

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN PANNONIA

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In 1864 Flóris Rómer, the pioneer of the Hungarian archaeology and epigraphy when he published the Aesculapius-altar from Annamati (Baracs-CatNr. 120) wrote that he hardly knew Greek inscriptions in Pannonia with the exception of a bilingual sarcophagus from Brigetio (CatNr.74 = *CIL* III, 4327) and the vas diatretum from Szekszárd (CatNr. 121)¹. Meanwhile the number of the Greek inscriptions found in the province and the neighbouring Barbaricum significantly increased therefore it was necessary to publish all of them together at the same place². In my paper I wish to examine the results of this work and the relationship between the Greek language and Pannonia.

First of all I must emphasize that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish the fragmentary Greek and Latin inscriptions, esp. in the case of the graffiti³. For example, I wish to present a late Roman fragmentary stone inscription (RIU 122) (most likely a grave stone) from Savaria (Fig. 1)⁴. Only the last letters of the six lines of the framed marble plate remained:

----- / [---]I / [---]S / [---]N / [---]AES /
[---] PEL / [---] OY / -----

The inscription can obviously be dated to the 4th century and it most likely belongs to the

numerous Christian sepulchral inscriptions of Savaria (RIU 75-86, S 26)⁵. Another fact is that the inscription is written in Latin characters. The only questionable line is the last one where the letters OY can be seen. The diphtong can belong to a Latin and a Greek sentence-expression as well. The letter Y was used in the Pannonian inscriptions almost only in the case of Greek (Oriental) personal and place-names. The Greek diphtong OY was almost always transcribed as U in the Latin. In Pannonia there is no similar evidence for this use but it cannot be excluded that this diphtong can occur in Latin inscriptions as well. Among the Graecanica phenomena of the Latin inscriptions in the *CIL* III there are some cases where Y was used instead of the letter U (*CIL* III p. 2573, 2577, 2677). To this group belong those inscriptions as well where in the Latin text the Greek diphtongs AY, EY, OY were written as in the Greek (Ayr(elius): *CIL* III, 8935, 6594, Heytycinus: 4318, OY pro U: *CIL* III, 218)⁶. This phenomenon can be observed always in the case of Latin inscriptions found in the East or Greek (Oriental) persons in the West.

The other, more probable possibility is that this is a bilingual titulus where in the last line a Greek term was written. In Pannonia there are several bilingual inscription but this would be the 2nd Christian one. Beside the numerous Christogrammata⁷ the only exception is the grave stone from Rákospalota (*CIL* III, 13382=Kovács, o.c., Nr.

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1. Diary of Flóris Rómer. Manuscript. XIII, 1864, 104 (with drawing), *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 4, 1864, 47-48 = CatNr. 120.

2. KOVÁCS, P., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum*. (*Hungarian Polis Studies* 8), Debrecen 2001.

3. Cf. KOVÁCS, o.c., 5.

4. BALLA, L.; P. BUOZ, T.; KÁDÁR, Z.; MÓCSY, A.; SZENTLÉLEKY, T., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Budapest 1971, 123, Nr. 203.

5. GÁSPÁR, D., *Christianity in Roman Pannonia. An evaluation of Early Christian finds and sites from Hungary* (BAR IS 1010), Oxford 2002, 122-125, Nr. 51.I.a-f, II.b-g.

6. MIHAESCU, H., *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe*, Bucarest, Paris 1978, 183-184, Nr. 130.

7. FEJÉR, B., *Lexicon epigraphicum Pannonicum*, Budapest 1997, 228.



Fig. 1

102 =RIU S 252) where at the end of the Latin inscription the formule $\Phi(\acute{\omega}\varsigma) + Z(\acute{\omega}\eta)$ can be seen. In Latin Christian sepulchral inscriptions there are several cases when a Greek sentence (acclamation, oration) or an expression was placed in the Latin text⁸. In this case the diphthong can belong to a singular genitive. The most probable solution would be that the letters belong to the formule $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (or $\text{'I}\eta\varsigma\omicron\upsilon \text{X}\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$). This expression can be found in Greek and bilingual inscriptions as well (*ICUR* I, 1778, IV, 12423+12474 *ILCV*, 1460)⁹. The problem with this possibility is that in Pannonia and the Danubian provinces this expression is unknown (*CIL* III p. 2522-2523, 2666, 11J (Situla 25. Ljubljana 1986) p. 510) therefore the question cannot be decided. Its closest parallel the expression *famula Xpi* in a sarcophagus from Siscia (*CIL* III, 3996 = *ILCV*, 1449). This solution can be confirmed by the fact that among Savarian Christian Greeks (Orientals) are known as well (e. g. RIU 78, 85). The letters AES in the 4th line can belong to an -aes genitive which Graecism can several times be seen in the Pannonian Latin inscriptions as well (see below)¹⁰.

8. TESTINI, P., *Archeologia cristiana*, Bari 1980², 405-417, DI STEFANO MANZELLA, I. (ed.), *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano. Materiali e contributi scientifici per una mostra epigrafica*, Città del Vaticano 1997, 49-50.

9. FELLE, A. E., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum*, Bari 1997, 37-38, DI STEFANO MANZELLA, *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani...*, o.c., 50, 225, 259.

10. KOVÁCS, o.c., Addendum 2, 108-115.

In the corpus there are 185 (+1) Greek inscriptions including all kind of inscriptions in Greek: stone tituli, graffiti, instrumenta inscripta Graeca (gems, weights, curse tablets, lead seals, glasses). Among them there are 37 stone inscriptions including the 11 bilingual inscriptions and a Greek inscription written in Latin characters from Siscia (CatNr. 69) as well. There are also Latin inscriptions written in Greek characters (CatNr. 10 (Carnuntum), 67 (Brubno), 86 (Solva), 101 (Albertirsa)). In the corpus there are inscriptions written in Greek-Latin characters (CatNr. 7, 144, 152). Most of them can be dated to the 3rd-4th century (there is only one gravestone from the 1st c.: CatNr. 8). It must be mentioned here that among the graffiti inscriptions the ratio of the 1st c. inscriptions is also very similar (cf. the inscribed Samian ware imitation from Salla (Flavian period): CatNr. 54). This number means that the ratio of the Greek stone inscriptions in Pannonia is lower than 1 % of all the Pannonian inscriptions (there are more than 5500 Latin inscriptions). Among the instrumenta inscriptions the ratio of the Greek ones is similar to the stone tituli¹¹. It is surprising how low this ratio is with regard to the fact that the Jireček-line (the language boundary of the Latin- and Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire) extended along the eastern boundary of the neighbouring province, Moesia Superior¹². However, if we compare the ratio of the Greek inscriptions of the most western Moesian municipium, Singidunum-Belgrade it can be stated that the situation was very similar to Pannonia¹³. In the IMS I there were 178 inscriptions from Singidunum and from the NW part of the province. The only Greek inscriptions are the Nr. 70-71, 113-114, 148-150 (Nr. 72 is a Palmyrian gravestone, instrumenta: 84, 178). We cannot forget the fact that the ratio of the Greek cognomina in Moesia is 16 % and in Pannonia is 8 % in the 3rd-4th centuries¹⁴. In Pannonia a number of cases are known

11. Cf. the publications of the graffiti from Pannonia: e. g. GABLER, D., "Scratched inscriptions on terra sigillata in Pannonia", *AAnthHung* 16, 1968, 297-306, HARMATTA, J., "Inscriptions on pottery from Pannonia", *ActaArchHung* 20, 1968, 247-274, VISY, Zs., "Inscripfen und Zeichen auf den Terra Sigillaten von Intercisa", *Alba Regia* 10, 1969, 87-99.

12. MÓCSY, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 259-263, MÓCSY, A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970, 22-223, 234-236, GEROV, B., *Das Zusammenleben des Lateinischen und Griechischen im Ostbalkanraum*. in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesian und Thrakien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Amsterdam 1980, 239-250.

13. *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure I. Singidunum et le Nord-Ouest de la province*, Beograd 1976, p. 39-41, 110-111, MÓCSY, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation...*, o.c., 126-134, 131-132.

where Greek poleis or the adjectives Graecus/a or Surus/a (etc.) were given as origines¹⁵. In the neighbouring Dacian provinces the ratio of the Greek inscriptions is also very similar (lower than 2 %)¹⁶.

This fact can only mean that the Greek-speaking population (Greek immigrants and Oriental elements as well) in Pannonia very soon assimilated (mostly during the life of their 1st generation), mixed with the local population¹⁷ and their inscriptions were written in Latin¹⁸. It is noteworthy that the number of the Greek graffiti is not higher than that of the stone inscriptions. There are only 20 graffiti and dipinto in the corpus. It must mean that the assimilation was quick and the erection of the Latin inscriptions was natural, also in bigger Oriental communities as in Intercisa. Here, the language of the graffiti inscriptions (e. g. on Samian wares) is also Latin¹⁹.

On the other hand, their native language, otherwise, did not disappear totally as a number of Latin inscriptions show where orthographic failures and linguistic phenomena were influenced by the Greek language. To the orthographic failures belong the use of the Greek H pro E (AVRHL(IAE) GERMANILLAE: RIU 1161 in Intercisa), Σ lunata pro S (Thiodotus Asianus: CatNr. 5, RLiÖ 16, 1926, 16, Nr. 12), Δ pro D (KLAVΔIAES HERMIONHΣ: CatNr. 144). In the group of the linguistic phenomena can be mentioned the use of the -es genitive which occur in Pannonia 17 times²⁰. This phenomenon was more frequently used by Greeks (Orientals) (8 times) than the

natives. The psilosis also can be observed (RIU 52, 737, AE 1929, 220).

The bilingual inscriptions (almost only grave-inscriptions) where the essential part (name, age, job) was in Latin and the additions (verses, expressions of grief, greetings) were in Greek also prove that the composers of the inscriptions did not forget their origin. Another fact is that a great number of the Greek instrumenta inscriptions (mostly on the gems) were greetings (as ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ) or they had some kind of information in Greek (e. g. Ομόνοια) which had to be understood by the persons who gave and who received the objects as a gift²¹. On the basis of this data there was a stratum in the Pannonian cities who understood Greek. Otherwise, a praec(eptor) Gr(aecus) is known from Nevioudunum (CIL III, 10805)²² and the instrumenta inscriptions with the Greek alphabet also prove the presence of the Greek in Pannonia (CatNr. 54 (Zalalövö-Salla), 110 (Ságvár), 128 (Bononia)).

Another important fact is that there is no inscription found in Pannonia written in any eastern language (Syrian, Palmyrian²³, Jewish²⁴). The only exception can be the recently published Syrian instrumenta inscription (of a grey coarse mug) from Brigetio²⁵, a Roman tile and a lamp with inscribed Hebrew inscription and letters from Cséb²⁶ and Carnuntum²⁷. Bigger Oriental (mostly Syrian) families or perhaps communities settled in the bigger cities as in Savaria (from the 3rd century)²⁸, esp. around the legionary forts as in Aquincum²⁹, Brige-

14. MÓCSY, A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation...*, o.c., 193-194.

15. E. g. RIU 78, 113, 130, 182, 211, 249, 261, 406, 435, 522, 523, 533, 570, 586, 712, 737, 889, 1031, 1073, 1153, 1158, 1166, 1180, 1184, 1194, 1195, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1216, 1182, 1232, 1165, 1242, 1415, S 4, 5, 75, 81, 125, 216, 227, CIL III, 3528, 4458, 10497, 10499, 10500, 10551, 11210, 143473, 1435820, 143592, 13483, AÉp 1929, 205, 209, 220, 1933, 110, 1937, 174, KUIZSINSZKY, B., *Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde*. Budapest 1934, 176, Nr. 285, 167, Nr. 342, 66, Nr. 282, VORBECK, E., *Militärschriften aus Carnuntum*. Wien 1980. 90, 138, 144, 158, 192, 202, 206; Graecus: CIL III, 3584 = RIU S 223, RIU 78; Surus: RIU 10, 113, 523, 737, 1031, 1187, CIL III, 3490; Iudaeus: CIL III, 3688, Armeniacus: RIU 1165, Garadox=Capadox (?): CIL III, 10540, Cilix: CIL III, 11221, KUIZSINSZKY, B., *Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde*. Budapest 1934, 167, Nr. 342, Itryaeus: RIU 253, S 115.

16. RUSSU, I., "Inscriptiile Grecești din Dacia - Die griechischen Inschriften in Dazien", *Studii filii comunicării* 12, 1965, 47-82, 81.

17. BARKÓCZI, L., "The population of Pannonia from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian", *Acta ArchHung* 16, 1964, 257-356, 272.

18. MÓCSY, *Pannonia...*, o.c., 260-261.

19. Cf. n. 3.

20. KOVÁCS, o.c., Addendum 2, 108-115.

21. SWOBODA, E., "Griechisches aus dem römischen Alltag", *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1955, 15-21.

22. BILKEI, I., "Schulunterricht und Bildungswesen in der römischen Provinz Pannonien", *Alba Regia* 20, 1983, 68.

23. Cf. The Pamyrenian inscriptions of Dacia (concerning the numeri Palmyrenorum: BENEÁ, J., *Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque in Dacia*, Praha 1978, 61, Nr. 153/17-19, PETOLESCU, C.C., "Die Auxiliareinheiten von Dakien", GUIDEA, N., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des römischen Heeres in den dakischen Provinzen*, Cluj-Napoca 1997, 122-127, Nr. 72-74) and Moesia: CIS II, 3900 (= CIL III, 7999)-3907, IMS I 72, IDR III/1 167, HARMATTA, J., "Egy palmyrai felirrat Daciából", *AntTan* 44, 2000, 179-185.

24. Cf. SCHEIBER, S., *Jewish inscriptions in Hungary from the 3rd century to 1896*, Budapest 1983, 13-72.

25. HARMATTA, J., "Egy szír felirat Brigetióból", *AntTan* 44, 2000, 187-197.

26. SCHEIBER, o.c., 55-57, Nr. 9.

27. SWOBODA, E., *Carnuntum. Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler*, Graz, Köln 1964, 111, 278, Pl. XXVIII/2.

28. BARKÓCZI, o.c., 265, BALIA, "Östliche ethnische Elemente in Savaria", *Acta ArchHung* 15, 1963, 225-237, BUOČZ, T.; KADÁR, Z.; NÓCZY, A.; SZENTLELEKY, T., *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Budapest 1971, 29-31.

29. MÓCSY, A., *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959, 68, 82 (leg. II ad.), BARKÓCZI,

tio³⁰, Carnuntum (44 Greek inscriptions were found here: approx. 26,6 % of the corpus!)³¹ and around the garrisons of Oriental auxiliary troops (e. g. Intercisa). In the 1st case the immigration of Greek-speaking elements can be explained with the participation of the Pannonian legions in the Eastern campaigns (against the Jews, Parthians, etc.) where Orientals could be enrolled to the Pannonian legions³² and the immigration of Eastern tradesmen and craftsmen³³. It cannot be accidental that in Vindobona only one Greek inscription (a weight: CatNr. 2) is known and the legio X gemina did not take part in the Oriental campaigns (the only exception is Severus's campaign against Pescennius Niger: cf. *AÉp* 1941, 166)³⁴. A number of the inscriptions of the corpus can be related to Oriental tradesmen (CatNr. 114 (Intercisa)³⁵, 129 (Sirmium)³⁶). In the case of the strigilis from Vajta (CatNr. 107) it can be supposed that Rufus from Tarsus was a wandering craftsman³⁷. To this group (as Oriental craftsman) can belong Αὐρήλιος as well who was mentioned in a clay lamp model from Aquincum (CatNr. 64)³⁸. Another small group of persons who erected the Greek inscriptions was the group of the medici of the Roman army³⁹. They were usually of Greek origin and two

Greek Asclepius-altars were erected by them in Aquincum (CatNr. 88) and Annamata (CatNr. 120)⁴⁰. The grave-altar of Π(σπλιος) Αἰλιος Νόννος from Carnuntum also belongs to this group but he was an imperial freedman medicus⁴¹.

In the latter case among the auxiliary troops the most important were the Syrian cohorts in Intercisa (Dunaújváros, cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum) and Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre, cohors I milliaria Aur. Ant. Surorum sag. eq.) where bigger Oriental communities developed around the auxiliary vici of their forts⁴². It is not surprising that they mostly Latin inscriptions (in Ulcisia Castra only a ring with Greek inscription is known). Beside the settlements connecting with Pannonian troops there is another important centre of the Greek inscriptions, Poetovio (CatNr. 58-64). It can only be explained with the fact that the colonia was the centre of the publicum portorium Illyrici and in the office of the procurator several Greek-speaking slaves and liberti served⁴³. There is another small group of Greek inscriptions erected by Thracians who mostly came to Pannonia as auxiliary soldiers⁴⁴ or tradesmen⁴⁵ (they mostly erected inscriptions in Latin). To this group belong the marble tablets of the Thracian Rider-Hero (from Intercisa, Mursa, Siscia)⁴⁶ which were imported from the Balkans but most of them had no inscription.

The only exception is SW-Pannonia, the late Roman Pannonia Secunda, esp. Sirmium. Here, a great number of Greek inscriptions were found (among the 113 published inscriptions of Sirmium there are 9 in Greek (CatNr. 129-137). This

o.c., 277-279, MÓCSY, A.; BARKÓCZI, L.; FITZ, J., *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1990, 238-239.

30. MÓCSY, *o.c.*, 58, BARKÓCZI, *o.c.*, 271-273, BARKÓCZI, L., *Brigitio. DissPann II/22*, Budapest 1951, 21.

31. MÓCSY, *o.c.*, 50, 84 (leg. XV Ap.), BARKÓCZI, *o.c.*, 268-270.

32. MÓCSY; BARKÓCZI; FITZ, *Pannonia...*, *o.c.*, 83-84, 112-113, FORNI, G., *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano, Roma 1953, 215-216 (leg. I ad.), 217-218 (leg. II ad.), 228-229 (leg. X Gem.), 231-232 (leg. XIV Gem.), 232-233 (leg. XV Ap.), FORNI, G., "Origines dei legionari", *Esercito e marina di Roma antica. (MAVORS V)*, Stuttgart 1992, 1116-141, 116 (leg. I ad.), 118-119 (leg. II ad.), 131-132 (leg. X Gem.), 135 (leg. XIV Gem.), 136 (leg. XV Ap.).

33. MÓCSY, *o.c.*, 102-103, MÓCSY; BARKÓCZI; FITZ, *Pannonia...*, *o.c.*, 201-202.

34. MÓCSY; BARKÓCZI; FITZ, *Pannonia...*, *o.c.*, 83-84, BILKEI, I., "Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns", *Alba Regia* 17, 1979, 23-48, 38.

35. ROBERT, J.-L., *BE* 1958, 262. There is no evidence that Pistonas would have been the soldier of the Syrian cohort.

36. NOLL, R., *Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter. Spätantike altchristliche, Völkerwanderungszeitliche und Frühmittelalterliche Denkmäler. Katalog der Antikensammlung I*, Wien 1974, 32, Nr. B 5.

37. BILKEI, *o.c.*, 34, 39, BÓNIS, É., "Griechisch-römische Traditionen im Sportleben Pannoniens", *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz 1990, 609. The inscription on the strigilis is secondary.

38. Cf. BILKEI, *o.c.*, 29, BARKÓCZI, *o.c.*, 299-300. A workshop of an Aurelius is known from Aquincum: SZENTLÉLEKY, T., "Aquincumi mécskészítő műhelyek - Lamp-making workshops in Aquincum", *BudRég* 19, 1959, 167-203, 192.

39. Cf. KOVÁCS, P., "Ein neuer Militärarzt aus Aquincum", *AV* 52, 2001, 377-378, DAVIES, R.W., "The medici of the Roman armed forces", *ES* 8, 1969, 83-99, id., "Some more military medici", *ES* 9, 1972, 1-11.

40. The latter altar was found in the Roman auxiliary fort together with another Aesculapius-altar (RIU 1469 which was erected by a bucinator).

41. KOVÁCS, *o.c.*, 7, CatNr. 3.

42. LÖRINCZ, B., *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I. Die Inschriften. Wiener Archäologische Studien* 3, Wien 2001, 35-37, Nr. 23, CatNr. 35, 36, 298-368; 42, Nr. 42, CatNr. 362, 432-452, 490, FITZ, J., *Les Syriens a Intercisa. Coll. Latomus CXXII*, Bruxelles 1972, SOPRONI, S., "Die Caesarwürde Caracallas und die syrische Kohorte von Szentendre", *Alba Regia* 18, 1980, 39-51, SOPRONI, S., *Szentendre a rómaiak korában*, Szentendre 1987, 58.

43. DOBÓ, Á., *Publicum portorium Illyrici (DissPann II/16)*, Budapest 1940, 165, 173-176, Nr. 32-54.

44. There were several Thracian auxiliary units in Pannonia (cohorts and alae as well): LÖRINCZ, *o.c.*, 24-26, Nr. 25-28, 42-44, Nr. 43-48.

45. MÓCSY, *o.c.*, 102-103, BARKÓCZI, *o.c.*, 1964, 292.

46. *PWRE* Suppl. IX. Stuttgart 1962, 740, *Intercisa I. (Dunapentele-Sztálinváros). Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit. Arch. Hung. XXXIII*, 1954, 230-231, BULAT, M., "Novi votivni reljefi Dionisi iz Dalje i Osijeke - Neue Votivreliefs des Dionysos aus Dalj und Osijek", *OsZb* 21, 1991, 47-48.

ratio (almost 8 %) is much higher than the Pannonian average. Most of them can be dated to the 4th-5th centuries and connected to the Christianity. But this ratio is much lower if we consider the fact most of the 94 Christian inscriptions of Sirmium are not included⁴⁷. These very fragmentary Christian inscriptions are almost all marble funerary inscriptions from the Christian cemeteries (of St. Synerotas or Irenaeus) of the colonia. In this case the average is 4,545 % (198 Sirmian inscriptions) which is also much higher than elsewhere in Pannonia⁴⁸.

We cannot forget the fact that the first Christians in South-Pannonia were in majority Greek-speaking as the name of the martyrs and bishops (deacons) show: e. g. Demetrius, Anastasia, Synerotas (cf. the 1st ch. of his passio: Acta Sancti Februarii III. Antverpiae 1658, 365, Acta mar. Sinc. Ratisbonae 1859, 517-518: civis Graecus), Timotheus, Basilla, Irenaeus, Nicostratus, Sustratus, Eraclius; Eusebius, Eutherius, Photinus, Anemius, Macarius (CIL III 10235)⁴⁹. It cannot be accidental that the western boundary of the Arianism was Pannonia which fact also proves that the leadership of the Christian communities was Greek-speaking⁵⁰. A kind of bilingualism must be supposed here. The *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi* shows where in the 1st ch. (ed. Caspari p. 133, 9-10) Heraclianus said to the bishop that he knows what the homousion is because he understands Greek as well (Tu ... et Graece nosti dicere)⁵¹. Another good example is Photinus' case. The exiled Sirmian bishop who comes from Ancyra, Galatia (6th anathema of the in 344 (ed. Hahn Nr. 159, 194: Ἀγκυρογαλάτος, Soz. Hist. Ecc. II, 18, 16: γένος τῆς μικρᾶς Γαλατίας) spoke Latin and published his work (Κατὰ πασῶν αἰρεσῶν) in Greek and Latin as well (Soz. Hist. Ecc. II, 30, 46, cf. Vincent. Lerin.

Commonitorium 11: ἐν φυγῇ τε διάγων τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους συνέγραψεν ἀμφοτέροις γλώσσαις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἦν ἀμοιρος).

On the other hand, most of their inscriptions are in Latin⁵². The best example can be Victorinus' case who was the bishop of Poetovio in the 2nd half of the 3rd c. and Hieronymus described him that non aequae Latine ut Graece noverat (Hier. De vir. ill. LXXV) but his works written in Latin⁵³. In his works several Graecanica phenomena can be observed and he used the works of the Greek ecclesiastical authors⁵⁴. The most important is that these people understood Greek but he had to use the Latin because their congregations spoke Latin. It is noteworthy to examine the Pannonian symbol in Latin preserved in Victorinus' Comm. Ap. XI, 1 which Victorinus also learned (ut didicimus)⁵⁵. The credo was influenced by the Eastern symbola and its it was probably originally written in Greek but already in the 2nd half of the 3rd c. its Latin version was used and remained⁵⁶.

The presence of the Greek-speaking elements in Sirmium is also connected to the event that the colonia became an imperial capital in the 4th c. which could attract them as well. We must also consider the fact that Pannonia II became the part of the Eastern Roman empire in 427 (Chron. Min. II p. 76) (officially in 437 (Cass. Var. XI, 1, 9))⁵⁷ and the province was given up finally only in 582 A. D. (cf. the Sirmian tile Greek inscription – CatNr. 138).

The bigger part of the inscriptions in the corpus belongs to the instrumenta inscriptions. There are three large groups of them: 1. the gems (58 pieces – the last two of them (CatNr. 154-155) are probably forgeries). 2. the pie zeszes type inscriptions (9 pieces). 3. the weights (25 pieces). A great amount of them can be called Pannonian only

47. CIL III, 6446=10238-6449, 10231-10240, 14340²⁻⁷, 15136², IJL 3021-3089, AE 1986, 601-602; 1996, 1256; 1998, 1054, DUBAL, N., "Ville impériale" ou "capitale"?, SREJIOVIĆ, D. (ed.), *Corso di cultura sull' arte ravennate e bizantina* 26, 1979, 83-84, *Roman imperial towns and palaces in Serbia*, Belgrade 1993, 349, Nr. 156

48. The beneficiary altars from Sirmium are not included: AE 1994, 1470-1478. New pagan inscriptions: AE 1998, 1051-1053.

49. NAGY, T., *A pannonia kereszténység története a római védőrendszer összeomlásáig* (DissPann II/12), Budapest 1939, 30-35, 57-61, 217, MÓCSY, A., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, 323, 325.

50. NAGY, o.c., 93-94.

51. Germinius was sent by Constantius II from Cyzicus to Sirmium (cf. Athan. Hist. Arian. 74, 5=MSG 25, 748b): NAGY, o.c., 130.

52. NAGY, L., "Pannonia sacra", *Szent István Emlékkönyv* I, Budapest 1938, 29-148, 100-110.

53. The Graecism can be pointed out everywhere in his works NAGY, o.c., 35-37, DULAËY, M., *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exégete latin 1-2* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 140), Paris 1993, 13-15 (in his earlier *De fabrica mundi* better than in the *Comm. Apoc.*).

54. CSEL 49, 1916, p. XXX, TURNER, H., "An exegetical fragment of the third century", *JThS.* 5, 1903-1904, 220-, DULAËY, o.c., 278-299.

55. NAGY, o.c., 33, 35, 37, DULAËY, o.c., 231-233.

56. KOVÁCS, P., "Christianity and the Greek language in Pannonia", *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 43, 2003, 113-124.

57. MÓCSY, *Pannonia...*, o.c., 349-350, I. Bóna, *das Hunnenreich*. Budapest 1991, 50, ALFÖLDI, A., *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien II*, Berlin, Leipzig 1926, 91-97.

because of their findspot. To this group belong the imported wares from the East where the inscriptions are stamps (Samian ware, clay lamp, amphore, weights and lead seals) or the inscriptions on gems. The Greek gems were made in bigger workshops (as the 18 magical gems most likely in Alexandria⁵⁸) and tradesmen brought them to Pannonia⁵⁹. Only in the case of the double-channelled cameos it can be supposed that they were made in local workshops⁶⁰. Several curse tablets (11 pieces) were found in Pannonia and they were most probably made in this province. The language of this type of inscriptions was the Greek as usually (even in the case of Latin-speaking persons as well) to strengthen their magical power⁶¹. Sometimes even the Latin texts (names) were written in Greek characters (CatNr. 69).

To the 2nd bigger group belong the pie zeszes-type inscriptions on glasses, vasa diatreta, vessels, ring (including a stone-inscription) (CatNr. 35, 52, 70, 112, 121, 122, 124, 139, 140). It must be mentioned that in these cases several times the Greek words were written in Latin characters as well. These objects can be dated to 4th-5th century. The formule spread in the whole empire and in Rome as well⁶² but it was not exclusively used by Christians⁶³. They were exported not solely from the East (as the Latin characters clearly show).

To the 3rd bigger group belong the weights with Greek inscriptions (CatNr. 2, 17, 104, 105, 158, 164-182) and an inscription concerning weight (CatNr. 85 and addendum 1). Most of the weights with Greek letters or numbers (with Milesian alphabet) can be dated to the 4th-5th century⁶⁴.

58. PHILIPP, H., *Mira et magica. Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen*, Mainz 1986, 8, GESZTELYI, T., *Pannoniai vésett ékkövek*, Budapest 1998, 61.

59. GESZTELYI, o.c., 66-67, 70-73.

60. GESZTELYI, o.c., 74-76, GESZTELYI, T., "Spätromische Glaskameen mit Zwei Kanälen", *AAntHung* 38, 1998, 129-136.

61. BARB, A., "Griechische Zaubertexte vom Grberfelde westlich des Lagers", *RLiÖ* 16, 1926, 52-67, 65-66, EGGER, R., "Inschriften", *RLiÖ* 16, 1926, 150-153.

62. TESTINI, o.c., 409-411, 491-492, DI STEFANO MANZELLA, *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani...*, o.c., 49-50, 246, 247, 249, 257, FERRUA, A., "Pie zeszes per i defunti", *Forma futuri. Studi in onore del card. M. Pellegrino*, Torino 1975, 1115-1124.

63. TÓTI, E., "Das Christentum in Pannonien bis zum 7. Jahrhundert nach den archäologischen Zeugnissen", *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 1994, 247-248.

64. PINK, K., *Römische und byzantinische Gewichte in Österreichs Sammlungen (Sonderschriften 12)*, Wien 1938, 30-33, 33-43.

Among the new finds it is noteworthy to mention two bilingual stone sepulchral verse inscription. The 1st is a recently found grave inscription of Diophantos from Arrabona-Győr (CatNr. 51=RIU S 48). At the end of the fragmentary Latin inscription the Greek acclamation Εὐ|ψύ|χ(ε)|, Διόφαντε, οὐδ[εις ἀθάνατος] can be read. The other inscription is a sarcophagus from Aquincum (CatNr. 91, cf. Kovács, op. cit., Addendum 1). It was erected to C(aius) Val(erius) Papirianus who was the equestrian tribunus angusticlavus of the legio II adiutrix in the very beginning of the 3rd century. On the basis of his origo he was born in Aelia Capitolina-Jerusalem as the Latin and the Greek inscription mentioned Urbs Palaestina and Πόλις Καπετωλίας. In the Greek pseudometrical inscription there is a very interesting sentence: κείμε δ' ἐν Πα[ί]σοι κενόν ὄργανον ἀνθρώποισι. His body lies in Pannonia as an empty instrument to the people. This expression was totally unknown but similar concept (the body as the instrument of the soul) can be found in the works of Christian authors. In a place of Origenes (Cels. 8, 30; cf. Or. fr. 36, Meth. res. 1, 60) we can read that ψυχὴν ... λογικὴν τιμᾶν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν καὶ τὰ ταύτης ὄργανα παραδιδόναι κατὰ τὰ νεομισμένα ταφῆ.

The study of the Greek personal names in Pannonia was already executed by A. Mócsy and L. Barkóczy⁶⁵ but it is noteworthy to give a short summary. There are 128 names in the corpus. 26 of them were mentioned in the Latin parts of the inscriptions, 2 of them were written in Greek and Latin characters: Claudia Hermione, Aurelius Thiodotus, the name of the legatus, L. Pomponius Protomachus was mentioned in both texts (CatNr. 4). There are 99 names which were mentioned in the Greek inscriptions. 32 of them are Latin names written in Greek characters. The high ratio of the Latin names can be explained that most of them was mentioned in the curse tablet from Siscia (CatNr. 69) and with the fact that the Orientals frequently bore Latin names as well (e. g. Antonius, Aurelius). Among them there are clearly Thracian (Δίζα(ς) Λαλάγρα), Syrian (Πιστόνας, Νάουμ) and Jewish (Ιudas, Βηνιαμίν) names as well. It means that there are only 67 Greek names written in Greek in Pannonia including the Jewish, Syrian and Thracian names. It is noteworthy how high relatively is the ratio of the hapax names in the corpus: Γαισιανός, Λαλάγρα, Μελησιδικός, Χηττίνα, ΧΕΡΙΝΝΕ. Some Greek names are mentioned only

65. MÓCSY, o.c., 102-103, BARKÓCZY, o.c., 292, 295.

in the Greek parts of the bilingual inscriptions: Παλμυρίος, Διόφαντος (most likely). They are thought to be supranomina⁶⁶ but they could be their original names (before they were granted Roman citizenship whereupon they took Roman tria nomina) as well (similarly to the "qui (quae) et"-type names in the Latin stone inscriptions)⁶⁷. It must be mentioned that several Greek names are the mostly stamped master names in genitive. On the basis of these data we can emphasize that the Pannonian Greek inscriptions show a very important stratum of the Pannonian society, the presence of the Greek and Greek-speaking Oriental elements in the province. Usually they did not even belong to the high society, they could be soldiers, tradesmen, craftsmen (as Αὐρήλιος from Aquincum), liberti (as Εραφροδίτους), slaves (as Florus and Διόδωρος) although in several cases their social status is uncertain but on the basis of the use of the Greek language and names their lower status (servi or liberti) can be supposed⁶⁸. There are exceptions as in the case of the Ephesian T. Pomponius Protomachus, legatus Augusti (CatNr. 4=ILS 9254) or the high-ranking soldiers (Roman knights) as T. Statilius Solo (primipilus – CatNr. 75), Κάσσιος Πανλείνος (tribunus coh.-CatNr. 1), or C. Valerius Papirianus-tribunus ang. leg. II ad. (CatNr. 91)⁶⁹. During their Romanization and their assimilation they often left their original names and are known only by these Greek inscriptions.

Finally, I wish to represent an unpublished bronze ring fragment with engraved Greek inscription which shows that the number of the Greek inscriptions in Pannonia will increase in the near future as well. Its exact provenance is unknown but it was most probably found in Southern Hungary (County Barany or Somogy) (Fig. 2)⁷⁰.

Bronze. HNM without Inv.-Nr. D: 1,5, 2 × 1,4 cm. The inscription in three lines that can be seen on the widening oval head of the ring is retrograde:

66. KAJANTO, I., *Supernomina. A study in Latin epigraphy*, Helsinki, Helsingfors 1966, 72, BILKEI, o.c., 25.

67. MÓCSY, A., *A római név mint társadalomtörténeti forrás*, Budapest 1985, 67-68.

68. BILKEI, o.c., 39-40.

69. On the Statilii from the Carian Heraclea ad Salbacum: BE 34, 1980, Nr. 336, 419-420, DOBSON, B., "Die primipilares. Entwicklung und Bedeutung, Laufbahnen und Persönlichkeiten eines römischen Offiziersranges" (*Beihefte der BJb* 37), Köln, Bonn 1978, 258-259, Nr. 139, Cassius: TAEUBER, H., "Ein mysischer Athletiktrainer in Klosterneuburg", ZPE 99, 1993, 203-206., 205-206.

70. It can be found in the Roman Collection of the Hungarian National Museum (without Inv.-Nr.). I wish to thank Á. Szabó and Zs. Mráv for their permission to publish the ring.



Fig. 2

ΚΕΛ / ΟΗΘΗ / ΑΝΑ.

On the basis of the form of the ring the inscription can be dated to the 3rd century⁷¹. Unfortunately, because of the abbreviations the inscription cannot be expanded.

Summarily, it is noteworthy to study the question of the Greek inscriptions and the Greek-speaking population in Pannonia. It was a very big (on the basis of the cognomina more than 8%) but not unique ethnic minority of the society in the province. It consisted of Greeks, Thracians, Syrians, Jews and other Orientals who assimilated very soon as the relatively low number of their stone inscriptions show and they erected Latin inscriptions. But as a number of above mentioned data prove the influence of the Greek language did not cease to exist. The knowledge of the Greek (alphabetical instrumenta inscriptions, graffiti, dipinti, a praec(eptor) Gr(aecus) is known from Neviudunum: CIL III, 10805)⁷², its influence in the Pannonian Latin inscriptions was earlier pointed out. These data show that in Pannonia there was a relatively big stratum who was bilingual and the importance of the Greek language had to be much higher than it was earlier thought.

71. HENKEL, R., *Die römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande und der benachbarten Gebiete*, Berlin 1913, 78, Nr. 774-776, 123, Nr. 1346.

72. LOVENIAK, M., *Inscriptiones Latiane Solveniae 1. Neviudunum*, Ljubljana 1998, 93-94, Nr. 35.