣ ΑΥΡΑΡΙΩΝ *steps*	*vac.* | τόπ|ος *vac.* | αὐραρί|ων *vac.* | *steps*	Place of the gold-workers.	IAph2007 10.33 N
TU216	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 25. Row E.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.4] ΑΔ·ΑΣΤΟΥΤ[·]Π	Ἁδράσ | του τ[ό]π(ος) | *vac.*	Place of Adrastos.	IAph2007 10.31 E
TU217	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 26. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.4. Adpated into Chi-Rho.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.32 Y.i
TU218	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 26. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4. Text written in centre.] ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΟΝ	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τον *vac.*	The fortune of the… triumphs!	IAph2007 10.32 Y.ii
TU219	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 27. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.30 AA
TU220	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 27. Row L.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΚΙΒ	*steps* | *vac.* | *vac.* | ΚΙΒ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.30 L
TU221	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 28. Row O	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.29 O
TU222	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 28. Row S	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [·][·][·][·]·ΤΙ·ΧΕ [·]ΩΝ *steps*	*steps* | [·] | [·] | [·] | [?Ἀ] | ν | τ	(the) Antiochians.	IAph2007 10.29 S

					| ι | ǫ | χ | ε | [ί] | ω | ν | *steps*		
TU223	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 28. Row Z	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ·ΥΝΤΕΧΝΙΑ Κ ΗΠΟΥΡ *steps*	*steps* | ǫ|υ|ν|τ|ε|χ|ν |ί|α | *vac.* | κ|η|π|ο|υ|ρ(ῶν) | *vac.* | *steps*	Corporation of the gardeners.	IAph2007 10.29 Z
TU224	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row AA	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [··][·]N[·]T[·]NI KH·Π *palm* Y[·]ANO Y(*4 seats*) *steps*	*steps* | [··] | [·] N | [·] | τ[ο]|νί|κη| Ṣ π *palm* υ(κτοῦ) | [·] Α | ν | ου | (*4 seats*) | *steps*	...victory...	IAph2007 10.28 AA
TU225	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row H.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [·]·ΤΑ·ΟΥ·Υ[·]···Τ·Κ	*steps* | [Ἄ] | τ | τ | άλ | ο | υ | ǫ|υ|[ν]|ḳ|λ|ητ |ικ(οῦ) |	Attalos, senator.	IAph2007 10.28 H
TU226	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row P.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]·Α ·ΗΙ *steps* | Ρ *steps*	[·· ? ··] | ỊΑ | *vac.* | ΛΗΙ | *steps* | Ρ | | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.28 P
TU227	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]·[·][·]Ε·ΙΓΟΝ[··][·] *s teps*	[·· ? ··] | Ǫ | [·] | [·] | Ἐ | π | ιγ | όν | [ου] | [··] | *steps*	Epigonos.	IAph2007 10.28 R
TU228	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row S.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΟΥΕΙ(*5 seats*)Η *palm* (*steps*)	*steps* | *vac.* | Ἀ | πο | λλ | ω | νί | ου | ΕΙ | (*5 seats*) | Η *palm* | (*steps*)	Apollonios.	IAph2007 10.28 S

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TU229	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row T.	2nd-6th century CE.	ZBI(*two seats*) *steps*	| ZBI | (*two seats*) | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.28 T
TU230	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.28 V
TU231	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 29. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.28 X
TU232	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 30. Row S.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* (*3 seats*)ΑΡΙ[·]ΤΙΩΝΟΣ	*steps* | (*3 seats*) | Ἀρι[σ]τ | ίων | ος | *vac.*	Aristonos.	IAph2007 10.27 S
TU233	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 30. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.27 W
TU234	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 30. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.27 X
TU235	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 30. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΤΟ ΠΟΣ ΦΥ ΛΩΝ Α ΦΡΟ ·ΕΙΣΙ [·]ΩΝ	*steps* | τό *vac.* |πος *vac.* | φυ *vac.* |λῶν *vac.* | Ἀ *v.* | | φρο *vac.* | δεισι[έ]ων | *vac.*	Place of the Aphrodisian tribes.	IAph2007 10.27 Y
TU236	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 32. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΙΕ [·]·ΝΟΙΚΟ ΝΟΜΩΝ *steps*	*steps* | ἰε| *vac.* |[ρ]|ῶ|ν | ο|ἰ|κ|ο|ν|ό|μ ων | *steps*	Sacred *oikonomi.*	IAph2007 10.26 R
TU237	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 32. Row S.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΤΟΠΟΣΟΙΚΟΝ ΟΜΩΝΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ *steps*	*steps* | τό|πος | οἰ|κον|όμ|ω|ν | ν|εω|τέ|ρω|ν | *vac.* | *steps*	Place of the young *oikonomi.*	IAph2007 10.26 S
TU238	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 32. Row T.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΙΕΡΩΝ·ΙΚ[···]Ο [·]·Ν[- - -]	*steps* | ἰε|ρ|ῶ|ν | ο̣|ἰ|κ|[*vac.*	Sacred *oikonomi…*	IAph2007 10.26 T

					]|ό|[μ]ω|ν | [·· ? ··]		
TU239	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 32. Row U.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΙΕΡΩΝ Ε[·]Η Β· Ν *steps*	*steps* | ὶ|ε|ρῶ|ν | *vac.* | ἐ|[φ]ή| *vac.* |β|ω| *vac.* |ν | *vac.* | *vac.* | *steps*	Sacred ephebes…	IAph2007 10.26 U
TU240	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 32. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΙΕΡΩΝΕΦΗΒΩ · Ε Φ Η Β Ω Ν *steps*	*steps* | ἱερῶν | ἐφή|βω|ν | *vac.* | ἐ| *vac.* |φ| *vac.* |ή| *vac.* | *vac.* | *vac.* |β| *vac.* |ων | *steps*	Place of the sacred ephebes. Ephebes.	IAph2007 10.26 V
TU241	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 33. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΒΑ	*steps* | Β | Α |	*	IAph2007 10.25 AA
TU242	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 33. Row U.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.25 U
TU243	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 33. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.25 X
TU244	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 33. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.25 Z
TU245	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row B.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΥΨΙ	| *vac.* Ὑψι(?κλῆς) *vac.* |	Hypsikles.	IAph2007 10.24 B
TU246	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row C.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΥΨΙ	| Ὑψι(?κλῆς) *v.* |	Hypsikles.	IAph2007 10.24 C
TU247	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row L.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΡ	| ΑΡ |	*	IAph2007 10.24 L.i
TU248	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row L.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΡ	| ΑΡ |	*	IAph2007 10.24 L.ii
TU249	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row L.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΡ	| ΑΡ |	*	IAph2007 10.24 L.iii

TU250	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	A·	| Aị |	*	IAph2007 10.24 R.i
TU251	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 34. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	A·	| Aị |	*	IAph2007 10.24 R.ii
TU252	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 36. Row B.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.23 B
TU253	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 36. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.23 W
TU254	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 36. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.23 X
TU255	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 36. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.23 Z
TU256	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 37. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣΑ·Ρ	τόπος αὐρ(?αρίων)	Place of the gold-workers.	IAph2007 10.21 W
TU257	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 37. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.7.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.21 X
TU258	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 38. Row X.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Two circles. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.22 X
TU259	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 4. Row F.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. Letters consist read PTXANE.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.17f
TU260	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 4. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.17w
TU261	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 40. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.20 AA.i
TU262	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 40. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type R.1]	*	*	IAph2007 10.20 AA.ii
TU263	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 40. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.20 AA.iii
TU264	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 40. Row AA.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffiti of several crosses.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.20 AA.iii
TU265	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 40. Row B.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.20 B.

TU266	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 5. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.16 Y.i
TU267	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 5. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.16 Y.ii
TU268	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 6. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΡΟΣ [Design. Type S.3.]	*vac.*	ΡΟΣ	[Design. Type S3]	*vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.15 Y.i
TU269	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 6. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.15 Y.ii
TU270	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 6. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.15 Y.iii
TU271	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 7. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.14 Y.i
TU272	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 7. Row Y.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.14 Y.ii
TU273	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 7. Row Z.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΙΑΙΑ[···]ΑΙΑΙ[···] *steps*	*vac.*	ΙΑ	ΙΑ	[···]	ΑΙ	ΑΙ	[···]	*steps*	*	IAph2007 10.14 Z
TU274	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 8. Row J.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ˙ΑΣ[- - -]	*steps*	Ṃ	Α	Σ	[·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 10.13 J
TU275	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 8. Row V.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -] ΑΛ [- - -]	[·· ? ··]	*vac.* ΑΛ *vac.* [·· ? ··]		*	IAph2007 10.13 V
TU276	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 8. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [·····][···]Ω[···][·····][···]Ρ[···][- - -]	*steps*	[·· c. 5 ··]	[···] Ω [···]	[·· c. 5 ··]	[···] Ρ [···]	[·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 10.13 W
TU277	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 8. Row W.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [···]Ọ˙[···]ΑΒΗΡΩΔΙΑ ˙[··]?][···][]Ρ[···](*3 seats*)[···]˙[- - -]	*steps*	[···] ΟṚ [···]	ΑΒ Ἡρωδια vac.	ν[οῦ] ?. . .]	[···]	[.]Ρ [···]	(*3 seats*)	[···] Ω̣ [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 10.13 X

TU278	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 9. Row D.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΛΥΛΥΛΥΛΥΛΥ	ΛΥ | ΛΥ | ΛΥ | ΛΥ | ΛΥ	*	IAph2007 10.12 D
TU279	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 9. Row O.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΕΡ[·]ΚΥ[·][··]Μ [··]ΕΤΡΙΟΥ *steps*	*steps* | ΕΡ | [·] | Κ | Υ | [·] | [··]Μ | [··] | Ε | Τ | Ρ | ΙΟ | Υ | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.12 O
TU280	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 9. Row R.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -][- - -]··ΟΥ ΠΡ *steps*	[·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··] ΛΫΟΥ v. ΠΡ *vac.* | *steps*	*	IAph2007 10.12 R
TU281	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seating block 19. Row J.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΝΤ	*vac.* | ΝΤ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 10.3 J
TU282	Aphrodisias	Stadium. Seatsing block 21. Row X.	2nd-5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 10.1 x
TU283	Aphrodisias	Stadium.Seating block 10. Row A.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΠΟ[- - -]	| *vac.* ΑΠΟ | [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 10.11 A
TU284	Aphrodisias	Tetrapylon street. South of tetrapylon. East side of the street. In portico, east wall. Carved on masonry block.	5th-10th century CE.	† ΤΟΜΥΔΡΟΣΤΑ|ΣΙΑΣ †	† τό(πος) μυδροστα|σίας †	Place of the forge.	IAph2007 1.506.
TU285	Aphrodisias	Tetrapylon. North-South Road. East side. On blue-marble stylobate block c. 100m south of tetrapylon.	2nd-10th century CE	[Figurative graffito of a human figure in a tunic. A crescent shape may be a rope or a large sleeve worn by the figure. There is a indeterminate object by right foot, large circle by left foot.]	*	*	IAph2007 1.401.

TU286	Aphrodisias	Tetrapylon. West colonnande. Second column from south. Facing inwards.	3rd-4th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΙΟΥΚΕΓΑ·[⋯]	τόπος Έπταμηνίου κὲ γαμ[ετῆς].	Place of Heptamenios and his wife.	IAph2007 1.402.
TU287	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East colonnade. Second column from south.	Late imperial.	ΤΟΠΟΣΙΕΡΑ|ΠΟΛ·ΤΩΝ	τόπος Ίερα|πολιτῶν.	Place of the Hierapolitans.	IAph2007 8.402.
TU288	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East colonnade. Third column from south.	Late imperial.	ΤΟΠΟΣ | [·]ΕΡΑΠ	τόπος | [Ί]εραπ(ολιτῶν)	Place of the Hierapolitans.	IAph2007 8.403
TU289	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. North side. Third column from the south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man with a penis and lines above his head, which may represent either horns or a wreath.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU290	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. North side. Third column from the south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man raising his arms above his head.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU291	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. North side. Third column from the south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man with a penis and a crown.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU292	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. South side. First Column from south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a nude man with a penis and outstretched arms.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU293	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. South side. First Column from south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a nude man with a penis and outstretched arms.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35

TU294	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. South side. First Column from south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a nude man with a penis and outstretched arms.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU295	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East portico. South side. First Column from south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man raising his arms above his head.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 35
TU296	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East wall of theatre. In south recess beside the entrance. Written on the north wall of the recess. Scratched in plaster.	4th century CE.	IKEP MYH | ΣTO· MYB | EΛEΩ MYK | ΛAXA·A··· MYIΓ ‖ MEΛITOΣ MYΓ | [··]NOY MYIE | ΨOYMION MYH | [·]·ΠPOY MYB | [- - -]·YΛIOΣ MYΔ ‖ [- - -]··OY MYB ΔI[- - -] MYΘ | ·· ? ··(*scratches and damage over 2 lines*) | IΣN[- - -]	IKEP *v.* μυ(ριάδ ας) η´ | στορ(ακος) *v.* μ υ(ριάδας) β´ | ἐλέω *v.* μυ(ριά δας) κ´ | λαχαναο̣ι̣Ι *v.* μυ (ριάδας) ιγ´ ‖ μέλιτος *v.* μυ(ρ ιάδας) γ´ | [?οΐ]νου *v.* μυ(ριάδας) ιε´ | ψουμίον *v.* μυ(ριάδας) η´ | [ŏ]σπρου *v.* μυ(ριάδας) β´ | [·· ? ··]ι̣ΥΛΙΟς *v.* μυ(ριάδας) δ´ ‖ [·· ? ··]ι̣ΥΟΥ *v.* μυ(ρι άδας) β´ | ΔI[·· ? ··] *v.* μυ(ριάδας) θ´ |·· ? ··(*scratches and*	...8 myriads; storax, 2 myriads; oil, 30 myriads; vegetables, 13 myriads; honey, 3 myriads; wine, 15 myriads; bread, 8 myriads; pulse, 2 myriads... 4 myriads... 2 myriads... 9 myriads...	IAph2007 8.404.

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					damage over ?2 lines) | ΙΣΝ[·· ? ··] |*v.*		
TU297	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. East wall of theatre. In south recess beside the entrance. Written on the north wall of the recess. Scratched on plaster.	5th century CE.	[Figurative graffito. The represented figure is unclear.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.404.
TU298	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. North portico. Carved on column base.	3rd-4th century CE.	ΕΟΡΤΑΣΙΟΥΚΟ|ΝΙΟ ΡΤΟΥ | ΤΟΠΟΣ	Ἑορτασίου κο|νιορτοῦ | τόπος.	Place of dirty Heortasios.	IAph2007 8.507.
TU299	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West colonnade. On stylobate block, between columns 1 and 2 from the north.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of circles and squares.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.401i.
TU300	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West colonnade. On stylobate block, between columns 2 and 3 from the north.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type R.6]	*	*	IAph2007 8.401ii.
TU301	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West colonnade. On stylobate block, between columns 4 and 5 from the north.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type R.6]	*	*	IAph2007 8.401iii.
TU302	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West colonnade. On stylobate block, between columns 5 and 6 from the north. Carved opposite the theatre door.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Several illegible graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.401iv.
TU303	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West colonnade. On stylobate block, between columns 5 and 6 from the north.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. R.6.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.401iv.

		Carved opposite the theatre door.					
TU304	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West portico. Between fifth and sixth columns from east. Carved on pavement.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.23
TU305	Aphrodisias	Tetrastoon. West portico. South side. Third column from south.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.24.
TU306	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. East portico. East colonnade. Eighth column from north. On blue marble column.	4th-6th century CE or later.	ΘΕΟΔΩΡ | ΤΟΠΩΣ	Θεοδώρ(ου) | τόπως.	Place of Theodoros	IAph2007 8.606
TU307	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. East portico. East colonnade. Seventh column from north. On blue marble column.	4th-6th century CE or later.	† ΑΛΕΞΑΝ|ΔΡΟΣ | ΚΟΥΡΕΟΣ | ΤΟΠΟΣ ‖†	† Ἀλέξαν|δρος | κουρέος | τόπος ‖ †	Place of Alexandros, barber	IAph2007 8.605
TU308	Aphrodisias	Theatre Baths. East portico. East colonnade. Stylobate block between columns 2 and 3.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606i
TU309	Aphrodisias	Theatre Baths. East portico. East colonnade. Stylobate block between columns 5 and 6.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1. A cross has been cut into the west end.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606iii
TU310	Aphrodisias	Theatre Baths. East portico. East colonnade. Stylobate block between columns 6 and 7.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606ii

TU311	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. East portico. West side. Carved on fifth column from north.	4th-6th century CE or later.	TOYTO | NI†KA	τοῦτο νι†κα.	This (cross) triumphs.	IAph2007 8.604
TU312	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. East portico. West side. Carved on first column from north.	4th-6th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito of a Christian shrine or church. The shrine is shaped like a *aedicule*. A cross surmounts the shrine. Four birds sit on the roof of the shrine. Within the shrine, is a cross which is flanked by a figure with wings and a figure holding a smaller cross. A thurible or lamp hangs from the ceiling. Two curtains are in the shrine. The columns are decorated] ΚΥΡΙΕΟΘΕΟΣ | ΟΕ··ΝΟΤΟΝ | ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝΒΟΗΘΗΣ ΟΝ | ΚΕΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΕΣΟΝ ‖ ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΚΕΡΕΚΟΚ···Ν | ΤΩΝΚΕΚΟ··ΕΩΝ	Κύριε ὁ θεὸς |ὁ ἐπάνο τὸν|οὐρανῶν, βοήθησον | κὲ οἰκονόμεσον |τὸν δοῦλον σου |Κερεκόκκιωντ ὼν| κὲ Κουρεων	Lord God, who is above the heavens, help and provide (for) your servant Kerekokkionos and Koureos.	IAph2007 8.603

TU313	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. North entrance. Paving stone.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606iv
TU314	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. North entrance. Paving stone.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.1]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606iv
TU315	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. North entrance. Paving stone.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606iv
TU316	Aphrodisias	Theatre Baths. Partition wall. Originally a seat from the theatre.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΑΙ | ΜΗΜΑΧΗΗ	κατέχεται | μὴ μάχη Η	Reserved. Don't argue.	IAph2007 8.79
TU317	Aphrodisias	Theatre baths. Street outside the baths. Carved on paving slab.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of several circles. Including a gameboard type C.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.606v
TU318	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. On step between north parados and stage.	4th-7th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥ[··] | ΤΩΝΠΡΑ·Ι[···]	Νικᾷ ἡ τύ[χη] | τῶν Πρασί[νων]	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	IAph2007 8.105.
TU319	Aphrodisias	Theatre Stage. Paving block.	1st-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Design type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.12.a
TU320	Aphrodisias	Theatre Stage. Paving block.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a male face. Bald head with large eyes.] K Κ·ΕΜ··ΛΙΟΣ	K vac. Κλεμψιλιος	… Klempsilios.	IAph2007 8.12.b
TU321	Aphrodisias	Theatre Stage. Paving block.	1st-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a tight-rope walker.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.12.c
TU322	Aphrodisias	Theatre Stage. Paving block.	1st-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ | ΘΕ··ΟΣ(hole)	τόπος | Θεοδοσ (hole)	Place of Theodosios.	IAph2007 8.12.d
TU323	Aphrodisias	Theatre Stage. Paving block.	1st-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣΑΡΟΥ[- - -]	τόπος Ἀρου[·· ? ··]	Place of…	IAph2007 8.12.e
TU324	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, eighth column from	3rd-5th century CE.	[Scattered letters]	*	*	IAph2007 8.93.

		south. Carved on east face					
TU325	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, eighth column from south. Carved on east face	3rd-5th century CE.	[Faint figurative graffiti]	*	*	IAph2007 8.93.
TU326	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, eleventh column from south. Carved on east face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.95a.
TU327	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, eleventh column from south. Carved on south face.	3rd-5th century CE.	Η·Ι·Δ·[·]	Ἡλιώδο[ρ](?ος)	Heliodoros.	IAph2007 8.95b.
TU328	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, eleventh column from south. East face.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.95a.
TU329	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, fourth column from south. Carved on east face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a male bust in profile.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.91.
TU330	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, ninth column from south. Carved on east face.	3rd-5th century CE.	ΖΗΝΩΝΕΓΡ|ΑΦΕ	Ζήνων ἔγρ|αφε	Zenon wrote (this).	IAph2007 8.94a.
TU331	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, ninth column from south. Carved on south face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a fish or penis.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.94b.
TU332	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, seventh column from south. Carved on south face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.92a.

TU333	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, seventh column from south. Carved on south face.	3rd-5th century CE.	(*Lightly erased*) | (*Lightly erased*) | ΓΑΙ·[·]ΕΥ· | (*deeply erased*) | (*deeply erased*) ‖ (*deeply erased*)ΣΤΡΟ | Ο·Ω	(*Lightly erased*) | (*Lightly erased*) | ΓΑΙΑ̣ [·] ΕΥΝ̣ | (*deeply erased*) | (*deeply erased*) ‖ (*deeply erased*) ϹΤΡΟ | ΟΠ̣Ω	*	IAph2007 8.92b
TU334	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, third column from south.	3rd-5th century CE.	ΘΕ·· | Ν ΤΑΚ	ΘΕΙ̣Ν | Ν *vac.* ΤΑΚ	*	IAph2007 8.90.
TU335	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, third column from south. Carved on east face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a male face. Bald head with wide eyes. No pupils.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.90.
TU336	Aphrodisias	Theatre stage. Portico, twelfth column from south. Carved on east face.	3rd-5th century CE.	[- - -] | [··]ΗΣ[····] | [·]ΕΟ[··] | [- - -] [- - -]	[·· ? ··] | [··] ΗΣ [·· c. 4 ··] | [·] ΕΟ [··] | [·· ? ··] *vac.* [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 8.96.
TU337	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Cavea. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	Ε·Σ···ΙΝ	*vac.* Ε̣ΙϹΦ̣Ϙ̣ΟΙΝ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.66
TU338	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Cavea. Steps between blocks K and L. Written on step 14.	2nd-6th century CE.	Α	*	*	IAph2007 8.63 14
TU339	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Cavea. Steps between blocks K and L. Written on step 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	Δ̣	*	*	IAph2007 8.63 17
TU340	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΑ[·]	*vac.* κατέχετα|[ι]	… reserved…	IAph2007 8.68
TU341	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	[··] ΦΙΑΚΦΛΕΡΜΙ·[···]	[Ἀπ] | *vac.* φία κ(αὶ) Φλ(άβιος) Ἕρμιπ[πος]	… Flavios Hermippos *or*	IAph2007 8.69

						... Flavios son of Hermippos.	
TU342	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	Η | ΝΙΚΑ ΗΤΥΧ[·] | ΤΗΣ *hole* ·	Η | νικᾷ *vac.* ἡ τύχ[η] | τῆς *vac. hole* Λ	The fortune of... triumphs!	IAph2007 8.70
TU343	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΑ·[······ ·] | ΙΟΥ[- - -]	| κατ[έχεται ?] | ΙΟΥ[·· ? ··]	Reserved...	IAph2007 8.71
TU344	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Several letters, including Χ, Ι, Ο, Υ Μ and Σ. Followed by a denarius sign.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.72
TU345	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -][- - -]·[- - -] | [- - -][·]ΟΥΛΑΛ·[- - -]	[·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··] Ι [·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··] | [·] ΟΥΛΑΛΟ [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 8.73
TU346	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΥΑ·	*vac.* ΕΥΑΤ̣ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.74
TU347	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΓΟ ΑΙ	*vac.* ΓΟ vac. ΑΙ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.75
TU348	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΩ	*vac.* ΖΩ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.76
TU349	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]·Η	[·· ? ··] ΛΗ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.77
TU350	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Field beside theatre. Loose seating block.	5th-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤ[·]· | ΠΡΑΣΙΝ	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τ[ῶ]ν | Πρασίν(ων)	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	IAph2007 8.107.
TU351	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Fragment of marble door post. Found	5th-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΗΣΠΟ ΛΕΟΣ | ΚΕΤΟΝΠΡ·ΣΙΝΩΝ	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῆς πόλεος | κὲ τον Πρασίνων	The fortune of the city and the	IAph2007 8.106.

		in the field east of theatre.				Greens triumphs!	
TU352	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Loose block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΚ | ΦΑΠ	Α Κ | Φ Α Π	*	IAph2007 8.65 i
TU353	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Masonry block. Currently in museum.	5th-6th century CE.	·· ? ··] | [- - -] ······[- - -] | [- - -]ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΙ	·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··] ν. Ε̣Ι̣Ι̣Ο̣Ι̣[·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··] Κύριε βοήθι ν.	… Lord, help.	IAph2007 8.269
TU354	Aphrodisias	Theatre. On Masonry Block. Between second and third doorway from north.	5th-7th century CE.	ΘΕΒΟΗΘΙ	Θ(ε)ὲ βοήθι *vacat.*	God, help.	IAph2007 8.110.
TU355	Aphrodisias	Theatre. On Masonry Block. Between second and third doorway from north.	1st-6th century CE.	ΩΡΑΑΓΑΘΗ	ὥρα ἀγαθή	Good season!	IAph2007 8.10a
TU356	Aphrodisias	Theatre. On Masonry Block. Between second and third doorway from north.	1st-6th century CE.	ΦΙΛΕΙΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣΥ ΨΙΚΛΕΑ	Φιλεῖ Θεόδοτος Ὑψικλέα	Theodotos loves Hypsikles	IAph2007 8.10b
TU357	Aphrodisias	Theatre. On Masonry Block. Between second and third doorway from north.	1st-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑ	νικᾷ	… victory…	IAph2007 8.10d
TU358	Aphrodisias	Theatre. On stone block found in theatre. The original location is unknown.	5th-6th century CE or Later.	·· ? ··] | [- - -] ······[- - -] | [- - -]ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΙ	*	… Lord, help.	IAph2007 8.269
TU359	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Prohedrion. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]Φ·[·]ΝΤΕΙ·[- - -]	[·· ? ··] | ΦΛ [·] ΝΤΕΙΧ̣ | [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 8.65 ii
TU360	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Prohedrion. Loose seating block.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΛΙΑΝ	| ΗΛΙΑΝ |	…	IAph2007 8.67

TU361	Aphrodisias	Theatre. *Scaena*. Northern Chamber. Doorway to stage room.	4th-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗ | ΤΩΝΠΡΑΣΙΝΩΝ | ΚΤΟΝΜΙΜΟΝΤΟΥ | ΠΡΑΣΙΝ	νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν Πρασίνων | κ(αὶ) τον μίμον τοῦ | Πρασίν(ου)	The fortune of the Greens, and the mimes of the Greens, triumphs!	IAph2007 8.104.
TU362	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 10.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΩΕ_|_ Κ v. A [τέχεται]	ΩΕ | Κ *vac.* A [τέχεται]	God… reserved.	PPA 46b
TU363	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	Η	*	*	PPA 46b
TU364	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 20. Carved on the rim of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΚ	*	*	PPA 46b
TU365	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 24. Carved on the edge of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	Αἰνείου τόπος	Place of Aeneios.	IAph2007 8.53
TU366	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	|*v.* τόπ|[ος]	Place of…	IAph2007 8.53
TU367	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	τό(πος) μανδ(άτορος)	Place of the Mandator.	IAph2007 8.53a
TU368	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[[.....]] ΥΓͅΙΖͅΙ | ΟΠΥοΛΛͅΤΝΙΡΟΥ | ΝΙΑ ΤΟΥΝͅΙ [..] ͅΙΕᾼΟͅϹ	π]υγίξι | [---] | [---]	…penetrate…?	IAph2007 8.53
TU369	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	Ι | ΓΙΖ | Λ	*	*	PPA 46a
TU370	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block A. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a figure holding a stick with a forked end in his right hand and another, shorter, object in the left hand.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.53

TU371	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 1. East end of row. Carved on the edge of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗ·ΩΝ |··ΚΑΗΤΥΧΗ | ···[····]ΙΝΩΝ	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν | Ν̣ικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τω̣ν [Πρασ]ίνων	The fortune of the Greens triumphs! The fortune triumphs!	IAph2007 8.54.1
TU372	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross with triangular ends.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.13i
TU373	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 14.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.14
TU374	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΡΑ[·······]	κΡα|[τέχεται] ...	Reserved.	IAph2007 8.54.15
TU375	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	*v.* ΚΚ *v.*	*vac.* ΚΚ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.54.16
TU376	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 19. Carved at the front edge of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	(Design, type S.1) ΚΑΤ[······]	κατ|[έχεται	Reserved.	IAph2007 8.54.19
TU377	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]Μ[··] Η | ΤΟ···[··]·ΣΟΥ | ··ΝΚΥΡ	[·· ? ··] Μ [··] *vac.* Η | ΤΟΣΛ̣Ι [··] ΣΣΟΥ | Ι̣Ω̣Ν κῦρ	*	IAph2007 8.54.2iii
TU378	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.2i
TU379	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type H.4]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.2ii
TU380	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.21
TU381	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.22
TU382	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a scorpion.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.23
TU383	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 25.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.25i

TU384	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 25.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Unknown type.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.25ii
TU385	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.26
TU386	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block B. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.54.6
TU387	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. Component letters are ΗΤΛΛ. Letters may also include Θ or ΤΟ.]	τό(πος)	*	IAph2007 8.55.12
TU388	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.15
TU389	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.16
TU390	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΑΚΑ····Η|ΤΩΝΠΡΑΣΙΝΩΝ	Κακὰ τὰ ἔτη | τῶν Πρασίνων	Bad year for the Greens!	IAph2007 8.55.18
TU391	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.19
TU392	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.2
TU393	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.20
TU394	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 21. Carved across several seats.	2nd-6th century CE.	··ΚΑΤ·[·····]ΗΤΛ[- - -]	| vac. | Ḳ Ạ | κα | τέ [χεται] | ΗΤΛ | [·· ? ··]	...reserved...	IAph2007 8.55.21i
TU395	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 21. Carved at the east end of the row.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΜΚ	v. | κμκ | v.	*	IAph2007 8.55.21ii
TU396	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 22. Carved beside the steps.	2nd-6th century CE.	steps [Gameboard. Type SSS.2] (2 seats) ΑΤΚΑΔ·Χ· Χ steps	steps | [Gameboard. Type SSS.2] | (2 seats) | ΑΤ | κ(αὶ) | ΑΔ |	*	IAph2007 8.55.22

					ΣΧΠ̣	vac.	X | vac.	steps		
TU397	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Variant of type C.3. Dot in centre.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.23
TU398	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΒΕΝΥΣΙΝ	τό(πος) Βενυσιν(ου)	Place of Venusinos	IAph2007 8.55.26
TU399	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.3
TU400	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross with triangular ends.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.4
TU401	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type H.4]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.5
TU402	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block C. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.55.6
TU403	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 1.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.1
TU404	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΥΑΤΕ[·····] | [···]·Α·-	| κΥατ|έ[χεται] | [···] | ΣΑΝ̣ | -	… Reserved…	IAph2007 8.56.12
TU405	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	|Κύριε βοηθ v.	Lord, help.	IAph2007 8.56.12
TU406	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.13ii
TU407	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 14.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.14.
TU408	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face. 2 Designs. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.15i
TU409	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross with triangular ends.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.15ii
TU410	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.15iii

TU411	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	A ⚡ Ω	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.16
TU412	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.17
TU413	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.18
TU414	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΛΙ|[·]AATE[·····]|·T	ΛΙ | [κ]|Αατέ|[χεται] |σT	Reserved.	IAph2007 8.56.19
TU415	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.19ii
TU416	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* QY[···]ΦON ††	*steps* | *vac.* | *vac.* | Q Y | [···] | Φ | O N | † | † | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.56.20
TU417	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.21
TU418	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.22
TU419	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.23
TU420	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 24.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.24
TU421	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 25.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.25
TU422	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.26
TU423	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type H.4.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.6
TU424	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block D. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.56.7i
TU425	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Behind the governors seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.X

TU426	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 10.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face, with a complex hairdo or headdress.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.10.
TU427	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 11	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. The monogram reads Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων]	*	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	IAph2007 8.57.11.
TU428	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.12
TU429	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 14.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.14
TU430	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΥΚΕΔ ·Χ· *steps*	*vac.* | ΥΚΕΔ | *vac.* | Κ̣Χ | Ω | *steps*	*	IAph2007 8.57 15
TU431	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of male or female genitalia.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57 16
TU432	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57 16
TU433	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΥΛΟΣΑΠΟΑΕ ΥΤΑΟΛ	*steps* | *vac.* | Υ Λ Ο Σ | | ΑΠΟ | | ΑΕ ΥΤ Α ΟΛ |	*	IAph2007 8.58.16ia
TU434	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΑΡ ΑΡΑΡ	*steps* | *vac.* ΑΡ *vac.* | ΑΡ | ΑΡ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.58.16ii
TU435	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.16iii
TU436	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.16iv
TU437	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57 17
TU438	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.18

TU439	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of either a penis or a building with two colums supporting a roof. To the side of the building is a bird.] ΤΟΠΟΣΕΡΩΤΟΣ	τόπος Ἔρωτος	Place of Erotos *or* Place of love.	IAph2007 8.58.18i
TU440	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.18ii
TU441	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.19
TU442	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.19
TU443	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΥΧΗΣΤΕ|ΦΑΝΑ	Εὐχὴ Στε|φανᾶ	Prayer of Stephanas	IAph2007 8.57.2a
TU444	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΩΝ	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν *vac.*	The fortune of... triumphs!	IAph2007 8.57.2bi
TU445	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.2bii
TU446	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type S.3.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.20i
TU447	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.20ii
TU448	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.20
TU449	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 20. Carved at the east end of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	νικᾷ	ἡ τύχ|[η-]	The fortune of... triumphs!	PPA. 46e
TU450	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.21
TU451	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.21

TU452	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 21. Carved at the east end of the seat.	2nd–6th century CE.	T [Y suprascript]	*	*	PPA 46e
TU453	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 22.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.22
TU454	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 22.	2nd–6th century CE.	PP *steps*	| P P | *steps*	*	IAph2007 8.58.22i
TU455	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 22.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.22ii
TU456	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 23.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.23
TU457	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 23.	2nd–6th century CE.	ΤΤΟΠΟΣΝ· [Scattered letters.]	Τ τόπος ΝΑ̣	Place of…	IAph2007 8.58.23.
TU458	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 24.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.24.
TU459	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 24.	2nd–6th century CE.	*steps*　　Κ·Τ[……]	*steps* | vac. | v ac. | κατ|[έχεται]	Reserved.	IAph2007 8.57.24
TU460	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 25.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.25
TU461	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 25.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.25.
TU462	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 26.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.26ii
TU463	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 26.	2nd–6th century CE.	ΤΤ	*vac.* | Τ Τ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.58.26i
TU464	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 26.	2nd–6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.26ii
TU465	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 26. Carved on a broken seat.	2nd–6th century CE.	[- - -]·· | ···ΧΗΒΟΗΤΟ·[- - -] | ΔΟΥΛΟΣΓΕΩ	[·· ? ··]Ο̣Ι̣|Υ̣ Α̣ Η̣ΧΗ βοή(θι) το ς̣ [·· ? ··]| δούλο σ(ου) Γεώ(ργιο) *vac.*	… help… your servant Georgios…	IAph2007 8.57.26i

TU466	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Traces of textual graffiti.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.3
TU467	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.1]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.5i
TU468	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.57.5ii
TU469	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 8. Carved at the front edge of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΩ v.| ΚΟΤΝ v. | Χ( ) Π | ΕΠ ‖ ΤΥ |ΕΥ	ΖΩ|Κ·Τ·| ΧΠ|Ε·‖ (*At a right angle*) ΤΥ | ΕΥ	*	IAph2007 8.57.8
TU470	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. The monogram reads Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων]	*	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	IAph2007 8.57.9.i
TU471	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block E. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. The monogram reads Ἡ τύχη τῶν Πρασίνων]	*	The fortune of the Greens	IAph2007 8.57.9.ii
TU472	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 10.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.10
TU473	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 10. Carved across a row of seats.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps |design|*ΚαΑτ|*vac.* |*vac.* ΑΙ |*vac.*|ΚΤ|*vac.* ΑΙ |*steps*	*	… Reserved…	PPA 46f
TU474	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 11.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΘΕ·ΦΙΑΣ	| ΘΕϹ | φιας |	*	IAph2007 8.58.11
TU475	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 5. Carved at the north end of the seat.	2nd-6th century CE.	[⋯] Χ ΕΤΑΙΣΤΕΡϚΘΙΟΣ	[κατέ]| vac. χ *vac.* εται | *steps* | ΘΙΟΣ	… Reserved…	IAph2007 8.58.5i
TU476	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2]	*	*	IAph2007 8.58.5ii

TU477	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block F. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	steps [·]ΑΡΧΩΝ·ΑΕ | ·Τ | ΙΒ Λ | [····]ΛΙΑ·ΦΛΑΒ *steps*	*steps* | *vac.* | [·]αρχων κ(αὶ) αε *vac.* |*vac.* Ạ Τ *vac.* ‖ *vac.* ιβ´ *vac.* | Λ *vac.* | [·· c. 4 ··] | λίας Φλαβ(ίας) | *steps*	... 12 ... Flavias...	IAph2007 8.58.6
TU478	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 10.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters. Design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 10.
TU479	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 11.	2nd-6th century CE.	Μ[··]ΧΗΝ[·]ΙΒ *steps* | ΚΑΤ	| *vac.* | Μ [··] ΧΗΝ | [·] | ΙΒ | *steps*| ΚΑΤ |	*	IAph2007 8.59 11.
TU480	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	† ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΩΝΒ ΕΝΕΤΩΝ	† Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων	The fortune of the Blues triumphs!	IAph2007 8.59 12.i
TU481	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	† ΤΟΠΟΣ | ΣΠΑΝΔΙ	† τόπος | Σπανδι | *vac.* ọ(υ)	Place of Spandios.	IAph2007 8.59 12.ii
TU482	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 13
TU483	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 15
TU484	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 16
TU485	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 17
TU486	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 18
TU487	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 19
TU488	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 20.

TU489	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΘΚΡΧΗΠΥ [Monogram. Letters may include AK.]	*steps* | *vac.* | ΘΚΡΧΗ | ΠΥ ((*in monogram*)) | *vac.* AK |	*	IAph2007 8.59 21.i
TU490	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 21.ii
TU491	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type unknown.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 22.i
TU492	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 22.ii
TU493	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 23.
TU494	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 24.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 24.
TU495	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 26.i
TU496	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered Letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 26.ii
TU497	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΦΡΟΝΤΙΝΟΥ † | ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΟΥ	Φροντίνου | † Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τοῦ	The fortune of Phrontinos triumphs! *Or* Phrontinos, the fortune of (the cross) triumphs.	IAph2007 8.594
TU498	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 5.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 5
TU499	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 6
TU500	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 7
TU501	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[…]ΟΤ·[…]	[…] | ΟΤΛ […]	*	IAph2007 8.59 8.ii

TU502	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΙΓ	ΙΓ	13	IAph2007 8.59 8.ii
TU503	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type unknown.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 8.ii
TU504	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type unknown.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 9.i
TU505	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block G. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.59 9.ii
TU506	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 11.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 11
TU507	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 12
TU508	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 15.i
TU509	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 15.ii
TU510	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 16.i
TU511	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 16.ii
TU512	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 17
TU513	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 18
TU514	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[····]ΧΕΤΑΙΥ[··] [Scattered letters]	[κατέ]χεται ὑ|[πὸ]	Reserved…	IAph2007 8.60 19.i
TU515	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]·ΠΟΨΟΥ | [- - -]ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤ[··]	[·· ? ··] | ΑΠΟΨΟΥ *vac.* | [·· ? ··] | κατέχετ[αι]	… Reserved…	IAph2007 8.60 19.ii
TU516	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* (*two seats*)·ΤΑΤΕΧ[····]	*steps* | (*two seats*)|κτ|α|τέ χ|[εται]	Reserved.	IAph2007 8.60 20.i

TU517	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠ	*vac.* τόπ(ος)	Place of…	IAph2007 8.60 20.ii
TU518	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 20.iii
TU519	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΖΩ[··]ΑΙ	| ζω[··]αι	*	IAph2007 8.60 21.i
TU520	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 21.ii
TU521	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* (*three seats*)ΥΠΟ·ΑΠ Λ(*three seats*)ΥΚΤ[··] *steps*	*steps* | (*three seats*) | ὑπὸ | κα | π *vac.* λ | (*three seats*) | υ | κ | τ | [··] *steps*	*	IAph2007 8.60 22.i
TU522	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΜΕΥ	| μ | ευ |	*	IAph2007 8.60 22.ii
TU523	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 22.iii
TU524	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΚΔΙΡΟΕΘ(*2 seats*) *steps* | ΝΟ·Ο·[·· ? ··][·]·ΤΕΧΕΤΑΙ	| κδιρο | ε | | Θ | (*2 seats*) | *steps* | νορου | [·· ? ··] | [κ]ατέχεται |	… Reserved…	IAph2007 8.60 23.i
TU525	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 23.ii
TU526	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 25.	2nd-6th century CE.	[········]ΙΥΠΟΤ	[?κατέχετα]|ι ὑπὸ Τ |	…reserved…	IAph2007 8.60 25.i
TU527	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 25.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 25.ii
TU528	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of two faces.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 26.i
TU529	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΕΥΑΚ	ε | ευακ	*	IAph2007 8.60 26.ii

TU530	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 26.iii
TU531	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a retiarus.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 3
TU532	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a gladiator with a spear and shield.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 4.i
TU533	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 4.ii
TU534	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΛΙΤ.	ΛΙΤ	*	IAph2007 8.60 6.i
TU535	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 6.i
TU536	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a head with a hat and shoulders.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 6.ii
TU537	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠ †	τόπ(ος)	Place of (the cross?)	IAph2007 8.60 6.iii
TU538	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[- - -]ΑΓΑΘΩΠΟΣ	[·· ? ··] Ἀγάθωπος *vac.*	Agathopos.	IAph2007 8.60 8.i
TU539	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΠΤΑΜΗ·[·]ΟΥ	Ἑπταμην[ί]ου	Place of Heptamenios.	IAph2007 8.60 8.ii
TU540	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Mongram. Various different possible letter combinations.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.60 8.iii
TU541	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a gladiator.] ΘΡΑΞ	Θρᾷξ	Thracian (gladiator?)	IAph2007 8.60 9.i
TU542	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΕΥΣΕΒΙ	Ἀθανασί(ου) Εὐσεβί(ου)	Athanasios, Eusebios *or* Athanasios son of Eusebios.	IAph2007 8.60 9.ii

TU543	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block H. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. Letters may read E, T, O, Θ, B or P, perhaps A.]	τό(πος) Εὐ[σε]β[ίου].	Place of Eusebios.	IAph2007 8.609.iii
TU544	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 11.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 11.
TU545	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 12.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 12.
TU546	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	Τ··ΟΤΩΝΜΑΚΕΛΛΙΤ ΩΝ | ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΤΩΝΒΕ ΝΕΤΩΝ	τόπο τῶν μακελλίτων(sic.) | Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν Βενέτων	Place of the butchers. The fortune of the Blues triumphs!	IAph2007 8.61 13.
TU547	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 15.
TU548	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 16.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 16.
TU549	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 17.
TU550	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 18.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 18.
TU551	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 19.
TU552	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 2.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡ	*vac.* Ἡλιοδώρ(ου) *vac.*	Heliodoros.	IAph2007 8.61 2
TU553	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 20.
TU554	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[·· ? ··]ΜΟΥ[·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··]ΦΟΥ[·· ? ··]	[·· ? ··]μου [·· ? ··] | [·· ? ··]φου [·· ? ··]	*	IAph2007 8.61 23.i
TU555	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. Letters may include K, E, T and I.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 23.ii

TU556	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΜΝΙΟΥΛΥ	*vac.* | μνίου ΛΥ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.61 26.i
TU557	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 26.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 26.ii
TU558	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man in a loin cloth. His arms are raised above his head, and have straps. The image possibly represents a wrestler.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 3.i
TU559	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* Ζ ΑΛ	*steps* | ζ | *vac.* | αλ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.61 3.ii
TU560	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a penis.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 4.i
TU561	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face with long hair.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 4.i
TU562	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of two busts with radiate headdresses. They are not facing one another.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 4.ii
TU563	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bust with short hair in between text.] ΤΟΥΚΕ *bust* ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗ | ΚΟΛΟΤΡΟΝΟΣ *bust* ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ | *bust* ΠΡΟΤΑΥ | *bust* ΡΑΡΙΟΥ	τοῦ κὲ | νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Κολοτρονος βυστ Θεοδότου *vacat.* | προται *vacat.* | ραρίου	The fortune of Theodotos, first goldsmith, triumphs! Also (called) Kolotron.	IAph2007 8.61 8.i

TU564	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block J. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.61 8.ii
TU565	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 1.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face.]	*	*	PPA 46K
TU566	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps|vac.|T|vac.| O|vac.|vac.|Ṇ I |Υ|vac.|steps*	*	*	PPA 46.K
TU567	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	PPA 46.K
TU568	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Monogram. Letters may read K, E, T and Λ.]	*	*	PPA 46.K
TU569	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	*vac.|ḳΕΑΤΥ̣Ι̣ΙΩΝ̣*	*	*	PPA 46.K
TU570	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	NHAI	*	*	PPA 46.K
TU571	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating block K. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	*	Ἐγὼ πυγίστης | εἶμε	I am one who is penetrated.	IAph2007 8.62
TU572	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 1.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.8.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 1
TU573	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* AP	*steps* | αρ | *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.64 13.i
TU574	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 13.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 13.ii
TU575	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 15.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 15
TU576	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 17.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 17
TU577	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 19.	2nd-6th century CE.	Π ΠΑΘ[··] *steps*	*vac.* | *vac.* π *va c.* | *vac.* παθ [··] | *vac.* | *steps*	*	IAph2007 8.64 19

TU578	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 20.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* (*3 seats*)T *stop* I *stop* X ΡΥΣ[.]	*steps*	(*3 seats*)	τ *stop* ι *stop* χρ υσ(ου) [.]	*	IAph2007 8.64 20
TU579	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* X [·] Ω	*steps*	χ	*vac.*	[·]	*vac.*	ω	*vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.64 21.i
TU580	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 21.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 21.ii
TU581	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 22.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 22
TU582	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 23.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 23
TU583	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 24.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* Λ	*steps*	*vac.*	λ	*vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.64 24.i
TU584	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 24.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 24.ii
TU585	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 3.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type R.1.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 3
TU586	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 4.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* [Gameboard. Type R.1.] ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗ	ΤΩΝ? ·Ο	*steps*	[Gameboard. Type R1.] Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τῶν ? *vac.* ạο	The fortune of... triumphs!	IAph2007 8.64 4
TU587	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	ΕΓ	*vac.* εγ *vac.*	*	IAph2007 8.64 6.i
TU588	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 6.ii
TU589	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 6.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 6.iii
TU590	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 7.	2nd-6th century CE.	*steps* ΤΟΠΟΣ·Ε··ΤΩ·	*steps*	τόπος Ḅενετων		Place of the Blues.	IAph2007 8.64 7
TU591	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 8.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Scattered letters.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.64 8

TU592	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a face.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.649.i
TU593	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Seating Block L. Row 9.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Design. Type C.2.]	*	*	IAph2007 8.649.ii
TU594	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Stage building. Second pillar from north.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of an ostrich.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.22
TU595	Aphrodisias	Theatre. Stage buildings. Between the fifth and sixth doorways from the north.	1st-6th century CE.	? | ΑΥΡΣΥΜ[- - -]	? | Αὐρ(ήλιος)Συμ[·· ? ··]	Aurelios…	IAph2007 8.11
TU596	Aphrodisias	Urban Park	6th Century CE.	† ΚΟΛΟΤΡΟΝΠΡΟΤΑΥΡΑΡΙΟΣ | ΟΥΟΘΕΟΣΜΝΗΣΕΤΕ	† Κολοτρον Προταυραριος | ου ὁ Θεός Μνησετε	Kolotron, first goldsmith, whom God shall remember.	http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/south-agora-graffito.html
TU597	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North colonnade. Column 67.	1st-7th century CE.	[Figurative representation of a bull fighting a lion.]	*	*	IAph2007 4.2.
TU598	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Eighteeeth column from east.	5th-6th century CE.	ΙΩΑΝΕΛΛ	Ἰωάν(νου) ἐλλ(ογιμωτάτου).	Ioannes, most eloquent.	IAph2007 4.18
TU599	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Eighteenth column from the west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figureative graffio of a bird (possibly a dove) beside a cross.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.11
TU600	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Eighteenth column from the west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man and a bird. Possibly representing a wild beast fight.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.12
TU601	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifteenth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of an antelope	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.7

				being attacked by a god.]			
TU602	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a running lion.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.2
TU603	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a running lion.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.3
TU604	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a running lion.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.4
TU605	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.5
TU606	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Fifth column from west. South side.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a fight, either between two gladiators or a gladiator and an ostrich.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.1
TU607	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Nineteenth column from east.	3rd-6th century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη	The fortune triumphs!	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.15
TU608	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Nineteenth column from east.	5th-6th century CE.	† ΘΕΟΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ	† Θεοκτίστου .	Theoktistos.	IAph2007 4.16
TU609	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Sixteenth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.8
TU610	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Sixteenth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.9.

TU611	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Sixteenth column from west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.10
TU612	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Third column from west.	3rd-4th century CE.	[·]·ΠΟΣ|ΕΥΓΡΑ|ΦΙΟΥ |ΦΥΛΑΡ‖ΧΟΥ	[τ]όπος | Εὐγρα|φίου | φυλάρ‖χου.	Place of Eugraphios, Phylarch.	IAph2007 4.7i
TU613	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Third column from west.	3rd-4th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ | ΖΩΤΙΚΟΥ | [[[- - -]]] | [[[- - -]]]	τόπος| Ζωτικοῦ | [[[·· ? ··]]] | [[[·· ? ··]]]	Place of Zotikos.	IAph2007 4.7ii
TU614	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Third column from west.	3rd-4th century CE.	[Scattered letters]	*	*	IAph2007 4.7
TU615	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Thirty-fifth column from the west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.13
TU616	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Thirty-fifth column from the west.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Monogram of green or blue circus faction.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.14
TU617	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Twenty-fifth column from east.	4th-6th century CE.	ΚΗΣ *scroll*	*	*	IAph2007 4.8
TU618	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North Portico. Twenty-sixth column from east.	5th-6th century CE.	ΘΕΟΚ	Θεοκ(τίστου)	Theoktistos.	IAph2007 4.17
TU619	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Written on fallen architrave.	2nd-6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type SSS.1]	*	*	IAph2007 4.5.
TU620	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Unknown type.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 89.
TU621	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Unknown type.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 89.

TU622	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Graffito of a menorah.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 89.
TU623	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Unknown type.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 89.
TU624	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a penis.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 89.
TU625	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North-west end.	Undated.	ΣΟΦΙΣΤΟΥ	*	Place of the Sophist	https://www.ias.edu/ideas/2015/chaniotis%E2%80%93graffitti
TU626	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Theatre seating reused in renovations.	2nd-6th century CE.	*vac.* ΔΗΜΗ *vac.*	*	*	IAph2007 8.80
TU627	Aphrodisias	Urban park. North portico. Theatre seating reused in renovations.	2nd-6th century CE.	M	*	*	IAph2007 8.81.
TU628	Aphrodisias	Urban park. Seating block beside pool.	3rd-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock with an open tail.]	*	*	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: 37
TU629	Aphrodisias	Urban park. Seating block beside pool.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito of a fish.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 85.
TU630	Aphrodisias	Urban park. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Design. Type S.2] MAPI[- - -]| E	Μαρῖ[·· ? ··] | *v.* E	Marinos (?)	IAph2007 4.6i
TU631	Aphrodisias	Urban park. South portico. Thirteenth column from west.	5th-6th century CE.	ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ †	Καλλινίκου †	Kallinikos.	IAph2007 4.15
TU632	Aphrodisias	Urban park. South portico. Twenty-fourth column from west	5th-6th century CE.	† | ΟΥ| M	cross | ου | M	*	IAph2007 4.14

TU633	Aphrodisias	Urban park. South side of pool. Seating block beside pool.	2nd-10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. CC.7. Text written on the board.]	[Π]υγί|[ζει] ὁ Εὐ|[σέ]βις | Δουλ|κίτιν	Eusebios penetrates Dulkitios.	Chaniotis 2018: 87.
TU634	Aphrodisias	Urban park. South-east corner. Retaining wall of theatre.	4th-6th century CE.	ΤΟΠΟΣ | ΖΟΤΙΚΟΥ |ΚΑΠΗΛΟΥ *cross* | ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ *cross*	τόπος | *v.* Ζοτικοῦ | *v.* καπήλου † | *v.* εὐτυχῶς †	Place of Zotikos, salesman. Good fortune!	IAph2007 4.9
TU635	Aphrodisias	Urban park. West Portico. Carved on column beneath formal acclamations.	6th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito of a nude woman. Perhaps representing a statue of Aphrodite.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 86.
TU636	Aphrodisias	Urban park. West Portico. Carved on column beneath formal acclamations.	6th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito of a nude seated man. Possible representing a statue. The man appears to be holding an object, possibly an instrument.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 86.
TU637	Aphrodisias	Urban park. West portico. Pavement slab.	3rd-6th century CE.	*	Νικᾷ [ἡ τύχη] | τῶ Ῥουσέων	The fortune of the Reds triumphs!	Chaniotis and Staebler 2018: no.16
TU638	Aphrodisias	Urban park. West side. Stone slab.	Undated.	[Large unfinished oval, with a second oval inside. May represent a sketch of the central pool of the Urban Park.]	*	*	Chaniotis 2018: 83.
TU639	Ephesos	Arkadian Street	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type R.5]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/

TU640	Ephesos	Arkadian street.	395 CE or later.	*	ἀργυροκόπων	Silver-smiths.	I.Eph 547 1
TU641	Ephesos	Arkadian street.	395 CE or later.	*	ἀργυροκόπων	Silver-smiths.	I.Eph 547 2
TU642	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. Block used in Agora flooring.	395 CE or later.	*	νικᾷ ἡ τύχι τῶν Βενέτον	The fortune of the Blues triumphs!	I.Eph 1194
TU643	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. Centre of the street. Carved on paving slab.	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type R.1.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU644	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. Centre of the street. Carved on paving slab.	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.].	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU645	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. Centre of the street. Carved on paving slab.	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard or design. Circular type.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU646	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. In front of a portico. Carved on paving slab.	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type C.4.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU647	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. In front of a portico. Carved on paving slab.	395 CE or later.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.5.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU648	Ephesos	Arkadian Street. Marble slab.	395 CE or later.	*	νικᾷ ἡ τύχι τῶγ | {νβ} Βενέτων	The fortune of the Blues triumphs!	I.Eph 1193
TU649	Ephesos	Baths of Varius.	Undated.	*	Ζώσι|μος	Zosimos.	I.Eph 535 1
TU650	Ephesos	Baths of Varius.	Undated.	*	Μητρόδορος | κόρος	Metrodoros the barber.	I.Eph 535 2
TU651	Ephesos	Byzantine palace. Carved in wall.	Undated.	*	τόπος | Προσόδου | γραματεώς	Place of Prosodos, secretary.	I.Eph 552
TU652	Ephesos	Byzantine palace. Northeast corner. Wall. Reused marble block.	Undated.	*	φυλῆς | Καρηναίων	Tribe of the Carians.	I.Eph 534

*TU653	Ephesos	Church of Mary. Pillar Basilica. North aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	[---]OIΘHTOΣ[-] | OBIO | [---]MOXAMHN	[κ(ύρι)ε β]οίθη τῷ σ[ῷ] | [δούλῳ --]οβίο | [----]μο(να)χ(ῷ)· ἀμήν	Lord, help your servant... Monk... Amen.	I.Eph 4150
*TU654	Ephesos	Church of Mary. South Aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	IXPHΣTPATHΓEΣTPATHΓETONAΓΓEΛON | BOHΘTON ΔOYΛONΣOYHOANH	ἀρχιστράτηγε, στρατηγὲ τõν ἀγγέλον | βοήθη τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ἰοάννη	Commander, general of the angels, help your servant Ioannes.	I.Eph 4145
*TU655	Ephesos	Church of Mary. South Aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	Θ H T O | MNHΣTHTHTHΓHΔOYΛHTOYΘOOYXPHTNN	[--- βοή]θη τὸν [δοῦλόν σου --- | μνή(σ)τητη{τη} τή(ν) δούλη(ν) τοῦ θεοῦ Χρη(σ)τή(ν) *or* (τῇ δούλη τοῦ θεοῦ Χρη(σ)τῇ)	Help your servant, remember the servant of God, Christ (?)	I.Eph 4146
*TU656	Ephesos	Church of Mary. South Aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	MNH[-]HTNTOΔOYΛOΓOYΘ[-]OY EΠHΦANH	μνή(σ)[τ]ητη τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ θ[ε]οῦ Ἐπ[η]φάνη	Remember the servant of God, Epiphanes.	I.Eph 4147
*TU657	Ephesos	Church of Mary. South Aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	KEBOHΘHTO[-]ΔOYΛONΣOYHOANH	κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὸ[ν] δοῦλόν σου Ἰοάνη	Lord, help your servant Ioannes.	I.Eph 4148
*TU658	Ephesos	Church of Mary. South Aisle. East wall. Inscribed in plaster.	5th century CE or later.	KYPAAYPIΛIΛ † | ΣOTHPIAK[--]AYP | [---] | TO[-]ǪMOΠATPY[--]	κύρα Αὐριλία † | Σοτηρία κ(ύρο)ν Αὐρ|ιλιν Χρήστιον | τὸν ὁμόπατριν	Lady Aurilia. Save lord Aurilis a Christian of the same father.	I.Eph 4149

*TU659	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Blue marble plate. Written beneath a formal inscription.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† ἅγ(ι)ε Ἰω(άννη), βοήθη τῶν σὸν δοῦλον Λάζαρον	Saint John, help your servant Lazaros.	I.Eph 4304b
*TU660	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Blue marble plate. Written beneath a formal inscription.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† ἅγιε Ἰω(άννη) θεο[λόγε, βοήθη ---	Saint John the Theologian, help.	I.Eph 4304c
*TU661	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Blue marble plate. Written beneath a formal inscription.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† ἅγιε Ἰ[ω(άννη) ---	Saint John.	I.Eph 4304d
*TU662	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Blue-grey marble plate.	6th-14th century CE.	[Traces of illegible graffiti.]	Ἠοάνι †	John.	I.Eph 4305c
*TU663	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Location unknown	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τῷ δού|λο σου Κο(σ)ταντείνο δηα|κόνου κέ τῇ σύ(ν)βηον αὐτοῦ | κέ τὸ τέκνον αὐτοῦ	Lord, help your servant, the Deacon Konstantinos, and his wife, and his children.	I.Eph 4320a
*TU664	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Location unknown	6th-14th century CE.	*	μνήσθιτη, κ(ύρι)ε, τὸ δοῦλόν σου | Ἠοάννη	Lord, remember your servant Ioannes.	I.Eph 4320b
*TU665	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the east column beside the entrance.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† κ(ύρι)ε βοΰθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Παπελέοντος	Lord, help your servant Papeleontos.	I.Eph 4310b
*TU666	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the	6th-14th century CE.	*	Ἡ(σοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς	Jesus Christ, Saint John	I.Eph 4310b

		east column beside the entrance.				ἅγ(ιος) † Ἰω(άννης)	
*TU667	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the east column beside the entrance.	6th-14th century CE.	*		† κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τὼν | δοῦλών σου Ἰω(άννην)	Lord, help your servant Ioannes.	I.Eph 4310d
*TU668	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the east column besides the entrance.	6th-14th century CE.	*		Κ(ύρι)ε, βοΐθη ((cross)) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ | Γεοργίῳ ((cross)) ἐπειστίκοντος	Lord, help your servant Georgios, the foreman.	I.Eph 4310a
*TU669	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the west column beside the entrance.	6th-14th century CE.	*		κ(ύρι)ε βωΐ(θει) ((cross)) κ(ύρι)ε βοΐθι	Lord, help. Lord, help.	I.Eph 4311b
*TU670	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the west column besides the entrance.	6th-14th century CE.	*		κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τὸν δ[οῦλόν σου ---	Lord, help your servant.	I.Eph 4311d
*TU671	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Main entrance to south aisle. Inscribed on the west column besides the entrance. The inscription is deeply carved.	6th-14th century CE.	*		κ(ύρι)[ε], βοήθη τὼν δοῦλόν (σου) Γεώγιον τοῦ μαΐστορος †	Lord, help your servant Georgios, the Maistoros or Lord, help the servant of the Maistoros, Georgios	I.Eph 4311c
*TU672	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Narthex entrance. East door posts.	6th-14th century CE.	*		[Four lines illegible] [.....]ση	Humble … and Dionysios … my Dionysios	I.Eph 4319a

					ταπηνοῦ | [….]ου κ(αὶ) Δεονυσί|[ο]υ βηψε (?) ἐμου Διον|ύσιον ηθη ε̄		
*TU673	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Narthex entrance. East door posts.	6th-14th century CE.	*	οθ | απαστημ	*	I.Eph 4319b
*TU674	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Narthex entrance. East door posts.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τ◌̣ [δού]|λ◌̣ σου Ἀ[	Lord, help your servant…	I.Eph 4319c
*TU675	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Narthex entrance. East door posts.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοή--- | [κ](ύρι)ε βο(ήθει) ἐμο βμθηλα ?	Lord, help. Lord, help me…	I.Eph 4319d
*TU676	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, κ(ύρι)ε, ἅγηε θεολόγε, βοήθησον | τοῦ δούλο σου Γεόργηον	Lord, Lord, holy Theologian, help your servant Georgios.	I.Eph 4318a
*TU677	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	[[…]] | [[…]] κ(ὲ) ψυχῇ μου | ἐλογηζόμην κ(ὲ) κερδᾶνε ἐλπίζετ[ο] | πάντα τὸν κόσμον πέραν θανάτου | μου κ(ὲ) [[…]] θεοῦ μου οὐδέποτε [[…]] ‖ ναὸν κατεφρόνικα	… and with my soul I counted (?) and it was hoped to gain the entire world beyond my death (?) and… of my God never… I disregarded the church and in this way	I.Eph 4318b

					κ(ὲ) οὔτο ἐμὲ ἤλθεν | εξα ὄρα τήν ψυχήν μου | [[...]] | [[... ?νεφ]ὲλη τῆς τέφρας [[...]] | [[...]] | [[...]] ἄνθρωπος ἐυ[[...]]	me... it came (?) ... see my soul ... cloud of ashes ... man...	
*TU678	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθησον | [[... δοῦ]]|λον θ(εο)ῦ	Lord, help... servant of God.	I.Eph 4318c
*TU679	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι	Lord, help.	I.Eph 4318d
*TU680	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	εν | θεολόγε αὐθο | τα - - + | κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι κ(ύρι)ε || κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(η) τὸν δοῦλον σου Ἰοά(ννην)	... Theologian... Lord, help, Lord, Lord, Help, your servant Ioannes.	I.Eph 4318e
*TU681	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὸν δοῦ|λόν σου Ἰοάνην | κ(ύρι)ε ---	Lord, help your servant Ioannes, Lord.	I.Eph 4318f
*TU682	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη | τὸν δοῦλον	Lord, help the servant.	I.Eph 4318g

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*TU683	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη [δού]|λο σου Ἀ...	Lord, help your servant...	I.Eph 4318i
*TU684	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North corridor of the nave. *Aedicule* shaped fountain.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε βοή ((cross)) θη τõ δούλο σου | Χ(ριστ)ὲ βοή ((cross)) [θη...]	Lord, help your servant. Christ, help...	I.Eph 4318k
*TU685	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. North transept. North row of columns. Inscribed surrounding a decorated cross.	6th-14th century CE.	*	Θεολόγε, βοεί|θι τοῦ ((*cross*)) σοῦ δού|λου Σισι ((*cross*)) νήου | κὲ τῖς μ ((*cross*)) ιτρὸς αὐτοῦ	Theologian, help your servant Sisinis and his mother.	I.Eph 4314
*TU686	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. Northern aisle of nave. Written between bricks, at the height of the east dome. Carved during construction.	6th-14th century CE.	*	ἐλέσόν με ει --- | διὰ τὴ(ν) εὐσπλανχ(ν)ίαν σου | τὰς ἡμον ---	have mercy on me … through your compassion to me…	I.Eph 4321
*TU687	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. South transept. South-west corner of transept. Inscribed around a decorated cross.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† Θεολό ((*cross*)) γε, βοΐθι | τοῦ σοῦ δούλου ((*cross*)) Στεφάνου | ἀμαρ ((*cross*)) τολοῦ	Theologian, help your servant, Stephanos, sinner.	I.Eph 4315a
*TU688	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. South transept. South-west corner of transept.	6th-14th century CE.	*	θεολόγε, βοήθησον ἀμίν | τὸν δοῦλον	Theologian, help the servant of God	I.Eph 4315b

		Inscribed to the left of the foot of a decorated cross.			τοῦ θεοῦ Ο|ΣΟΝΤΟΛΟΝ ἐν ἁμαρτήᾳ· σολην(ο)|ποιηό ς. ἁμαρτήα ..α	Osontolos in (his) sins, the pipe-maker. Sins…	
*TU689	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. West dome of the nave. North row of columns. Second column from the east. Text carved below a decorated cross and formal inscription. Written below the word δομεσ in the formal inscription.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τῶ δο|ύλ(ῳ) Νηκόλα Χρήστ[ου ?]	Lord, help your servant Nikola, of Christ (?)	I.Eph 4313b
*TU690	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. West dome of the nave. North row of columns. Second column from the east. Text carved surrounding a decorated cross.	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοΐθι ((*cross*)) τῶ σῶ δούλῳ | Χρυσαφίῳ ((*cross*)) δομεσ(τίκῳ)	Lord, help your servant Chrysaphios, domestikos.	I.Eph 4313a
*TU691	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. West dome of the nave. South row of columns. Easternmost column. Text inscribed to the right of a decorated cross.	6th-14th century CE.	*	† κ(ύρι)ι, βοΐθι ((*cross*)) Τῶ σῶ δούλῳ | Ἰοάνου ((*cross*)) ξυλινᾷ	Lord, help your servant Ioannes, wood-worker.	I.Eph 4312a
*TU692	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. West dome of the nave. South row of columns. Easternmost column. Text inscribed to the	6th-14th century CE.	*	κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ	Lord, help your servant Theodoulos the monk	I.Eph 4312b

		right of a decorated cross.					
*TU693	Ephesos	Church of Saint John. West dome of the nave. South row of columns. Easternmost column. Text inscribed to the right of a decorated cross.	6th-14th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Πέτρου	μοναχοῦ ἀπο Σκάφης κ(αὶ) τ	Lord, help your servant Petros, monk from Skaphes.	I.Eph 4312c
TU694	Ephesos	Commercial Agora. Column fragment.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito of a Christian shrine, with a cross and other decorative features. The cross features an alpha, omega and rho.] ΚΥΡΙΕΣΥ|ΒΟΗΘΙΗ|ΜΙΝ	κύριε σὺ | βούθ(ε)ι ἡ|μῖν | Χρ(ιστός) ΑΩ	Lord, help me.	I.Eph 1367 1
TU695	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Base of a victory statue.	4th century CE or later.	ΑΒΟΡΤΠΟΤΟ | ΔΑΜΙΓϹΙΟ|Μ	*	*	Roueché 2007: A.
TU696	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Base of a victory statue.	4th century CE or later.	*	Ὁ θεὸς Γιοργίου | ἀνέγιρον τὸ | μέρος τον ὗδες	God of George, raise the party you know.	Roueché 2007: B.
TU697	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Base of a victory statue.	4th century CE or later.	[Monogram.]	Πρασίνων	The Greens.	Roueché 2007: C.
TU698	Ephesos	Curetes street. Carved on a column drum.	Undated.	*	Ἰάσονος	Iasonos.	I.Eph 540
TU699	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Honorific monument of Androcles.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Variant of type H.6.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/

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TU700	Ephesos	Curetes Street. In Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.5.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU701	Ephesos	Curetes Street. In Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type R.1.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU702	Ephesos	Curetes Street. In Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type R.4.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU703	Ephesos	Curetes Street. In Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU704	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Paving slab in front of statue of Aelia Flacilla.	378 CE or later.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχι | Πρασινῶν	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	Roueché 2007: 222.
TU705	Ephesos	Curetes Street. Paving slab.	Undated.	*	νικᾷ ἡ τύχι | πρασίνων	The fortune of the Greens triumphs!	I.Eph 1198 2
TU706	Ephesos	Domitian Street. Written on a white marble panel.	5th century CE or later.	*	κ(ύρι)ε Ήσοῦ Χ[ριστὲ καὶ Ἰωάννη(ς)] | ὁ θεόλογος [ῥύσατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ - - -] |ἀπὸ τε τοῦ [πονηροῦ(?) ἀμήν, γέ|νυτο κ(ύρι)ε	Lord Jesus Christ and John the Theologian, deliver me from evil. Amen, so be it. Lord.	I.Eph 1279 and CSLA E00743.
TU707	Ephesos	Found in a house in Selçuk. Re-used stone block.	Undated.	*	ἀρ]χιτέκτονος καὶ Π [	Architect and…	I.Eph 536
*TU708	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Παῦλε, β[ο]ή[θει	Paul, Help.	I.Eph 1285 1

*TU709	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Χρ(ιστ)ὲ Βοη<θ>ός	Christ, help *or* Christ, the helper	I.Eph 1285 2
*TU710	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	ἅγειε Παῦλε, βοήθει | τῇ δούλῃ σου π(νευ)ματικῇ | κὲ Σεπατοβου ΕΤΕΙ [----]	Saint Paul, help the servant of the spirit and Sepatobos…	I.Eph 1285 3
*TU711	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Βοήθη[	Help	I.Eph 1285 4
*TU712	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Χρ(ιστ)ὲ [βοήθησο]ν τὸν δοῦλόν | σου Γαργονίλου	Christ, help your servant Gorgonilas	I.Eph 1285 5
*TU713	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)οῦ βοήθη [τοῖς] | δούλοις σου Ῥου[φ-- καὶ ---	Lord Jesus, help your servants Rouph… And…	I.Eph 1285 6
*TU714	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθησον τὸν δοῦ[λόν σου] | Κω[νσταντ-	Lord, help your servant Konstantinos	I.Eph 1285 7
*TU715	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	κύριε βοήθι [τὴν δούλην σου --- | αγκανια[	Lord help your servant…	I.Eph 1285 8
*TU716	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	[----] | καὶ Ἀναστάσιον | τοὺς δού]λους σου καὶ Τόμινον |]μνινιυνται	and Anastasios your servant and Tominos, remembered (?)	I.Eph 1285 9

*TU717	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	ὁ θεὸς βο[ήθησον --- | | καὶ τοῦ υἱο[ῦ | | πνευμα[τικ | τὸν δοῦ]||λόν σου	God, help... of the son and the spirit, your servant	I.Eph 1285 10
*TU718	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΠΑΥΛΟΥΔΟΣΤΩΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΣ[Ω]ΦΡΟΝΙΩΚΑΛΟΝ | [Ν]ΟΥΝΚΑΙ...	Εἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ε.λ.εϛ τοῦ π(νευμ)ατικοῦ υἱο[ῦ σου | Παύλου, δὸς το(ῦ) δούλου σου Σωφρονίῳ καλὸν | [ν]οῦν καὶ Εἴασαιηω καὶ ωμαιυ .. ως Χριστο[	Jesus Christ, have mercy on the spirit of your son, Paul, give your servant Sophronios good sense and Eisaios and the same?... O Christ	I.Eph 1285 11
*TU719	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΒΟΗΘΙΤΩΔΟΥΛΟΩΑΦΡΩΣΙΩ | ΚΕ... | ΚΕΠΑΝΤΩΟΙΚΩΑΥΤΩΝ-	κύριε βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἀφροδισίῳ | κὲ Ἀγαλλιάσι κὲ .ωσ.ϱελ | κὲ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῶν	Lord, help your servant Aphrodisios, and rejoice, and have mercy on all his household.	I.Eph 1285 12
*TU720	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΧΡΙΣΤΕΒΟ[ΗΘΙ] | ΤΩΔΟΥΛΩΣΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΙΩΚΕΤΩ...	Χριστέ, βο[ήθει |τῷ δούλῳ σου Εὐσε|βίῳ κὲ τῷ οἴ[κῳ αὐτοῦ	Lord, help your servant Eusebios, and his household.	I.Eph 1285 13
*TU721	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	(Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) | θεός βοηθὸς τοῦ δούλου σου | Λεοντίου καὶ τῇ δούλη σου |	Jesus Christ, God, help your servant Leontios and your servant Theosebia and	I.Eph 1285 14

					Θεο[σεβ]ία καὶ [Ἰ]ουάνου ἀ[πὸ π]α(ν)|τος κακοῦ καὶ ὁ σοὶ καθήκων ‖ ευσισιειω[.....] ωκε	Ioannes from all sins and reach to your…	
*TU722	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΥΔΟ ΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΤΙΜΟΘΕΟ ΝΚΕΒΟΗΘΗ…	Κύριε, βοήθι τοῦ δού|λου σου Τιμόθεον	Lord, help your servant Timotheos.	I.Eph 1285 15
*TU723	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	⳨ΒΩΗΘΟΣ | ΜΑΤΕΡΝΩΚΕΛΕΕ͂ΟΤΙ ΑΣ	Χρ(ιστὸς) βωηθὸς | Ματέρνῳ | κὲ Λεοντίας	Christ, help Maternos and Leontias.	I.Eph 1285 16
*TU724	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΠΑΥΛΕ | ΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΣΟ Υ | ΝΙΚ…	Παῦλε|βοήθι τῷ δούλο σου|Νικ [--	Paul, help your servant Nik…	I.Eph 1285 17
*TU725	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	κύρι Χριστὲ βοήθι τ[ῷ] δού[λῳ σου] | Δη[μ]ητ[ρί]ῳ ἀναγν[ώστη] καὶ τῇ [δού]|λη σου Ἰουλιανῇ καὶ τῷ δού<λῳ> σου Αυ[.]θνωχ | καὶ .μῳ τῷ δούλου σου	Lord Christ, help your servant Demetrios the reader and your servant Iouliana and your servant… and your servant…	I.Eph 1285 18
*TU726	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	*	Μαρία, Μιχαήλ	Mary, Michael *or* Maria, Michael.	I.Eph 1285 19

*TU727	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΒΟΗΘΟΣΤΟΥΔΟΥΛ ΟΥΣΟΥ…	βοηθὸς τοῦ δούλου σου	Help your servant…	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU728	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΚΑΙΜΝΙΣΘ…	καὶ μνισθ[- -]	And remember…	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU729	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΘΕΟΣΒΟΗΘΟΣΤΟΥΔ ΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥ	θεὸς βοηθός τοῦ δούλου σου	God, help your servant	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU730	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΚΥΡΙΕΔΟΥΛΟ[Υ…	Κύριε δούλο[υ - -]	Lord, help.	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU731	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΚΕΕΛΕΗ[Σ]|ΟΝ	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέη[σ]|ον-	Lord, have mercy	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU732	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΙΗΣΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΕ	Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ [- -]	Jesus Christ	Pillinger 2000: 20
*TU733	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed in layer of Byzantine plaster.	5th century CE or later.	ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ … Rasur … ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ	[- - -] ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς [- -] τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ [- - -]	For a vow … his household	Pillinger 2005: 57
*TU734	Ephesos	Grotto of Saint Paul. Inscribed on the image of Saint Paul.	5th century CE or later.	*	…Παῦλε βοηθῇ … (?)	…Paul, help…	Zimmerman and Ladstätter 2010: Fig. 369.
TU735	Ephesos	Harbour Baths. Atrium. Column base.	4th century CE or later.	*	τόπ[ος τ]ῶν	φυρατῶν	Place of the bakers.	I.Eph 553
TU736	Ephesos	Hillside house 1. Originally from theatre.	Undated.	*	Κοΐντος Ἀρέλιος Ἀντίοχος	Kointos Aurelios Antiochos.	I.Eph 544
TU737	Ephesos	Hillside house 2. Room 2.	Undated.	[Figurative dipinto of a fish.]	κέφαλος ἰχθύς	Kephalos. Fish.	I.Eph 561c

TU738	Ephesos	Marble Street. Block in wall.	Undated.	*	τόπος | τεκτό[νων]	Place of the craftsmen.	I.Eph 549
TU739	Ephesos	Marble Street. Paving stone.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito of a foot. To the right of the foot, is a figurative graffito of a *tyche*. In between both figures is a bird. Below the *tyche* is an illegible Greek inscription written within a frame. Above the foot and the *tyche* are two crosses. Close is a figure, which may represent a heart.]	*	*	I.Eph 580
TU740	Ephesos	Marble Street. Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type S.3.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU741	Ephesos	Marble Street. Portico.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type S.5.]	*	*	https://locusludi.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU742	Ephesos	Northern section of city. Late house. Cistern.	Undated.	*	τόπος | εἰκονοφόρων | χρυσο|φόρων	Place of the gold-ornamented icon-bearers.	I.Eph 546
TU743	Ephesos	Pollio-Nymphaeum.	Undated.	*	τὸ μυστη|κὸ πῦρ, ἡ νοητὴ | λυχνίκις, κ(ύρι)ε θ(ε)ὲ ‖ Α | φύλατε	The mystical fire, the mind's lamp-light, Lord God, guard those that are here.	I.Eph 1284

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					τοὺς πα[ρ]| Ω| τϛ | ηόντας ὁδε		
TU744	Ephesos	Prytaneion. Sixth orthostat block from left.	Undated.	*	Νικωστάτου τόπος	Place of Nikostatos.	I.Eph 537 1
TU745	Ephesos	Prytaneion. Sixth orthostat block.	Undated.	*	]νου τόπος	Place of…	I.Eph 537 2
TU746	Ephesos	Slope of Bülbül Dağı. Written on a yellow marble door jamb.	Undated.	*	[..].ἡ τύ|χη πρ|ασίνω|ν	… the fortune of the Greens!	I.Eph 1198 1
TU747	Ephesos	South Road. Portico. Next to Nyphaeum of Lucanius Bassus.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.5.]	*	*	https://locuslu di.ch/inside-ephesus/
TU748	Ephesos	Square in front of Celsus Library. South side of square. On block in wall.	Undated.	*	κύριε βοήθησον τ|ῷ δούλῳ σου Ἀνδρήᾳ	Lord, help your servant Andrea.	I.Eph 1374 1
TU749	Ephesos	Square in front of Celsus Library. South side of square. On block in wall.	4th century CE or later.	*	† Ἀνδρέα μελεπάρ|χου † τόπος †	Place of Andrea, *meleparchos*.	I.Eph 1374 2
TU750	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a plant.]	ἔργον Ἰωάν|νου	Work of Ioannes.	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2001: 1
TU751	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird with feathers.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 2

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TU752	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a small square with a pointed roof.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 3
TU753	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of three faces. First face is full. Second face has features. Third face in profile with features, hair and cap.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 4
TU754	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a dolphin.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 5
TU755	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock with individual feathers.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 6
TU756	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a peacock without individual feathers.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 7
TU757	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a pig with a hump. The pig is	λοκανι|κός	Sausage-maker.	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 8

		theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.		'prancing'. A line representing the gorund is beneath it.]			
TU758	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a nude human figure with outstetched arms. One arm carries an object, possibly a bow. The man has facial features but no hair, and nipples but no genitals.]	Καλοεικου	Kaloeikos.	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 9
TU759	Ephesos	Stadium Street. Blue-grey column. Originally found between the theatre and Byzantine palace. Now in Selçuk Museum.	4th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a horse with a saddle.]	*	*	Büyükkolancı and Roueché 2011: 10
TU760	Ephesos	State agora. Block in wall.	Undated.	*	Ἀπολλωνίδης	Apollonides.	I.Eph 538
TU761	Ephesos	State agora. Block in wall.	Undated.	[Traces of writing.]	Θεο	God *or* a fragment of a personal name.	I.Eph 538
TU762	Ephesos	State agora. In bench.	Undated.	*	οὗτος ὁ τόπος | μαρτ. ἀνα|γνωστο(ῦ) δια‖κόνων | πρεσβυτέρων	This is the place of… the reader, the deacons (and) the presbyters.	I.Eph 543
TU763	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	(ΟΥ)ΜΕΝΕΡΜΟΥ *vacat* Τ[… [Figurative graffito of a male figure.	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 2.i

				Bald with promient ears. May be wearing a body-suit. His left arm is bent. His right arm is holding a tassled shawl.]			
TU764	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a male figure. Bald with prominent ears. Two tabs, possible representing ribbons, extend from his shoulders. The figure wears a tunic with two circles on the skirt. The tunic has straps. Holding something long and straight in left arm.]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 2.ii.
TU765	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a human. Only the legs remain.]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 2.iii.
TU766	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	*vacat* Ο . ḲΙΡΙṆΟΣ *vacat*	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 3.
TU767	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of two men. One wears a knee length tunic, and is moving towards the second figure who is wearing a long robe	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 4a.i

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				and stole. The upper part of both figures have been lost.]			
TU768	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a person in a knee length tunic and apron. Right arm is extended downwards to an animal, perhaps a dog. Left arm holds a long bag. Head is lost.]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 4a.i
TU769	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito. Two figures in knee length tunics who appear to be moving towards the left, towards a rectangle. Beside them is a table with two vessels on it. A line between the rectangle and table suggests the figures may be erecting a tent. Text is nearby.]	Λάσανον	Chamber-pot.	Roueché 2002: No. 4a.ii
TU770	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[A figurative graffito. A flying figure, with wingd or a mantle, bending down to	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 4c

				the left. Another figure, bald and with prominent ears and a knee-length tunic, reaches towards the flying figure.] ...]ΛΟΝ̣Ι̣ | ...]ΙΣ ΤΙΛΛ.			
TU771	Ephesos	Theatre façade.	5th-6th century CE.	[A figurative graffito a bald man in a knee-length tunic. He carries a bag over one shoulder. His left arm extends to another figure. The second figure is larger, and wears an ankle-length tunic with several orbiculi. His right arm extends to the head of the first figure. His head has been lost.] ΛΑΣΑΝΟΝ.	Λάσανον	Chamber-pot.	Roueché 2002: No. 4c
TU772	Ephesos	Theatre façade. Block broken in half.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of two figures. A male figure is bald with prominent ears. He wears a tunic with a scooped neckline,	Σοφρονία	Sophronia.	Roueché 2002: No. 4a.iii and 4b

				or necklace. He may be wearing a second necklace. He wears a floor length tunic and belt.] ...]OOΔO | ...]ΧΙΣ. [Graffito of a female figure who has shoulder-length curls and earrings. Her right arm is extended to the male figures shoulder. She has a straight neckline and *clavi*.] Σοφρονία.			
TU773	Ephesos	Theatre.	Undated.	*	Τιμώναξ καὶ οἱ οἰκον[όμοι] | Ὀνάσου τῶν ἱερῶν [χρημάτων]	Timonax son of Onasos, and the stewards of the temple's money *or* Timonax and Onasos, stewards of the temple's money.	I.Eph 541
TU774	Ephesos	Theatre. Carved on a threshold block between upper stage rooms and the stage.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man wearing a tunic. His arms are short, perhaps behind his back. Figure stands on a box.]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 1.i

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TU775	Ephesos	Theatre. Carved on a threshold block between upper stage rooms and the stage.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man wearing a tunic or skirt. Figure holds arms above his head and stands on a box.]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 1.ii
TU776	Ephesos	Theatre. Carved on a threshold block between upper stage rooms and the stage.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man standing on a square, bending to his right.] ...] ṬΟΥΝ vac. ΚΣΙ vac... ḄΛṬ- .. ΣΙΕΛΥẸ..Ι	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 1.iii
TU777	Ephesos	Theatre. Carved on a threshold block between upper stage rooms and the stage.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a pedimented structure with a circle in the pediment. Within the structure is a seated figure raising its right arm and wearing a pointed cap.] *v*[] . Ṃ . ḲẠ. Ρ	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 1.iv.
TU778	Ephesos	Theatre. Carved on a threshold block between upper stage rooms and the stage.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of two human figures, one of which holds a weapon. The other figure has arms outstretched. The figures are carved beneath illegible letters]	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 1.v.

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TU779	Ephesos	Theatre. Found in rubble in front of theatre.	Undated.	*	[τ]ῶ[ν ἐ]ν Ἐφέσῳ ναυκλ[ήρων]	The Ephesian sailors.	I.Eph 542
TU780	Ephesos	Theatre. Loose block.	5th-6th century CE.	[Beneath the first word, a figurative graffito of a bald man learning forward. His right arm is above his head.] ΗΡΑΚΛ() | ΘΕΤΙ[] | ΠΙΛΕΟΥ | ΗΡΑΚΛ() | ΘΕΤΙ[].	Ἡρακ() figure | Θέτις | Πιλέου || Ἡρακ() | Θέτις	Herakles, Thetis, Peleus, Herakles, Thetis.	Roueché 2002: No. 5
TU781	Ephesos	Theatre. Loose block.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a male bust. Front-facing. The figure wears a tunic with two clavi.] ...] ΟΣ vacat.	*	*	Roueché 2002: No. 6
TU782	Ephesos	Theatre. Loose block.	5th-6th century CE.	[A figurative graffito of a bust of a bald man with prominent ears. He is wearing a tunic with clavi.] ΚΑΡΜΙΛΙΣ Β̄.	Καρμίλις Β̄	Karmilis two or Karmilis the second.	Roueché 2002: No. 7.
TU783	Ephesos	Theatre. Loose block.	5th-6th century CE.	[In between text, graffito of a bald man in a decorated tunic with a belt. He has prominent ears. In his right hand he holds a fish. In his left hand he holds a knife.]	Γω figure λλα|θίο figure υ	Gollathios.	Roueché 2002: No. 7.

				ΓW *figure* ΛΛΑ|ΘΙΟ *figure* Υ.			
TU784	Ephesos	Theatre. North parados. Debris block.	5th-6th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man in a short tunic, carrying something. Two *orbiculi* on the tunic skirt. Another figure is to the right, turning away.] ΑΛΕΚΤΟΡ […].	Ἀλέκτορ	Alektor.	Roueché 2002: No. 4d
TU785	Ephesos	Theatre. Orchestra section. Column fragment.	Undated.	*	τόπος | Ἀκακείου | βουριχᾶ	Place of Akakeios, horse-handler.	I.Eph 551
TU786	Ephesos	Vedius Gymnasium. Column fragment.	Undated.	*	† | κύριε βοήθι | †	Lord, help.	I.Eph 1367 2
TU787	Ephesos	Vedius gymnasium. Fragment of blue marble column.	Undated.	*	[---] βοήθι	… help.	Taeuber 2008: KatNr. I 78.
*TU788	Hierapolis	Theatre. Northern analemma wall. Travertine block.	c. 350-352 CE	*	Ἡρακλε[----]	Herakles	SEG 1230 - 669 no. 25.
*TU789	Hierapolis	Theatre. Stairs between diazoma and orchestra. Re-used theatre seat.	c. 350 CE	*	ἐργαστῇ	Work of…	SEG 1228 - 667/668 no. 23
*TU790	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	† Κ(ύρι)ε βωήθη	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: A.1
*TU791	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	‾Μ Ι Θ	Μ(ητρ)ὶ Θ[(εο)ῦ] (?)	Mother of God.	Guizzi 2018: A.2

*TU792	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Θεός	God	Guizzi 2018: A.3
*TU793	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	ΕΚΤΕΜΕΛ | Φηλήπου	*	Guizzi 2018: A.4
*TU794	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Φηλίππου	Philip	Guizzi 2018: A.5
*TU795	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	ΤΙΤΗΓΛΦΟΥ	*	*	Guizzi 2018: A.6
*TU796	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[Monogram] Φι[λί]ππ(ος) *or* Φι[λί]ππ(ε) *or* Φι[λί]ππ(ου) | ἀββᾶ (?) ΒΑ[- - -] | δοῦλοςτοῦ ἀπ(οστόλου) Φιλίππου	Philip, Abbot Ba... servant of the apostle Philipp	Guizzi 2018: A.7
*TU797	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[Φίλιππος (?)]. ἀβᾶ .. | [δοῦ]λος Χ(ριστο)ῦ	Philip, Abbot... servant of Christ	Guizzi 2018: B.8
*TU798	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[- - - Φίλ]ιππος. ἀβᾶ Α[- c.2 -]Σ δοῦ(λος) Χ(ριστο)ῦ.	Philip, Abbot... servant of Christ	Guizzi 2018: B.9

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*TU799	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(θη)	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: B.10
*TU800	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	δοῦλο(ς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ	Servant of Christ	Guizzi 2018: C.11
*TU801	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Φήληπος | Υ Θ	Philip	Guizzi 2018: C.12
*TU802	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[- - -]Ν Φήλη(ππος) *or* Φήλη(ππε) *or* Φηλή(ππου)	Philip	Guizzi 2018: D.13
*TU803	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[Figurative graffito of a male figure in a robe and holding a scroll. He stands above a text in a tabula]. † Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὸν | δοῦλόν σου Τ..Α.	Lord, help your servant.	Guizzi 2018: D.14
*TU804	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[Φ]ήληπε | ΔΑ	Philip.	Guizzi 2018: D.15
*TU805	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(θη) | τὸν	Lord, help your servant.	Guizzi 2018: D.16

		North wall. Inscribed in plaster.				[δοῦλόν σου - - -]	
*TU806	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε βοή(θη)	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: E.17
*TU807	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε βοήθη	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: E.18
*TU808	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε	Lord.	Guizzi 2018: F.19
*TU809	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	[Text surrounding Latin cross] K(ύρι)ε *((cross))* βο | ή *((cross))* θη	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: F.20
*TU810	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε †	Lord.	Guizzi 2018: F.21
*TU811	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε βοήθη	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: G.22
*TU812	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	K(ύρι)ε βοή(θη	Lord, help.	Guizzi 2018: G.23

*TU813	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Βαβα | Βασήλης	Father Basilis.	Guizzi 2018: G.24
*TU814	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Φήληππ[ος - - -] *or* Φήληππ[ε- - -] *or* Φηλή[ππου - - -]	Philip.	Guizzi 2018: H.25
*TU815	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	ΜΟΡΟΣ	*	*	Guizzi 2018: H.26
*TU816	Hierapolis	Tomb of Philip. Hall to the west of the narthex. North wall. Inscribed in plaster.	late 6th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή|τη | τὸν | [δοῦλόν σου - - -]	Lord, help your servant.	Guizzi 2018: H.27
TU817	Knidos	Church built on the temple of Dionysus. Upper edge of podium. Southernmost side.	Imperial Period.	ΑΒΓΔ	*	Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta.	SEG 63 906 1
TU818	Knidos	Church. Carved on floor.	Early Christian.	*	† Ἰωάνν(ης)	Ioannes.	SEG 63 906 2
TU819	Mylasa	Building south of temple of Augustus.	4th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of gladiator.]	† Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Εἰσιδώρου	The fortune of Eisidoros triumphs!	SEG 51 1529
TU820	Mylasa	Building south of temple of Augustus.	4th century CE.	[Illegible graffiti.]	*	*	SEG 51 1529
TU821	Perge	Portico. On column.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffiti of three columns topped by crosses.]	*	*	Lavan 2012a: 59
TU822	Perge	Colonnaded street. Stone block.	Late antique.	† ΤΟΠΟΣΘΕΡΜΟΠΟΥΛΟ[-]	*	The place of the *thermopolium*.	Lavan 2012a: 63.

TU823	Sagalassos	Carved on block from parapet. Fragment broken.	6th-11th century CE.	*	†Νικᾷ ἡ Τύχη τῆς (?)Π[- - - - -]	The fortune of the… triumphs!	SEG 50-1318
TU824	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. On column.	5th-7th Century CE	*	εις ο θεος ο βο|ηθων	One God who helps.	Lavan 2012b: 343
TU825	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. On column.	5th-7th Century CE	*	[[----]]|ευχαρ[[----]]	*	Lavan2012b: 343
TU826	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. On column.	5th-7th Century CE	EY[----]| MN[----]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 343
TU827	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. On steps of Nymphaeum.	Late antique	[Graffito of a cross with flayed ends.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 343
TU828	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. R.2]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU829	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. R.1]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU830	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. R.1]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU831	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. R.5]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU832	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. R.2]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU833	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type. S.3.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU834	Sagalassos	Hadrianic Nymphaeum Plaza. Steps in front of Nymphaeum.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Unkown type.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.

TU835	Sagalassos	Lower Agora.	Late antique.	[Lightly carved inscriptions.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b:337
TU836	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. Eastern portico step.	Late antique.	[Gameboard. Unknown type.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 336
TU837	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. North-west corner. Northernmost column of portico.	5th-7th century CE.	ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΗ	κυριε βοηθη|τω δουλω σου|ευτχιω	Lord, help your servant Eutychios.	Lavan 2012b: 337
TU838	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. North-west corner. Northernmost column of portico.	5th-7th century CE.	*	ευτυχν πατρικι	Good fortune to Patrikos.	Lavan 2012b: 337
TU839	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. North-west corner. Northernmost column of portico.	5th-7th century CE.	†|ΥΓΙΕΝΕ | ΗΡΑΚλη	†|υγιενε|ηρακλη	Health to Herakles.	Lavan 2012b: 337
TU840	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. North-west corner. Northernmost column of portico.	5th-7th century CE.	*	ευκ[----]	*	Lavan 2012b: 337
TU841	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. North-west corner. Northernmost column of portico.	5th-7th century CE.	[Figurative graffito outlining a man and dog.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 337-339
TU842	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. Nymphaeum base step.	Late antique.	[Gameboard. Type. S.3.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 336
TU843	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. South side.	Late antique.	[Gameboard. Type. C.4.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 336
TU844	Sagalassos	Lower Agora. West Portico.	Undated.	[Graffito of a Latin cross.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 339.
TU845	Sagalassos	Peristyle Building. South of Fountain House. Scratched on plaster fragment	4th-5h century CE	[Textual graffiti.]	*	*	Waelkens et al 1995: 52.

TU846	Sagalassos	Roman Baths. Written on masonry.	Undated.	[Graffiti of several crosses.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 340.
TU847	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Column pedestal.	5th-6th century CE	*	† τοπος ΔΑΠΗ|*vac.*| -ΜΩΝ.	Place of…	Lavan 2012b: 333
TU848	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Drain cover.	Late antique.	[Several casually inscribed gameboards.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 334.
TU849	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Inscribed beside a gameboard.	Undated.	*	νικαη τυχ	The fortune of… triumphs!	Lavan 2012b: 335
TU850	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Paving slab.	Undated.	*	τοπος χαλκο|τυπων	Place of the bronzesmiths.	Lavan 2012b: 333
TU851	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Paving slab.	Undated.	ΔΙΟΜ	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 333
TU852	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Votive inscription of Demeter, reused as a cover for a 6th century basin.	6th century onwards	*	εισθεος	One God.	Lavan 2012b: 334.
TU853	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. Wall of North-east gate passage. Carved reused statue base.	5th-6th century CE	[Graffiti of several crosses.]	*	*	Lavan 2012b: 340.
TU854	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. West slope. Column fragment.	Undated.	*	το [τ]υχ μιχαηλιτω[ν˜]	The fortune of the Michaelitai.	Lavan 2012b: 335
TU855	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. West Portico.	4th-7th century CE	*	μακεδυρα	*	Lavan 2012b: 333
TU856	Sagalassos	Upper Agora. West Portico.	4th-7th century CE	*	Ζα[…]ες	*	Lavan 2012b: 333
*TU857	Xanthos	Letoon. Orthostat block.	pre-7th century CE.	[Multiple graffiti of crosses]	*	*	Hansen and Le Roy 1976: 336
*TU858	Xanthos	Letoon. Inscribed in plaster.	pre-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι Παύλω	Lord, help Paulos.	Hansen and Le Roy 1976: 336

Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
*TU859	Xanthos	Letoon. Inscribed in plaster.	pre-7th century CE.	*	Νικᾶ ἡ τυχὴ τõν Μαριανõν	The fortune of the Marianoi triumphs!	Hansen and Le Roy 1976: 336

Egypt

Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
EG1	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	† Εἶδε | Σοτήρ † Χ(ριστό)ς	Christ the savioiur saw (it).	SEG 58-1787 1
EG2	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	† | Φώτη	Phote.	SEG 58-1787 2
EG3	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	Φηλάρι|τος	Phelaritos.	SEG 58-1787 3
EG4	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	Φηλ[άρι]|τος	Phelaritos.	SEG 58-1787 4
EG5	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	Θεω[--]|ος | εἷς	One God?	SEG 58-1787 5
EG6	Abu Darag	In hermit dwellings.	Late 6th-mid 7th Century CE.	*	† Εἷς Θεός· | εθ[. .]αλαδαϊ | † ⲁⲙⲉ	One God…	SEG 58-1787 6
EG7	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	4th century CE.	[Two gameboards. Type H.4.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.1

EG8	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	5th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. H.4.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.2
EG9	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	6th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. H.5.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.3
EG10	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	7th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. H.5.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.8
EG11	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	8th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of type. H.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.9
EG12	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate. Debris.	9th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of type. H.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 4b
EG13	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	10th century CE.	[Gameboard. Type. H.4.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.4
EG14	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	11th century CE.	[Damaged gameboard. Variant of type. H.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.5
EG15	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	12th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of type. H.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.6.
EG16	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	13th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of type. H.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 3.7.
EG17	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	14th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of type. 3Rows.5.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 6.
EG18	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	15th century CE.	[Gameboard. Varaint of type. 3Rows.3.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 7.

EG19	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	16th century CE.	[Gameboard. Unknown type.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 8.
EG20	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	17th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.1.
EG21	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	18th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.2.
EG22	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	19th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.3.
EG23	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	20th century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.4.
EG24	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	21st century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.5.
EG25	Abu Sha'ar	Roman fort. North gate.	22nd century CE.	[Gameboard. Variant of Type SG.1.]	*	*	Mulvin and Sidebotham 2004: fig. 9.6.
EG26	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. North pedestal. South wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τοῦ	Δόρου	The fortune of Doros triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 7
EG27	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. North pedestal. South wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη Καλο|τύχου	The fortune of Kalotychos triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 9
EG28	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. North pedestal base. West ledge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Καλοτύχου	The fortune of Kalotychos triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 3

EG29	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 7. Block 3.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πετομένου | κέ Ἀετοῦ | κε τοῦ || Δόρου | ΚΕ.. Ω | ΙΚΑΗΚΑ | ΤΟΝ †	The fortune of Petomenos and Aetos and Doros triumphs...!	Borokowski 1981: no. 18
EG30	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 5. Block 3.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη Καλο|τύχου † | κὲ Ἀε||του † |κὲ τιυ Δόρου †	The fortune of Kalotychos and Aetos and Doros triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 25
EG31	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	ΤΩ..[| ΤΝΧ. [| ΠΕΤΟ[	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 33
EG32	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 4.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχ|η Καλοτύχο|υ καὶ τοῦ νέ|ου Δόρου || Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Πρασίνω[ν] | γεννεώτα|των| Ἀπο κόρυ|φῆς ὡς ὁ||νύχων | ἔπεσεν | τὸ Βένετο | ΚΑΙ.ΗΧ.C.ΜΕΤ. ΩΝ	The fortune of Kalotychos and Doros the younger triumphs! The fortune of the most noble Greens triumphs! From head to toe the Blues fall and...	Borokowski 1981: no. 39
EG33	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 5. Block 3.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | τῶν <ν>έων πρ|ασίνων	The fortune of the young Greens triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 24
EG34	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 5.	Late 5th-Early 7th	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Εὐτοχίου | κὲ	The fortune of Eutochios and	Borokowski 1981: no. 47

			Century CE.		Βενέτων | κακὰ τὰ ἔτη ‖ τοῦ Λαχανᾶ	the Blues triumphs! Bad year to Lachanas.	
EG35	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 5.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ <ἡ> τύ|χη Νικασί|ου †	The fortune of Nikasios triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 26
EG36	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 4. Block 3.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη | Ἑλλαδίου	The fortune of Helladios triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 43b
EG37	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 6.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη τοῦ | Τυράννου	The fortune of Tyrannos triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 49
EG38	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	] ΗΣΑ |]ΣΙΝΩ |] Α [	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 32
EG39	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 6.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικᾷ ἡ [τ]ύχ[η	The fortune triumphs…	Borokowski 1981: no. 50
EG40	Alexandria	Vestibule. North plinth. West face.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικ[ᾷ…	victory…	Borokowski 1981: no. 6
EG41	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 11. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Νικ[ᾷ…	victory…	Borokowski 1981: no. 16
EG42	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th	*	Νικ[ᾷ…	victory…	Borokowski 1981: no. 31

			Century CE.				
EG43	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 5. Block 9.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	† Νικ[ᾷ...	victory...	Borokowski 1981: no. 48
EG44	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	.... ΑΣΑΝΟΙΣ | Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον (*palm leaf*)	... Lord, help...	Borokowski 1981: no. 38
EG45	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 3. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ γρα|{φ}ψάντι †	Lord, help the writer.	Borokowski 1981: no. 34
EG46	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 3. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε ἐ[λ]έησον | κ]ὲ βοήθησον	Lord, have mercy. Lord, help.	Borokowski 1981: no. 29
EG47	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 3. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κύριε | βο<ή>θ<ει> | Νικα|σίω | ... | .ΤΟ.	Lord help, Nikasios...	Borokowski 1981: no. 28
EG48	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 1. West of stairs.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κύ(ριε) βοήθι|σον | Σ[	Lord, help...	Borokowski 1981: no. 14
EG49	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κύ(ριε) βο|ήθισ|[ον...	Lord, help...	Borokowski 1981: no. 22
EG50	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κύριε βοέθησον	Lord, help...	Borokowski 1981: no. 23

EG51	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	ΚΥΒΟΕΘ	Κύ(ριε) βο<η>θ…	Lord, help…	Borokowski 1981: no. 35
EG52	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	Κ]ύριε	Lord…	Borokowski 1981: no. 37
EG53	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 7.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Monogram] ΚΕΒΟ Μιχαῆλ	Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθησον) Μιχαῆλ	Lord, help…	Borokowski 1981: no. 55
EG54	Alexandria	Theatre. North exterior wall. Between butresses 1 and 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	† Θεωδωρ[?	Theodoros	Borokowski 1981: no. 63
EG55	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. South plinth. West face.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	ΣΛΛΑΝΙΚΟ ΚΡΠ[.]ΣΙΝ [..]ι	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 11
EG56	Alexandria	Theatre. Vesitbule. South plinth. South face.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	NII…	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 12
EG57	Alexandria	Theatre Row 11. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	PNB	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 15
EG58	Alexandria	Theatre. Vesitbule. South plinth. West wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man wearing a tunic and holding a palm frond. The man has a cross on his chest and a	νικᾷ ἡ [τύ]χη | τοῦ Δόρου	The fortune of Doros triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 5

				cross hanging from his belt]			
EG59	Alexandria	Theatre. Vesitbule. South plinth. South wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a charioteer from the side. The chariot is pulled by two horses.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 8
EG60	Alexandria	Theatre. Vesitbule. North plinth. South wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a charioteer from the front. The chariot is pulled by two horses. There are three palm fronds attached to the chariot.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 10
EG61	Alexandria	Theatre Row 9. Block 1. West of stairs	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 13
EG62	Alexandria	Theatre Row 8. Block 3.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 17
EG63	Alexandria	Theatre Row 2. Block 5.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 46
EG64	Alexandria	Theatre Row 3. Block 7.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a fish.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 57
EG65	Alexandria	Theatre Row 9. Block 14.	Late 5th-Early 7th	[Figurative graffito of a fish.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 59

			Century CE.				
EG66	Alexandria	Theatre Row 2. Block 7.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of an anchor.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 54
EG67	Alexandria	Theatre Row 7. Block 4.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito, possibly of anchor.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 41
EG68	Alexandria	Theatre Row 7. Block 4.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man in a tunic with his left arm raised.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 42
EG69	Alexandria	Theatre Row 2. Block 6.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a man with curly hair.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 52
EG70	Alexandria	Theatre Row 8. Block 15.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a human head.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 58
EG71	Alexandria	Theatre Row 6. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a horse.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 20
EG72	Alexandria	Theatre Row 1. Block 9.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat with an oar.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 62
EG73	Alexandria	Theatre Row 8. Block 7.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a vulva.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 40

EG74	Alexandria	Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 1a
EG75	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a penis.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 1b
EG76	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Two figurative graffiti of axes. Two uncertain images.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 1c
EG77	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a cross within a larger cross. The larger cross is within a square frame.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 2a
EG78	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito. Representation uncertain.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 2b
EG79	Alexandria	Theatre.Vestibule. South plinth. North edge.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito. Representation uncertain.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 2c
EG80	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 3. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.1.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 27
EG81	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 4.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Uncertain design, possibly a gameboard]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 44

EG82	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 7.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Gameboard. Type S.1.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 56
EG83	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Gameboard. Type R.4.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 21
EG84	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 2.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.6. Illegible Greek Inscription.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 33a
EG85	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 5.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Gameboard. Type H.6. Illegible Greek Inscription.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 45
EG86	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Two parallel lines.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 19
EG87	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 2. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Two parallel lines.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 30
EG88	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 1.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Two parallel lines.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 36
EG89	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 6. Block 5.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	[Two parallel lines.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 43a
EG90	Alexandria	Theatre. Row 1. Block 6.	Late 5th-Early 7th	[Two parallel lines.]	*	*	Borokowski 1981: no. 51

			Century CE.				
EG91	Alexandria	Theatre. Vestibule. North pedestal. West wall.	Late 5th-Early 7th Century CE.	*	νικᾷ ἡ [τύ]χη | τοῦ Δόρου	The fortune of Doros triumphs!	Borokowski 1981: no. 4
EG92	Antinoopolis	Episcopal Church. On a broken column.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	Κῦρε | αν	Lord…	Delattre 2017: no. 1
EG93	Antinoopolis	Episcopal Church. On a broken column.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	χρυ. α. [ ]	Christ (?)	Delattre 2017: no. 2
EG94	Antinoopolis	Episcopal Church. On a broken column.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	Βίκτω[ρ] | Ἀλιανέ | Βίκτωρ | {α} Ἀλιανέ	Viktor, Aliane, Viktor, Aliane.	Delattre 2017: no. 3
EG95	Antinoopolis	Episcopal Church. On a broken column.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of a man carrying an object in his right hand.]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 4
EG96	Antinoopolis	Episcopal Church. On a stone fragment, probably a column capital.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of an *orant.*]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 5
EG97	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column A.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	[…].ρος | […]ο..α	*	Delattre 2017: no. 6
EG98	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column A.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Cross-hatching.]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 7
EG99	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	Βίκ	Viktor (?)	Delattre 2017: no. 10

EG100	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	Βίκτωρ | Βίκτωρ |. ἐλ(άχιστος) | † Βίκτω[ρ]	Viktor, Viktor, most humble, Viktor.	Delattre 2017: no. 11
EG101	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B.	6th-8th Century CE.	*	Γεῶγε	George	Delattre 2017: no. 12
EG102	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B. Dipinto.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito, probably of a military saint. The male figure is wearing armour, holding a spear and has a sheild resting by his foot. A snake is beneath him.]	† Ὁ ἅγιος [...]	Saint…	Delattre 2017: no. 16
EG103	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B. Dipinto.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito, probably of a military saint. The male figure is wearing armour. Image unfinished.]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 17
EG104	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Several graffiti of geometric shapes.]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 18
EG105	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column B. Dipinto.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a human head.]	...ου | Ἄπα..ας | Εἰσίδωρ..	… Eisodoros.	Delattre 2017: no. 19
EG106	Antinoopolis	Church with Ionic Columns. Column C. Dipinto.	6th-8th Century CE.	[Figurative graffiti of a boat. A line indicates the sails.]	*	*	Delattre 2017: no. 20
EG107	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. Upper portico. North wing. 332 cm high.	4th-8th century CE.	*	ΠΑΝΗ [---] | Ἀμενόθης | Μενοῦτος	… Amenothes, Menutos	Łajtar 2006: no. 17

		Surrounded by coptic graffiti.					
EG108	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. Upper portico. South wing. Next to image of Thutmosis II. 218 cm high.	4th-8th century CE.	*	Σιήση	Siese.	Łajtar 2006: no. 30
EG109	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. South wall of court. Entrance to royal mortuary vestibule. West wall.	4th-8th century CE.	*	Ἀμενόθης	Amenothes	Łajtar 2006: no. 127
EG110	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D. On the base of Thutmosis III's throne. Dipinto.	27th-28th December 324 CE.	*	[Τῡ] Τῦβι ᾶ καὶ β, ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κων|σ[ταν]τίνου τῶν ε[ὐγεν]εστάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανεστάτω]ν Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ̄ | γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα Μ.ΤΟΤΩΝ θυσίαν ὄνον, πλῆθος σιδηρουργ[ῶ]ν Ἑρμώνθεος, | ὧν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται)	Tybi 1 and 2. In the third consulship of our masters the most noble and most glorious Caesars, Crispus and Constantine we have come here… (for) the sacrifice of a donkey, the corporation of Ironworkers of Hermonthis. As the names are written down: Poumsi son of Askos… archi (?), the	Łajtar 2006: no. 168

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· Πούμσι Άσκοῦ ΜΜΑΛΟΣ ἀρχι( ), β̄ ἀρχι( ) Πενᾶς Άσκοῦ [.] ΜΑΛΟΣ, ‖ [ḡ] ἀρχι( ) Λούσι[ο]ς . ΣΑΝΚ .. Μ .Μ( )Ε( ) Πλ(ῆνις) Πκ[ο]ί(λιος) ζυτοπ(οιὸς) Φ. ΑΤΕΩΣ, | Χολλῶς Πασῆμις καὶ Τύρα[ννος] | Βησᾶ καὶ Πεσοῦρις Φθόϊ καὶ Πλ(ῆνις) Πκοί(λοιος) Χολλῶς καὶ Κουελ( ) καὶ Πλ(ῆνις) Πεκοῖσις Πκοό(λιος) [[καὶ]] | καὶ Πεσοῦρις Λολο[ῦ]τος καὶ Άτρῆς Ώρίονος Θεοφάνους γραμματεὺ τῶν πλήθου | καὶ Δίδυμος Στρώτου καὶ	second archi (?) Penas son of Askos… the third archi (?) Lousios…. Plenis son of Pkoilios the brewer… Chollos son of Pasemis and Tyrannos son of Besas and Pesouris son of Phthoi and Plenis son of Pkoiloios, Chollos and Kouel(os?) and Plenis son of Pekoisis son of Pkoolios and Pesouris son of Loloutos and Hatres son of Horionos son of Theophanes, secretary of the corporation and Didymos son of Strotos and Plenis the donkey-keeper. He slaughtered the donkey in

					Πλῆ(νις) ὀνηλάτου. αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ | κ[α]ὶ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα ΥΜ [....] ἐνταῦθ' Ε ... ΤΑ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποί[ησα]ν	front of the god and all made worship here for the great god…	
EG111	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D. On the base of Thutmosis III's throne. Dipinto.	27th December 333 CE to 26th January 334 CE.	*		ςς// νεὰς ἰ[νδ]ικτί[ο]ν[ο]ς, Τῦβ[ι.....] γ[ενόμε]|θα ἐνταῦθα [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] ΟΝ | [....] . [.. πλ]ῆθος [σιδηρο]υρ[γῶν] Ἑρμ[ών]θεως | [ῶ]ν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α(γέγραπται)] Χολλῶς Πα[σ]ήμιος ἀρχι( ), ‖ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] | [- -] Π | [καὶ	Sixth new indiction. Tybi… we have come here… the corporation of the ironworkers of Hermonthis. As the names are written down: Chollos son of Pasemios archi (?)… and Pesouris son of Loloutos,,, and Plenis son of Pkoilios… and Hatres son of Horionos son of Theophanes, secretary… all	Łajtar 2006: no. 169

					Π]εσοῦρις [Λ]ολοῦτος [….]Σ […]ΝΕΘΑ[…]ΥΠ [……] | ΚΡ[---] καὶ Πλ(ήνισ) Πκοί(λιος) Δ[…….]ΑΙΟΥ[……..] | καὶ Ἀτρῆ[ς] Ὡρίο[νο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους γραμματε[ύς. α]ύτ[ὸς … καὶ] || ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] Υ[.]ΑΤΩΝ Ε[… ἐποίησαν (?)] | ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ].	made worship in front of the god…	
EG112	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. North end. Niche D. 302 cm high.	Roman period or Late antique.	[Monogram. The letters consist of ΠΙΑΛΩΡΚΟΥ]	*	*	Łajtar 2006: no. 299
EG113	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D.	Late 3rd-Early 4th century CE.	*	(ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρ[ίων ἡμῶν - - - -] | Κ[.] - - - - - - - - [- - - - - - - -] | ΟΥ .. [- - - - - -] . [- - - - - - - -] | Η [.] .. [.] Ν [- - - - - - - - - - - -] || Δ[….]Κ.Ι..[- - - -	The year of our Lord…	Łajtar 2006: no. 162

					- - - - - - - -]	Ψ [.] ΔΙ……[- - - - - - - - - - - -]		
EG114	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D.	27th-28th December 327 CE.	*	ιϛϛ// ἰνδικτίονος, Τῦβι α̅ καὶ β̅, [ὑ]πατεί[ας]	τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν [- - -] ΤΟ [- - -]	ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτω(ν) ΑΫ. [- - -. γε]υόμεθα ἐ[ν]∣∣θαῦθα ΛΥΤΗΤΗ θυσία[. ὄν]ον πλῆθος ‖ σιδηρουργῶ Ἑρ[μώ]νθε[ως ῶν] τὸ [κατ ὄνομα]	δια(γέγραπται) · Ληεῖλο[ς ….] ΑΫ[. ἀρχι( ), [β] ἀ[ρ]χι( ) Πλ(ῆνισ) ΤΡΟΣ ,| γ ἀρχι( ) Τ...Α[...]Φ[.]ΟΥ	καὶ Ὀρίων [...]	Πλ(ῆνις) Ψεπ[α]ήρ[ιος…] ‖ καὶ Π.ΥΘΑ [...] καὶ [...καὶ]	In the sixteenth indiction. Tybi 1 and 2. In the consulship of our masters… the most glorious… have come here here… sacrifice a donkey. The corporation of ironworkers of Hermonthis. As the names are written down: Leeilos… archi (?), second archi (?) Plenis… third archi (?)… and Horion… Plenis son of Psepaerios and…. And… and Hatres son of Horionos son of Theophanes, secretary. He… all made worship (for)	Łajtar 2006: no. 163

					Ἀτρῆς Ὀ[ρίωνος] | Θεοφάν[ου]ς γρα[μμ]ατεύς. αὐτὸς [.....] . [.] Η [- - - καὶ] | οἱ πάντες τὸ προσκύ[νη]μ[α] ΥΜ [.] Θ [- - -] | τῶν κυρίων [θεῶν(?)] Θ[....] ἐποίη[σαν].	the Lords (gods?)	
EG115	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. South wall of court.	Post 6th century CE.	[Several figurative graffiti, including palm leaves, an *ankh*-sign and solomon's knot.]	εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν	One God who helps us.	Łajtar 2006: no. 132
EG116	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end.	325-350 CE.	*	[- - -] - ΔΙ - - - - - - |[- - -] ἐγενόμ[εθ]α ἐναταῦθα - - - - - - - - - - - - - | [- - -] πλῆθος σιδηρουργῶ Ἑρμώνθεως - - - - - - - - - - | [- - -] δια(γέγραπται) · Εὐα ... ( ), β̄ ἀρχι ( ) ‖[- - -] -	*	Łajtar 2006: no. 173

					- - - - |[- - -] - - - - - - - - - Πασῆμις - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		
EG117	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D.	325-350 CE.	*		Υ[………….]Σ[.]Ν[.]Μ[.]ΣΙΠΟΜΙΣ | | γενόμεθα ἐνθ[αῦθα ……….] Θυσίας ὄ[νον] | πλῆθος [σ]ιδηρουργῶ[ν] Ἑ[ρμ]ώθεω[ς ῶν] τὸ κα[τ'] | [ὄνομα δια(γέγραπται)· …] ΙΣΙΕ[.]ΠΡ . ἀρχι( ), β ἀρχι ( ) Ἀτρῆς Ψ[- -] || […] ἄϊς καὶ ΣΥΡΗΜ .ΛΗΤΑΙ Ὡρί(ων) Ὡρί(ωνος) πρ(εσβύτερος), Πλ(ῆνις) ν(εώτερος) Π[..]τ[..] Τύραννος Κουελ( ), Παμώνθης Τυράννου 'καὶ Πλ(ῆνις) Ψάις | {σ} Παβώτ[ο]υ	We have come here… the sacrifice of a donkey, the corporation of Ironworkers of Hermonthis. As the names are written down: … archi (?), second archi (?) Hatres… and… Horion son of Horionos presbyter, Plenis the younger… Tyrannos som of Kouelos (?), Pamponthes son of Tyrannos and Plenis son of Psais son of Pabotos and… and. Monkores… and Peleas and Hatres son of	Łajtar 2006: no. 172

					Ꞌκαῖ . ΑΙΑ. Ν[….]ΑΙ[.]ασίμ ου καὶ Μωνκο[ρ]ῆς [..]ου | καὶ .. ( ) Πελέα καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ὡ[ρ]ίονος τ[οῦ] Θεοφάνους | γραμματεούς ..Α.. ΕΩΤΓ	Horionos son of Theophanes, secretary…	
EG118	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D. Dipinto.	Post 307 CE.	*		[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν | - - - - - - - - - - - k καὶ - - - - - - - - καὶ . Ρ. Υ. | - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - | - - - - - - - - - - - - - | - - - - - - - - Κ - - - - - - - | - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - | Ṭύρα[ννος] Τυράννου | [- - - - - - -]ꞅος | [- - - - - - - - -] . ιχου	… our masters… and … and… Tyrannos son of Tyrannos…	Łajtar 2006: no. 167
EG119	Deir el-Bahri	Temple of Hatshepsut. West wall of court. South end. Niche D. Dipinto.	Late 3rd- Early 4th century CE.	*		ὑπατε[ί]ạς [- -] | […] … Α-] | [..] ΔΙ - - - - - - -	The consulship… Plenis…	Łajtar 2006: no. 166

					- - - - - - - - - -] .Π . [- - - - - - -] | .[..] . [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΚΑ . [- - - - - - -] Ą ‖ [.].[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] . [.] . [.] . [- - - - - -] |. [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]δ .ου Πλ(ήνις) Κ.ι. [..] Α. [..] Υ [..]. | Χ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -].. ΚΗΡ[- - -] ΑΙ .[...]. | καὶ [[- - - - - - -		
EG120	Dios	Praesidium. Podium of aedes. Inscribed on opus sectile.	4th-5th Century CE.	*	Σισίννιος, | Νεστόριος	Sisinnios, Nestorios *or* Sisinnios son of Nestorios.	SEG 60 1789
EG121	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat. The stern is rendered in an unusual spiral design. Mast and ropes but no sails. Left of the mast is a cross with forked ends.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 353
EG122	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat with a mast and ropes.	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 354

				Cross potent on stern.]			
EG123	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat with a mast and ropes. Cross potent on stern.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 355
EG124	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat. Rendered very simply.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 356
EG125	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a boat with mast and ropes.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 356
EG126	Elephantine	Quay Wall.	550-600 CE.	[Figurative graffito of two semi-circles, which may repesent boats.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 356
EG127	Kellia	In hermitage. Room 3. Beneath a painted cross.	Undated.	*	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς νικᾷ	Jesus Christ triumphs!	SEG 37-1633
EG128	Kellia	In hermitage. Dipinto.	7th-8th Century CE.	*	†〚πι〛 Γασπαρ | Βελχιωρ | Βαθησαλσα	...Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar.	SEG 37-1634.
EG129	Kellia	In hermitage. Dipinto.	7th-8th Century CE.	*	† Βασιλέων | ᾱ Ἀ῾Βωξγ | β̄ ῾Βφν | γ̄ ῾Βψ | δ ῾Βχ	Kings: (book) one 2863, (book) two 2550, (book) three 2500, (book) four 2600.	SEG 37-1635
EG130	Khargeh Oasis.	El Bagawat cemetry.	4th century CE.	*	[καὶ μέτο]|χος ἐγενόμην ζ[ωῆς τῆς] | πνευματικῆς	And I became a partaker in the spiritual life.	SEG 49-2211

EG131	Luxor	Temple of Amon. Exterior of hypostyle hall. North wall.	Roman or Byzantine Period	*	Ā Εἶς Θεός | Θεότεκνος	One God, Theoteknos.	Le Camp Romain de Luqsor: no. 40
EG132	Syene	Temple of Isis. Front wall.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of an orant.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 54
EG133	Syene	Temple of Isis. Front wall.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of an orant. Hands are circular. Appears to be wearing a hat and skirt.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 55
EG134	Syene	Temple of Isis. Interior, close to church altar.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of an orant. Badly damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 66
EG135	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. West wall. Beneath a rosette.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of a boat. No mast or sails.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 70
EG136	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. West wall. Beneath Dijkstra 2012: no. 70	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of a boat with a mast but no sails.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 71
EG137	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. South pillar. Eastern face.	Late antique or later.	Figuative graffito of a boat with a mast and furled sails. A human figure is in the boat.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 72
EG138	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. South pillar. Western face.	Late antique or later.	Figurative graffito of a boat. Mast and cabin depicted. Six *orans* figures are on the boat, as well as a animal graffito, possibily representing a dog.	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 73

				Three crosses are drawn in line with the mast, and one is above it.]			
EG139	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. South pillar. Western face.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffiti of a boat. No mast or sails.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 74
EG140	Syene	Temple of Isis.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a Greek cross with forked ends]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 91
EG141	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a Greek cross with forked ends]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 117
EG142	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 118
EG143	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of a geometrical shape.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 119
EG144	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 120
EG145	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a Rho. Perhaps originally a staurogram]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 121
EG146	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Damaged graffito. May have originally represented a cross]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 122
EG147	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. East wall. Behind altar.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross potent]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 123

EG148	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. East wall. Behind altar.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 124
EG149	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. Altar wall facing pillars	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with three forked arms, and one arm ending in a circle.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 125
EG150	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with forked arms.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 126
EG151	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with forked arms.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 127
EG152	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 128
EG153	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross. Each arm of the cross features additional crosses]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 129
EG154	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with forked arms.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 130
EG155	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. North pillar. South face.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with forked arms.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 131
EG156	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. Below wall paintings.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 132
EG157	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall. Below wall paintings.	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross potent]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 133

EG158	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 139
EG159	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 140
EG160	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 141
EG161	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 142
EG162	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 143
EG163	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". Badly damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 144
EG164	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 145
EG165	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 146
EG166	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". Badly damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 147
EG167	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 148
EG168	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". The centre of the cross is damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 149.

EG169	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". The centre of the cross is damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 150
EG170	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". The centre of the cross is damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 151
EG171	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals". The centre of the cross is damaged.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 152
EG172	Syene	Temple of Isis. Front wall.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito of overlapping circles.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 153
EG173	Syene	Temple of Isis. South side entrance. North wall.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of a boat. The boat is upside down.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 168
EG174	Syene	Temple of Isis. Front wall.	Undated.	[Graffito of a vertical line.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 161
EG175	Syene	Above three cross graffiti.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito. Possibly of a ram.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 162
EG176	Syene	Temple of Isis	Undated.	[Figurative graffito. Possibly the beginning of a human figure.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 165
EG177	Syene	Temple of Isis. Front wall.	Undated.	[Traces of figurative graffiti. Reading unclear.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 160
EG178	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pillared hall.	Late antique or later.	[Figurative graffito of a rosette. Very well drawn. Petals painted in dark brown or black.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 172

EG179	Syene	Temple of Isis.	Undated.	[Graffito of an incomplete circle.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 173
EG180	Syene	Temple of Isis.	Undated.	[Graffito of a shape.]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 175
EG181	Syene	Temple of Isis. Pavement. Near pagan altar	Late antique or later.	[Graffito of a cross with "petals".]	*	*	Dijkstra 2012: no. 138
EG182	Theban Mountain.	Oratory.	6th-7th century CE.	† ΘΗΡΘΔΟΞ | ΑΒΡΑΗΑΜ | ΘΗΡΘΔΟΞ [Figurative graffito of a peacock.]	*	Abraham.	Delattre 2018: 46.
EG183	Theban Mountain.	Oratory.	6th-7th century CE.	*	[Text in cryptographic script.]	I am Jacob . . . pray for me please. Saint Apa Ammôn, the saint martyr	Delattre 2018: 46.
*EG184	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	I̅Σ̅ ((cross)) X̅Σ̅ |X̅Σ̅	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς (cross) Χ(ριστό)ς | Χ(ριστό)ς	Jesus Christ , Christ .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.1a
*EG185	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	ΜΑΚΑΡΗΣΑ	Μάκαρ<ι>ς	Makaris	I. Wadi Haggag. No.1b
*EG186	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝΑΣ ΤΑ|ΣΙΟΥ	† Κύριε βοήθει Ἀναστα|σίου	Lord, help Anastasios	I. Wadi Haggag. No.2a.
*EG187	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡ ΒΟΗΘ[.]ΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥ[....]	† Κύρ(ιε) βοήθ[ει]σον τόν δοῦ[λόν σου]	Lord, help your servant	I. Wadi Haggag. No.2b.
*EG188	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ Μ[---]	Μνησθῇ Μ……	Remember…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.3.

*EG189	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	ΗΝΝΙΟΣ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.4.
*EG190	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙΣΚΥΡΚΟΣ $\overline{XP}$	† Ἀβραάμις. Κυρ(ια)κός Χρ(ιστό)ς	Abraham, Kyriakos, Christ *or*, Abraham, Lord Christ, *or* Abraham son of Kyriakos, Christ	I. Wadi Haggag. No.5.
*EG191	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† $\overline{KE}$ ΒΟΗΘΙΤΟ | [..]ΦΛΑ̣[….]	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τό[ν δοῦλόν σου] | ..Φλα[ουίου]	Lord, Help your servant Flavios	I. Wadi Haggag. No.6.
*EG192	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	Μ̣Ν̣Η̣Σ̣Θ̣Η̣Τ̣Η̣ΝΔΟΥΛ Η̣ΗΔΑΝΕ̣Γ̣ΔΟΥ | [….]ΡΙΣΤΗ̣Ν̣Κ	Μνησθῇ τὴν δούλην Δανε.. δού(λην) … τὴν …	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.7.
*EG193	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† $\overline{KE}$ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ | Κ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ[---] | ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ | ΤΟΙΣΦΙΛΟΙΣΑΥ[….]	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τόν Ἰωάνγην | κ(αί) Ἄρτεμιδώ[ρου] | κ(αί) Ἰουλιάνου [καί] τοῖς φίλοις αὐ[τῶν]	Lord, help Ioannes and Artemidoros and Ioulianos and their dear ones	I. Wadi Haggag. No.8.
*EG194	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	† ΦΙΜ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.9.
*EG195	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 1". Southernmost rock in wadi.	5th century CE or later.	Π[.]ΑΜΟΥ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.10.

*EG196	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΑΘΑ|ΝΑΣΙΟΣ	Ἀθα|νάσιος	Athanasios	I. Wadi Haggag. No.23.
*EG197	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[Ε]ΥΧΗ | [ΑΜ]ΗΝ | ΝΟΝΝΟΣ | ΘΗΚΛΑ | [.]ΔΕΛΦΑ ΣΩΣΑΝΝΑ	[Ε]ὐχή | [Ἀμ]ήν | Νόννος | Θήκλα | [Α]ΔΕΛΦΑ | Σώσαννα	Prayer. Amen. Nonnos, Thekla, Adelpha, Sosanna .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.24.
*EG198	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | K̅E̅ ΤΟΙΣ | ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣΣΟΥ	† Μνήσθη | Κ(ύρι)ε τοῖς | δοῦλοίς σου	Remember, Lord, your servants.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.25.
*EG199	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΑΒΔΑΓΗΣ | ΜΑΡΘΙΣ | ΘΑΝΟΥΜΑΣ | ΩΡΙΩΝ ‖ ΚΑΣΣΙΣΑΣ | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ | ΜΟΥΣΗΟΣ	† Ἀβδά(λ)γης | Μαρθ(ε)ῖς | Θανούμας | Ὠρίων ‖ Κασσίσας | Ἀναστάσι(ο)ς | Μουσῆος	Abdalges , Martheis , Thanoumas , Orion , Kassisas , Anastasios , Mouseos .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.26.
*EG200	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΑΔΑ | ΣΑΔΟΡΑ | ΦΕΧΕΡΑ	Ἄδα | (Ἰ)σαδόρα | Φεχέρα	Ada, Isadora, Phechera	I. Wadi Haggag. No.27.
*EG201	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΟΜΜΡΥΔΗΛΟΧ | ΜΑΡΘ | †ΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ‖ ΚΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ	ΟΜΜΡΥΔΗΛΟΧ | Μαρθ[εῖς] | † Χασέτου | Στέφανος ‖ κ(αὶ) Ἀναστασία	...Martheis the daughter of Chasetos , Stephanos and Anastasia .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.28.
*EG202	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† K̅E̅ΒΟΗΘΗΚΑΣΙΣΟΝ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ | ΚΜΟΥΣΗΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ | ΚΒΙΚΤΩΡΙΟΝ̣Α […] ‖ ΠΙΝΟΥ	† Κ(υρι)ε βοηθη Κάσιον | Στεφάνου | κ(αὶ) Μουσῆ Ἀθανασίου | κ(αὶ) Βικτωρῖον̣ Α[….] ‖ ΠΙΝΟΥ	Lord, help Kasios son of Stephanos and Mouses son of Athanasios and Biktarion…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.29.

*EG203	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΝΟΝΝΑ	†Ἰωαννης Νόννα	Ioannes, Nonna	I. Wadi Haggag. No.30.
*EG204	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΙΣ	Μνήσθη | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς	Remember, Jesus	I. Wadi Haggag. No.31
*EG205	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	K̄Ȳ † [Monogram. ΙΩΑΝΣ.]	Κύ(ριος) or Κύ(ριε) † (Ἰωάνν(η)ς)	Lord, Ioannis	I. Wadi Haggag. No.32
*EG206	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ | ΘΕΩΦΑΝΟΥ	Γεώγι(ο)ς | Θεωφάνου	Georgios son of Theophanes .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.33
*EG207	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΑΝΟΥΝΑ | ΜΕΤΡΙ †	Ἄνουνα | μετρι	Anouna…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.34
*EG208	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΙΟΥΒΙΝΟΣ | †ΒΑΣΟ	Ἰουβῖνος | †Βάσο(ς)	Iouvinos Bassos	I. Wadi Haggag. No.35
*EG209	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ | Ο Θ̄Σ̄ ΤΟΝΔΟΥ|ΛΟΣΟΥ | ΔΑΜΙΑΤΙ	†Ἐλέησον | ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τόν δοῦ|λό(ν) σου| Δαμίατι	God, have mercy on your servant Damiati	I. Wadi Haggag. No.36
*EG210	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[Monogram. Letters include ΠΝΚ'ΟΥ'.]	[Monogram] Πν(εύματος) τοῦ κρατίστου θεοῦ *or* Πν(εύματος) τοῦ Κυρίου	Spirit of the Almighty God *or* Spirit of the Lord	I. Wadi Haggag. No.37a
*EG211	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[Monogrammed Cross] Ῑ Σ̄ ((*cross*))Ῑ Σ̄ | ΔΑ ((*cross*)) Δ | ΔΟΥ ((*cross*)) ΛΟ|Σ	[Monogrammed Cross] Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς | Δα(βί)δ | Δού†λος	Jesus Christ, David, your servant	I. Wadi Haggag. No.37b

*EG212	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΖΗΣΗ | ΩΓΡΑΨ | †ΑΣ	†Ζήση | ὁ γράψ|†ας	Let the writer of this live.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.38
*EG213	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† | † ΣΤΕΦΑΝ | ΖΗΝΩΝ | ΜΑΓΔ‖ΗΣΣΕ [---]	† | † Στέφαν[ος] | Ζήνων | Μάγδ(ε) ‖ ης ΣΕ[---]	Stephanos, Zeno son of Magde *or* Stephanos, Zeno, Magde.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.39
*EG214	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ | ΣΕΒΑΙΡΟΥ | ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ [..|.] ΒΟΥ	†Ἰωάννης | Σεβαίρου | εὐχαριστ[ῶν] | [.]ΒΟΥ	Ioannes son of Sebairos, giving thanks…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.40
*EG215	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΑΜΟΝ	Ἄμον	Amon	I. Wadi Haggag. No.41
*EG216	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΘΑΝΑΣΙΣΝΟΝΝΑ | ΑΥΛΟΣΦΙΛΟΜΕΝ | ΕΙΣΑΡΟΥΣΝΑΖΟΜΜ Α|ΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ | [---]‖ ΑΒΔΑΛΛΑ	[Ἀ]θανάσι<ο>ς, Νοννα|Ἄυλος, Φιλούμεν[ος] | Εἰσαροῦς, ΝΑΖΟΜΜ Α|νασταία ‖ [---] | Ἀβδάλλα	Athanasios, Nonna, Aulos, Philoumenos, Eisarous… Anastasios… Abdalla	I. Wadi Haggag. No.42
*EG217	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[In tabula ansata.] †ΙΩΒ ΚΟΠΡΟΣΕ | ΟΥ'†Κ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΣ	† Ἰώβ Κοπροσε. † κ(αὶ) εὐφυμ<ε>ῖς	Iob son of Koproses and Euphemia.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.43
*EG218	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΣΟΥΑΙ	Σουαί	Souai	I. Wadi Haggag. No.44
*EG219	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	†ΘΕΟΔΩΡ'ΟΥ'Τ'ΟΥ' ΦΕΩΣ	† Θεοδώρου ὁ τοῦ Φεως	Light of Theodoros *or* Pheos son of Theodoros	I. Wadi Haggag. No.45

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*EG220	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΠΕΤΡΟΣ | ΣΩΕΟΥΕΡ | ΜΑΝΑΣΙΣ | ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ‖ ΚΥΡΙΛΑ	†Πέτρος | Σωεουερ | Μανάσις | Μαρτυρία ‖ Κύριλ(λ)α	Petros, Soeouer, Manasis, Martyria, Kyrilla	I. Wadi Haggag. No.46
*EG221	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[In tabula ansata.] ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ | ΑΣΙΛΑΣ	Μνησθῇ | Μάξιμος | Ἄσιλας	Remember, Maximos, Asilas	I. Wadi Haggag. No.47
*EG222	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΗΝΑΑΥΡΝΙΜΧΦ	*	?	I. Wadi Haggag. No.48
*EG223	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito of a long-horned animal] ΑΒΡΑΜΗΟΣ | ΖΑΡΟΥΘΑ	Ἀβρα(ά)μηος | Σαρουθα [Figurative graffito of a long-horned animal]	Abraham, Saroutha	I. Wadi Haggag. No.49
*EG224	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[In tabula ansata.] † ΙΩΒΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ | ΚΟΠΡΟΣΕΟΥ †	†Ἰῶβ | Στεφάνου | Κοπροσέου †	Iob son of Stephanos, son of Koproseos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.50
*EG225	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΑΑΡΩΝ | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥΚΑΙ | ΑΛΑΦΑΛΛΑΑΔΕΛΦΩ	Ἀαρὼν | Ἀναστασίου καὶ | Ἀλαφάλλα ἀδελφῷ	Aaron son of Anastasios and his brother Alaphalla	I. Wadi Haggag. No.51
*EG226	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΚΑΣΣΙΕΣΕΝΑΣ | ΙΑΤΡΟΣ	Κασσίσενας | Ἰατρός	Kassisenas the physician.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.52
*EG227	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΝΟΝΝΑΙΑΤṚΙΒΙΑΤṚΙΒ | [---]Θ̣Υ̣ΑΝΟΝ	[Menorah] | Νόννα [............] | [---]	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.53
*EG228	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2." North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΛΕΗΣΟΝΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ	[ἐ]λέησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου	Have mercy on your servant	I. Wadi Haggag. No.54

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*EG229	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ | ΟΛΕΦΑ̣ | Δ̣	πρότερα | ΟΛΕΦΑ̣ | Δ̣	First…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.55
*EG230	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΑΡΘΑ † ΑΒΔΑΙΟΣ	† Μάρθα † Ἀβδαῖος	Martha , Abdaios .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.56
*EG231	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣ | ΚΥΡΑ | ΑΡΚΑΔΙΣ | ΝΟΝΝΑ	† Στέφανις | Κύρα | Ἀρκάδι(ο)ς | Νόννα	Stephanis, Kyra, Arkadios , Nonna .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.57
*EG232	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΔΟΜΕ|ΤΟΝΕ	† Δομε|τονε	Dometone.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.58
*EG233	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ	Λεόντις	Leontis	I. Wadi Haggag. No.59
*EG234	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ | † ΡΑΒΔ †	† Κυριάκο(ς) | † [---] Ῥαβδ †	Kyriakos, Rhabd	I. Wadi Haggag. No.60
*EG235	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΕΝΤΚΕΤΕ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.61
*EG236	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΟΣΑΝΟΥΒ	[Ου]αλεντῖνος Ἀνουβ[ίου ?]	Valentinos son of Anoubis	I. Wadi Haggag. No.62
*EG237	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[---] | [---] | ΙΩΑΝΝ[.] | ΒΡΑΣΥ	[---] | [---] | Ἰωάνν[ης] | ΒΡΑΣΥ	Ioannes…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.63
*EG238	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	Χ[.]ΤΑΣ | ΛΕΔΑΙ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.64
*EG239	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ | ΣΟΦΙΑ	† Μάξιμος | Σοφία	Maximos, Sophia	I. Wadi Haggag. No.65

*EG240	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	ΘΕΚΛΑ | ΑΒΑΣ [---] | ΜΟΣΑΔΙ | ΜΟΥΣΕ[..] ‖ ΑΒΡΑ[..]	Θέκλα | Ἀβᾶς | ΜΟΣΑΔΙ | Μούσε[ς] ‖ Ἀβρα[άμ ?]	Thekla, Abas… Mouses, Abraham	I. Wadi Haggag. No.66
*EG241	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[---] ΑΚ | [---] | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ	[---] ΑΚ | [---] | Ἀναστασίας	… son of Anastasia	I. Wadi Haggag. No.67
*EG242	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 2."North-east end of wadi. South-west of "Rock 3"	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a cross potent.] | ΝΟΝΝΟΣ ΑΦΘΟΝΙΣ	Νόννος Ἀφθόνι(ο)ς	Nonnos, Aphthonios .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.68
*EG243	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΙΣΟΙΣΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ | ΜΟΥΣΗ	Ἰσοῖς Χάσετου | Μούση	Isois son of Chasetos. Mouse	I. Wadi Haggag. No.69
*EG244	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΣΕΡΓΙΣ	† Σέργι(ο)ς	Sergios	I. Wadi Haggag. No.70
*EG245	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē ῙῨ K̄Ē M̄Ε̣Τ̣	† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(εσο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ε Μέγ(ιστε)	Lord, Jesus Christ almighty	I. Wadi Haggag. No.71
*EG246	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΒΟΗΘΙΤΩΝΔΟΥΛ ΟΩΣΟΥ | ΛΕΩΝΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟ ΥΖΑΔΑΚΑ|ΘΩΝΚΤΟ ΥΣΦΙΛΟΥΣΑΥΤΟΥΑ ΜΗΝ | K̄Ē †	† Κ(ύρι)ε βωηθι τῶν δοῦλω σου | Λέωνος Καλλινίκου Ζαδδακά|θων κ(αὶ) τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν. | Κ(ύρι)ε †	Lord, help your servant Leonos son of Kallinikos of Zadakatha and those dear to him. Amen. Lord.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.72
*EG247	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΣΤΕ ((*cross*)) ΦΑΝ | Ο ((*cross*)) Σ	Στέφαν|ος	Stephanos	I. Wadi Haggag. No.73

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*EG248	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē̄BOHΘHΣONTON ΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΝΕΠΙΦΑ ΝΙΣ | ΚΑΙΣΟΥΑΙΡΟΣΚΑΙΜ ΟΥΣΗΣΚΑΙΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοηθήσον τὸν δοῦλον σου Ἐπιφάνις | καὶ Σουαίρος καὶ Μοῦσης καὶ Ἰωάννης	Lord, help your servant Epiphanis and Souairos and Mouses and Ioannes	I. Wadi Haggag. No.74
*EG249	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē̄BOHΘHΣONΘAN ΟΥΜΑΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοηθήσον Θανοῦμας	Lord, help Thanoumas	I. Wadi Haggag. No.75
*EG250	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ	† Θεόφιλος	Theophilos	I. Wadi Haggag. No.76
*EG251	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	K̄X̄P̄ΩN[…]ΜΑΣ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.77a.
*EG252	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.77b.
*EG253	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē̄BOHΘHITONΔOY ΛΟΝ | ΣΟΥΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝΚΑΙ | ΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΟΡΜΑΣ | ΤΡΙΔΟΣΟΛΕΦΘΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τὸν δοῦλόν | σου Τιμόθεον καί | τῆς αὑτου ΟΡΜΑΣ | ΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΟΛΕΦΘΣ	Lord, help your servant Timotheos and his…	I. Wadi Haggag. No.78
*EG254	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē̄IΥX̄Ē̄MNEΣΘETIK ΑΙΒΩΗΘΕΣΟΝΤΟΝΔ ΟΥ|ΛΟΝΣΟΥΣΑΜΑΒ ΡΑΑΜΚΠΕΤΡΟΣ | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(εσο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ μνέσθετι | καὶ βωηθέσον τὸν δοῦ|λόν σου Σαμμάσας	Lord Jesus Christ, remember and help your servant Sammasas son of Abraham	I. Wadi Haggag. No.79

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				Ἀβρααμ(ίου) κ(αὶ) Πέτρος | Ἀναστασίας	and Petros son of Anastasios	
*EG255	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΒΟΗΘΙ | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ|Ν	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι | Θεοδώρα|ν	Lord, help Theodora	I. Wadi Haggag. No.80a.
*EG256	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΒΟΗΘΙ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ|ΦΙΑΝ	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι | Φιλαδε|φίαν	Lord, help Philadelphia	I. Wadi Haggag. No.80b.
*EG257	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	Α ((*cross*)) Ω	*	Alpha and Omega	I. Wadi Haggag. No.81
*EG258	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΧΑΣΕΤΟΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ	Χάσετος | Διονῦσος	Chaestos, Dionysos	I. Wadi Haggag. No.82
*EG259	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΒΑ | ΑΘΑΛΑΣ | ΣΟΦΡΟΝΗΣ	Ἀβ<β>ᾶ | Ἄθαλας | Σοφρόνης	Abbot Athalas son of Sophrone .	I. Wadi Haggag. No.83
*EG260	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a large latin cross. Two small latin crosses carved on either side of the central stem.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 62a
*EG261	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a Greek cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 62b
*EG262	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a cross with flayed ends. In each quadrant of the cross is a circle.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 62c

*EG263	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a Greek cross with flayed ends.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 62d
*EG264	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΓΙΕΣΤΕΦ | ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ […] | ΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥΘΕ|Ο ΦΙΛΟΝ	Ἅγιε Στέφ(ανε) | φυλάξον [τὸν] | δοῦλόν σου Θε|όφιλον	Saint Stephen guard your servant Theophilos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.84
*EG265	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΚΩ[…]Α | ΞΙΓΟ[..]ΝΙΚΑ | ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΗΝ[..] | ΦΙΑΝΑ[.]ΤΟΥ|| ΣΗΓΑΜΗ[..]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.85
*EG266	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Written within a carved aedicule shrine] ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ | ΩΒΟΗΘΩΝ | ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΣ | ΣΟΥΘΕΩΝΗ || ΜΕΤΑΓΥΝΗ|ΚΟΣΚΑΙ ΤΗ | ΚΑΙΤΗΚΝΟΝ	Εἷς Θεὸς | ὼ βοηθῶν | τὸν δοῦλός | σου Θεωνη || μετὰ γυνή|κος καὶ τη | καὶ τήκνον	One God, help your servant Theone with his wife and children.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.86
*EG267	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ Χ̅Σ̅ΝΙΚΑ ✝ | Χ̅Ε̅ΒΟΗΘΙ | ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΝ	✝ Χ(ριστό)ς νικᾷ ✝ | Χ(ριστ)ὲ βοήθ(ε)ι | Μάρκελλον	Christ conquers! Christ, help Markellos	I. Wadi Haggag. No.87
*EG268	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ ΚΕΑΓ[.]ΩΒΔ[.]ΑΚ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.88
*EG269	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[In a *tabula ansata*.] ✝ ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΤΟΔΕΟΣ | ΜΑΣΟΥΔΟΥ| ⳩	✝ Μνήσθη | τὸ Δεος | Μασούδου | ⳩	God, remember Masoud.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.89

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*EG270	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΦΥΛΑΡΧΟΣΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΩ	Φυλάρχος Προκοπίο[υ]	Phylarchos son of Prokopios.	I. Wadi Haggag. No.90
*EG271	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΤΣΗΝΟΥΘΙΣ	† Τσηνοῦθις	Tsenouthis (?)	I. Wadi Haggag. No.91
*EG272	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ	Αἰνέιας	Aineias	I. Wadi Haggag. No.92
*EG273	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ	Μνησθῇ	Remember	I. Wadi Haggag. No.93
*EG274	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---]ΣΟΥΘΩΜΑΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΦΙΛΟΥΣΑ[---]	[Μνήσθη τοὺς δοῦλούς] σου Θῶμα Νικηφόρου καὶ τοὺς φίλους α[ὐτοῦ]	Remember your servants Thomas, Nikephoros and their dear ones *or* Remember your servant Thomas son of Nikephoros and their dear ones	I. Wadi Haggag. No.94
*EG275	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a monogrammed cross. There are illegible letters below the cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No.95
*EG276	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of several small carved crosses. At least five.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 64.

*EG277	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ | ΜΑΡΤΙΡΙΑΝΟΥ	†Ἰωάννης | Μαρτιριάνου	Ioannes son of Martirianos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 96.
*EG278	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΕΦΥΛΑΞΟΝΥΠΟΘ ΗΝ | ΣΚΕΠΗΝΣΟΥΤΟΝΔΟ ΥΛΟΝ | ΣΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝΑΝΤ ΙΣΩ|ΝΟΣΜΕΤΑΣΥΜ ΒΙΟΥ || ΚΤΕΚΝΩΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε φυλάξον ὑπο τὴν | σκέπην σου τὸν δοῦλόν | σου Στέφανον Ἀντίσω|νος μετά συμβίου || κ(αὶ) τέκνων	Lord, guard your servant from darkness, Stephanos son of Antisonos with his wife and children.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 97.
*EG279	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕΤΟΥΣ | ΔΟΥΛΟΣΟΥΚΑΠΑΣ | ΣΟΥΑΙΔΙΟΥΑΝΑΣ | ΣΤΑΣΙΣΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥΜ ΕΤΑ || ΣΥΜΒΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝ | ΑΛΑΦΑΛΛΑΣΚΑΙ | ΑΑΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΕΡΓΙΣ | ΒΑΡΟΧΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΣΓΥ ΝΗ | ΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΘΕΚΛΑΣ	Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τοὺς | δοῦλο(ύς) σου Καπα(ῖ)ς Σουαιδίου Ἀνασ|τασί(ο)ς Ζονάινου μετὰ || συμβίου καὶ τεκν(ῶν) Ἀλαφάλλας καὶ | Ἄάρων καὶ Σέργι(ο)ς | Βαρούχου καὶ τῆς γυνη|κὸς αὐτοῦ Θέκλας	Lord, Remember your servants Kapais son of Souaidios, Anastasios son of Zonainos with his wife and children, Alaphalla and Aros and Sergios son of Barouch and his wife Thekla.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 98.
*EG280	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† | K̅E̅ I̅Y̅ X̅E̅ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ | ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | [---]ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ | ΑΜΗΝ	†| Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(εσο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἐλέησον | τὸν δοῦλόν σου | ...Ἀναστασία | Ἄμήν	Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on your servant… Anastasia. Amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 99.

*EG281	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΣΩΣΟΝΤΟΝΔΟΥΛ ΟΝΣΟΥ | ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΥΣΔΙ ΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΚΤΝΣΥΝΟΔΙΑ ΝΑΥΤΟΥΟΥΑΜΗΝ	† K(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Θεόφιλον κ(αὶ) τοὺς δία φέροντας | αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τ(ὴ)ν συνοδίαν αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν.	Lord, save your servant Theophilos and those who belong to him, and his travelling companions. Amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 100.
*EG282	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΕΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΣΟΥ | ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟΝΚΑΙΚΑΣ ΣΙΑΚΑΙΑΥΞΟΝΚΑΙΝ ΟΝΝΑ | ΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝΚΑΙΙ ΟΑΝΝΗΝ	† K(ύρι)ε εὐλόγησον τὸν δοῦλό(ν) σου | Θεῶδορον καὶ Κασσία καὶ Αὔξον καὶ Νόννα | καὶ Στέφανον καὶ Ἰωάννην.	Lord, bless your servant Theodoros and Kassia and Auxon and Nonna and Stephanos and Ioannes.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 101.
*EG283	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΣΩΣΟΝ [Two monograms.]	† K(ύρι)ε σῶσον [Monogram] κ(αὶ) [Monogram]	Lord, save.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 102.
*EG284	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΙΕΙΣΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΕ | ΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ | ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ	† Κύριε Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χριστὲ | βοήθ(ε)ι του δουλου σου | Θεοδούλου	Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant Theodoulos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 103.
*EG285	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΑΣΤΡΟΥΖΑΔΑΚΑΘ Α †† | ΚΕΣΟΣΟΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟ ΝΣΟΥ | ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ	† Κάστρου Ζαδάκαθα †† | K(ύρι)ε σοσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Σεργίου Στεφάνου | καί	Kastron Zadakatha. Lord, save your servant Sergios son of Stephanos and	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 104.

				| ΚΑΙΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ | ΚΑΙΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ ‖ ΣΕΡΓΙΝΗΣ	Κυριακὸς διακόνου ‖ καὶ Θεόδορος | Σεργίνης	Kyriakos the deacon and Theodoros son of Sergines.	
*EG286	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a Maltese Cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 75
*EG287	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of several small carved crosses. At least twelve.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 75
*EG288	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΑΔΙΣΟΣ | ΑΛΤΙΡΟΝ	Μνησθῇ | Ἁδίσος | Ἁλτίρον	Remember Adisos son of Altiros	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 105.
*EG289	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† Κ̅Ε̅ Ι̅Υ̅ Χ̅Ε̅ Χ̅Ε̅ ΚΑΙΛΩΓΕ | ΤΟΥ Θ̅Υ̅ Ο Θ̅Σ̅ ΣΥΝΟΔ̣Ε̣Υ̣ | ΣΕΝΣΥΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥ | ΣΟΥΣΕΡΗΒΑΜΗΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ. Χ(ριστ)έ καὶ λώγε | τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ. Ὁ θ(εὸ)ς σύνοδευ|σεν συ(ν) τοῦ δούλου σου Σερηβ Ἁμήν.	Lord Jesus Christ, Christ and the word of God. God, travel with your servant Sereb. Amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 106.
*EG290	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΕΟΘΣΜΝΗ | ΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΣ | ΑΜΗΝΚΕ‖ ⳨	† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς μνή[σθη] τὸν | δοῦλόν σου | Ὁυάβαλλας | Ἁμήν. Κ(ύρι)ε ‖ ⳨	Lord, God remember your servant Ouaballas. Amen, Lord.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 107.

*EG291	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 78.
*EG292	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΕΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ | ΑΒΔΑΛΛΑΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε Χασέτου | Ἀβδάλλας	Lord, Chasetos son of Abdalla	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 108.
*EG293	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̅E̅ ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ | ΤΟΝΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε φυλάξον | τὸν Κύριλλον	Lord, guard Kyrillos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 109.
*EG294	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	⳨ |ΕΥΧΗ | ΚΥΡΙΑ | ΧΡΙΣΤῼ ‖ ΑΛΦΙΟΣΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ | ΒΙΤΑΡΙΟΝΑΜΑΒΙΟ | ΟΜΜΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΣΟΒ ΑΙΑ | ΑΒΙΣ | ΙΟΑΝΙΣ ‖ [---] | ΟΥΑΡΙΘΑ	⳨ | Εὐχή. | Κυρια[κος] | Χριστό[ς] ‖ Ἄλφιος Χασέτου | Βιτάριο(ν) Ἀμαβίο(υ) | ΟΜΜΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΣΟΒΑΙΑ | Ἄβις | Ἰοαν(ν)ις ‖ …………….| ΟΥΑΡΙΘΑ	Prayer. Lord Christ, Alphios son of Chasetos, Bitarion son of Amabios, Ommaris (?) of Sobaia, Abis… Ioannes…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 110.
*EG295	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΚΕΕΛΗΣ | ΜΟΥΣΑΙ̣ | ΜΑΝΑΗΜ̣ | ΑΛΑΦ ‖ ΜΑ	Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησ[ον] | Μουσαῖ[ον] | Μαναήμ[ου] | Ἀλαφά[λλας] ‖ ΜΑ	Lord, have mercy on Mousaios son of Manemos, Alaphallas son of…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 111.
*EG296	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	K̅E̅ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝ | ΤΟΝΣΕΥΗΡΟΝ	Κ(ύρι)ε φυλάξον | τὸν Σευρῆρον.	Lord, guard Severos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 112.
*EG297	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΙΕΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ | ΑΒΡΑΑΜΟΒΔΚΑΙ | ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝ | ΤΕΚΝΑΑ	† Κύριε ἐλέησον | Ἀβραάμ ΟΒΔ καὶ |	Lord, have mercy on Abraham son of… and	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 113.

					Ἐλεύθεραν[καὶ τὰ] | τέκνα α[ὐτῶν]	Eleuthera and their children.	
*EG298	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---] ΟΥΣ | [---] ΑΡΝ | [---] ΟΝΥ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 114.
*EG299	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of illegible texts with several crosses.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 82.
*EG300	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	Μ'ΟΥ'✝ΝΟΝ | ΘΕΟΥΝΙΚΗΣ	Μού✝νον | Θεοῦ Νικῆς	The victory of the one God.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 115.
*EG301	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ K̄Ē̄ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ | ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟ | ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΝΑΜΗΝ ✝ | ΚΑΙΤΟΝΟΙ ‖ ΚΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ	✝ Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον | τὸν δοῦλό[ν σου] | Προκόπιον. Αμήν ✝ | καὶ τὸν οἴ‖κον αὐτοῦ	Lord, havy mercy on your servant Prokopios and his household, amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 116.
*EG302	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ K̄Ē̄ΔΟΣΜΟΙ | ΑΦΕΣΙΝ | ΑΜΡΑΤΙΩΝ | ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ‖ ΑΜΗΝ	✝ Κ(ύρι)ε δός μοι | ἄφεσιν | ἁμρατιων | Κυριακός ‖ Ἀμήν	Lord, give me forgiveness for my sins. Kyriakos. Amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 117.
*EG303	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of a staurogram.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 86.
*EG304	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of a cross on steps. A Chi is placed over the cross bar] ΓΕΒΙΡ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 86.
*EG305	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Written in a rectangular frame. A cross upon steps	] Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς (cross) Χ(ριστό)ς | ΑΩ	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 118.

				with flayed ends. In each corner of the rectangle is a right angle, with triangles at the end of each bar.] H̄Σ ((*cross*)) X̄Σ | ΑΩ ((*cross*)) Ṛ̣ΑΤΩΣ [Inscribed below the rectangular frame] ΑΠΑΜΙΑ	(cross) Ṛ̣ΑΤΩΣ [Inscribed below the rectangular frame] Ἀπαμία		
*EG306	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Monogram with two crosses.] ΟΩΥ | Α | Ω	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 119.
*EG307	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ | ΝΟΜΕΡΙΑΣ	Μνησθῇ | Εὐβούλος | Νομερίας	Remember Euboulos son of Nomerias.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 120.
*EG308	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---]ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥΟΥΑ†ΛΗΣ	[Μνήσθη] τὸν δοῦλόν σου Οὐά†λης	Remember your servant Ouales.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 121.
*EG309	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of several carved crosses, at least eleven.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 88
*EG310	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΓΕΟΡΓΙΣ | ΑΘΑΣ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ | ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟ	[Flayed cross.] Γεόργι(ο)ς | Ἀθᾶς | Στέφανος | Κύριε βο[ήθει]	Georgios, Athas, Stephanos, Lord help.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 122
*EG311	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΓΑΙΣ	Γαις	Gais.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 123
*EG312	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΚΑ̣ΙΗΜΑΣΙ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 90.

*EG313	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΓΕΟΡΓΙΣ	† Γεόργι(ο)ς	Georgios	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 124
*EG314	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΟΔΗΠΟΡ.ΛΕΡΕ̣ΚΕΕΚ ΧΟΥΥΠΕΡ|ΜΟΥΣΣ'Ο Υ'ΠΚΑ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 125
*EG315	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΔΙΑΝΝΟΣ Ο ΦΘΟΝΙΣ	† Διαννος ὁ Φθονις	Diannos son of Phthonis	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 126
*EG316	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ | † ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ	Μνησθῇ | Ἰούλιος | † Αὐρήλιος	Remember Ioulios Aurelios	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 127
*EG317	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΧΗΝ	† Χ(ριστοῦ) ἡ Ν(ίκη)?	Victory of Christ	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 128
*EG318	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΠΟΣΙΔΟΝ	Ποσ(ε)ῖδον	Poseidon	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 129
*EG319	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Illegible text. Several scattered crosses, at least five. It is not certain if all the inscriptions are associated with each other]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 93
*EG320	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΑΨΑΛΑΜΟΥ | ΟΓΑΓΟΥ	Μνὴσθῇ | Ἀψαλάμου | Ὀγάγου	Remember Apsalamos son of Ogagos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 130
*EG321	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	††† | K̅S̅ΣΟΣΟΝ	††† | Κ(ύρι)ε σόσον	Lord, save.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 131

*EG322	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	††† | ΑΝΤΙΣΣΑΑΦ | ΣΑΡΑ | ΣΕΡΗΝΟΣ | ΑΛΑΦΟΝ ‖ ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΑ | ΤΕΚΝΑ	††† | Ἄντισσα ΑΦ | Σάρα | Σερῆνος | Ἄλαφον ‖ Οὐαλεντίνα | τέκνα	Antissa… Sara… Serenos, Alaphon, Valentina, children	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 132
*EG323	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	MART	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 133
*EG324	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΛΤΑ | Τ[..]ΜΕΛΟΕ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 134
*EG325	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	K̄Ē ΒΟΗΘΙ | [..]ΗΜΑ.	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι | [..] ΗΜΑ.	Lord, help…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 135
*EG326	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	*	[Monogram] Μ,Α,Γ	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 136
*EG327	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---]ΗΣΘΗΑΧΒΑΡΟΣ | [---]	[Μν]ησθῇ | [---]	Remember…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 137
*EG328	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΚ | ΙΕΣΟΥΧΡΙΣΟΥ | ΝΟΝΝΑ | ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ	† Μνήσθητι Κ[ύριε] | Ἰ(η)σοῦ Χριστ(τὲ) ΟΥ | Νόννα | Κύριάκου	Remember, Lord Jesus Christ, Nonna daughter of Kyriakos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 138
*EG329	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ĒΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΟΥΑΡΗΟΣ[..]ΚΑΙΑΣ Ο[.]ΛΕΦΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΤΕ | ΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΙΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε εὐλογήσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Οὐάρηος[..] καὶ Ἀσο[.]λεφαν	Lord God, bless your servant Varios… and Asolepha and their children	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 139

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					καὶ τὰ τέ|κνα αὐτοῖς		
*EG330	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄Ē Ο Θ̄Σ | ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝΤΟΥΣΔΟΥ ΛΟΥΣΣΟΥ |ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΝΚΑΙΠ ΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΝ | ΚΑΙΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΗΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεὸς | ἐλέησον τοὺς δούλους σου | Ἄναστασίον καὶ Προκοπίου | καὶ Οὐλπιάνην	Lord, have mercy on your servants Anastasia and Prokopios and Oulpiane	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 140
*EG331	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	Ī̄Χ̄Σ | Ī̄Χ̄Σ | ΑΙΜΙΛΛΙΑ ? | [.] ΑΝΙΩΣ ‖ [..]ΣΣΑ | ΜΕΤΑ	Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς | Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστό)ς | Αἰμιλλία | [.] ΑΝΙΟΣ ‖ [..] ΣΑ | μετὰ	Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ, Aimillia… with…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 141
*EG332	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	*	Θ(εο)ῦ [Monogram]	God	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 142
*EG333	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΛΙΧΟΣ	[Μα]λιχος ?	Malichos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 143
*EG334	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΒΟΗΘΙ | ΕΠΙΦΑ | ΝΙΑΝΚΑΙ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι | Ἐπιφα|ν(ε)ιαν καὶ	Lord, help Epiphania and…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 144
*EG335	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̄ΕΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ | ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣΩ|ΡΙΟΝ ΟΣΑΜΗΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον | τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Ἀναστάσι(ο)ς Ὡ|ρίονος, Ἁμήν.	Lord, help your servant Anastasios son of Orion. Amen.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 145

*EG336	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Damaged text.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 146
*EG337	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 147
*EG338	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K͞ΕΣΟΣΟΝΤΟΝΔΟΥ│ΛΟΝΣΟΥΚΑΥΜ │ ΟΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε σόσον τὸν δοῦ│λόν σου Καύμ│ος	Lord, save your servant Kaumos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 148
*EG339	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K͞ΕΒΟΗΘΙΘΕΟΦΙ│ΛΟΝΕΠΙ[---]	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι Θεόφι│λον ΕΠΙ [---]	Lord, help Bishop Theophilos or Lord, help Theophilos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 149
*EG340	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΣΘΗ†ΜΝΗ │ ΣΤΕΦΑ	<Μνη†σθῇ> │ Στεφα[νου]	Remember Stephanos.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 150
*EG341	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΕ Ι͞Υ Χ͞Ε ΜΝΗΣ │ ΘΗΤΙΤΟΝΤΟΝΓΡΑΨ ΑΝ │ ΤΑ [.....] ΤΟΥΣ │ [---] ‖ [---] ΥΣΕΥΛΟΓΗ	† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ μνήσ│θητι τὸν γράψαν│τα [καὶ] τούς [φίλους] │ [αὐτοῦ] [---] ‖ [---] ΥΣ εὐλόγη[σεν]	Lord Jesus Christ, remember the writer of this and his dear ones… bless….	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 151
*EG342	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K͞ΕΒΟΗΘΙ │ ΜΗΝΑΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι │ Μηνᾶς	Lord help Menas	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 152
*EG343	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΜΝΗΣΘΗ	† Κύρ(ιε) μνήσθη	Lord remember	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 153

*EG344	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ	Λεόντι(ο)ς	Leontios	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 154
*EG345	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΔΙΑΣΟ | ΔΙΝΑΡΟΣ ?	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 155
*EG346	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ | ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ	† Κύριε βοήθησον | τὸν δοῦλόν σου | Στέφανον	Lord, help your servant Stephanos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 156
*EG347	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΧΟΥΡΑΣΑ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 157
*EG348	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΙΩΑΝΝ | [.]ΡΟΔΗ | ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣ|ΙΟΣ	Ἰωάνν[ης] | .ΡΟΔΗ | Ἀναστάσ|ιος	Ioannes... Anastasios	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 159
*EG349	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[.]ᾼΣΟΛΕΟΥ | ΚΑΙΟΜΡΙΑ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 160
*EG350	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΧΕΕΥΛΟ[..]ΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΚΑΝΝΑΝ	Χ(ριστ)ὲ εὐλο[γήσον] Ἰούλιον κ(αὶ) Ἄνναν	Christ, bless Ioulios and Anna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 161
*EG351	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K͞Ē͞ΣΟΣΟΝΤΟΝ | ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ	† Κ(ύρι)ε σόσον τὸν | Στεφάνον	Lord, save Stephanos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 162
*EG352	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΣΘΗΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ	[Μνη]|†σθῇ | Κυριακός	Remember Kyriakos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 163
*EG353	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΠΡΟΚΟ|ΠΙΑΝΟΥ | ΜΑΓΔΙΣ	† Προκο|πιάνου | Μάγις	Prokopianos son of Magis	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 164

*EG354	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΕΥΧΗ	Εὐχῆ	Prayer	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 165
*EG355	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΕΥΧΗ	Εὐχῆ	Prayer	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 166
*EG356	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a Greek cross. Triangles are at the end of each bar.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 121.
*EG357	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΕΑΦΡΗΚ̣ΑΝ | ΟΥ	Μνήσθε Ἀφρηκάν|ου	Remember Afrekanos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 167
*EG358	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	†Κ̄Ε̄ΡΕΔΙΣΕΖΩΟ[..] | ΚΕ ΘΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε ΡΕΔΙΣΕΖΩΟ | Κ(ύρι)ε Θ(εό)ς	Lord,… Lord God	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 168
*EG359	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΑΛΦΙΟΣΧΑΣΕΤΟΥ | [..] ΚΑΙΤΑΠΑΔΙΑ	†Ἄλφιος Χασέτου | [..]καὶ τὰ πα(ι)δία	Alphios son of Chasetos... and children	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 169
*EG360	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΚΕΚΕΛΕ ΗΣΟΝ | ΤΟΙΣΔΟΥΛΟΙΣΣΟΥΠ ΕΤΡΟΝ | ΚΥΡ[….]ΚΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ | ΚΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ	† Μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε κ(αὶ) ἐλέησον | τοῖς δούλοις σου Πέτρον | καὶ Κυρ[ιακο]ν κ(αὶ) Ἀσπασία | κ(αὶ) Στέφανον	Remember, Lord, and have mercy on your servants Petros and Kyriakos and Aspasia and Stephanos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 170
*EG361	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† Κ̄Ε̄ΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΝΔΟΥΛ ΟΝ | ΣΟΥΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ | ΚΟΝΚΑΤΕΩΣ	† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τὸν δοῦλόν | σου Νικηφόρον | Κονκατεως	Lord, help your servant Nikephoros of Konkatis	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 171

*EG362	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΑΛΑΦΑΛΛΑ | ΑΣΑΔΟΥ	✝ Μνησθῇ | Ἀλαφάλλα | Ἀσάδου	Remember Alaphalla son of Asados	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 172
*EG363	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	♀ ΜΑΓΝΙΟΣ | ΑΙΑ	♀ Μάγνιος | Αἰά[νου]	Magnios son of Aianos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 173
*EG364	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ ΙΛΩΝ	✝ ἴλων	Ilon	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 174
*EG365	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Illegible text. Carved above the text is a pentagram. Carved below the text is a Greek cross with flayed ends. Carved to the left of the pentagram is either a monogram or an indecipherable figurative graffito.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 175
*EG366	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ K̅E̅B[---] | ΤΟΥΔΟΥ [..] | ΙΩΑΝΝΗ[.]| ṬAḄINIT	✝ Κ(ύρι)ε β[οήθει] | τοῦ δοῦ[λου σου] | Ἰωάννη[ν] | TABINIT	Lord, help your servant Ioannes...	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 176
*EG367	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ ΜΝΗΣΘΗ | ΜΟΥΡΑΙΣΙΟΣ | ΔΙΟΚΛΗ	✝ Μνησθῇ | Μουραισιος | Διοκλη	Remember Mouraisios son of Diokles	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 177
*EG368	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	✝ | ΚΥΒΑΟΛ | ΑΘ[..]ΘΥΧΗ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 178

*EG369	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΠΑΥΛΟΣ	Παῦλος	Paulos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 179
*EG370	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | [---] ΣΑΜΟΥΘΟΥ	Ἀλεξάνδρου | [---] ΣΑΜΟΥΘΟΥ	… Son of Alexander…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 180
*EG371	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΙΟΧΑΙ | [---]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 181
*EG372	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΝΑΤΙΡΑΣ	Νατίρας	Natiras	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 182
*EG373	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a staurogram. Attached to each bar of the tau are letters, on the left side an alpha, and on the right side an omega or omicron.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 137a
*EG374	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΒΟ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 137b
*EG375	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Several illegible inscriptions. Some letters can be read, but it is uncertain to which text they belong.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig 137c
*EG376	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---]ΣΜΑ | [---] Α†	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 183

*EG377	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	†††† ΜΟΥΣΗΓΑΔΟΣ	†††† Μουσῆ Γάδος	Mouses son of Gados.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 184
*EG378	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΙΛΙΩΣ	† Ἰλίως	Ilios.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 185
*EG379	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[---]ΚΙΔΙ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 186
*EG380	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† K̅E̅ I̅Y̅ ΧΕΜΝΗΣΘ | ΑΙΣΙΚΙΟΣΜΟΥΣΑΙΟ | ΚΑΙΒΥ[..]ΙΑ[.]Χ[.] | ΚΑΙ	† Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ μνήσθ[η] | Αἴσικιος Μουσαῖο[ς] | καὶ ΒΥ[..]ΙΑ[.]Χ[.] | καὶ	Lord Jesus Christ, remember Aisikios son of Mousaios and… and…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 187
*EG381	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	†† | K̅E̅E̅Λ̅ | ΔΩΜΝΑ | ΑΝΝΑΣΙ | [---]	†† | Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλ[έησον] | Δῶμνα | Ἀννᾶς Ι | [---]	Lord, have mercy on Domna daughter of Anna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 188
*EG382	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of scattered crosses, at least four.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 142
*EG383	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΔΩΜΝΑ	† Δῶμνα	Domna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 189
*EG384	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΦΑΣΕ	† Φασε[ῖς]	Phaseis	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 190

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*EG385	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΑΛΦΙ	Ἄλφι[ος?]	Alphios .	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 191
*EG386	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΟΛΙ | ΑΛΙΥΣ	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 192
*EG387	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of a staurogram with flayed ends.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 193
*EG388	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of two crosses.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 147
*EG389	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	I͞Σ X͞P	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστός)	Jesus Christ.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 194
*EG390	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	NON	Νόν[να?]	Nonna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 195
*EG391	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΚΑΣΙΣ | Α̣Β̣Τ̣ΙΡΩΝ	Κᾶσις| ΑΒ̣Τ̣ΙΡΩΝ	Kasis son of Abtiron	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 196
*EG392	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΧΑΣΕΤΟΣ	Χάσετος	Chasetos	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 197
*EG393	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	†† | ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ | ΟΒΟΗΘΩΝ | ΜΗΑΣΤΗ ‖ [.]ΑΙΝΟΥ | ΟΜΜΕΝ | ΚΑΙΑΘΑΝ|ΣΙΟΣ | ⳨	†† | Εἷς Θεὸς | ὁ βοηθῶν | μνᾶστε ‖ [.] ΑΙΝΟΥ | ΟΜΜΕΝ | καὶ Ἀθαν[α]|σιος | ⳨	One God who helps, remember… and Athanasios.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 198
*EG394	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΝΟΝΝΑ | ΚΥΡΑ	Νόννα | Κύρα	Nonna, Kyra *or* Lady Nonna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 199

*EG395	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	NONNA	Νόννα	Nonna	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 200
*EG396	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΜΑΡΙΑ | † Θ̣Ṛ̣ΕΟΡΙΣ | † ΣΟΥΛΕΦΙΣ	† Μαρία | † ΘΡΕΟΡΙΣ | † Σουλέφις	Maria, Threoris, Soulephis	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 201
*EG397	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΓΕΟΡΓΙΣ	† Γεόργι(ο)ς	Georgios	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 202
*EG398	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	ΜΑΡΙΑ	Μαρία	Maria	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 203
*EG399	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	† ΛΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ | † ΦΘΟΜΙΝ | † [---] | † ΑΒΣ..ΕΛ.	† Λουλιανός | † Φθομῖν | † [---] | † ΑΒΣ..ΕΛ.	Loulianos, Phthomis...	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 204
*EG400	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of a cross with triangles at the end of each bar.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 155.
*EG401	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Monogram. Letters include Α, Κ, Ν, Ω, Λ, Ο, Υ]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 205
*EG402	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	Ḳ̣Ḥ̣Ḳ̣ [---] Ḥ̣Σ | [---] Ε̣Ε̣-ΣΟΥ [---] | Φ [---]	Κ(ύρι)<ε> [---] [Ἰ](ησοῦ)ς | [---] σου [---] | [---]	Lord... Jesus... your...	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 206
*EG403	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Figurative graffito. An elongated semi-circle, with a line attached to the top.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 156.
*EG404	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 3". North-east end of wadi. North-east of "Rock 2".	5th century CE or later.	[Graffiti of a Maltese cross or rosette in a circle. The circle is	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 156.

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				enclosed within a larger circle. The space between the two circles is decorated with a cross pattern.]			
*EG405	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ (vac.) ΥϱΘ | ΟΒΟΘΩΝ | ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣΑΝΤΙ | ΓΟΥΝΟΥΣΤΡΑ ‖ ΤΗΓΟΣΓΙΝΔΙΚΤΙ	Εἷς Θεὸς (vac.) ΥϱΘ | ὁ βοηθῶν (palm branch) | Οὐαλέριος Ἄντι|γουνου στρα‖τηγός. (palm branch) γ ἰνδικτιο(ῶνος)	One God, one God, who helps, Oualerios son of Antigounos, the strategos. Third indiction year.	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 242
*EG406	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΟΥΡΟΣ	Οὔρος | [Figurative inscription of two animals]	Ouros	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 243
*EG407	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 244
*EG408	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΧΑΡΙΜΝ|ΗΣΤΓΗΣ	Χάρι[ς]. Μν|ησθῆ Σ	Grace! Remember…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 245
*EG409	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΕΜΟ/ΟΒΟ ΗΘΩΝΔ | [---]	Εἷς Θεὸς ἐμο[ῦ] | ὁ βοηθῶν Δ | [---]	One is my God, who helps…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 246
*EG410	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of	5th century CE or later.	ΧΑΡΙΣΜΝΗ|ΣΘΗΘΕ ΟΔΟΤΟΣ |	Χάρις. Μνη|σθῆ Θεόδοτος | ὁ	Grace! Remember Theodotos the	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 247

		"Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."		ΟΕΠΑΡΧΟΣΚΛ|ΑΥΔΙ ΟΥ	ἔπαρχος Κλ|αυδίου	eparch, son of Klaudios	
*EG411	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΟΝΔΙΥΛ ΟΝΣΟΥ | ḤṆỌ	Μνήσθη τὸν δοῦλον σου | ΗΝΟ	Remember your servant…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 248
*EG412	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΣΩ|ΣΟΝ | ΤΟΝ	Σώ|σον | τὸν	Save your…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 249
*EG413	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘḤ	[Pentagram and other symbols] | Μνησθῇ	Remember…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 250
*EG414	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	I. Wadi Haggag. Fig. 190
*EG415	Wadi Haggag	"Rock 5". North end of Wadi. South east of "Rock 2". North of "Rock 4."	5th century CE or later.	ΜΝΗΣΘΗΟΑΒΟ [..] ΑΛ [..] ΝΟΥ | ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΒΟΗΘΩΝ	Μνησθῇ ΟΑΒΟ [..] ΑΛ [..] ΝΟΥ | Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν	One God who helps, remember…	I. Wadi Haggag. No. 251
Greece							
Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
GR1	Athens	Kerameikos. Written on a grave stone.	400-550 CE.	*	πρ|άσι|μ[ο]|[ν]	Greens	ICG 1945
GR2	Athens	Dikastiko Megaro. Beneath a house. On cistern walls.	3rd-4th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a Roman merchant ship.]	*	*	Grigoropoulos 2016: Fig. 12.
GR3	Athens	Dikastiko Megaro. Beneath a house. On cistern walls.	3rd-4th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a Roman merchant ship.]	*	*	Grigoropoulos 2016: Fig. 12.

GR4	Athens	Dikastiko Megaro. Beneath a house. On cistern walls.	3rd-4th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a Roman merchant ship.]	*	*		Grigoropoulos 2016: Fig. 12.
GR5	Athens	Agora. East Arcade. On column.	6th-7th century CE.	[Graffito of a cross or staurogram.]	*	*		Orlandos 1964: fig. 110a
GR6	Athens	Agora. East Arcade. On column.	6th-7th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a bird, probably a dove.]	*	*		Orlandos 1964: fig. 110b.
GR7	Athens	Agora. Propylon. On column.	6th-7th century CE.	[Figurative graffito. The representation is uncertain, perhaps a fish.]	*	*		Orlandos 1964: fig. 111.
GR8	Athens	Agora. The "Tower of the Winds". North-east porch. On floor.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type C.6.]	*	*		Schädler 1995: fig. 1
GR9	Athens	Agora. The "Tower of the Winds". North-east porch. On floor.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Type 3Rows.2.]	*	*		Schädler 1995: fig. 2
GR10	Athens	Agora. The "Tower of the Winds". North-east porch. On floor.	Undated.	[Gameboard. Variant of type 3Rows.7.]	*	*		Schädler 1995: fig. 3
GR11	Corfu	Fragment of Limestone plate. Now in museum.	400-700 CE.	[-------- | *horse* (------- | † ЄΠ----- | NΓ---- - | *horse* ---?----	*	*		ICG 4158i
GR12	Corfu	Fragment of Limestone plate. Now in museum.	400-700 CE.	[---- . ΣЕР | ----)NATA palm leaves | ----ΛHAN | ---- ЕРΣHΓЕΛ ‖ ----)ΣΩBHOΠ | ----- NHTEΦ . --- | -------- -----------	*	*		ICG 4158ii
GR13	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*	*vacat* | † ἅγιε . – – – – |	… Saint…	CSLA E06300 and ICG 2812

					EVBA– – – – | *vacat*		
GR14	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		† ἄγιε – – – – – – – – – – | ζωμεν – – – – – – – – – | ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπ[ου τούτου] | Ἀνδρέαν, Γεώρ[γιον, – –]– ‖ † τον, κ(αὶ) ἀπόλεσο[ν – –] | *I15– – – – – – – – – – – –*	Saint… save (?)… from this place, Andreas, Georgios… and destroy.	CSLA E06299 and ICG 2814
GR15	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς καὶ δίκ[ι] κ[α]θαρά | λύτροσε τοῦ τόπου τούτου | τοὺς δύω ἀδερφοὺς | ΞΤ Φ Κ Βούδιν καὶ Ἰωάν‖νιν τοὺς βουκελλαρίους | τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἀμίν. †	Lord, God and pure justice release from this place the two brothers, Boudios and Ioannes the *bucellarii* of the eparch. Amen.	ICG 2799
GR16	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θεὸς ὥ τὸ σκό|τος διαχορίσας κὲ | φõς ἀνατήλας διὰ | τῆς ὑκουμένης, ἀπό‖δος,	Lord God, who separated the darkness and caused to rise up the light through the oecumene, punish.	ICG 2801

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						θεοτόκε, ἀπό|δος Μαρίνου τοῦ βαλότος ἱμᾶς | ὅδε κὲ ᾿πύσο τὸς | ἱμᾶς χ᾿ ἱμᾶ‖ς τὴν Πετρου|νίαν. †	Theotokos, punish Marinos who has thrown us here and release (with) us, Petrounia.	
GR17	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		† ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τῆς δίκης τῆς δικα|ζ<u>ού</u>σης ὀρθῶς, φλα[γέλ]ωσον τάχος | τ<u>οὺ</u>ς Ἕληνας Ṭ– – κ.5– –Ρ<u>ΟΥ</u> ποτέ κ(αὶ) ἀπώ|λεσον τ<u>οὺ</u>ς ἐχθρ[<u>οὺ</u>ς – –κ.6– –]ούρ<u>ου</u> κ(αὶ) Μαρίνου ‖ [τῶν] υἱῶν Ἰ[ωάννου τοῦ κ]<u>ου</u>ρέος. †	God of Justice who judges rightly, strike quickly against the Greeks… and destroy the hated… and Marinos the sons of Ioannes the barber.	ICG 2802
GR18	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		ΟΣ † ἐπ<ά>κουε *ear*| † Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθι τοῦ δ|ούλου σο.	Listen! Lord, help your servant.	ICG 2803
GR19	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθι τῷ δούλου σου	Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant Kosmas. Amen.	ICG 2804

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						| Κοσμᾶ· ἀμήν. †	
GR20	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		| πόησον Κ(ύρι)ε μόρῳ κακῷ ἀποθάνε τους |	Lord, make them die a bad death.	ICG 2805
GR21	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		νικᾷ ἡ τύχι Γεοργίου κ(αὶ) Εὐμο|ρφίας. † Λεόμυθος	The fortune of Georgios and Eumorphia triumphs! Leomythos.	ICG 2806i
GR22	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		† Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀπόλεσον Λεωνιανό(ν), διὰ | τίνος ἰσήλθαμεν ὅδε.	Lord, destroy Leonianos, through whom we came here.	ICG 2806ii
GR23	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		[νικᾷ ἡ] τύχη ΟΙΥ | − − − − − − − − − −Ρ− −| − − − − − − − ΝΕ | − − − − − − −ΚΠΟΥ ‖ Δ[.]Ι μ[ὴ π]αραδίκα|σον ἀνὰ μέσο(ν) | ἐμοῦ κὲ τῶν ἐκθρῶν | μοῦ.	The fortune triumphs… don't judge unfairly between me and my enemies.	ICG 2807
GR24	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*		νικᾷ ἡ τύ|χη τῶν καλῶν | κορασίον | τῶν φιλόν‖ τον τοὺς | ἀγάμους.	The fortune of the beautiful girls triumph, who love the unmarried.	ICG 2808

GR25	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*	νικᾷ ἰ τύχι τõν καταπ|ονουμέ νον ἐν τõ | ἀνόμου τόπο τού|το· Κ(ύρι)ε, μὶ ἐλείσις τὸν ‖ βαλότα ἡμᾶς õδε.	The fortune of those suffering in this lawless place triumphs! Lord, have no mercy on (those who) threw me here.	ICG 2809
GR26	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	⌊ΩΡΤ | ΛΕΗΝ	*	*	ICG 2811
GR27	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*	[ἄγιος ἄγι]ος ἄγιος Σα[βαωθ,––– –––––––– το]ὺς βουκελ[λαρίου ς ––––––––] vac. | –––– –––– .ITONAN–––– –––––––– –––ς Ἄλεξα.––––– ––πιως. | *vacat? vacat vacat*	Holy, holy, holy Sabaoth… the *bucellarii*… Alexas…	ICG 2813
GR28	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	*	Πη| ⟩ *Figure* ταυ| ⟩ Σ λίς. | *vacat vacat*	*	ICG 2815
GR29	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	400-600 CE.	–––––– | –––. ––– | ––– Υ . –– – | ––– ΑΠ ––– |	*	*	ICG 2816

				− − − ͅΙΚ − − − ‖ − − − . Τ . − − − ͺ	− − − − − − −			
GR30	Corinth	Unknown. In storage.	400-600 CE.	− − − ΠΑ − − − ͺ	− − − − − − − −	*	*	ICG 2817
GR31	Corinth	Unknown. In storage.	400-600 CE.	⳨ ΝΙΠΤ − − − − ͺ	− − − − − − − − − ͺ	*vacat 0,06*	*	*	ICG 2818i
GR32	Corinth	Unknown. In storage.	400-600 CE.	*	ΣΩΝΕ ͺ	*vac.* σαυτόν, ΣΙΕΥͺΑ[.] ͺ	⳨	… yourself…	ICG 2818ii
GR33	Corinth	Acrocorinth. East of Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora.	500-650 CE.	*	† ΚΛ *tabu*ͺ*la luso*ͺ † *ornamentumria* ͺ ⳨ ΔΙΚΗ̣ΜΑΑ ͺ ΑΕΥΓΑΛΑΝΤΑΥΛ ‖ ΠΑΗΤΕ ΕΚΥΝΤΥΜΣ ͺ Σέργιν. ͺ Ψ	… Sergis…	ICG 2819
GR34	Corinth	Acrocorinth. North-west of Agora. In storage.	500-650 CE.	− − − − − − ͺ ΩΑ− − − − ͺ ΣΗΤ− − − − ͺ ΛΩΝ− − − ͺ *vacat*	*	*	ICG 2820
GR35	Corinth	Acrocorinth. North-west of Agora. In storage.	400-600 CE.	− − − − − − − ͺ − − − − − . ͺ − −Γ̣ΟΜΑΤ̣ ͺ − − − −ΛΑ v ͺ − − − − − − −	*	*	ICG 2821
GR36	Corinth	Acrocorinth. Boudroumi vault. North-west of Agora. On paving slab.	500-600 CE.	ΥΑΝΟΚΤΕΜΕΒͺ ͺ ΣΥΝΩΜ̣ΕΕΑΤΩΡΑ ͺ ΥΜΑ̣ΝΤΩΤΟΣΚΟΡΝΟΥ ͺ . . ΑΒΕΓΡΑΝ̣ΔΕΒΙΚΙΝΟΣ ‖ *vacat*	*	*	ICG 2810

GR37	Delos	Basilica south of Tritopatores Pyrrakidon. On floor of nave.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Ἰωάννης διάκον | δοῦλος τοῦ ἁγίου μαρ|τύρος Κυρίκου ἔγραψε	Ioannes deacon, servant of the holy martyr Kyrikos, wrote (this).	CSLA E01259
GR38	Philippi	Basilica C. Baptistry antechamber. On wall of staircase.	300-600 CE.	*	Δομ[νίν]ου Μ[άρτυρος]	Of Domninus, martyr (?).	ICG 3291
GR39	Phthiotic Thebes	Elpidios Basilica. On fragment of marble panel.	400-600 CE.	*	Χ(ριστὸς) φῶς ((cross)) ζω†|ῆ ((cross)) ς.	Christ, light, life.	ICG 3823
GR40	Rhodes	Marble statue base.	Undated.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Deligiannakis 2015: 188.
GR41	Rhodes	Marble statue base. Front face.	Undated.	ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ	*	Lord, help.	Deligiannakis 2015: 188.
GR42	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύ(ριε) βοήθι Κυρι|ακοῦ ναυκλίρου ΘΩ. ! | [---] ναυτῶν ἀμί[ν]	Lord, help Kyriakos the Captain… (and) his crew.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 70
GR43	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε κα(ὶ) ἅγιε Φωκᾶ σοσον | τὸ πλοῖον Μαρία καὶ το|ὺς πλέοντας ἐν αὐτῷ | [----]πηδάλιο Σ [--] || [--] ΣΗΣ [--] | [---] Ḥ [-]	Lord and Saint Phokas, save the ship Maria and the sailors on it …	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 71

GR44	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Ἐνκενίου νεω|τέρου ὑπὲρ εὐπλία[ς].	Enkenios the youth, for good sailing…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 72
GR45	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς βοήθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Θωμᾶ	καὶ Γεωργίου ἅ|μα κὲ τῆς ἀδελφῖς ‖ αὐτοῦ ἀμί[ν] Κύριε.	Lord God, help your servant Thomas and Georgios and his sister amen. Lord.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 73
GR46	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε] βοήθει	τῷ δού[λῳ]	σου Χρισ[τ-]|ο [δούλῳ?].	Lord, help your servant. Christ, the servant…?	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 74
GR47	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθισον	τὸ πλῦο Φιλαληθί[ου]	[----------]	Lord, help the ship of Philalthios	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 75
GR48	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βο[ή]|θι τ[ῷ δούλῳ]	σου Χρ[ι]στο|δούλ ῳ.	Lord, help the servant, Christodoulos.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 76
GR49	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	Εὔπλυα Ἰσιδώρου	Φιλαλ[η]θίου	Ἀνδρίου.	Good sailing to Isidoros son of Philalthios of Andros	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 77
GR50	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	[Illegible text.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 78a

GR51	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοη[θει ---]	Lord, help.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 78b
GR52	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Θ(ε)έ? βοήθ[ει] | τ̣[ῷ] δο̣[ύ]λ[ῳ] | σο̣[υ----] Α̣ | [--------] Υ	God, help your servant…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 78c
GR53	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[----] Ι̣ [--] | [----]. Ο̣ [--] | Κ̣[ύρι]ε βοήθη. | [---] ΛΙΟΥΥ	… Lord, help …	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 78e
GR54	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	[In a tabula ansata]	Κ[ύ]ρ[ιε] σοσον | τὸν δρόμωνα | … Σ̣ Ι̣ Ι̣ Σ Μ̣ Σ … | . Ο Ν̣… Ḥ. Ọ̣Ṇ̣Ι. ‖ . Μ̣ [---].	Lord, save the dromon…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 79
GR55	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ δούλο̣ | σου Μόσχο̣ Γυαρίτου.	Lord, help your servant Moschos of Gyaros	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 80
GR56	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι̣ τῷ δο̣ύλ[ῳ---?] | [σου?] Ἰω[ά]ν̣[νη ---?] | [-----------]	Lord, help your servant Ioannes…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 81
GR57	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	[In a tabula ansata]	[Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει] | [τῷ δού]λο̣ σου | Ἐπιφανίου | [--- ἀμ]ή[ν?].	Lord, help your servant Epiphanios… Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 82
GR58	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	[In a tabula ansata.]	Κ(ύρι)ε σ̃[σο]ν̣ τὴν σύ|πλοιαν Στεφάνου |	Lord, save the company of Stephanos and	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 83

					(καὶ) Ὑπάτου, ἀμήν.	Hypatos. Amen.	
GR59	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	Κ(ύρι)ε βόθη τοῦ δού|λου σου Γεωργί(ου) | κα(ὶ) τῆς μητρὴ (*sic)* αὐτοῦ | Γεωργίᾳ, ἀμὴν γένυτ[ο].	Lord, help your servant Georgios and his mother Georgia. Amen, so be it.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 84
GR60	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε] β[ο]ή[θει τοῦ δ]ου[λ]ου | [σου Ἰω]αγγ[η? καὶ --- ο]υ | [δ]ιακόνο[υ ----] ΜΟΥΤΟΥ | - ΙΑ----------- ΟΙC ‖ Ἀμὶν γένυτο.	Lord, help your servant Ioannes and … the deacon … Amen, so be it.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 85
GR61	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	[Several illegible graffiti.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 86a, 86c, 86e
GR62	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[---σῶ]σον[---]	… save …	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 86b
GR63	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	κύριε βοήθη...	Lord, help.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 86d
GR64	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B1.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[--] βοήθη τοῦ δούλου [--]	… help your servant …	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 86f
GR65	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B2.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοήθει [---]	Lord, help.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 89a
GR66	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	☧ σῶσον [ἀπ]ὸ | πάντων τῶν | διοκόν| των με καὶ ῥῦ[σαι---] ‖	Christ, save and deliver me from all who	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 90

					[Κύρ]ιε (ὁ) Θεὸ(ς) σῶ(σο)ν.	persecute. Lord God, save.	
GR67	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοῦ δ∣ούλου σου Γ[.. Ṭ. ∣ Ṇ [----]Ạ[--ναυ]∣κλήρ[ου----].	Lord, help your servant… the captain…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 91
GR68	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Ὁ χωρὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἀπọστόλον ∣ σώσα[τ]αι [τὸ] πλοῖọν Μạρίαν μετὰ τ(ῶν) ∣ γωμοτῶν ΑṾ…CTIN (καὶ) Ἰωάν[υου] ∣ ναυ<ṭ>κλήρου (καὶ) τον συνπλεόντω[ν] ∥ αὐτῷ.	Chorus of the holy apostles, save the ship Maria with its cargo… and Ioannes the Captain and his sailing companions.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 92
GR69	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-6th century CE.	*	☧ βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου ∣ Εὐλιμενίῳ ∣ Ἐφεσίῳ χ() τῆς ∣ Ἀσίας καὶ τοῖς συν∥πολίτες τοῖς αὐραρίοις	[Christ] Help your servant Eulimenios of Ephesos in Asia and his fellow citizens the *aurarii*…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 93
GR70	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-6th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	[Κ]ύ(ριε) σῶσ(ον) τὸ(ν) δọῦ(λόν σου) ∣ [---] Ṇ Λ. [---] ∣	Lord, save your servant… grant (to him) good sailing.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 94

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					[π]αράσχου εὔπλυαν, ἀμήν.		
GR71	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	[Graffito of a Latin cross. An illegible inscription is written beneath.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 94
GR72	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ̣(ύρι)ε, εὐχαρι(σ)το[ῦ] |μέν σοι ὅτι [ἔ]|σωσ[ες] ἡμᾶς, [Κυρια]κὸς Μιλί|σιως | ἐνπωρίου Ὑπῶνο[ς].	Lord, thankyou for saving me, Kyriakos of Miletos of the emporion of Hypnos.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 95
GR73	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Δόξα τῷ | σώσαντι | ἡμᾶς | ἐν Τύρῳ	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 96
GR74	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	4th-6th century CE.	[In tabula ansata. Beneath a monogrammed cross]	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοῦ δούλου σου Λεοντ[ίου] | πανυκί, υἱοῦ Φοτάκι, χορίου | Κυπαρισίου, ἀμίν. Θ... | ΟΛ̣. ΦΕΝΟΥΤΥϹ , Κύριε.	Lord, help your servant Leontios son of Photakis, of the village of Kyparission [and his] sailing companion (?), amen... Lord.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 97
GR75	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βωήθι τοῦ δρύ(λου) σου Κομητᾷ | [π]ανυκί ἀμὶν Κ̣[ύρι)ε?] | Ἀμὶν.	Lord, help your servant Kometas [and his] whole household.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 98

						Amen. Lord. Amen.	
GR76	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	[Graffito of Latin cross surrounded by alpha and omega.]	Χ(ριστὲ) | σῶσ[ον τὸν] | δοῦλόν̣ [σου---].	Christ, save your servant.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 99
GR77	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	⳨ σῶσων τὴν̣ σ̣[ύνπλ]υα̣[ν--] | [τοῦ δούλ]ου σο[υ] Α̣ Λ… Ν̣[--] | [---------------] | [----------------]	[Christ] save your servant [and] his sailing companions….	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 100
GR78	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ βωήθι | τῷ οἴκῳ μου | κὲ μοὶ τῷ γρα|ψαντι, ἀμὴ[ν] ‖ Κ̣[ύ]ρι̣[ε].	Jesus Christ, help my household and me, the writer of this. Amen. Lord.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 101
GR79	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	⳨ [βοήθει τῷ̣] δούλῳ | σο[υ.....]ῳ φροντισ|τ̣ο̣[ῦ----]ω [---].	[Christ] help your servant… the Phrontistes…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 102
GR80	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	<ΚΙ> †Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὼ | πλοῖον Μαρία | Ἰσ(ι)δόρου Πι|α[ρ]έως.	Lord, save the ship Maria of Isidoros of Piraeus.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 103
GR81	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	⳨ Κύριε βοή[θ]ι τ[ῷ δούλῳ σου?	Lord, help the servant Isidoros and Demetrios	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 104

					Ἰ]|σιδώρῳ (καὶ) Δη[μητρίῳ?].		
GR82	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βωήθη τõ δούλο σου Ἀνασ[τασίῳ] |ἀναγνώστου, ἡῷ Ἰωάννου δια(κ)|όνου Ναξήου. Ἐγράφησαν τὰγράμ(ματα) ταῦ|τα μηνὴ Ἀπρηλήο πρότη.	Lord, help your servant Anastasios the reader, son of Ioannes the deacon of Naxos. I write this text on the first of the month of April.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 105
GR83	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Χρ(ιστὲ) βοήθι τῷ δού|λῳ σου Παρ[---] | [--]ΤΙΟ καὶ τοῖς | πλέ[ου]σιν μ[ε]τ' αὐτοῦ.	Christ, help your servant… and those sailing with him.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 106
GR84	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-6th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ πλοίῳ Μαρίᾳ Θηρέῳ | κὲ Ἰσιδώρο δ(ια)κόνο κὲ τοῖς | πλέυσιν μετ' ἑαυτοῦ | κὲ Ἰωάννη τῷ γράψ(αντι), εὔπλια.	Lord, help the ship Maria, Thereos and Isidoros the deacon and those sailing with him and Ioannes the writer, good sailing.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 107
GR85	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata, alongside figurative graffito of a	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τõ δού|λο σου Εὐνομίο | κὲ πάσῃ τῇ	Lord, help Eunomios and all who sail	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 108

				menorah, lulav and oil vase (?)]	συνπλοί|α αὐτοῦ Ναξίοις	with him from Naxos.	
GR86	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	Κ(ύρι)ε σῶ(σο)ν τοὺς | δο(ύ)λους σου Θρε|μίστα Ναξίους | [κα]ὶ πάντων σὺ[ν.] || .ΝϚ (καὶ) Εὐνωμίοͅυ τ[οῦ] | γ(ρ)άψαντ(ος) Ἀγα[θὴν] | τύχιν, ἀμήν.	Lord, save your servants Thremista of Naxos and all with him… and Eunomios the writer, in good fortune. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 110
GR87	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[------] | [------] | Θ. ε[ὔ]πλοι[α] | [------]	… Good sailing…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 111a
GR88	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε β]οήθ[ει---]	Lord, help…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 111b
GR89	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata. Illegible graffito.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 111c
GR90	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου | Μακροβίῳ Μα[υ]ρικιανῷ | Κ. Ο δωρητω εὔπλυ[α] Ἰωάννῃ | …ΠΛΙΑ. ΥΘΕΟΤΡΙΔΟΝΙΙͅ || [---] ΣΟ. Σ κα[ὶ] πᾶσσιν τοῖς | [---] ἐν	Lord, help your servant Makrobios son of Maurikianos… good sailing to Ioannes… and all… in the ship and their sailing companions.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 112.

					τῷ πλο[ί]ῳ | κᾳ[ὶ τοῖς? αὐτ]ῶν συνπλ(έ)ουσ[ι].		
GR91	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὴν σύμ]|πλ[υ]αν [τοῦ] δού[λου] | σοῳ Ἐ....ΟΥϹᾼ ἀ|πὸ Ρ.Β..ΛΙΟΥΝΙ.ΠΛ || ΑΝΛΛ. ϲὸν Ἠορδάνην, | ἀμήν.	Lord, save your servant…. And his sailing companions… Eordanes. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 113
GR92	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ | δου πα[ν]οι[κί], ἀμήν.	Lord, help your servant and all his household. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 114
GR93	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοήθι τῷ δού|λῳ σου Γοργονίῳ | Παρίῳ	Lord, help your servant Gorgonios of Paros.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 115
GR94	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ (ύριε ὁ) Θ (εός) Ἰ (ησοῦ) ς …?	Lord, God, Jesus…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 116
GR95	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata]	Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τὴν σύμ|πλυαν Ἰσιδόρου | Ἀπικραντίου Γυα|ρίτου, ἀμὴν Χριστέ	Lord, save Isidoros son of Apikrantios of Gyaros and his sailing companions. Amen. Christ.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 117

GR96	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[Figurative graffito of a menorah.] ΕΠΙΩΝΩΜΑΤΟΣΘΥΖ ΟΝ | ΕΙΩΤΥΛΙΣ .ΙΟΣ Ι ΣΩΘΙΣΥΠΕΙ ΥΑ	Ἐπι ὠνώματος Θ(εο)ῦ ζõν[τος] | Εἰωρτύλις [Ἰουδα]ῖος | σωθίς, ὑπὲρ [εὐπλ]ύα[ς?].	In the name of the living God, Eiortylis the Jew, safe, for good sailing.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 118
GR97	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε [σῶσον] | [τὴν σύμπ]λια ?| [--] Ἰωάγγη ΚΙ[-].	Lord, save Ioannes… and his sailing companion?	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 119
GR98	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	[----------] | τõ γρἀψαν[τι---] | [--] Ἰωάννου Ἑλλαδ(ι)κοῦ	The writer… Ioannes son of Helladikos	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 120
GR99	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	[Κ(ύρι)ε σῶ]σ[ον τὴν] σύν|[πλοιαν] Ἰωάνγ(ου) ΠΣΣ | ΟΙΣ.. [κ]ὲ [Ἰω?]άνου Γυ|αρίτου, ἀμὴν Χριστέ	Lord, save Ioannes and the sailing companios…. And Ioannes of Gyaros. Amen. Christ.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 121
GR100	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοῦ δούλου | Ν. ΙΛΟΥ … ΝΟ [κὲ ?] | Ἰωάννου Ὑδρεάτου | [μετὰ τῆς συμπλοίας ?] ‖ [α]ὑτοῦ Μιλ[ί]ον, ἀ|μί[ν].	Lord, help your servant Ioannes son of Hydreatos of Milos (with his sailing companions). Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 122

GR101	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	[Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ] | δούλου σου | Θεοδώρῳ | [τ]ῷ διακόνῳ ‖ [υἱῷ ? δ]ιᾳκό[νου ?].	Lord, help your servant Theodoros the deacon son of the deacon.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 123
GR102	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Χρ(ιστ)ὲ βοήθη τῷ | δούλ(ῳ) vac.	Christ, help the servant.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 124
GR103	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	⳨ | Χριστὲ βόθη τῷ | δούλ[ῳ σο]υ.. | Ạ....... ẠΝΩ τῷ | [-] ỊΠị [---] ‖ [---] | ⳨	Christ, Christ help your servant…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 125
GR104	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In tabula ansata.]	Κύ(ριε) σῶσων τὸ πλῦ[ο] | Γεωγίω<ν> κὲ Πέτρο ναυ|κλήρων μετὰ τῖς συ|πλύ(ας) αὐτοῦ Μιλισίων ‖ (καὶ) Πιλου<μ>(σ)ια νῶ(ν), ἀμήν.	Lord, save the ship of Geogios and Petros the captain withhis sailing companions from Milos and Pelumasian. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 126
GR105	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ((cross)) Χ(ριστὸ)ς | νι ((cross)) κᾷ	Jesus Christ in victory!	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 127
GR106	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	⳨ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τ[οῦ]	Lord, help your servant Aetios	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 128

					δ|ούλοῦ σου Ἀε[τίῳ ?] | κ[α]ὶ Διμητρίῳ Μιλί|οις.	and Dimitrios of Milos.	
GR107	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-6th century CE.	*		Σῶσω(ν) Κ(ύρι)ε πλῦω Ἰωάννου | (καὶ) Μαρτυρίου Μηλίων | μετὰ τῆς συνπλύας αὐτοῦ. | Ἐκατεπορ(εύ)σαμεν μινὴ ‖ Ἰαννουαρίῳ η΄ Ι Cr Id ζ |d A ἡμερῶ(ν) ε.΄	Save, Lord, the sailing of Ioannes and Martyrios of Milos with his sailing companions. We arrived in the month of January, on the 8th day.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 129
GR108	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]		† Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσω(ν) τὸν δ|οῦλό σου Σύνετον | στρατηώτ(ην) μετὰ | τῶν συπλεώντο[ν] ‖ αὐτοῦ ΝΗ [] Ο (καὶ) Φώ|κου, ἀμή[ν].	Lord, save your servant Synetos the General with his sailing companions… and Phokas. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 130
GR109	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	Before 680 CE.	*		Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον πλῦον Σεργίου ὀπτήονος | τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βε[ι]θυνίας μετὰ | τῶν πλεόντον ἐν αὐτῶ, ἀμίν, |	Lord, save the sailing of Sergios, *optio* of the archon of Bithynia, with those sailing with	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 131

					κ(αὶ) Γριγορίου πιστικοῦ	him. Gregorios…	
GR110	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	[-------] []Ο[]ΛΕ̣ [-] | [--].. Ὶ̣ΟΝ Πέτρον | ἐν τ[ῇ̣] θαλάσι. Σῶ(σο)ν | τὸ σκά[φ]ος Μαυριανοῦ ναυ<κλή>ρ‖ου (καὶ) Ἰω(άννου) Ν̣ΔΕΑΤΟ̣Υ Μιλίον νίς̣|ου (καὶ) τῶν.. ναυτῶν αὐτοῦ.. Κ|υρικίου (καὶ) Ἰο̣ύ[στου []], ἀμήν.	…Petros (is) at sea. Save the ship of Captain Maurianos and Ioannes of the island of Milos and… his sailors Kyrikos and Ioustos. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 132
GR111	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.]	[Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ] δού|[λου] σου Δωμετήου | κεντάρχου | με[τ]ὰ̣ τῶ̃[ν] α[ὐτ]οῦ.	Lord, help your servant Dometos the *kentarchos* with his [sailing companions?]	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 133
GR112	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[In rectangular frame]	Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοῦ | [δ]ούλου σου Στ|εφάνου πα|νυκή, ἀμήν.	Lord, help your servant Stephanos (and) all (his) household. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 134
GR113	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κονσταντῆνος | δοῦλος Χ(ριστ)οῦ	Konstantinos servant of Christ.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 135

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GR114	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θει---]	Lord, help.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136a
GR115	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε [---]	Lord.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136b
GR116	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε β]οήθη [---] | [---]Ρ[---] ἀμήν.	Lord, help… Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136c
GR117	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[---] δ[ι]ακόνου	Deacon.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136d
GR118	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136e
GR119	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[Illegible graffito, accompanied by graffiti of Greek crosses.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136f
GR120	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Χρ(ιστ)ὲ σῶσω[ν---] | [-]Ḥ. Ṇ[---]	Christ, save…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136g
GR121	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	N. †ΝΓ	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136h
GR122	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	[Scattered letters and several Greek crosses.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136j
GR123	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσ(ον) τὸν δοῦλόν σ[ου] | ΝḤ. Ι. ΘΛΝ ..ΙΝΛ. γαμβ|ροῦ Ṇικọλ[άου ? ---] | Μηλίου [---]	Lord, save your servant… Nikolaos… of Milos…?	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136k
GR124	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοή[θει - -] | πλọῖ[ο [] --]	Lord, help… the ship…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136l
GR125	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θει---]	Lord, help…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136m

GR126	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θει]	Lord, help…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136n
GR127	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κύριε βοήθ[ει τῷ δού]|λῳ [σου ----- καὶ ?]	Ἰ[ω]άννῃ σὺν τῇ	συνπλύ[ᾳ αὐτοῦ ?]	Lord, help your servant… Ioannes with his sailing companions.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136o
GR128	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει] τῷ δού[λῳ..]	Lord, help your servant.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136p
GR129	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B4.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ήθει ---]	Lord, help.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 136q
GR130	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock A.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Κ[(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ δ]ουλ|ού σ[--------]	ΑΥΞΙ…	…	Lord, help your servant…	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 78d
GR131	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B2.	5th-7th century CE.	[Erased graffito. Surrounded by several crosses, one of which is in a circle.]	*	*	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 89c
GR132	Syros	Grammata Bay. Rock B3.	5th-7th century CE.	*	Εὐχαριστοῦμέ σοι Κ(ύρι)ε ὥτι ἔσω|σες τὼ δοῦλώ σου Ἀστέρι Νάξιο	κε πᾶσα τὴ σοίπλοια αὐτοῦ,	ἀμήν. †	We are thankful to you, Lord, that your servant Asteris of Naxos is saved and all those sailing with him. Amen.	Kiourtzian 2000: no. 109
*GR133	Thessaloniki	Basilica of St. Demetrius. South colonnade of	7th-8th century CE.	*	⳨ Θεωτώκαι βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου	Theotokos, help your servant	CSLA E01257

		nave. Second pillar. On brick mortar.			Ἀναστασίου καὶ Ἰωάννου	Anastasios and Ioannes.	
*GR134	Thessaloniki	Basilica of St. Demetrius. South colonnade of nave. Second pillar. On brick mortar.	7th-8th century CE.	*	✝ Ἅγι(ε) Δημήτρι βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου Ἀναστασίου καὶ Μαρκαιλίνας	Saint Demetrios, help your servant Anastasios and Markailinas.	CSLA E01257
*GR135	Thessaloniki	Basilica of St. Demetrius. South colonnade of nave. Second pillar. On brick mortar.	7th-8th century CE.	*	✝ Ἅγι(ε) Θεόδορε βοήθη τους δούλυ σου Ἀναστασίου καὶ Ρουπίου	Saint Theodore, help your servants Anastasios and Roupios.	CSLA E01257
*GR136	Thessaloniki	Basilica of St. Demetrius. South colonnade of nave. Second pillar. On brick mortar.	7th-8th century CE.	*	[ἅγ]ιος <ὁ> Θεὸς | Κύ(ριε) βοήθησ(ον) Μ(οναχοῦ) Κυρ<ι>ακοῦ	Holy God, Lord, help the monk Kyriakos.	CSLA E01257
*GR137	Thessaloniki	Basilica of St. Demetrius. South colonnade of nave. Second pillar. On brick mortar.	7th-8th century CE.	*	Ἰουστίνου Ἰουστίνου | ✝ γρυψ	Ioustinos son of Ioustinos wrote (this).	CSLA E01257
GR138	Thessaloniki	Agora. On wall of cryptoporticus of odeon.	300-400 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a ship. Figurative graffito of a Christian shrine.]	Κύριε | [βοήθησον] Εὐτύχῳ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸ<ς> βοήθ<η>σ<ο>ν Ἐλπιδί<ῳ>	Lord, help Eutychos. Lord God, help Elpidios	ICG 3621
GR139	Thessaloniki	Agora. On wall of cryptoporticus of odeon.	300-400 CE.	[Figurative graffito of a panther.]	*	*	ICG 3621
GR140	Thessaloniki	Agora. On wall of cryptoporticus of odeon.	300-400 CE.	[Figurative graffito. A disc flanked by A	*	*	ICG 3621

				and W and christogram surmounted by stars.]			

North Macedonia.

Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
*NM1	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΧΡ | ΘΙΤΟΔΟ[...] | ΥΡΣΙΚΙΝΩ | ΦΙΛΟΥΣΙΝΑΥΤΩΝ	Χρ[ιστέ, βοῆ]|θι τὸ δο[ύλῳ σου | Ο]ὐρσικίνῳ [καὶ] | φιλοῦσιν αὐτῶν	Christ, help your servant Ouriskinos and his dear ones.	IStoborum 258a
*NM2	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΧΡΣΤΕΒΟ|ΘΙΤΟΔΟΥΛΟ| [..]ΥΕΥΘΗΡΙΟ | [..]ΙΤΟΙΣΦΙΛΟΥ‖ΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ	Χρ(ι)στέ, βο[ῆ]|θι τὸ δούλο| [σο]υ Εὐθηρίο| [κα]ὶ τοῖς φιλοῦ‖σιν αὐτόν	Christ, help your servant Eutherios and his dear ones.	IStoborum 258b
*NM3	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΕΙ[.]ΥΛΑΝΟΣ	Εἰ[ο]υλ(ι)ανός.	Ioulianos	IStoborum 258c
*NM4	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΧΡΙΣ[Τ]ΟΣ	Χρισ[τ]ός.	Christ	IStoborum 258d
*NM5	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	Γ ΜΑΡΙΙ | ΕΥΡΧ [...]Μ | ΕΜΤΩΛΣΝΟΗ ΗΣ	*	*	IStoborum 258e
*NM6	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΚΥΡΙ	Κύρι(ε)	Lord!	IStoborum 258f

*NM7	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΧΡΙΣΤ	Χριστ[ός].	Christ	IStoborum 258g
*NM8	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[In rectangular frame.] X̅ΡΒΟΗΘΗΤΩΔΟΥΛ ΩΣΟΥ | ΜΑΡΤΙΝΑΝΩΚΑΙΤΟ[..] ΦΙ|ΛΟΥΣ[....]ΤΩ[.]	Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου | Μαρτινιανῷ καὶ το[ῖς] φι|λοῦσ[ιν αὐ]τῶ[ν]	Christ, help your servant Martinianos and his dear ones.	IStoborum 258h
*NM9	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[...]ΩΗΘΗΣΟΝΠΑΔ	[Χριστέ, β]οηθῆσον ΠΑΔ	Christ, help…	IStoborum 258i
*NM10	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΧΡΙΣ	Χρις[τός]	Christ	IStoborum 258j
*NM11	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΚΕΒΟΗΘΗΠ | ΔΟΥΛΟΣΟ[Υ]ΑΤΟ	Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθη τῷ | δούλο σο[υ] Α ΤΟ	Lord, help your servant…	IStoborum 258k
*NM12	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΛΕΔΡΟΚ[-]ΠΕ̣Δ | ΣΛΥΡΣ[-]Α.ΛΕΔΡΟΚ[-]ΠΕ̣Δ | ΣΛΥΡΣ[-]Α.	*	*	IStoborum 258l
*NM13	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΟΣΕΑΙΝ	*	*	IStoborum 258m
*NM14	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	K̅Y̅E̅	Κύ(ρι)ε.	Lord!	IStoborum 258n
*NM15	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[In a curved frame.] Α ΝΙ Κ̣Ι̣Ε̣	Α ΝΙ Κ(ύρ)ι̣ε̣.	… Lord!	IStoborum 258o

*NM16	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΔΥΛΩ	*	Servant…	IStoborum 258p
*NM17	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	Α̣ΡΓΥΡ | ΑΝΙ	*	*	IStoborum 258r
*NM18	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	E *vac.* ΑΝΙ	*	*	IStoborum 259
*NM19	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΙΝΙ	*	*	IStoborum 260
*NM20	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	Φ	*	*	IStoborum 261
*NM21	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΚΥΡΙΕ̣ *or* ΚΥΡΙΣ	Κύριε	Lord!	IStoborum 262
*NM22	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[.....]ΤΕΒΟΗΘΙΤΩΔΟΥΛ | ΔΙΩΝΙ	[Χρι]στέ, βοῆθι τῷ δούλ[ῳ | σου] Δίωνι.	Christ, help your servant Dion	IStoborum 263a
*NM23	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[...]ΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΣΟΥ Ọ	[Χριστέ, βοῆθι] τὸ δούλο σου [---]	Christ, help your servant …	IStoborum 263b
*NM24	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	[...]ΕΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΔΟΥΣΟΥ	[Χριστ]έ, βοῆθι τὸ δού(λο) σου [– – –]	Christ, help your servant …	IStoborum 263c
*NM25	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	ΚΗ ΒΟ	Κ(ύρι)ε, βο[ήθι …]	Lord, help …	IStoborum 263d
*NM26	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	Κ	*	*	IStoborum 263e

*NM27	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	EIT	*	*	IStoborum 263f
*NM28	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	*	[Χριστέ, βοῆθι ...]νεῳ τῷ [δούλῳ σου]	Christ, help….	IStoborum 263g
*NM29	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	IIKH	*	*	IStoborum 264a
*NM30	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	IN	*	*	IStoborum 264b
*NM31	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	THI I[--]E I	*	*	IStoborum 264c
*NM32	Stobi	Episcopal Basilica. North wall. West end. Inscribed in plaster.	4th-mid 5th century CE.	*	Κύριε	Lord!	IStoborum 265
Israel/Palestine							
Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
IP1	Bet She'arim	Catacomb One. On column in corridor.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of an arcade, including four columns with bases and capitals and three arches. Within a rectangular frame.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP2	Bet She'arim	Catacomb Six. Inner vestibule.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a *nefesh.* Verticle pillar with pointed head and cross hatching.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.

IP3	Bet She'arim	Catacomb Six. Inner vestibule.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a *nefesh.* Verticle pillar with pointed head and cross hatching.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP4	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 20. North-west entrance.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a *nefesh.* Verticle pillar with pointed head and cross hatching.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP5	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C. Written around Arcosolium of "Germanos, son of Isak the Palmyrene".	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a human figure. Bald, and wearing a military uniform.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP6	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C. Written around Arcosolium of "Germanos, son of Isak the Palmyrene".	Late antique.	[Several figurative graffiti of humans.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP7	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C. Written around Arcosolium of "Germanos, son of Isak the Palmyrene".	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a man with a spear.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249.
IP8	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffiti of human figures, animals and statues or statue busts.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 249-250.
IP9	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffito of a man, wearing a tunic and with hair.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 250.

IP10	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffiti of lions.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 250.
IP11	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 4, Hall C.	Late antique.	[Figurative graffiti of two human busts or statues.]	*	*	Stern 2016: 250.
IP12	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 20. Written at entrance.	3rd-5th Century CE.	*	*	Take comfort, holy fathers no-one is immortal.	Stern 2013: 140.
IP13	Bet She'arim	Catacomb 20. Written at entrance.	3rd-5th Century CE.	*	*	Good luck in your ressurection.	Stern 2013: 140.
IP14	Horvat Hesheq	Written in the cistern beneath the church.	Byzantine.	[Figurative graffito of two peacocks. The peacocks hold a wreath in their mouths.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.10.
*IP15	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Passage between rooms 1 and 2. South wall.	5th-11th Century CE.	ΝΗΕ✝ΚΡΙΥΦΥ	ν(η)εκρι(κρ)ύφι (ον)	Burial crypt	CIIP 4.2 3791
*IP16	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[In *tabula ansata*] ✝ ΑΓΙΑΣΑΛΩΜΗΕΛΕ ✝| ΗΣΟΝΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΝΥΥ | ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟ✝ΥΑΜΗΝ	ἁγία Σαλώμη, ἐλέ|ησον Ζαχαρίαν ΥΥ | Κυρίλλου. ἀμήν	Saint Salome, have mercy on Zacharias son of Kyrillos. Amen.	CIIP 4.2 3792
*IP17	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	✝ ΚΥΡΙΕ[--] | ΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ[...]ΙΛ ΛΟΣ ✝	κύριε, [ἐλέησον] | τὸν ἀδελφὸς [Κύρ?]ιλλος	Lord, have mercy on Brother Kyrillos.	CIIP 4.2 3793
*IP18	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[In *tabula ansata*] ΙΕΡΟΝΤΙΣ | ΑΓΙΑΣΑΛΩΜΗ	ἱερὸν τῖς | ἁγία Σαλώμη	Chapel of Saint Salome.	CIIP 4.2 3794

*IP19	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Graffiti of several crosses and illegible texts.]	*	*	CIIP 4.2 fig. 3794.1
*IP20	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	M (cross) H| MH (cross) [...]| MA (cross)	μ[ν]ήμη Μα[..]	*	CIIP 4.2 3795
*IP21	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave.Carved above the arched passage between rooms 1 and 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	† ΑΜΒΑΣΑΓΑΠΗΣΟΑ ΜΑΤΟΛΟΣ | ΔΗΑΚΟΝΤΗΣΑΓΗΑΣ ΑΛΟΜΗΕΟΣ	ἀμβᾶς Ἀγάπης ὁ ἀματολός, | δηακὸν τῆς ἀγήα Σαλώμη….	Father Agapis, the sinner, deacon of Saint Salome.	CIIP 4.2 3796
*IP22	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Threshold of rooms 4 and 5. Columns supporting chancel screen. South column capital. North face.	5th-11th Century CE.	ΑΙΣΑ $\overline{\text{ΙΣ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΧΣ}}$	[Square divided into quarters. Each quarter features two letters] ἀ(γ)ί(α) Σα(λώμη) | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς	Saint Salome, Jesus Christ.	CIIP 4.2 3798
*IP23	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Burial cave. Threshold of rooms 4 and 5. Columns supporting chancel screen. South column. East side.	5th-11th Century CE.	† | ΝΙΚΑ	νίκα	Victory.	CIIP 4.2 3799
*IP24	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. Limestone column capital lying on floor.	6th-7th Century CE.	† ΜΝΗΣΤΗ-ΗΤΗΚΕ̄ | ΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΑΣ Ο | ΜΕΥΚΕΟΜΟΥΡΗΣΟ- | ΚΕΟΜ̄ΩΤΡΗΣΟΥΚΕ |	μνήστηθη{τη}, κ(ύρι)ε, | τοῦ δούλου σου ΑΣΟ|ΜΕΥ κὲ ὁμοῦ ΡΗΣΟ | κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Ωτρησου κὲ ‖	Remember, Lord, your servant Asomeos (?) with Resos and with Otresos and with	CIIP 4.2 3800a

				ΤΡΗΜΟΥΚΕΟΜ̅Α̅ΔΗΜ	ΤΡΗΜΟΥ κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Ἄδημ	Tremos and with Adam.	
*IP25	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. Limestone column capital lying on floor.	6th-7th Century CE.	⳨ ΜΝΙΣ̅Θ̅Ι̅ΤΙΓ-Τ | ΑΜΙΝ	⳨ μνίσθιτι Γ.Τ | ἀμίν	Remember, … Amen.	CIIP 4.2 3800b
*IP26	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. Limestone column capital lying on floor.	6th-7th Century CE.	† ΜΝ | ΚΕ	μν(ήστηθη), | κ(ύρι)ε	Remember, Lord.	CIIP 4.2 3800c
*IP27	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. East wall. Inscribed to the right of the central arch.	5th-11th Century CE.	† ΧΑ	χα(ρά) or χα(ῖρε) or Χ(ριστέ), ἀ(μήν).	Greetings *or* Christ, amen.	CIIP 4.2 3801a
*IP28	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. East wall. Inscribed to the right of the central arch.	5th-11th Century CE.	Κ̅Ε̅ΕΛΕΗ | ΣΩΝΤΟΝ | ΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ | ΖΑΧΑΡΗΑ	κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέη|σων τὸν | δοῦλόν σου | Ζαχαρήα	Lord, have mercy on your servant Zacharias.	CIIP 4.2 3801b
*IP29	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. East wall. Inscribed to the right of the central arch.	5th-11th Century CE.	† Κ̅Ε̅ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ	κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον	Lord, have mercy.	CIIP 4.2 3801c
*IP30	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. East wall. Inscribed to the right of the central arch.	5th-11th Century CE.	Κ̅Ε̅ΕΛΕ | ΗΣΟΝΤ | ΡΑΝΤΗ	κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ|ησον τ(ὸν) | Ῥάντη(?)	Lord have mercy on Rhantes(?).	CIIP 4.2 3801d
*IP31	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 5. East wall. Inscribed to the left of the central arch.	5th-11th Century CE.	ΜΝΗΣ[--]	μνησ[θῇ ..], μνήσ[θητι ..]	Remember…	CIIP 4.2 3802
*IP32	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Passage between rooms 4 and 6. East wall.	5th-11th Century CE.	ΣΘΧ̅ / ΛΑΠΟΥΝΙ[--]ΡΗ	Χ(ριστ)έ, βοή(θει) Β	*	CIIP 4.2 3804
*IP33	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 6. West wall.	5th-11th Century CE.	† Χ̅Ε̅ΒΟΗΒ	† Χ̅Ε̅ΒΟΗΒ	Christ, help…	CIIP 4.2 3805

*IP34	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4. Engraved on the South wall. West side of doorway.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Greek Cross]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 8.
*IP35	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4. Engraved on the South wall. West side of doorway.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Cross formed of four triangles. Placed within a circle]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 8.
*IP36	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4. Engraved on the South wall. West side of doorway.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Greek Cross]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 8.
*IP37	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4. Engraved on the West wall.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Greek cross with flayed ends]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 6.
*IP38	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4. Engraved on the West wall.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Greek cross with flayed ends]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 6.
*IP39	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Cross formed of four triangles. Placed within a circle]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 7.
*IP40	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Decorated cross]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 20.
*IP41	Horvat Qasra.	Cave chapel. Room 4.	5th-11th Century CE.	[Scattered crosses]	*	*	Kloner, Drori and Naveh 1990: fig. 20.
*IP42	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall.	5th-6th century CE.	K̄Ē̄OΘ̄Σ̄OЕГΙΡΑΣΤΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΠΟΝΕ.ΝΕΚΡΩ Ν | ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΤΟΥΔΟΥ ΛΟΥΣΟΥΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ ΚΕ |	Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εο)ς ὁ ἐγ<ε>ίρας τόν Λάζαρον ἐ[κ] νεκρῶν | μνήσθητι τοῦ	Lord God who rose Lazarus from the dead, remember your servant Asklepios and	CIIP 1.2 842.1

				ΧΙΟΝΙΟΥΤΗΣΔΟΥΛΗΣ[--]Υ	δούλου σοῦ Ἀσκληπίου κέ | Χιονίου τῆς δούλης [σο]ῦ	your servant Chionion.	
*IP43	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Written on both sides of a painted altar.	6th-8th century CE.	[--]ΘΕ[--]ΕΙΩΘΕΙ[--]ΦΕΙΛ[--]ΑΛΦ[--|--]ΛΟΥΕΣΘΕΑ[--]ΟΥΠΟΔΥΣΟΥ[--]	[--] ΘΕ [--] εἰώθει [--] ΦΕΙΛ [--] ΑΛΦ [--|--] ΛΟΥΕΣΘΕΑ [--] ΟΥΠΟΔΥΣΟΥ [--]	*	CIIP 1.2 842.2
*IP44	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall. North end. Written to the left of the entrance.	5th-6th century CE.	Χ̅Ρ̅ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΝ | ΤΑ[--]Ν[--]ΛΕΗΟΝΚΙΕ̅ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ | ΚΥ	Χρ(ιστέ) ἐλέησον Θεόδοτον ΤΑ[--]Ν [--ἐ]λέη<σ>ον Κ(ύρ)ιε ἐλέησον | Κύ(ριε)	Christ, have mercy on Theodotos … Have mercy, Lord, have mercy, Lord.	CIIP 1.2 842.3
*IP45	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall. North end. Written to the left of the entrance.	4th-7th Century CE.	Κ̅Ε̅ΙΥ̅Χ̅Ρ̅ΕΕΛ[.]ΙΣΩ | ----------	Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(σο)ῦ Χρ(ιστ)έ ἐλ[π]ίσω | [ἐπι σέ (?) ---]	Lord Jesus Christ, I shall have hope through you…?	CIIP 1.2 842.4
*IP46	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end. Written at the top of the wall.	5th-6th century CE.	ΓΕΡΜ[--]	Γερμ[ανός]	Germanos.	CIIP 1.2 842.5
*IP47	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	4th-7th Century CE.	[.]Σ	[.]ς	*	CIIP 1.2 842.6
*IP48	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	6th century CE.	ΣΤ̣	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.7

*IP49	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	4th-5th century CE.	[--]ΙΜΑΚΑΪ	[?Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ]ι Μακαί	Lord, help Makai (?)	CIIP 1.2 842.8
*IP50	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΠΑΠΑ	Πάπα	Papa *or* Father	CIIP 1.2 842.9
*IP51	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	4th-7th century CE.	[In a *tabula ansata*] [--]ΕΝ[--] | [--]ΜΝ[--]ΤΙΝ[--] |GLYCERIAE	[--] ΕΝ [--|--] ΜΝ [--] ΤΙΝ [--] |Glyceriae	… of Glyceria	CIIP 1.2 842.10
*IP52	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	5th century CE.	ΠΑΥΛΟΣ	Παῦλος	Paulos	CIIP 1.2 842.11
*IP53	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Left end.	5th-6th century CE.	ΕΥΣΕΒΙΣ	Εὐσέβι<ο>ς	Eusebios	CIIP 1.2 842.12
*IP54	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th-6th century CE.	ΑΙ̣ΑΝΟΣ	Αἰανός	Aianos	CIIP 1.2 842.13
*IP55	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th-6th century CE.	ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ	Ἀσιατικός	Asiatikos	CIIP 1.2 842.14
*IP56	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th century CE.	ΑΒΙΔΕΛΛΑ	Ἀβιδελλα	Abidella	CIIP 1.2 842.15.
*IP57	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th century CE.	ΣΤΡΟΒΙΛ̣ΟΣ̣	Στρόβιλος	Strobilos	CIIP 1.2 842.16.
*IP58	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th century CE.	Ι̣ΑΡ†	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.17.
*IP59	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th century CE.	ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ	Ἀσιατικός	Asiatikos	CIIP 1.2 842.18.

*IP60	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th century CE.	ΠΟΠΙΣ	Πόπι<ο>ς	Popios	CIIP 1.2 842.19.
*IP61	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΣΙΜΙΛ[--]	*	Aemilios *or* Aemilianos	CIIP 1.2 842.20a.
*IP62	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΙΜΡΑΧΙΟ	*	Imrachios	CIIP 1.2 842.20b.
*IP63	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΖΗΝΩΝ	Ζήνων	Zeno	CIIP 1.2 842.21.
*IP64	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ	Ἀσιατικός	Asiaktikos	CIIP 1.2 842.22.
*IP65	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΧΡΗΣ[--]	Χρησ[τός] *or* Χρησ[τή]	Christ!	CIIP 1.2 842.23.
*IP66	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th-6th century CE.	ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ	Αἰλιανός	Ailianos	CIIP 1.2 842.24.
*IP67	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[--]Σ	Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς	Alexandros	CIIP 1.2 842.25.
*IP68	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΙΑΝΟ[..]|ΡΙΣ	Ἰανο[υά]|ρι<ο>ς	Ianuarios	CIIP 1.2 842.26.
*IP69	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΟΘΕΟΣ	Ὁ Θεός ὁ Θεός	God	CIIP 1.2 842.27a.
*IP70	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	5th-6th century CE.	ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ|ΒΟΗΘΙ ΜΕΡ[--]	Ἰουλιανοῦ | βοήθι Μερ [--]	… of Ioulianos	CIIP 1.2 842.27b.

*IP71	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	[--]ΑΡΧΙΕ|Μ̣	[--]ἀρχιε[π(ίσκοπ ον) --] (?)	… archbishop…	CIIP 1.2 842.27c.
*IP72	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. Centre.	4th-7th century CE.	† | ΦΙΛΟΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΣ	Φιλοδέσποτος	Philodespotos	CIIP 1.2 842.28
*IP73	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	5th-6th century CE.	K̄Ē̄MN[.]Σ[--]|[.]ΔΟΥΛΟΥ[--]|K̄[- -]Δ[--]|K̄[.]ΜΝΗΣΘΙΤ | [Figurative graffito of a ladder.]	Κ(ύρι)ε μν[ή]σ[θητι το|ῦ] δούλου [σοῦ--] | Κ(ύρι)ε --] Δ | Κ(ύρι)ε] μνήσθητι | [Figurative representation of a ladder.]	Lord, remember your servant… Lord… Lord remember	CIIP 1.2 842.29
*IP74	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΠΟΠ ⚹	Πόπ(ιος?)	Popios	CIIP 1.2 842.30
*IP75	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΒΑΡΑΒ	Βαραβ(βας?) *or* (Βαραβ(σα?)	Barabbas, or Bar-shabbath	CIIP 1.2 842.31
*IP76	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΠΑ	Πα(--)	Paulos?	CIIP 1.2 842.32
*IP77	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΠΟΠ̣Ι̣Η̣ΝΟ	Ποπιῆνο(ς?)	Popienos	CIIP 1.2 842.33a.
*IP78	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΣΟΒΙ	Σοβι(ος?)	Sobios	CIIP 1.2 842.33b.
*IP79	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. North wall. East end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΛΟΥΚ[--]	Λουκ[ειανός?]	Loukeianos	CIIP 1.2 842.34

*IP80	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	Πῌ[--]Α[--]Ν	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.35
*IP81	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	Κ[--]ΓΙΑΠ[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.36
*IP82	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]Γ ⳨ ΟΝΕΝṆ	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.37
*IP83	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΓΑΙᾼ[--]	Γαιαν[ός]	Gaianos	CIIP 1.2 842.38
*IP84	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]ΕΡΙϹΑΥ[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.39
*IP85	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	[--] | [.]ϹṬ Ọ ΠΡ[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.40
*IP86	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΔΑΦΝΙΝ | ΔΑΦΝΙΝ	Δάφνιν | Δάφνιν	Daphnin, Daphnin.	CIIP 1.2 842.41
*IP87	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	ΘΕΑΙΤΩΝΧΡΗϹ|ΤΙΑ ΝΩΝΕΛΕΗϹΟΝ|ΑΝ ΑΜΟΝΡΟΝΑΜΑΡ|Τ [--]ΟΝΚΕΕΞΑΦΕϹΑΥ|Τ ΩΤΑϹΑΜΑΡΤΙΑϹ[--]ῌΝ	Θε<έ> τῶν Χρης|τιανῶν, ἐλέησον | Αναμον τὸν ἁμαρ|τ[ωλ]ὸν κὲ ἔξαφὲς αὐ|τῷ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, [ἀμ]ήν	God of the Christians, have mercy on Anamos the sinner and forgive him his sins. Amen.	CIIP 1.2 842.42a.
*IP88	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	† ΝΩΜ|[--]|Ϲ	Νωμ|[--]|ς	…	CIIP 1.2 842.42b.

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*IP89	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. North end.	4th-7th century CE.	Δ	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.42c.
*IP90	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣ	Μακάρι<ο>ς	Makarios	CIIP 1.2 842.43
*IP91	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]]ΗΣ	[--]νης	*	CIIP 1.2 842.44
*IP92	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	5th century CE.	ΔΟΜΝΙ|ΝΟΣ	Δομνῖ|νος	Domninos	CIIP 1.2 842.45
*IP93	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	6th century CE.	ΘΑΡΕ̣ΦΥΛΛΟΝ̣	Θαρεφυλλον	Tharephyllos.	CIIP 1.2 842.46
*IP94	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΚΑ̣ΛΥ[--]ΝΧΡ̣ΔΟΥΛΗΣ̣	ΣΥΡΗΣ	ΑΙΑΤΡΑ	Καλύ[κιο]ν Χρ(ιστοῦ) δούλ{η}ς	Συρ[ὶ]ς	(ἀρχ)ιατρά	Kalkyion(?), servant of Christ, Syrian, physician.	CIIP 1.2 842.47
*IP95	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	Κ̣Υ	ΑΥΡΗ̣ΛΙΟ̣[.]	Κύ(ριε) or Χ(ριστο)ῦ	Αὐρήλιο[ς]	Lord, Aurelios or Christ, Aurelios.	CIIP 1.2 842.48
*IP96	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΤΟΝΧΝ[--]	[--]ΘΟ̣Ρ̣[--]ΝΕ[--]Α[--]	[--] 'ΟΥ' [--]	Τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν	[--]ΘΟΡ[--]	ΝΕ[--]Α[--|--]	Christ ...	CIIP 1.2 842.49
*IP97	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. Centre.	5th century CE.	† K̅Y̅ I̅Σ̅ X̅P̅ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ	ΤΩΔΟΥΛΩΠΕΤΡΩΑ ΜΗΝ †	† Κύ(ριε) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθησον	τῷ δούλῳ Πέτρῳ Ἀμήν †	Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant Petros. Amen.	CIIP 1.2 842.50
*IP98	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th Century CE.	[In a rectangular frame.] Κ † Σ or E	Κ(ύριο)ς or Κ(ύριε) ἐ(λέησον)	Lord, have mercy	CIIP 1.2 842.51b
*IP99	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΑΙΑΝΟΝ or ΑΝΙΑΝΟΝ	Αἰανόν or Ἀνιανόν	Aianos or Anianos.	CIIP 1.2 842.52

*IP100	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΜΝΗϹΘΗΤ[.] | [--]ΝͲΜ[--]	Μνήσθητ[ι] Άντω[νιου?]	Remember Antonios	CIIP 1.2 842.53
*IP101	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΚΥΡΙΕ	Κύριε	Lord	CIIP 1.2 842.54
*IP102	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th Century CE.	ΚΕΒΟΗΘΗϹΟΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝ | ϹΟΥ[.]ϹΕΜΜΝ[--] | [--] | [--]ΛΕϹΤΙϹΥ[.]ΙΜ[--]	Κ(ύρι)ε Βοήθησο(ν) τὸν δοῦλόν | σου [Α]σεμ. Μν[ησθη---|---|? Ἐμμανουή|λ ἐστι σὺν ἡμ[ῖν---]	Lord, help your servant Asem. Remember … Emmanuel is with us…	CIIP 1.2 842.55
*IP103	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	5th century CE.	ΔΟ[.]ΝΟϹ | ΔΟ[.]ΟΥϹΘ[.]	Δό[μ]νος | δ<ῦ>[λ]ο{υ}ς Θ(εο)[ῦ]	Domnos, servant of God.	CIIP 1.2 842.56
*IP104	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]ΥΗΘ[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.57
*IP105	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	Mid 5th-7th century CE.	† | ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΗΘΗϹΟΝΤΟΝΔ | ΔΟΥΛΟΝϹΟΥΕΥ | ΕΥΓΙΑΘΙΝ	† | Κύριε βοήθησον τὸν {δ} | δοῦλόν σου {Εὐ} | Εὐστάθι<ο>ν	Lord, help your servant Eustathios!	CIIP 1.2 842.58
*IP106	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	† ἨΕΞΥΕΥ	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.59
*IP107	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]ΗΘΗͲ[--] | [--]ΔΟΥΛΟΥ[--]	[Κύ(ριε)? μν]ή<σ>θητ[ι --|---] δούλου [--]	Lord, remember (your) servant …	CIIP 1.2 842.60
*IP108	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]ΕΛΕΗ[.]ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΝΚΥ[--]	[Κύ(ριε) ---] ἐλέη[σ(ον)] Εὐφρόνι<ο>ν Κύ[ριε --]	Lord… have mercy on Euphronios. Lord …	CIIP 1.2 842.61

*IP109	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. East wall. South end.	4th-7th century CE.	K̄[.] ῙῩ‾ X̄Ē	K[(ύρι)ε] Ἰ(σου)ῦ X(ρισ)έ	Lord Jesus Christ.	CIIP 1.2 842.62
*IP110	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. South wall.	4th-7th century CE.	ΚΥΡΙΥΧΕ | ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ [--] | [--] | [--] | ΟΘ̄ΣΤΟ[--]	[Inscribed within a rectangular frame] Κύρ(ιε) Ἰ(ησου)ῦ X(ριστ)έ | ἐλέησον [--|--|--] | Ὁ θ(εò)ς το[ῦ--|--]	Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy … God of …	CIIP 1.2 842.63a.
*IP111	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. South wall.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]ΕΛΕ[--]|[--]ΜΑ[--]|[--]ΑΤΡ[--]|[--]ΙΜΗ[--]	[--]ἐλέ[σον] |--]ΜΑ[--|--]ΑΤΡ[--|--]ΙΜΗ[--]	… have mercy …	CIIP 1.2 842.63b.
*IP112	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. South wall.	4th-7th century CE.	K̄Ῑ	K(ύ)ρ(ιε)	Lord …	CIIP 1.2 842.64a.
*IP113	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. South wall.	4th-7th century CE.	ΚΥΡΙΕΕΛΕΗ[.] | ΟΝ[--]	Κύριε ἐλέη[σ]|ον [--]	Lord, have mercy …	CIIP 1.2 842.64b.
*IP114	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall. Left of entrance.	4th-7th century CE.	[--]Α[--]Ν[--]Θ[--]|[--]Π[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 842.65
*IP115	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall. South end.	4th-7th century CE.	K̄ῩĒ ΕΛ̄Ē̄Ν | ΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΑΝΟΝ | ΚΑΙΤΗΝΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΝ	Κύ(ρι)ε ἐλέ(ησο)ν | Διογενιανòν | καὶ τὴν συνοδίαν	Lord, have mercy on Diogenianos and his community *or* Lord, have mercy on Diogenianos and his travelling companions.	CIIP 1.2 842.66

*IP116	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall. South end.	4th-5th century CE.	ΧΡΙΣΤΕ | ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝΦΛΑΒΙΑΝ ΟΝΤΟΝ | ΑΜΑΡΤΟΛ[--]ΚΕ[--]	Χριστέ, | ἐλέησον Φλαβιανὸν τὸν | ἁμαρτολ[ὸν]. Κ(ύρι)ε [--]	Christ, have mercy on Flavianos the sinner. Lord ...	CIIP 1.2 842.67a.
*IP117	Jerusalem	Cave of the Sisters of Mercy. West wall.	4th-5th century CE.	[--]Π[--]||[--]	[--]Π[--]||[--]	*	CIIP 1.2 842.67b.
*IP118	Jerusalem	Tomb of David. Inscribed in Plaster.	Undated.	ΝΣΒΙ	Ν(ίκα) Σ(ωτήρ), β(οήθ)ι	Conqueror, saviour, Help!	CIIP 1.2 804a
*IP119	Jerusalem	Tomb of David. Inscribed in Plaster.	Undated.	[Illegible text with a suprascript line.]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 804b
*IP120	Jerusalem	Tomb of David. Inscribed in Plaster.	Undated.	Ι[--] | ΗΟΥ.[--] | [--].ΖΚΙΣ[--] | ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ	Ἰ|η(σοῦς) | ζή(σω). Κ⌐ ὑ ⌐(ρι)ε | αὐτοκράτορος	Jesus, live. Lord, king.	CIIP 1.2 804c
*IP121	Jerusalem	'Ein Kerem. Cistern M. Found in debris. Inscribed on a marble pillar from a chancel screen.	Undated.	ΓΗΠΟΜΟΖΗΒΑ.ΟΥΣ ΒΟΕΜΟΥΛΟΥ..ΕΒΑΕ ΣΑΑΒΗ[--]	*	*	CIIP 1.2 853
IP122	Jerusalem	Cave of Gethsemane. Cave vault. In north-west corner.	Pre-7th Century CE.	[In a rectangular frame.] † ΕΠΕΡΜΝΗΜΗΣ | ΚΕΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ | ΑΜΑΡΤΗΩΝ | ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ || ΗΠΟΜΕΝΟΝ | ΤΕΣ | K̄Ē̄ΕΛΕ[.]ΣΟΝ	†Ὑπὲρ μνήμης | κε ἀφέσεως | ἁμαρτηῶν | Σαμουὴλ ὑπομένον||τος | Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ[η]σον	For the memory and dismissal of sins of Samuel, suffering. Lord have mercy.	CIIP 1.2 903
IP123	Jerusalem	Cave of Gethsemane. Cave vault. In north-west corner.	7th-8th century CE.	† ΜΝΙΣΤΙΤΗΚ̄Ē̄ | ΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΠΑ ΣΜΟΥ	Μνίστιτη Κ(ύρι)ε | τοῦ δούλου σοῦ Πασίμου (?)	Lord, remember your servant Pasimos.	CIIP 1.2 904

IP124	Jerusalem	150m northwest of Jaffa gate. Near north-west corner of Turkish wall.	6th-8th Century CE.	† ΘΩΜΑΣ	†Θωμᾶς	Thomas.	CIIP 1.2 811
IP125	Jerusalem	Church of the Visitation. In cave A. On plaster ceiling.	5th-6th Century CE.	[--]ΑΙΩΝ[--]	[--? εἰς] αἰῶν[α?]	...for eternity.	CIIP 1.2 851
IP126	Jerusalem	Saint Stephens Church. In Tomb 12. On east wall.	Undated.	ΚΧΙΒ̄ |Υ/ϱ	Κ(ύριος) Χ(ριστὸς) Ἰ(ησοῦς) Β(ασιλεὺς) | ὕ(ψιστος) or Κ(ύριε) Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰ(ησοῦς) β(οήθει)	Lord Jesus Christ the highest King *or* Lord Jesus Christ help.	CIIP 1.2 893
IP127	Jerusalem	Martyrium of Melania the Younger. In burial chamber. On north wall.	Pre-7th Century CE.	ΓΑΙΑΝΟ[.]	Γαιανό[ς]	Gaianos.	CIIP 1.2 923a
IP128	Jerusalem	Martyrium of Melania the Younger. In burial chamber. On north wall.	Pre-7th Century CE.	ΠΑΥΛ[--]	Παῦλος	Paulos.	CIIP 1.2 293b
IP129	Jerusalem	Martyrium of Melania the Younger. In burial chamber. On north wall.	Pre-7th Century CE.	ΑΜΟΣ	Ἄμος	Amos.	CIIP 1.2 293c
IP130	Jerusalem	West wall tunnel. North section.	Pre-islamic period.	ΛΟΥΚΑ[--]	Λουκα[ς?]	Loukas.	CIIP 1.2 1028
IP131	Khirbat el-Waziya	Cistern. 30m north-west of the East Church.	Byzantine.	[Figurative graffito of an *orant*. The right hand holds flowers. The second hand holds a palm branch.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.5.

IP132	Khirbet el-Judeiyideh	Well. West wall.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of a cross.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.18.
IP133	Khirbet el-Judeiyideh	Well. East wall.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of a cross.] ΣΤΕΦΑΝ	*	Stephanos.	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.18.
IP134	Khirbet el-Judeiyideh	Well. West wall.	Byzantine.	[Graffiti of three crosses drawn in circles.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.21.
IP135	Khirbet el-Judeiyideh	Well. West wall. Carved in recess.	Byzantine.	[Graffiti of a cross with flayed ends.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.22.
IP136	Khirbet el-Kheishum	Cistern. East doorpost.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of a Chi-Rho]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.13.
IP137	Khirbet el-Kheishum	Cistern. East doorpost.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of two small birds.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.13.
IP138	Khirbet el-Kheishum	Cistern. East doorpost.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of two large birds.]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.13.
IP139	Khirbet el-Kheishum	Cistern. West doorpost.	Byzantine.	[Graffito of a Chi-Rho]	*	*	Klein, Zissu and Distelfeld 2018: Fig.15.
IP140	Kidron Valley	Kidron Valley. Tomb of Zechariah.	Byzantine .	*	[Κ(ύρι)ε or [Χ(ριστ)έ, β(οή)θι ἡμοι	Lord, help me *or* Christ, help me.	CIIP 1.2 960
IP141	Mizpe Shivta	Monastery in Mizpe Shivta. In rock-cut room. Carved on entrance arch.	Undated.	*	† Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἁ[γίου] Γεωργίου ἐλέησον | τὸν δοῦλων [σο]ῦ Παῦλος	Lord God of Saint George, have mercy on your servant Paulos son of Leitisinos from the village of	SEG 57-1853

Λειτισινου (?) τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης Χοσευφ [–?] | κ(αὶ) τὴν γυνήκαν αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τὴν θυγατήραν αὐτοῦ Νόν[να]ν [· · ? · ·] κ(αὶ) Ν[–?] | κ(αὶ) τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ Νῖλ[ον] κ(αὶ) Χονας (?) κ(αὶ) Φῖδον κ(αὶ) Ζοαδο κ(αὶ) Ζαραλος ‖ κ(αὶ) Απδελος κ(αὶ) Μαρζοβας (?) κ(αὶ) Λοϊς καὶ Στέφανον τὸν ἀ(πὸ) Χολφινως (?) [· · ? · ·]· | Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἁγίο[υ Γ]εωργίου [· · ? · ·] δοῦλον (?)| Κωιμου συ κ[· · ? · ·] κ(αὶ) Α[–] | [–] Παύλου (?)ιου εμ(?)| [· · ? · ·]α[· · ? · ·]ωλου[· · ? · ·]	Choseuph… and his wife and his daughter Nonna…. And… and his servants Nilos and Chonas and Phidon and Zoado and Zaralos and Apdelos and Marzobas and Lois and Stephanos from Cholpinos… Lord God of Saint George… your servant Koimos… and… Paulos…

IP142	Mizpe Shivta	Monastery in Mizpe Shivta. In rock-cut room. Carved on entrance arch. In tabula ansata.	577/578 CE.	*	[Κύριε ὁ Θεὸ]ς σῶσον κ(αὶ) β[οή]θ(ησον) κ(αὶ) ἐλέησ[ον] | τὸν δοῦλο[ν σ]οῦ Ουαελος Θ[· · ? · ·] [τ]ὸν Εὐ[–?] | [ἰ]νδ(ικτιῶνος) ια΄, ἔτους υογ΄ [· · ? · ·]	Lord God, save and help and have mercy on your serant Ouaelos… indiction 11, year 473.	SEG 57-1854
IP143	Mizpe Shivta	Monastery. In rock-cut room. On entrance arch.	Undated.	*	⟨Ζ⟩ήνων	Zeno.	SEG 57-1855
IP144	Mizpe Shivta	Monastery. In room adjacent to the rock-cut room.	Undated.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰεσοῦ [-----]	Lord Jesus…	SEG 57-1856
IP145	Mizpe Shivta	South church. On building block from narthex.	Byzantine.	† ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ | ΑΙΛΑ ΝΗ	† Στέφανος | Αἰλανή[της?]	Stephanos of Aila.	Figueras 1996: No. 4.
*IP146	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cave. South-west corner. Niche. South wall.	5th-12th century CE.	ΜΝΙΣΘΗΚΕΤΩΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟ[.] |ΓΕΟΡΓΙΩΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΩ |ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΤΗΝΑΥΤΩ[..] | [..]ΑΜΕΧΡΙΘΑΔ [...] ‖ ΤΩΝΑΓΙΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΟ[.] | [..]Η[..]ΕΑΟΣΤΟΥΦΘΟ[...] | [..]ΡΟΥΚΑΙΑ[..]ΕΑ | [..]ΑΝΙΚ[..] | [..]Π[..]	μνίσθη, κ(ύρι)ε, τῶν δούλον σο[υ] | Γεωργίῳ καὶ Βασιλίῳ. | φύλαττε τὴν αὐτῶ[ν .. |..]Α μέχρι θα˝νά˙[του ..] ‖ τῶν ἀγίον πατέρο[ν |..]Η[--]ΕΑΟΣΤΟΥΦΘΟ[...|..]ρου καὶ Ἀ[..]ΕΑ|[..]ΑΝΙΚ	Remember, Lord, your servants Georgios and Basilios. Guard their … until death … of the Holy Fathers …	CIIP 4.1 3155

				‖ [..]N[..]Θ[..] ǀ [..]Π[..]	[..ǀ..]Π[..‖..]N[..]Θ[..ǀ..]Π[		
*IP147	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Entrance to the burial complex. Written above a formally inscribed biblical quotation.	5th-12th century CE.	[..]ΗΤΗΤΟΔ[..]ΣΟΥ[.]ΩΑΝΟΥ	[κύριε, μνήσθ]ητη τọ̃ δ[ούλο̣] σου [Ἰ]ωάνου	Lord, remember your servant Ioanes	CIIP 4.1 3156
*IP148	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cave roof.	5th-12th century CE.	[.]ΕΒΟΗΘΙ ǀ ΙΟΑΝΟΥΩ ǀ [.]ΝΑΣΤΑΣΙ[..] ǀ [..]ΑΝΜΣΑΦ[..] ‖ [..]ΑΝ[..]	[κύρι]ε (vel sim.) βοήθι ǀ Ἰοάνου Ω ǀ [Ἀ]ναστασι[..ǀ..]ΑΝΜΣΑΦ[..‖ ..]ΑΝ[..	Lord help Ioanes … Anastasios …	CIIP 4.1 3157
*IP149	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cave roof. Near east entrance.	5th-12th century CE.	X̄Ē ΒΟΗΘΙ ǀΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΝ	Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθι ǀ Προκόπι	Christ, help Procopis.	CIIP 4.1 3158
*IP150	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Entrance to the burial complex. Written to the left of a formally inscribed biblical quotation.	5th-12th century CE.	† ΥΠΕΡΣΟ[..]ǀΡΙΑΣΘ[.] ΜΑ ǀ ΔΗ̣ ΑΚΟΝΟΥΚΑ[.] ǀ ΣΩΣΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΚΕ ‖ ΠΑΝΤΑ̣ ΤΤΟΠΟΕΠΙ ǀ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΑ ǀΓΙΟΝΑ[.]ΤΟΥ ǀ ΑΑΑΜΗ †	ὑπὲρ σο[τη]ǀρίας Θ[ω]μᾶ ǀ δηακόνου. κα[ὶ] ǀ σῶσον αὐτὸν κὲ ‖ πάντα τ(ὸν) τόπο(ν) ἐπιǀκαλούμενο ν "τὸ ἅǀγιον α[ὐ]τοῦ." ǀ Α Α ἀμή(ν)	For the salvation of Thomas, the deacon. And save him and this whole place, called "his sanctuary." Amen.	CIIP 4.1 3159
*IP151	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Left side of apse.	5th-12th century CE.	X̄Ē ΜΝ[..] ǀ [.]ΟΝΔΟΥ[..] ǀ [..]ΣΑΠ[..] ǀ [..]ΝΤΟ[..]	Χ(ριστ)έ, μν[ήστηθι] ǀ [τ]õν δού[λον σου] ǀ	Christ, remember your servants …	CIIP 4.1 3160

					[..]ΣΑΠ[..|..]ΝΤΟ[..]		
*IP152	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Left side of apse.	5th-12th century CE.	ΚΥΒΟ[…]ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ[..]	κύ(ριε), βο[ήθι] τὸν δοῦλόν σου [..]	Lord, help your servant …	CIIP 4.1 3161a
*IP153	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Left side of apse.	5th-12th century CE.	ΚΕΦΥ[..]ΤΟΝ[..	κ(ύρι)ε, φύ[λαξον] τὸν [δοῦλόν σου ..]	Lord, guard your servant …	CIIP 4.1 3161b
*IP154	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Right side of apse.	5th-12th century CE.	..]ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΤΟΥΔΟΥ[..] | [..]ΝΔΝΤΟΝΤΑΠΝΟ	[κύριε], μνήσθητι τοῦ δού[λου σου | ..]ΝΔΝ, τὸν ταπνόν	Lord, remember your servant … the humble one.	CIIP 4.1 3162
*IP155	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Chamber with windows. South-east wall. Inscribed near the back of the apse.	5th-12th century CE.	ΙΣΧΣ | [..]ΚΗΡΥΚΕΣ[..	Ἰ[ησοῦ]ς Χ(ριστό)ς | [..] κήρυκες [..	Jesus Christ. … heralds …	CIIP 4.1 3163
*IP156	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cave. East wall. South of the apse.	5th-12th century CE.	[..]ΕΝΤΩ[..]ΜΕΝ Ạ Σ[..	..] ἐν τῷ [..]ΜΕΝΑΣ[..	… in the …	CIIP 4.1 3164
*IP157	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos.	5th-12th century CE.	…| …ΟΥΣΤΕΦΑ[..]	…|…]ΟΥ Στεφα[ν..]	… Stephanos …	CIIP 4.1 3169
*IP158	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	ΙΣ ((*cross*)) ΧΣ | Α ((*cross*)) Ω	Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς (cross) Χ(ριστό)ς. | Α (cross) Ω	Jesus Christ. Alpha (and) Omega	CIIP 4.1 3172
*IP159	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	† ΧΡΒΟ̣ Ἡ ΘΙΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ |ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΚΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΗ	Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθι τῶν δούλον σου | Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) Παρθενόπη(ς)	Christ, help your servants Ioannes and Parthenope.	CIIP 4.1 3173

*IP160	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	† ΚΕΦΥΛΑΞΟΝΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΣΟΥ | ΑΞΙΑ ΝΑ	κ(ύρι)ε, φύλαξον τὴν δούλην σου | Ἀξιάνα	Lord, guard your servant Axiana.	CIIP 4.1 3174
*IP161	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	† [..]Υ[..]ΣΟΥΖ[..	.. δο]υ[λ.] σου Ζ[..	… your servant…	CIIP 4.1 3175
*IP162	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	ΑΓΙ'ΟΥ' |ΒΟΗΘΙ | ΖΑ[..] †	Ἅγιο<ς>, | βοήθι | Ζα[..]	Holy One, help…	CIIP 4.1 3176
*IP163	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	† ΚΒΟΗ † ΘΙ	κ(ύριε), βοήθι	Lord, help.	CIIP 4.1 3177
*IP164	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	[..]ΕΛ[..]	…ἐλ[έησον…]	*	CIIP 4.1 3178
*IP165	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	† ΚΥΙΣ	Κύ(ριος) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς	Lord Jesus.	CIIP 4.1 3179
*IP166	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of	5th-12th century CE.	*	[Cross]	*	CIIP 4.1 Fig. 3172 a

		monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.					
*IP167	Nahal Og	Monastery of Theoktistos. Cistern. C. 100 m west of monastery. Inscibed in cliff face.	5th-12th century CE.	*	[Large cross and figurative graffito of a bird. A smaller and simpler cross is added above the bird]	*	CIIP 4.1 Fig. 3172 a
IP168	Oboda	North church. On limestone block.	Early Byzantine.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε, σῶ(σο ν) [· · ? · ·]ΖωI[· · ? · ·]Χ	Lord, save...	SEG 46-2023
IP169	Oboda	Martyrium of Saint Theodore. On north door between the atrium and the basilica. Written on North jamb. Originally covererd by plaster.	Byzantine.	*	† Εἷς Θεός | | Ἀντω|νῖνος †	One God. Antonios.	Negev 1981: No.28
IP170	Oboda	Martyrium of Saint Theodore. On north door between the atrium and the basilica. Written on North jamb. Written on plaster which has now been destroyed.	Byzantine.	[Figurative graffito of a trident.] ΟΩΡΟΝ | ΝΘΟ ΡΟΣ | ΨΕΝΟΝ.	*	*	Negev 1981: No.29
IP171	Oboda	Martyrium of St. Theodore. On North wall of cave. Dipinto.	Byzantine.	*	καλῶς ἔκτιεσεν | υγιενω ... λπολ	Well built, health [---]	Negev 1981: No.44a
IP172	Oboda	Martyrium of St. Theodore. On North wall of cave. Dipinto.	Byzantine.	*	Κύριε Βοήθηθι | ἄφθονα | καὶ ἀβασ|καντα τῷ ‖ οἴκῳ σου	Lord, help your house to be free from envy.	Negev 1981: No.44b

				and free from harm.		
IP173	Oboda	Martyrium of St. Theodore. On North wall of cave. Dipinto.	Byzantine.	*	Βοήθεισ|ο(ν) ἀφθό|νων φ(υ)|λακῆς	Help, free from envy, guard.	Negev 1981: No.44c
IP174	Oboda	Martyrium of St. Theodore. On North wall of cave. Dipinto.	Byzantine.	*	Βοήθε Οὐάλης Ἰωάνν[ου] | | ἅγιος σου Θεοδω|ρος	Saint Theodore, help your Ouales son of Ioannes.	Negev 1981: No.44d
IP175	Oboda	Martyrium of St. Theodore. On North wall of cave. Dipinto.	Byzantine.	*	πίε | ζήσῃς	Drink of life.	Negev 1981: No.44e
IP176	Zoora (Deir ‘Ain ‘Abata)	Monastery of Saint Lot. South-east wall of north aisle.	6th-7th Century CE.	*	Ζινοβία Νεστασί[ου]	Zinobia daughter of Nestasios.	SEG 62-1712
IP177	Zoora (Deir ‘Ain ‘Abata)	Sanctuary of Saint Lot. On fragment from a red-painted wall.	6th-7th Century CE.	*	̣Δ | ϹΤΟΥΑ̣	*	SEG 62-1713
IP178	Zoora (Deir ‘Ain ‘Abata)	Sanctuary of Saint Lot. On fragment from a red-painted wall.	6th-7th Century CE.	*	ΛΕ̣ |ΦΙϹΕ̣ΤΙϹ|ΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΚ̣Υ	*	SEG 62-1714
IP179	Zoora (Deir ‘Ain ‘Abata)	Sanctuary of Saint Lot. On fragment from a painted wall from the north of the church.	6th-7th Century CE.	*	ΝΙΟΝΙΡΟ̣ | Π̣Ε̣Κ̣Ν̣	*	SEG 62-1715
Syria						
Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
SY1	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Cathedral apse. Written on walls.	Undated.	*	Κεραί⟨σ⟩θη Λυ̣κιανὸς ἐπίσκο(πος) | ΚΣΡ	Let Bishop Lukianos be destroyed.	SEG 41-1531
SY2	Halabiyya-Zenobia	On the gates of Bastion	Undated.	*	Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθι Ἰω|άννη|ς	Lord, help Ioannes.	SEG 41-1531

SY3	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Each church. North court. Fragment of column capital	Undated.	*	†Σπουδ(ῇ) ΠΛ (or ΠΑ)-	Spoudes… *or* Zeal.	SEG 41-1531
SY4	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Cathedral atrium. On a column capital. Written in a rectangle surmounted by a Maltese cross.	Undated.	[Written in a frame surmounted by a maltese cross.]	Νικᾷ ἡ | [τ]ύχη ⟨τῶ⟩|ν Χριστια|νῶν	The fortune of the Christians triumphs!	SEG 41-1531
SY5	Halabiyya-Zenobia	In the Bastion	Undated.	*	Ἐπὶ ΗΛΙΑ|[...]μ[...]	*	SEG 41-1531
SY6	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Within complex A.	Undated.	[Figurative graffito of a human]	Πολεος	City.	SEG 41-1531
SY7	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Within complex A.	Undated.	*	Κύριε. . .ΑΝΔΡ. .	Lord…	SEG 41-1531
SY8	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Within complex A.	Undated.	*	Πο .. ολη | στρǫτης … λυνη ? | ωτο … συ	*	SEG 41-1531
SY9	Halabiyya-Zenobia	Within complex A.	Undated.	*	Πǫλήμων (?) βǫλιστ(άριος) (?)	Polemon son of Balistarios *or* Polemon, Balistarios.	SEG 41-1531
SY10	Palmyra	Great Colonnaded Street. West section.	4th-5th century CE.	*	Εἷς θεός, Ζοή	One God, life.	Intagliata 2018: 24
SY11	Palmyra	Great Colonnaded Street. West section.	4th-5th century CE.	*	Κύριε	Lord.	Intagliata 2018: 24
SY12	Palmyra	Great Colonnaded Street. East section. On column.	4th-5th century CE.	*	†Κ(ύρι)ε β(οη)θῶν †. Ἀντώνιος. [.]ΠΑΥΤΑ [---]	Lord, help Antonios…	Intagliata 2018: 24
*SY13	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	πρὸ αἰ]ῶνος πρὶν ἢ ἀρχ[ὴν γενέσθαι	For eternity, before the beginning was made…	Römer 1986: no. 1.

*SY14	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]σο |]εκμηςβημαδας. [|]. ου Μαροῦσα Ἰωάνα[ς | vac. κα εἰς αονα	… Marusa daughter of Joanna [and] to eternity…?	Römer 1986: no. 2.
*SY15	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κύριε βοέ[θησον	Lord, help!	Römer 1986: no. 3.
*SY16	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κ(ύ)ρ(ι)ε μνήσθετι | τοῦ δούλου σου Συ|μεὼν η.λια | σεως. Ἀμήν.	Lord remember your servant Symeon son of Elias, Amen.	Römer 1986: no. 4.
*SY17	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	] α	*	Römer 1986: no. 5.
*SY18	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]. ονι.. ς α.μ	*	Römer 1986: no. 6.
*SY19	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σάλμης καὶ Χ [	Salmes and…	Römer 1986: no. 7.
*SY20	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Μαρκ.χ[]εσοφ. [	Mark… Chesopha…?	Römer 1986: no. 8.
*SY21	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	*	]ζεκωτ	*	Römer 1986: no. 9.

		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.				
*SY22	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]σιν	*	Römer 1986: no. 10.
*SY23	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]ε...νιωνης Σάβα	… eternity, Sabas (?)	Römer 1986: no. 11.
*SY24	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	καὶ α.λασμη | Σερ	and… Sergios…?	Römer 1986: no. 12.
*SY25	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ἡ Στεφάνου	The daughter of Stephanos.	Römer 1986: no. 13.
*SY26	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων μνήσθέ[τι | Σεργίου καὶ τῶν πα[τ]έρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγ[ατρὸς | καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Α..... α καὶ . [| καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς πρεσβίαις τοῦ μ[άτυρος	Lord, God of strength, remember Sergios and his father and daughter and his sister… and her husband, intercede [through] the martyrs.	Römer 1986: no. 14.

*SY27	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σεργίου Σαμόνο[υ | μα Νήλου Μαρο[| ιρου αμ.ρι.	Sergios, Samonas, Nilos, Maros…	Römer 1986: no. 15.
*SY28	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	καὶ .αρ . ιβαδα	and…	Römer 1986: no. 16.
*SY29	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σέργιο[ς]	Sergios.	Römer 1986: no. 17.
*SY30	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	[In *tabula ansata.*]	Συμεώ | Μάρας	Symeon, Maras.	Römer 1986: no. 18.
*SY31	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	[Arabic graffito] | καιδ	*	Römer 1986: no. 19.
*SY32	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]ι. | μ	*	Römer 1986: no. 20.
*SY33	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]α..	*	Römer 1986: no. 21.
*SY34	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]αυτου	…of him…	Römer 1986: no. 22.
*SY35	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	*	κύριε φύλασον τ[ὸν δ]οῦλον .[	Lord, guard your servant…	Römer 1986: no. 23.

		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.		| καὶ Ἰακωβ...... Φύλασον	and Jakob… guard.	
*SY36	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κύριε μο.[ ].. και [	Lord… and…	Römer 1986: no. 24.
*SY37	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σέργιε [*vac.*] Σέργιε | .[ ]… ς. τι τοῦ δούλ[ου] σου | .δ … ἀμήν	Sergios, Sergios… your servant… amen.	Römer 1986: no. 25.
*SY38	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Διωνῖς †	Dionis	Römer 1986: no. 26.
*SY39	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σάβα† Ἀβραάμης	Sabas Abraham	Römer 1986: no. 27.
*SY40	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]κεικα..ιες	*	Römer 1986: no. 28.
*SY41	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ακησβελοος	*	Römer 1986: no. 29.
*SY42	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ερα εκ… |(*vac.*) θηρος	… beast?	Römer 1986: no. 31.
*SY43	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟΕΘΙΣΟΝ	κύριε βοέθισον	Lord, help!	Römer 1986: no. 32.

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		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.				
*SY44	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ἀμήν	Amen	Römer 1986: no. 33.
*SY45	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	δ...σς.	*	Römer 1986: no. 34.
*SY46	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	PEBOYXIΣKYP. / TO'OY'BAPE †	ρεβουχις κυρα[| του βα ρε†	… Lady…	Römer 1986: no. 35.
*SY47	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	..... ενεθ[| ρ..ακακη[	… Akakios…?	Römer 1986: no. 36.
*SY48	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	.ειας......[..]ααλ α	Monogram?	Römer 1986: no. 37.
*SY49	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	τῷ Ἀπολλοωνίῳ Θεὸς .ω | τῶν | βερ. ι αηι	Apollonios… God…	Römer 1986: no. 38.
*SY50	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Συ[με]ένης	Symeon	Römer 1986: no. 39.
*SY51	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, | ἅγιος ἴσχυρος, | ἅγιος ἀθάναθις	Holy God, holy might, holy immortal have mercy on your	Römer 1986: no. 40.

					ἐλέη|σον τὸν ‖ δοῦλον	σου Ἀγαπη|τον	servant Agapetos.	
*SY52	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Σέργις	Sergios.	Römer 1986: no. 41.
*SY53	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Δανίηλος	Daniel.	Römer 1986: no. 42.
*SY54	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ασ...εσμει	*	Römer 1986: no. 43.
*SY55	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Φõτιν	Photis.	Römer 1986: no. 44.
*SY56	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	αβ.[...]βας[	*	Römer 1986: no. 45.
*SY57	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	σεσθε[| οδεφε[	*	Römer 1986: no. 46.
*SY58	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	....λι[..] Μαριάμ	...Maria.	Römer 1986: no. 47.
*SY59	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	*	]εονου καὶ μικρα β τρια α	*	Römer 1986: no. 48.

		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.				
*SY60	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]ρ αααο	*	Römer 1986: no. 49.
*SY61	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]Συμεώνης | κύριέ σου Σέρ[γι]ε	Lord, your… Symeon… Sergios!	Römer 1986: no. 50.
*SY62	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	⳨Ἰωάννης Θέκλα	Ioannes, Thekla.	Römer 1986: no. 51.
*SY63	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	βαν Ἀββίβα	Abbibas.	Römer 1986: no. 52.
*SY64	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ζω [| σ. | σε εβ	life?…	Römer 1986: no. 53.
*SY65	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	αγ[| σ.[| ε.[| α.[‖ οασυ [| λ.εσ .. [| ου…τ[| ..τον	holy…	Römer 1986: no. 54.
*SY66	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]..καὶ ζω | χη.σε.ς	… and life…	Römer 1986: no. 55.
*SY67	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κασκ[	*	Römer 1986: no. 56.

*SY68	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]η ηρ.μ....[|]λοντο[...]ηκον αυ[	*	Römer 1986: no. 57.
*SY69	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]ε	*	Römer 1986: no. 58.
*SY70	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].εβα[	*	Römer 1986: no. 59.
*SY71	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]Ἰωάννη[ς	Ioannes.	Römer 1986: no. 60.
*SY72	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]χαιμα.[	*	Römer 1986: no. 61.
*SY73	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]...Συμ[εών	Symeon.	Römer 1986: no. 62.
*SY74	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].λλης[	*	Römer 1986: no. 63.
*SY75	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].ντου.[	*	Römer 1986: no. 64.
*SY76	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	*	].Μαρι[άμ	Maria.	Römer 1986: no. 65.

		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.				
*SY77	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].ις Βάρλ[ααμ	Barlaam.	Römer 1986: no. 66.
*SY78	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	κύρι]ε βοήθισον[	Lord, help!	Römer 1986: no. 67.
*SY79	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]..ηκο.[	*	Römer 1986: no. 68.
*SY80	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].ε.εα.σεγ.γ.[	*	Römer 1986: no. 69.
*SY81	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]...ατων[	*	Römer 1986: no. 70.
*SY82	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	.ω.	*	Römer 1986: no. 71.
*SY83	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]..οκ	*	Römer 1986: no. 72.
*SY84	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	βωη *vac.* ηωκωβος ιλιας	Help, Jakob son of Elias or Help, Jakob, Elias.	Römer 1986: no. 73.

*SY85	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ἠω[κ]ωβος ἰλιας	Jakob Elias.	Römer 1986: no. 74.
*SY86	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]ευσεβης	… pious or Eusebis.	Römer 1986: no. 75.
*SY87	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]..μουσηλος	Mouselos.	Römer 1986: no. 76.
*SY88	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	].σ...α αγ.α αμην	… amen.	Römer 1986: no. 77.
*SY89	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]..λος Συμεὼ ο δουλ...ιλ.[	… Symeon, servant…	Römer 1986: no. 78.
*SY90	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	θεοδου[	Theodoulos.	Römer 1986: no. 79.
*SY91	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	χης	*	Römer 1986: no. 80.
*SY92	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	Ἀντίοχος[	Antiochos.	Römer 1986: no. 81.
*SY93	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall.	559 CE - 13th	*	χ̅ρ̅ς̅ *vac.* Κύραν[	Christ, Lord.	Römer 1986: no. 82.

		Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	Century CE.				
*SY94	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	τω......ν.θ	*	Römer 1986: no. 83.
*SY95	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	χ̅ρ̅ι̅ς̅	Christ.	Römer 1986: no. 84.
*SY96	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	χη[	*	Römer 1986: no. 85.
*SY97	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	ηχ[	*	Römer 1986: no. 86.
*SY98	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	]α[	*	Römer 1986: no. 87.
*SY99	Sergiupolis-Resafa.	Basilica A. Room north of Apse. South wall. Inscribed on a fragment of plaster.	559 CE - 13th Century CE.	*	[Graffito of a Greek cross]	*	Römer 1986: Pl. 54,2.

Jordan.

Inscription No.	Site.	Findspot.	Date.	Diplomatic text.	Critical text,	Translation	Reference.
JO1	Abila.	Painted tomb. 500m north-east of Abila.	Byzantine.	[Figurative graffito of an *orant.]*	Μνησθῆ Μνησθῆ | σκάψαν | ΜΗΜΝΗΕΟΗ | ΜΜ [· · ? ·	Remember Skapsan…	SEG 32-1491

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					·]HTO ‖ [· · ? · ·]KΛ [· · ? · ·] | ΡΙΣ[· · ? · ·]N[· · ? · ·] σκάψαν		
JO2	Petra (Jabal Harun)	On rocks.	Byzantine.	*	†| Γ διακ[ό]|νου	… Deacon.	SEG 63-1628 1
JO3	Petra (Jabal Harun)	On rocks	Byzantine.	*	Εὐλόγιος.	Blessing .	SEG 63-1628 3
JO4	Petra (Jabul Harun)	On rocks	Byzantine.	*	Κύρυκ[ος]	Kyrykos.	SEG 63-1628 2
***JO5**	Siyagha (Memorial of Moses)	North east of basilica apse. On a stone block.	Early Byzantine.	ΣΑΛΑΜΑΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟ	*	Salamas, Epiphanios *or* Salamas son of Epiphanios.	Di Segni 1998: No.4
***JO6**	Siyagha (Memorial of Moses)	In diaconon bapistry. Red dipinto.	Early Byzantine.	[Illegible graffito.]	*	*	Di Segni 1998: No.4
***JO7**	Siyagha (Memorial of Moses)	Behind basilica apse. On stone block. Surrounded by other graffiti, most of which is illegible.	Early Byzantine.	*	†Κύ(ριε) ἐλήσιώ(ν) μη τὸν δοῦλων | σιυ Ἰωάννιν | τὼν γράψωντα τά(δε)	Lord, have mercy on your servant Ioannes, the writer of this.	Di Segni 1998: No.21a
***JO8**	Siyagha (Memorial of Moses)	Behind basilica apse. On stone block. Surrounded by other graffiti, most of which is illegible.	Early Byzantine.	*	Κύ(ριε)	Lord.	Di Segni 1998: No.21b
***JO9**	Siyagha (Memorial of Moses)	Fragment of a chancel screen.	Early Byzantine.	[Illegible graffito. The text includes the letter B and N.]	*	*	Di Segni 1998: No.17