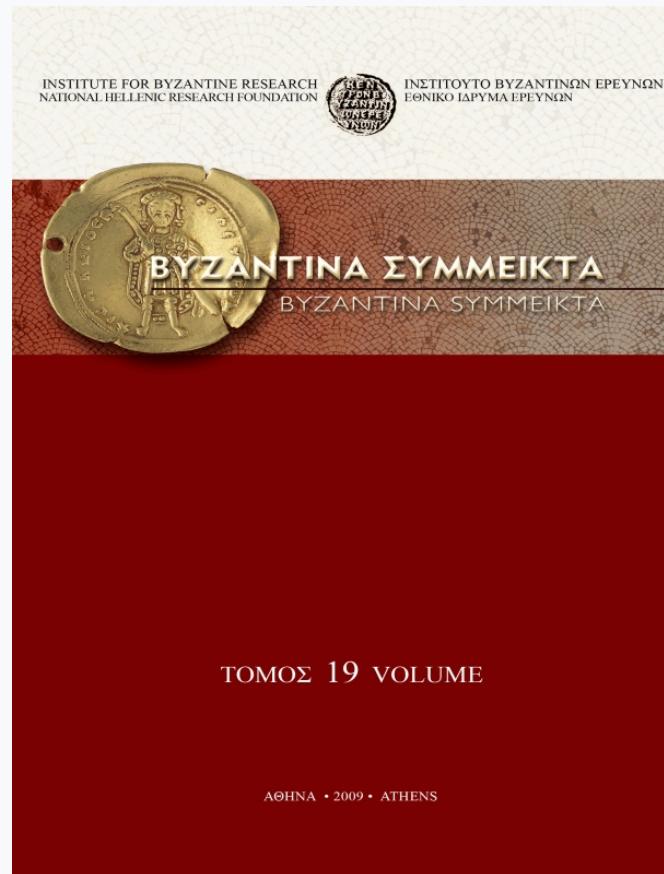


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North Syrian Mortaria and Other Late Roman Personal and Utility Objects Bearing Inscriptions of Good Luck

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ANASTASIA G. YANGAKI

NORTH SYRIAN MORTARIA AND OTHER LATE ROMAN PERSONAL AND
UTILITY OBJECTS BEARING INSCRIPTIONS OF GOOD LUCK

*In memory of Margarita Delatola (1958-2010),
a potter from the island of Tinos, Cyclades*

North Syrian mortaria constitute a well-known group of stamped, late Roman clay mortaria (Fig. 1, Fig. 2), which were first studied in detail by Hayes¹. Other scholars later added more information regarding these mortars², which were used mainly as grinding vessels, but served other purposes too³. Ra's al-Basit in Northwest Syria has been identified as their main centre of production, while some scholars have suggested that other centres may also have existed. The late 3rd and first half of the 4th century

1. J. W. HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 337-347.

2. P. COURBIN, Bassit, *Syria* 63 (1986) 175-200; A. DI VITA, Satura Gortynia lanx: da uno colomba cipriota arcaica ad una stadera bizantina, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 66-67 (1988-89) 323-348; J. A. BLAKELY - R. BRINKMANN - C. J. VITALIANO, Roman Mortaria and Basins from a Sequence at Caesarea: Fabrics and Sources, in: *Caesarea Papers. Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, ed. A. LINDLEY VANN [JRA suppl. 5], Portsmouth 1992, 194-213; M. VALLERIN, Pelves estampillés de Bassit, *Syria* 71 (1994) 171-204; G. MARGINESU, Tre frammenti di pelves siriache con bollo da Gortina, *Annuario* 76-78 (1998-2000) 273-279; A. G. YANGAKI, Υστερορωμαϊκά πήλινα ενσφράγιστα «ιγδία» από την αρχαία Μεσσήνη, *Bučantanós Δόμος* 16 (2007-2008) 35-67.

3. Regarding their different uses, see more analytically: A. G. YANGAKI, Παρατηρήσεις στη χρήση των υστερορωμαϊκών πήλινων ενσφράγιστων «ιγδίων»: η περίπτωση των ιγδίων από τη Βόρειο Συρία, *ByzSym* 18 (2008) 35-75.

AD, a date Hayes suggested for these vessels, has been generally accepted by scholars and backed up by more recent archaeological data. These vessels, which are very distinctive because of their fabric, are divided into two main fabric groups which contain numerous inclusions. They are also distinctive because of the stamps they bear –mainly on the rim– which usually consist of two lines of impressed characters in Greek that correspond to the maker’s name or trademark, which is usually given in the genitive case (Fig. 2). Recent research into “North Syrian Mortaria”⁴ revealed that these various stamps included some which did not refer only to a name and were accompanied by a verb or an adverb before or after it. Hayes and other scholars mention these stamps, but do not comment on their particular significance. The only exception is an article by Siebourg⁵, published in 1907, which focuses on two such mortars –one found in Strasburg, the other in Risingham– with the characteristic stamp “EIPHNAI EYTYXI” on their rim. More recently, Marginesu commented on a mortar found in Gortyn with the inscription “EYTYXIA EIPIN[I]”⁶ and Latjar distinguished some of the stamps as being acclamations⁷. As Appendix A, which attempts to list most related examples⁸, demonstrates, the number of examples bearing the same stamp or similar ones has increased since Siebourg’s study. In fact, this group now consists of five different stamps found on the mortaria:

- a) EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ
- b) EIPHNAI EYTYXI* (Fig. 3)
- c) EYTYXΩ-C- *in planta pedis*
- d) EYTYXIA EIPIN[I]

4. See the previous note.

5. M. SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation als Töpfermarke. Studien zum gallisch-germanischen Hausgerät, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 116 (1907) 1-18, fig. 3. See also HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 340 n. 6.

6. MARGINESU, Tre frammenti, 278-279 fig. 5.

7. A. LATJAR, Ein bestempeltes Keramikfragment aus Beth-Shean (zu ZPE 95, 1993, S. 52, Taf. I A), *ZPE* 102 (1994) 269-270.

8. The list should not be regarded as exhaustive, as there are many publications which refer to this group of mortars, though they do so without special mentioning of their particular stamps. In the list that follows “–” stands for a branch, “*” for a wine leaf and “**” for a horizontal leaf (?) below the inscription (see for this: HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 n. 54).

e) EYTYXI**

All feature a wish for “happiness, good fortune” through the use of the related Greek noun, verb or adverb; in some cases, this is combined with the proper name *Eἰρηναῖος*.

Inscriptions in Greek capitals which use either forms of the verb *εὐτυχῶ* (usually in the imperative) accompanied by a proper name in the vocative or the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* (the equivalent of the Latin *feliciter*) used with a dative, are fairly common from antiquity onwards⁹, though mostly after the 2nd c. AD¹⁰ and even in late antiquity¹¹. The superlative of the adjective is also commonly used¹². Turning to the imperative, the form *εὐτύχι* (Fig. 4) is very common rather than the more grammatically correct *εὐτύχει*¹³. In other instances, only the adverb or the imperative (singular or plural) is inscribed.

These formulae were regularly used in acclamatory inscriptions during the Roman and late Roman periods, when they formed part of a longer text¹⁴;

9. D. E. GROSE, Roman Vessels with Double-Line Greek Inscriptions: A New Inventory, *Archaeological News* 14 (1985) 26. More generally, for acclamations and auguries on objects of everyday use from antiquity onwards, see: M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III. Epigrafi di carattere privato*, Roma 1974, 485-495.

10. L. ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions d’Éphèse, *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d’Histoire Anciennes* 51 (1977), 12.

11. B. LIFSHITZ, Weitere Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 79 (1963) 92-93 and n. 21; ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 11-12 and n. 36; O. MASSON, Nouvelles notes d’anthroponymie grecque, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 59; P. ASSIMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος, III, Μακεδονία-Θράκη, 1. Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Θεσσαλονίκης* [Βυζαντινά Μνημεία 9], Thessaloniki 1998, 151; J. NOLLÉ, Εὐτυχῶς τοῖς κυρίοις – feliciter dominis! Akklamationsmünzen des griechischen Ostens unter Septimius Severus und städtische Mentalitäten, *Chiron* 28 (1998) 328 and n. 19, 20 (with related references). See also: Á. M. NAGY, ΕΥΟΠΑΙ EYTYXI, *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 76 (1992) 19.

12. ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 9-11.

13. SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 4; GROSE, Roman Vessels, 26; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 528 n. 7; MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 59.

14. For a detailed treatment of the term *εὐτυχῶς* and its use in acclamatory formulae: C. ROUECHÉ, Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias, *JRS* 74 (1984) 185. See also: ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 11; MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 60. For an analysis of the term “acclamation” and the relative bibliography, see: ROUECHÉ, Acclamations, 181-188 and n. 2. For more examples of such inscriptions, see below.

in many cases, the adverb is used alone as an acclamatory term¹⁵, as is the case with numerous examples of inscriptions from Egypt¹⁶ in which the adverb is also sometimes replaced by the verb. All these inscriptions wish for good fortune or good luck¹⁷.

The inscriptions on the stamps on the North Syrian mortaria (which have been assembled in Appendix A) follow two main formulae, as the numerous examples reveal: the first uses the imperative *εὐτύχι* along with the vocative *Eἰρηναῖ(ε)*¹⁸ (Fig. 3). While inscriptions on other media use the imperative before the vocative¹⁹ more frequently than after it, mortaria stamps use the less common variation²⁰. The proper name *Eἰρηναῖος* occurs as early as the 1st c. BC²¹ and was quite common during the 2nd and 3rd c. AD²². One of the mortars found in Meroth (Palestine) bears the proper name

15. ROUECHÉ, *Acclamations*, 185.

16. MASSON, *Nouvelles notes*, 59. See also: SEG XXVI 1721, 1779, 1783, 1787, 1788, 1789; *BullÉp* 1988, 919; SEG XXXVIII 1760, 1772, 1775, 1804, 1812; SEG XLIV 1502; SEG XLV 2134; SEG LIII 1930.

17. For either one of the two meanings see: F. PASSOW, *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*, v. I, 2, Leipzig 1847; *TLG*, 4, 2; H. G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT and M. KONSTANTINIDES, *Μέγα Λεξικόν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, v. II, trans. X. P. MOSCHOS, Athens n.d.; E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from BC 146 to AD 1100)*, v. I, New York n.d.; LIFSHITZ, *Weitere Beiträge*, 93 n. 21; GROSE, *Roman Vessels*, 23, 26; H. GUIRAUD, *Intailles et camées romains*, Paris 1996, 140. See also: M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca IV. Epigrafi sacre, pagane e cristiane*, Roma 1978, 277-278.

18. See also: SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 4; SEG XLV 1914.

19. MASSON, *Nouvelles notes*, 59.

20. For this less common variation: MASSON, *Nouvelles notes*, 59.

21. SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 4 and n. 1.

22. For more details on this name, see: SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 4; M. J. OSBORNE – S. G. BYRNE – P. M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, v. II, *Attica*, Oxford 1994, 138-139; P. M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, v. III, A, *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Grecia*, Oxford 1997, 138; P. M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, v. III, B, *Central Greece, from the Megarid to Thessaly*, Oxford 2000, 130. The name is also inscribed on glass vessels (for an example, see: D. WHITEHOUSE, *Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass*, v. I, Corning, New York 1997, 97 no. 141), as well as on a gem dated to the 2nd c. AD (SEG XLII 1712), and is mentioned in an inscription from Corinth from the 4th-5th c. AD (D. FEISSEL – A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*, III. *Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)*, *TM* 9 (1985), 283-284 no. 21, pl. III, 2).

in the genitive²³. Only one other proper name is mentioned in examples of this kind of stamp: the name *Touλιανός*, which was found on a mortar in Cyprus²⁴. *Touλ(ε)ιανός* –in the genitive case without any other word(s)– is relatively common on other stamps on these mortars²⁵. The second formula, which occurs in numerous examples, uses the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* accompanied by *Eἰρηνέω*. This could represent the second formula already mentioned, in which case the second word is taken as the dative (*Eἰρηναίω*) of the proper name *Eἰρηναῖος* written with an *ε* instead of an *αι*. In addition to these two main formulae, one could also mention the use of the adverb EYTYXΩC or of two nouns, EYTYXIA EIPHNH, as well as one example which uses EYTYXI**²⁶.

Furthermore, in the case of the mortars, the inscriptions included in the frame of three of the sub-groups are accompanied by small symbols: EIPHNAI EYTYXI is followed by a vine leaf, Hayes mentions that the currently unique fragment with EYTYXI on it has a horizontal leaf below the inscription²⁷, while EYTYXΩ-C- has branches flanking the C. On the same type of mortar, similar small symbols accompany inscriptions including a proper name²⁸. Placed at the beginning or end of each row, specific types of symbol are combined with specific inscriptions. As has already been suggested with regard to the symbols that accompany stamps referring to proper names, since these symbols are placed inside the same frame as the inscription, they could represent another distinctive mark rendering the specific product recognizable²⁹. The two branches flanking the stamp EYTYXΩ-C- are analogous with branches placed between the two verses of the stamp on many Roman mortars³⁰. Similar branches are also found in

23. If, of course, the transcription is correct; for the reference, see Appendix A.

24. See Appendix A.

25. VALLERIN, Pelves, 201.

26. See for the related references: Appendix A.

27. HAYES, *Noth Syrian Mortaria*, 343 no. 54.

28. For a detailed description of these symbols, see: YANGAKI, Υστερορωμαϊκά πήλινα ενσφράγιστα «ιγδία», 50-51.

29. For an attempt to interpret these symbols: YANGAKI, Υστερορωμαϊκά πήλινα ενσφράγιστα «ιγδία», 50-51.

30. For some examples: K. F. HARTLEY, *La diffusion des mortiers, tuiles et autres produits en provenance des fabriques italiennes*, *Cahiers d'Archéologie Subaquatique* 2 (1973) 56 fig. 4, 12; C. L. BALUTA – I. SERBAN, *Sigilla Mortariorum Dacica*, *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum*

conjunction with signatures on late Roman lamps, as is the case on some Attic lamps³¹ and on several other small objects including bells and rings³². They are considered good luck symbols or “charms” with the power to ward off the Evil Eye³³. In the case of the mortar stamps, their symbolic character is successfully combined with the content of the inscription, enhancing the expression of a good luck wish.

Numerous publications since the early 20th century have focused on inscriptions with a similar content, although on different media. Appendix B shows that personal or utility objects with inscriptions using similar formulae featuring this particular verb and adverb are quite numerous (rings, gems, glass and clay vessels, metal objects such as small bells, seals and compasses) (Fig. 4 - Fig. 9), even if no systematic effort has as yet been made to assemble them³⁴. The appendix lists only those objects bearing inscriptions that use the two main formulae (adverb or verb in the imperative case). However, there are other objects on which other forms of the verb or analogous adjectives are used³⁵. Two categories of objects of personal use on which similar wishes for good fortune or good luck appear frequently using the aforementioned grammatical forms are rings (where the inscription is on their bezel or hoop) and gems, which once formed part of rings or other jewellery³⁶. The Content Collection contains numerous examples of cameos bearing forms of wishes similar to those on the mortars; most of them use the imperative of the verb *εὐτυχῶ* either alone or as part of a more elaborate

Acta 19/20 (1979) 204, 211 pl. I, 2-4, 212 pl. II, 3-4, 213 pl. III, 1-2, 4; M. SABRIÉ – R. SABRIÉ, Epave du Grand Bassin C (Point 5), *Archaeonautica* 3 (1981) 90-91 fig. 39, 15.

31. A. KARIVIERI, *The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity* [Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens V], Helsinki 1996, 98.

32. NAGY, ΕΥΟΠΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ, 27 fig. 20, n. 58 (with analytical bibliography).

33. For these two interpretations: NAGY, ΕΥΟΠΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ, 27 n. 58 (with bibliography); KARIVIERI, *The Athenian Lamp Industry*, 98.

34. Appendix B comprises a representative sample of the objects bearing inscriptions similar to those on the mortars, though it does not constitute an exhaustive catalogue.

35. See, for example: A. VAN DEN HOEK – D. FEISSEL – J. J. HERRMANN, Lucky Wearers: A Ring in Boston and a Greek Epigraphic Tradition of Late Roman and Byzantine Times, *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 6 (1994) 54, Appendix, Group C no. 6, a-b; MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 60-61.

36. M. HENIG, *The Content Family Collection of Ancient Cameos*, Oxford - Houlton 1990, xv.

inscription³⁷. These have been dated to the 3rd c. AD³⁸. Furthermore, Van den Hoek, Feissel and Herrmann presented a detailed list of rings and gems bearing inscriptions using different grammatical forms for the same purpose (*εὐτύχ(ε)ι*, *εὐτυχῶς*, *εὐτυχῆς*) followed by a reference to the anonymous, generic wearer (*ό φορῶν*)³⁹. While it may be true that wishes of this kind are more common on jewellery⁴⁰ (as Van den Hoek, Feissel and Herrmann⁴¹ have pointed out, and as the data in Appendix B would indicate) (Fig. 4 - Fig. 9), research into other materials (Appendix B) has shown that they are also fairly common on utility objects like metal seals, compasses, bells, glass vessels, clay lamps and jugs⁴², some of which date from the 5th, 6th and even 7th c. AD.⁴³ Indeed, coins from the reign of Septimius Severus bear similar inscriptions, some using the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* with the dative⁴⁴.

According to the epigraphic evidence based on inscriptions on walls, mosaics, stones, milestones, altars, blocks, lintels, grave stones etc., the use of the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* or a form of *εὐτυχεῖν* (usually the imperative) in more

37. See in detail: HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 6-7, 17 no. 29, no. 30, 18 no. 32, no. 33, 19 no. 34, no. 35, 20 no. 37, 21 no. 38, no. 39. More cameos bearing wishes for good luck using the aforementioned verb in the imperative form have been added to the Content Collection since this first publication and await publication (*Content Family Collection of Ancient Cameos 2010*). I would like, at this point, to thank Mr Derek J. Content for granting me permission to reproduce several photos of the cameos in his collection (figures 4, 6 and 7 of this article) and for sharing information with me relating to additional cameos. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Claudia Wagner of the Beazley Archive in Oxford for her generous help during my quest for the Content Collection and for providing me with the photographic material I required along with useful details about the Collection's new acquisitions.

38. HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, xiii.

39. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 45, 53-54 Appendix Group C.

40. Besides rings and gems, they also appear on necklaces and on a marriage belt; some of the cameos and gems could have been used as pendants or amulets. See: VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

41. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

42. For all the relative references, see analytically Appendix B.

43. See Appendix B and also: J. SPIER, Late Antique Cameos, c. AD 250-600, in: *Cameos in Context, The Benjamin Zucker Lectures, 1990*, ed. M. HENIG – M. VICKERS, Oxford-Houlton 1993, 47.

44. For more details on these coins and the related bibliography, see: NOLLÉ, Εὐτυχῶς τοῖς κυρίοις, 323-354 and more particularly 328-329. See also: ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 10-12; ROUECHÉ, Acclamations, 185 and n. 49 (for bibliography).

elaborate inscriptions is also very common. In fact, it is so common that listing every known example would require a separate study in its own right. However, we can make some observations based on a number of samples we were able to locate. Besides the simple use of the adverb/verb by itself or the adverb/verb plus a name⁴⁵, the adverb or the verb are most commonly used at the beginning or end of what are usually far more elaborate and detailed inscriptions⁴⁶. The bulk of this material dates from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. A very characteristic example from a mosaic floor in Olynthus from the late 5th c. BC⁴⁷ featuring the inscription *εὐτυχία καλή* shows that there is a long tradition of wishes of this kind. However, there are also numerous examples from the late Roman period (mostly from the 5th and 6th centuries AD)⁴⁸ which demonstrate that this Greek epigraphic tradition continued to

45. For examples, see: SEG XXVI 1788, 1789; R. OVADIAH – A. OVADIAH, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, Rome 1987, 133 no. 223; SEG XXXVII 1270, 1487, 1639; *BullÉp* 1988 919; SEG XL 1298; D. PANDERMALIS, Η ανασκαφή του Δίου κατά το 1993 και η χάλκινη διόπτρα, *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 7 (1993) 197; SEG XLV 821; SEG XLVI 742; ASSIMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, *Σύνταγμα*, 150-151, 258-259; SEG XLVIII 1534; J. PATRICH – D. RESHEF – D. BEN YOSEF – S. ROTGAIZER – S. PINKAS – Z. BAR-OR – H. VAN-DAM – A. MOSCU, The Warehouse Complex and Governor's Palace (areas KK, CC, NN, May 1993 - December 1995), in: *Caesarea Papers 2, Herod's Temple, The Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, The Later Harbor, A Gold Coinhoard and Other Studies*, ed. H. G. HOLUM – A. RABAN – J. PATRICH [JRA suppl. 35], Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1999, 97-98 fig. 34; SEG XLIX 2055, 2160; SEG LIII 1930.

46. For some of the numerous examples, see: SEG XXVI 635, 1721, 1779; SEG XXVIII 578, 589, 590, 592, 778, 1436, 1555, 1556; SEG XXXV 737, 743, 747, 748, 749, 759, 1439; SEG XXXVI 524, 616, 635, 1051; SEG XXXVIII 1696, 1760, 1772, 1775, 1804, 1812; A. Di Vita, Atti della Scuola 1988-89, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 66-67 [50-51] (1988-1989) 459 fig. 45; SEG XL 577, 1465; SEG XLI 590, 940, 1185, 1263; SEG XLIV 635, 1194, 1502; SEG XLV 878, 1934; SEG XLVII 876, 1075, 1084, 1139, 1835; J. PATRICH, Combined Caesarea Excavations (A), *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998) 52 fig. 20; PATRICH – RESHEF – BEN YOSEF et al., The Warehouse, 80 fig. 11; SEG XLVIII 717, 748, 750, 1772, 1881; SEG XLIX 1755, 2082, 2117, 2119, 2120, 2159, 2160, 2174; SEG LI 615, 624, 625, 1691, 1837; SEG LIII 668, 1866. See also: MASSON, *Nouvelles notes*, 59-60.

47. D. M. ROBINSON, The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus, *AJA* 38 (1934), 503 fig. 2, 507; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 322-323.

48. See: SEG XXVI 1783, 1788, 1789; SEG XXVIII 1436; DI VITA, Atti della Scuola, 459 fig. 45; SEG XLIII 611; S. R. HAUSER, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel, Bemerkungen zur Produktion von Luxusgütern in 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert* [JbAC

be fairly popular during that period, even though new formulae with more obviously Christian connotations came into use⁴⁹. The existence of numerous inscriptions including the same form of acclamatory terms, incorporating the aforementioned verb/adverb combination at the beginning or end of a longer text⁵⁰, in regions adjacent to Syria (Palestine and, especially, Egypt⁵¹) is probably not random, and may well be of significance with regard to the popularity of this form of wish in these regions.

As Appendix B makes clear, the imperative form plus a proper name (Fig. 5 - Fig. 9) is more common on most types of personal and utility objects than the adverb followed by a proper name combination found on the mortars; while the proper name following the imperative formula common in inscriptions on other media is favoured on the other utility objects, on the mortars the name stands before the verb. Similarly, the imperative EYTYXI is not often used alone on mortars. It should also be noted that while most researchers recognize the name following the verb or adverb on the objects mentioned above as being a proper name (*Εὐσέβιος*, *Εὐάγγειος*, *Εὐσέβιος*, *Εὐστόχιος*, *Εὐγένιος*, *Λακωνίς*, *Γοργονίς*)⁵², there are others who identify them as “qualities”⁵³. A similar difficulty arises in distinguishing between

Ergänzungsband 19], Münster 1992, 61 and n. 263; ASSIMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, *Σύνταγμα*, 150, 258-259; PATRICH, Combined Caesarea Excavations, 52 fig. 20; PATRICH – RESHEF – BEN YOSEF et al., The Warehouse, 80 fig. 11, 97-98 fig. 34; SEG LIII 668, 1866; SEG XLV 1934; SEG XLVII 1835; SEG XLIX 2055.

49. The formula bearing an invocation to the Lord or the Virgin Mary (*Kύριε* or *Θεοτόκε βοήθ(ε)ι*), for example, is highly typical. For an attempt at isolating various objects bearing this invocation, see: VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, Lucky Wearers, 56-59 Appendix Group G.

50. For more detail on these numerous examples, see notes 16, 45, 46.

51. For the occurrence in Egypt of numerous inscriptions using the above mentioned forms of *εὐτυχεῖν*, see also: MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 59.

52. ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 11-12; SEG XLIV 1704; MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 60-61; D. FEISSEL, *Chroniques d'Épigraphie Byzantine 1987-2004* [Collège de France - CNRS. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 20], Paris 2006, no. 1043. See also: F. HENKEL, *Die Römische Fingerringe der Rheinlande und der Benachbarten Gebiete*, Text, Berlin 1913, 32 no. 219; *BullÉp* 1972 264.

53. G. M. A. RICHTER, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, Roma 1956, 120 no. 602 (for a gold ring with the inscription: EYTYXI EYCEBI, which the author transcribes as: “prosper and be reverent”); HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 6-7, 18 no. 33, 19 no. 34, no. 35, 20 no. 37, 21 no. 39;

forms of the proper names *Eὐτύχης* or *Eὐτύχιος* and forms of the verb *εὐτυχῶ*, over which scholars also pose different opinions⁵⁴. In the case of the mortars, it is most probable that the reference in the first formula (EIPHNAI EYTYXI) (Fig. 3) is to a proper name (*Eἰρηναῖος*). With regard to the second formula, however, which includes the adverb, one could also maintain that *EIPHNEΩ* corresponds to the first person of the verb *εἰρηνεύω/εἰρηνέω*⁵⁵ rather than to the proper name⁵⁶, in which case this specific stamp refers not to the maker but to “good fortune in time of peace”. In this case, it is analogous with other stamps found on the mortars⁵⁷. Furthermore, while the last stamp (e), which bears the inscription EYTYXI**⁵⁸, could possibly correspond to the imperative of *εὐτυχεῖν*, it could also be argued that it references the genitive of the name *Eὐτύχης*⁵⁹. An analogous example is one of the forms of signature used by the Eutyches lamp shop in Athens, which was active from the mid 3rd c. until the first half of the 5th c. AD⁶⁰.

In addition to the aforementioned verb/adverb combinations, some cameos, rings and buckles feature the adverb accompanied by the verb *προκόπτω* in the imperative (“Good luck, may you prosper/advance”)⁶¹.

M. HENIG, Ancient Cameos in the Content Family Collection, in: *Cameos in Context, The Benjamin Zucker Lectures, 1990*, ed. M. HENIG – M. VICKERS, Oxford - Houlton 1993, 28-29; U. PANNUTI, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, La collezione glittica*, v. II, Roma 1994, 343-344 no. 305. For a critique of this view, see especially: MASSON, Nouvelles notes, 60-61.

54. See, for example: GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 320 fig. 105; SEG XXVIII 778; NAGY, ΕΥΟΠΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ, 18-19; SEG XLIII 1077; SEG XLIV 296.

55. *TLG*, 4, 1; LIDDELL – SCOTT, *Mέγα Λεξικόν*, v. II.

56. In this case, the use of *ai* instead of an *e* is justified.

57. We refer to stamps like: EYTYXOC, EYTYXIA EIPIN[I], ΘΕΩΝ ΔΩΡΗΜΑΤΑ, EYKAPIIIA; see also more analytically below.

58. On this stamp, see: HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 n. 54.

59. On this name, see: OSBORNE – BYRNE – FRASER – MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Attica*, 184-185.

60. On this shop and the different forms of its signatures, see: KARIVIERI, *The Athenian Lamp Industry*, 95-98.

61. For these objects, see: A. ALFÖLDI, Ein Glückwunsch aus der römischer Kaiserzeit, in: *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser zum 60. Geburstag 1959*, ed. E. J. BEER – P. HOFER – L. MOJON, Basel 1961, 11-14, fig. 1, fig. 2, fig. 3; H. GUIRAUD, *Intailles et camées de l'époque romaine en Gaule (Territoire français)* [Gallia suppl. 48], Paris 1988, 203 no. 1010; HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 21 no. 39. See also Appendix B, group B.1. For a more

Furthermore, the *εὐτυχῶς* is sometimes accompanied by the verb *χρῶ* (*χράομαι*) in inscriptions on different objects⁶², but also in mosaic inscriptions⁶³, to form a phrase equivalent to the Latin *utere feliciter*⁶⁴. One could mention a bracelet⁶⁵ dated to the 4th c. AD whose inscription reads *εὐτυχῶς χρῶ διὰ βίου*, or a bronze compass⁶⁶ dated to the 6th-7th c. AD with the inscription *εὐτυχῶς χρῶ πάντοτε*, while the adverb *εὖ* (*εὖ χρῶ ὑγιένω*) –which is analogous to the previous adverb– is used instead of the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* on a lamp⁶⁷ from Nea Paphos. Several earlier inscriptions from antiquity⁶⁸ on different objects use the verb *χρῶ*. Instead of the formula *εὐτυχῶς* or *εὖ χρῶ* a number of objects, the most numerous of which are a series of metal buckets dated to the 6th c. AD⁶⁹, bear an inscription

detailed analysis of these inscriptions: ALFÖLDI, Ein Glückwunsch, 11-14, and ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 12 n. 36.

62. See Appendix B (group B.1) for examples.

63. For examples: M. MICHAELIDIS, Θεσσαλονίκη. Α'. Οἰκόπεδον ὁδοῦ Ἀθηνᾶς, ΑΔ 25 (1970) pl. 18, δ; *BullÉp* 1972, 264; D. PALLAS, *Les Monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1975*, Città del Vaticano 1977, 68 n. 141; SEG XXXIV 1682; ASSIMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, Σύνταγμα, 219-221 no. 2.6, 258-259; SEG LII 1674.

64. See: R. G. COLLINGWOOD – R. P. WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, v. II, *Instrumentum Domesticum (Personal Belongings and the Like)*, Fascicule 2, ed. S. S. FRERE – R. S. O. TOMLIN, Avon 1991, 98 no. 2419.42; SEG XLV 2201. See also for the significance of *εὐτυχῶς χρῶ*: D. FEISSEL, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au IVe siècle* [BCH suppl. VIII], Athènes - Paris 1983, 112 no. 114.

65. L. PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI, *L'oro dei Romani, Gioielli di età imperiale*, Roma 1992, 224 fig. 224.

66. D. PHOTOUPOULOS – A. DELIVORRIAS, *H Ελλάδα του Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Athens 1997, 206 no. 350; SEG XLVIII 2128.

67. A. LUKASZEWCZ, A Travesty of Signa Christi Reconsidered, in: *Nubia et Oriens Christianus: Festschrift für C. Detlef G. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. O. SCHOLZ – R. STEMPFL, Köln 1987, 31.

68. For an example, see: R. ZAHN, Κτῶ χρῶ. Glasierter Tonbecher in Berliner Antiquarium. Einundachtzigstes Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin 1923; A. GREIFENHAGEN, *Antike Kunstwerke*, Berlin 1960, 25 no. 82-83, pls. 82-83.

69. More analytically for these buckets, see: M. MUNDELL MANGO – C. MANGO – A. C. EVANS – M. HUGHES, A 6th-Century Mediterranean Bucket from Bromeswell Parish. Suffolk, *Antiquity* 63 (1989) 295-311; SEG XXXIX 1089, 1762; *BullÉp* 1990 885bis; *BullÉp* 1991 710; R. SCHOLL, Eine beschriftete Bronzekanne aus dem 6. Jh. n. Chr., *ZPE* 103 (1994) 231-240; SEG XLV 1891; A. DRANDAKI, “ΥΓΙΕΝΩΝ ΧΡΩ ΚΥΠΙ(Ε)”. A Late Roman Brass Bucket with a Hunting Scene, *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 2 (2002) 37-53. Besides buckets, one can mention,

beginning *ὑγιένων χρῶ*. In addition to the above groups, there are also numerous objects –as was noted above⁷⁰– on which the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* or the verb *εὐτυχῶ* is accompanied not by a specific name, but by a reference to a generic anonymous user or holder. Similar inscriptions referring to an anonymous owner or donator can be found on mosaic floors⁷¹. *Ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ* (“to good fortune”, “good luck”)⁷² is a synonym of *εὐτυχῶς* and is also a very common acclamation both on utility and personal objects⁷³, as well as in inscriptions on other media⁷⁴. Inscriptions of this kind are analogous to Latin inscriptions such as VTF (*utere felix*), VTERE FELIX, which are also found on various personal and utility objects dated to the Roman and late Roman periods⁷⁵.

for example, a fragment of a large stone vessel in the Cyprus Museum (T. B. MITFORD, Some New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus, *Byz.* 20 [1950] 127 n. 1), a marble basin (*BullÉp* 1965 2), bearing the inscription *ὑγιένων χρῶ* and a glass goblet from Highdown Hill (COLLINGWOOD –WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, v. II, *Fascicule 2*, 98 no. 2419.42; SEG XLIII 686).

70. See also: VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 53-54 Appendix Group C.

71. See, for example: SEG XXXVII 1487, 1639; OVADIAH – OVADIAH, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements*, 133 no. 223; *BullÉp* 1988 919; ASSIMAKOPOULOU-ATZAKA, *Σύνταγμα*, 151 (with the necessary bibliography).

72. RICHTER, *Catalogue*, 119 nos. 585-592; SEG XXXVI 1450; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

73. For a first attempt to assemble objects, mostly jewellery, bearing this inscription, see: VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 53 Appendix Group A, Group B. See also: J. L. MYRES, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1914, 410 nos. 4096-4102; SEG XXXV 1740; SEG XLI 1485; M.-Ch. HELLMANN, W. Froehner et Chypre, *Centre d’Études Chypriotes, Cahier 16* (1997) 23 no. VIII, 28.

74. See, for example: *BullÉp* 1988 561; SEG XXXI 797; SEG XL 1177, 1562, 1562bis, 1565; SEG XLI 1593, 1669, 1670; SEG XLV 2044, 2070, 2076; SEG XLVII 1751; SEG XLIX 2118, 2119, 2121, 2129, 2132, 2210, 2346, 2347; SEG LI 2132, 2133. See also: VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

75. On jewellery, see for example: F. H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1907, 108 no. 645; A. RIESE, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften. Auf Veranlassung der römisch-germanischen Kommission des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Leipzig - Berlin 1914 (Gröningen 1968), 430 no. 4444; R. G. COLLINGWOOD – R. P. WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, v. II, *Instrumentum Domesticum (Personal Belongings and*

On the majority of the objects bearing these inscriptions, and on jewellery in particular, when a proper name occurs besides *εὐτυχῶς* or *εὐτύχει*, it is considered to refer to the owner of the object, who was either given the object as a gift⁷⁶, chosen the object⁷⁷, or had it especially made⁷⁸. However, in the case of the mortars, when the two main formulae (a-b) occur, in which the verb/adverb is accompanied by a name, the inscription has the same form as the other stamps in the same category of mortars (two lines impressed within a rectangular frame), occupies the same place on the mortar (the rim) and uses the same form of characters. The rectangular frame has curved endings and the whole stamp occupies the rim of the vessel close to the shallow spout⁷⁹, as is the case on other earlier Roman mortars bearing inscriptions referring to a workshop⁸⁰. As a consequence, *the Like*), *Fascicule 3*, ed. S. S. FRERE – R. S. O. TOMLIN, Avon 1991, 24 no. 2422.41, 41 no. 2423.29; PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI, *L'oro dei Romani*, 206 fig. 255, 266 no. 224; C. JOHNS – R. BLAND, *The Hoxne Late Roman Treasure*, *Britannia* 25 (1994), 170, pl. IX B; GUIRAUD, *Intailles et camées*, 192 no. 924; T. GESZTELYI, *Antike Gemmen im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum* [Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici Serie Archaeologica III], Budapest 2000, 81 no. 260; G. DEMBSKI, *Die antiken Gemmen und Kameen aus Carnuntum* [Archäologischer Park Carnuntum Neue Forschungen 1], Wien 2005, 164 no. 1127, no. 1128, 174 no. 1239. For glass objects, see: F. FREMERSDORF, *Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflagen aus Köln* [Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln VIII], Köln 1967, 162 pl. 212; WHITEHOUSE, *Roman Glass*, 268-269 no. 456, no. 457. For clay objects: L. BAKKER – B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL, *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn* [Epigraphischen Studien Band 10], Bonn-Köln 1975, 64 no. 11. For various metallic objects, see: C. JOHNS – T. POTTER, *The Thetford Treasure, Roman Jewellery and Silver*, London 1983, 113 no. 59, fig. 30, 59 (spoon); COLLINGWOOD – WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, v. II, *Fascicule 3*, 13 no. 2421.56 (brooch), 67 no. 2429.13, no. 2429.14, no. 2429.15 (bronze strap - or belt-ends); COLLINGWOOD – WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, v. II, *Fascicule 2*, 68 no. 2416.8 (panel of a casket), 134 no. 2420.26, 140-141 no. 2420.52 (spoons); HAUSER, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel*, 99 no. 4, 100 no. 5, no. 6, pl. 4d, e, f (spoons).

76. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 353-354, 517; HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 6, 8; SPIER, *Late Antique Cameos*, 47; NOLLÉ, *Εὐτυχῶς τοῖς κυρίοις*, 334. For a more detailed study of various objects bearing various forms of inscriptions referring to their owner, see also: GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 329-357.

77. GROSE, *Roman Vessels*, 26.

78. SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 16; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 43.

79. For a number of illustrative examples, see: HAYES, *North Syrian Mortaria*, pl. 73, a; VALLERIN, *Pelves*, 185 fig. 12.

80. As an example, see: BALUTA – SERBAN, *Sigilla Mortariorum Dacica*, 204-207, 211 pl.

it has long been accepted by researchers that this, like the other stamps, represents the maker's stamp⁸¹. The number of examples bearing the same inscription provides support for this view, since both formulae are among the most common stamps (see Appendix A). These inscriptions thus differ from analogous inscriptions on other personal and utility objects such as jewellery (see Appendix B). As Siebourg has noted⁸², the closest analogies to the inscriptions on the mortars are stamps on Roman tiles, most of them from the 1st c. The inscriptions on these stamps⁸³, which are more detailed than those on the mortaria and include details about the specific *figlina*, in some cases also bear the acclamation *valeat qui fecit*, which is comparable to the formula with the verb EYTYXI (EIPHNAI EYTYXI) in that it, too, refers to the manufacturer and bears a good wish. However, apart from these rather early parallels, no similar analogies can be drawn with other objects. One could mention inscriptions on other media, like stone or mosaics, such as a graffito from a chapel in Egypt which reads *Eὐτυχῶς [τῷ γο]λάψαντι καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώ[σ]κοντει*⁸⁴, in which the wish for good luck is addressed both to the person reading it and to the person who first wrote it. Other inscriptions using the adverb *εὐτυχῶς* refer impersonally to the donator or creator in the dative case, or also add his name before the adverb. There are, for example, mosaic floors from Palestine and Egypt dating from the later Roman imperial and Byzantine periods⁸⁵ with inscriptions which include *εὐτυχῶς τῷ κτίστῃ* and an inscription from a synagogue in Haifa reading *Eὐτυχῶς Εὐστοχίῳ καὶ Ἡσυχίῳ καὶ Εοναγρίῳ τοῖς κτίστες*⁸⁶. All these inscriptions, though, differ from the ones on the North Syrian mortaria which, besides expressing a good wish for their maker, also serve as his trademark. In this, they have no exact parallel, apart from the Roman tiles

I, 4, 213 pl. II, 3-4. See also: HARTLEY, *La diffusion des mortiers*, 56 fig. 4, 6, 14.

81. See more analytically: SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 4-5; HAYES, *North Syrian Mortaria*, 340; VALLERIN, *Pelves*, 174, 176.

82. SIEBOURG, *Eine griechische Akklamation*, 5-7 (with the requisite examples).

83. See for example: *CIL* XI 2, 6689.10; *CIL* XV 1, 117, 118, 119, 120, 150, 921a, 1097c, 1098, 1100, 1101b.

84. SEG XXXVIII, 1696.

85. Palestine, Haifa (Shiqmona): OVADIAH – OVADIAH, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements*, 133 no. 223; SEG XXXVII 1487; Egypt, Pelusium: SEG XXXVII 1639; *BullÉp* 1988 919.

86. LIFSHITZ, *Weitere Beiträge*, 92-93; ROBERT, *Sur des inscriptions*, 12.

mentioned above. That the two are analogous is not surprising, since several researchers have suggested that in Roman times, tiles, bricks and other clay objects were produced in the same workshops, and were thus stamped in the same ways⁸⁷. This, in the case of North-Syrian mortaria, is corroborated by the findings at Ra's al-Basīṭ where, besides the mortars, a few tiles also bear the same form of stamp⁸⁸.

It should be added that, taking into consideration every instance of this category of mortars which we were able to locate, the two sub-groups bearing the stamps EIPHNAI EYTYXI and EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ form a largish group. In fact, if one considers only published samples from the region of Bassit⁸⁹, these sub-groups –and the mortars bearing the stamps EPMΟΤΕΝΟΥΣ and ΔΟΜΝΟΥ– are two of the most common; they are also the groups with the greatest diffusion both within Syria, where they have come to light on numerous sites (see Appendix A), and beyond it, mainly in Palestine and Egypt, though a limited number of examples have also been published from Asia Minor, Cyprus, Greece, France and England.

However, they are not the only mortars bearing stamps with acclamations. Besides the stamps already mentioned reading EYTYXΩ-C-, EYTYXIA EIPIN[I] and EYTYXI**, a few more samples are stamped with ΘΕΩΝ ΔΩΡΗΜΑΤΑ and EYKAPΠΙΑ⁹⁰. These inscriptions are closer to

87. See more analytically: A. MARTINEZ-SAIZ, *Materiales para un indice de marcas de ceramista en “Mortaria” romanos*, Valladolid 1977, 5; J.-P. JONCHERAY, Contribution à l'étude de l'épave Dramont D, dite “des Pelvis”, d'après les travaux du groupe d'études sous-marines de Saint-Raphael, *Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique* 1 (1972) 25; HARTLEY, La diffusion des mortiers, 49, 52, 55; SABRIÉ – SABRIÉ, Epave du Grand Bassin C, 89; VALLERIN, Pelves, 187 n. 104; J. W. HAYES, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery*, London 1997, 80. See also: YANGAKI, Παρατηρήσεις, 43 n. 25, for other finds reinforcing this view. For the organization of the production of tiles and their stamps during the Roman period, see T. HELEN, *Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Centuries AD. An Interpretation of Roman Brick Stamps*, Helsinki 1975.

88. VALLERIN, Pelves, 186 n. 103.

89. VALLERIN, Pelves, 195-204.

90. For a representative example: VALLERIN, Pelves, 197-204. It could be maintained that the stamp ΔΟΞΑ forms part of this group too, even if a proper name, Δοξα, did also exist (see: LATJAR, Ein Bestempeltes Keramikfragment, 270 n. 4; OSBORNE – BYRNE – FRASER – MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Attica*, 134; FRASER – MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, The Peloponnese*, 133).

those found on other objects (see Appendix B for examples) in that they do not refer to their maker and have a more generic significance expressing good wishes; in this respect, they resemble the stamp “EYTYXI” found on many objects (Appendix B). In a recent article examining the use to which these mortars may have been put, it was suggested that the last two stamps (ΘΕΩΝ ΔΩΡΗΜΑΤΑ and EYKAPPIA) could refer to the specific content for which the mortars were intended⁹¹. It could be maintained that this last group of inscriptions served the same purpose as the other inscriptions on the specific type of mortar, which leads us to believe that this is a workshop’s signature, since it shares the same general characteristics regarding the frame of the inscription and the form of the letters, and because these stamps also resemble the other stamps in occupying the rim of the vessel. However, Siebourg rejects this argument on the grounds that stamps of this kind could not have had a dual purpose, which is to say conveying good wishes and serving as a workshop’s signature⁹². Since similar generic inscriptions bearing wishes are quite common on a range of objects, he argues that they should only be interpreted as transferring the specific meaning in question. It should be noted that on some Roman vessels from La Graufesenque, similar general wishes (such as AVE, VALE, AVE VALE) occupy the place where the maker’s stamp was normally inscribed⁹³. In this case, too, most of the researchers do not consider them to represent a manufacturer’s stamp⁹⁴. Other forms of wishes found on tiles and bricks have also been interpreted solely as acclamations⁹⁵. Even if, recently, Latjar distinguished clearly two general groups of stamps on these mortars: one bearing information on their makers, the other bearing acclamations, such a clear-cut separation cannot be accepted, for the reasons cited in the above analysis of the two basic formulae bearing wishes.

The aforementioned forms of stamps show that the more elaborate inscriptions, which include a further term in addition to *εὐτυχῶς* or *εὐτυχῷ*,

91. YANGAKI, Παρατηρήσεις, 68-69.

92. SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 11.

93. See more analytically: J. DÉCHELETTE, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine (Narbonnaise, Aquitaine et Lyonnaise)*, v. I, Paris 1904, 121-122.

94. DÉCHELETTE, *Les vases céramiques*, 121-122. See also: SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 11 (with other references too).

95. P. TESTINI, *Archeologia cristiana, Nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI, Propedeutica - Topografia cimiteriale - Epigrafia - Edifici di culto*, Roma 1958, 493.

are not isolated examples found in this category of clay vessels alone. Indeed, we may wonder whether those stamps serving a dual purpose really do constitute isolated examples, and whether others may not have existed on other vessels made of clay or some other material of which no representative samples have yet come to light.

All the aforementioned inscriptions with *εὐτυχῶς* or *εὐτυχῷ* contain messages for good luck or good fortune. In the case of more personal objects, like jewellery, this wish whether accompanied by a proper name, referring to an anonymous wearer or expressed alone, serves as a charm for the owner⁹⁶. However, it can also be accompanied by other inscriptions or representations and thus form part of a different context – commemorating a betrothal or marriage⁹⁷, for example, or wishing for prosperity⁹⁸. Most of these wishes appear on gems (cameos, in the main) on which, as Henig notes, intimate messages are shared by a donor and a holder⁹⁹. In the case of more utilitarian objects, like glass and clay vessels, shorter inscriptions appear more often which most probably seek to convey the good luck message to more than one user. In the case of the first two formulae of inscriptions on these particular mortars, though, the inscriptions' message –the wish for good luck– is addressed to the maker of the object himself. Nonetheless, the number of mortars bearing these formulae and their diffusion would indicate that their use as a specific maker's stamp prevailed over the more private nature of the message. On the other hand, the group of mortars which bear stamps with wishes but no proper name has more in common with other everyday utility objects, in that they do not directly reference the fabricant, but rather offer their protective power to the recipient of the inscription, which is to say the owner and/or user of the mortar.

96. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 43.

97. A characteristic example is a cameo from North Wraxall: D. R. WILSON – R. P. WRIGHT – M. W. C. HASSALL, *Roman Britain* in 1972, *Britannia* 4 (1973) 334 no. 37; C. F. MAWER, *A Lost Roman Ring from Suffolk*, *Britannia* 20 (1989) 240; HENIG, *Ancient Cameos*, 27.

98. This is the case when using the verb *προκόπτω*: ALFÖLDI, *Ein Glückwunsch*, 12; HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 6, 16 no. 27, 21 no. 39; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 45, 53-54 Group C, 3.a-b. See also: ROBERT, *Sur des inscriptions*, 12 n. 35.

99. HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, x.

A further observation can be made with regard to the dating of the aforementioned objects. As noted above, the clay mortars have been dated to the late 3rd and first half of the 4th century AD. Most of the gems bearing similar forms of inscriptions and for which a date is given are dated –as shown in Appendix B– to the 3rd century, with some dated to the 4th century. The related cameos in the Content collection date from the 3rd c. AD¹⁰⁰. The majority of gems, rings and bells referring to an anonymous wearer date from the 3rd century AD¹⁰¹. Many of the everyday utility objects, like glass and clay vessels, also date from the 3rd or 4th centuries. Less commonly, objects with similar inscriptions have been dated to the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries. It would therefore seem that the bulk of the material dates from the 3rd and 4th centuries. Similar formulae are also found on inscriptions on other media dated mainly from the 2nd and 3rd centuries¹⁰². Thus, it could be maintained that good luck wishes using the specific verb (*εὐτυχεῖν*) or adverb (*εὐτυχῶς*) in one of the forms found on the mortars were most widely diffused on a variety of media during the 3rd and the 4th centuries, but also during the 2nd century. While their use continued during the centuries that followed, they occurred most commonly in inscriptions on walls, mosaics, stones and lintels rather than personal and utility objects, even if other formulae including this particular verb/adverb can be found¹⁰³.

The group of objects under examination (mortars and other personal and utility objects) constitutes a part of a larger group of everyday objects from the Roman and late Roman periods containing many other forms of inscriptions¹⁰⁴ expressing good wishes (for good luck, good health,

100. HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, xiii.

101. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 45.

102. See above, notes 45-46.

103. Objects bearing the inscription *εὐτυχῶς χρῶ* can be used as a representative example.

104. TESTINI, *Archeologia cristiana*, 493; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 277-278; 485-495, 509-512, 526-528; MARGINESU, *Tre frammenti*, 279; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

long life, help, hope, prosperity, betrothals or marriages¹⁰⁵)¹⁰⁶; auguries¹⁰⁷; seeking protection from specific evils¹⁰⁸; having magical connotations¹⁰⁹, or referring to the Lord or the Virgin Mary. In addition to numerous examples on jewellery, the group also contains a number of utility objects¹¹⁰. Similar

105. See also: MAWER, A Lost Roman Ring, 240.

106. See: DÉCHELETTE, *Les vases céramiques*, 119-123, fig. 80, fig. 81, fig. 82, fig. 84; F. EICHLER – E. KRIS, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum, Beschreibender Katalog* [Publikationen aus den Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien II], Wien 1927, 86 no. 96, no. 97 pl. 17 no. 96, no. 97; D. B. HARDEN, Romano-Syrian Glasses with Mould-Blown Inscriptions, *JRS* 25 (1935) 165-166, 175-176; O. DOPPELFELD, Das Diatretglas aus dem Gräberbezirk des Römischen Gutshofs von Köln-Braunsfeld, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 5 (1960-1961) 20 fig. 11, 23-25, pl. 1 - pl. 3; FREMERSDORF, *Die römischen Gläser*, 64 pl. 24, pl. 25, pl. 26, pl. 27, 66 pl. 28, 160 pl. 207, 168 pl. 227, 190 pl. 272, 170 pl. 229; D. B. HARDEN, Late Roman Wheel-Inscribed Glasses with Double-Line Letters, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 9 (1967-1968) 46 no. 8, 47 no. 9, 49 fig. 6, 50-51 no. 15, no. 16; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 277-278, 341, 491; BAKKER – GALSTERER-KRÖLL, *Graffiti*, 54, 122 no. 322; M. HENIG, *The Lewis Collection of Engraved Gemstones in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* [BAR Suppl. Ser. I] Oxford 1975, 67 no. 291, 68 no. 292, no. 295; K. S. PAINTER, *The Mildenhall Treasure, Roman Silver from East Anglia*, London 1977, 30 no. 27, 31 no. 28; GROSE, Roman Vessels, 23, fig. 1, a, 26; MAWER, A Lost Roman Ring, 240; C. WESSEL, *Inscriptiones graecae christianaे veteres Occidentis*, ed. A. FERRUA S. I. – C. CARLETTI [Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae, Subsidia 1], Bari 1989, 64 no. 244, no. 246; HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 16 no. 27, no. 28, 29 no. 52, 30 no. 53, no. 54; SEG XLI 1727, 1730, 1867; W. SPICKERMANN, "Griechen" in Nida. Eine Reibschnüffel mit griechischer Ritzinschrift aus Frankfurt-Heddernheim, *Germania* 72 (1994) 603; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 41-60; L. TONDO, *I cammei dei Medici dei Lorena nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Toscana 1996, 94 no. 266, no. 267, 122 no. 266, no. 267; PHOTOPoulos – DELIVORRIAS, *H Ελλάδα των Μονοείου Μπενάκη*, 172 no. 294, 208-209 no. 354; WHITEHOUSE, *Roman Glass*, 268-270 no. 457, 269-271 no. 458; SEG L 1673; *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur*, ed. L. WAMSER, München 2004, 340-341 no. 725 [Ch. Schmidt], 342-343 no. 728 [Ch. Schmidt]; DEMBSKI, *Die antiken Gemmen und Kameen*, 164 no. 1134, 174 no. 1241, no. 1244, no. 1246; C. WEISS, *Die antiken Gemmen der Sammlung Heinrich Dressel in der Antikensammlung Berlin*, Würzburg 2007, 312 no. 640, no. 642, 313 no. 645, 314 no. 648.

107. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 43.

108. See, as an example, VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44.

109. VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 44, 49-50.

110. One could mention, for example, several glass bottles, cups, bowls and flasks (F. PETSAS, Άνασκαφὴ Πανεπιστημιουπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης, ΑΔ 22, B, 2 (1967) 391, 393 fig. 12, pl. 296, ε, pl. 298; PALLAS, *Monuments*, 75 n. 163; HARDEN, Late Roman Wheel-Inscribed

connotations are most common in longer inscriptions on other media (epigrams, epitaphs etc.)¹¹¹. While there is a long tradition going back to antiquity of inscriptions wishing good luck and such like on small everyday objects, they were especially popular during Roman times and continued to be used into the late Roman period. This use is well documented by surviving small objects¹¹², but also by numerous inscriptions¹¹³ found on walls, ceilings, mosaic floors etc. as late as the 6th and 7th c. AD, some of them in buildings of a purely Christian character¹¹⁴. During this period, even as inscriptions of a purely Christian nature began to prevail (such as those bearing an invocation to the Lord or the Virgin Mary), inscriptions of the former type continued to be used. In fact, the wishes for good fortune inscribed on these everyday objects included a protective function in their message for their owners and users¹¹⁵. Moreover, as researchers have already pointed out¹¹⁶, the forms which decorated early Christian houses and their contents were either Christian in nature or derived from pagan traditions. Some of the latter were used to evoke good luck and good fortune, either through specific

Glasses, 46-47 no. 8, no. 9, 50-51 no. 15, no. 16; WHITEHOUSE, *Roman Glass*, 65 no. 76, 268 no. 456), several metal spoons (JOHNS – POTTER, *The Thetford Treasure*, 117 no. 60, no. 61, no. 62, no. 63, 121 no. 68, 122 no. 69, no. 70; HAUSER, *Spätantike und Frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel*, 61 n. 26, 102 no. 40, pl. 3e), a helmet from Macedonia (SEG XXXVI 621bis; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 46), a pair of leather sandals (VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 46 fig. 8, with the necessary bibliography).

111. There are numerous related examples, but their analytical presentation is beyond the scope of the present study. However, it should be mentioned that these inscriptions are either quite brief, including words such as *ὑγεία*, *ζωή*, *χαρά*, *εἰρήνη*, (*πίε*) *ζήσαις*, *εὐψύχει* etc. (see for example: SEG XXXIX 1036; S. ISAGER, *Pagans in Late Roman Halikarnassos II. The Voice of the Inscription*, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute of Athens* 1 [1995] 209-217; FEISSEL, *Chroniques*, 310), are more elaborate, or begin or end with a word with similar connotations to the above.

112. See Appendix B and above, notes 48, 69, 73-75.

113. For the references, see above, notes 45-46, 48.

114. See, for example, some inscriptions and graffiti in a church in the Khargeh oasis (SEG XXVI 1787, 1788, 1789).

115. See also: GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 273-278; VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, *Lucky Wearers*, 43, 51-52.

116. E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE – H. P. MAGUIRE – M. J. DUNCAN-FLOWERS, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* [Illinois Byzantine Studies 2], Urbana-Chicago 1989, 2-3.

representations¹¹⁷ or through inscriptions of the sort presented in this paper on specific small objects but also on mosaic floors, lintels etc. in specific domestic areas. Their users were far more concerned with the protection these specific formulae could offer, regardless of their pagan provenance. These objects of personal or everyday use bearing acclamations for good luck or good fortune exemplify the tradition ascribing power to words which survived from antiquity into the late Roman period.

117. For examples see: DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE – MAGUIRE – DUNCAN-FLOWERS, *Art and Holy Powers*, 3, fig. 1, fig. 2.

Appendix A: Stamps on North Syrian mortaria with the aforementioned inscriptions¹:

Instructions for the table: -: branch; *: wine leaf, **: horizontal leaf (?) below the inscription.

Inscription	Provenance or/and Collection	Bibliography
EYTYXΩC <i>in planta pedis</i>	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4881.
EYTYXΩC- <i>in planta pedis</i>	Bassit, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 104.
EYTYXΩ-C- <i>in planta pedis</i>	Abda, Palestine Museum, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 81.
EYTYXΩ-C- <i>in planta pedis</i>	Sephoris, Palestine	VALLERIN, Pelves, 174 note 36.
EYTYXΩ-C- <i>in planta pedis</i>	Caesarea, Palestine	VALLERIN, Pelves, 174 note 37.
EYTYXI**	Cheikh Zouède, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 54.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 175.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 178.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 179.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 182.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 990.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 996.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 1460.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 2740.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 3769.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 3848.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4812.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4818.

¹ The bibliography column contains the core or most recent citation in which each sample is mentioned.

EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4833.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4840.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4841.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4859.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4862.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4869.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4878.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4906.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4916.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4927.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4928.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 4948.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 200, no. 5828.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ (retrograde)	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, Pelves, 180.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ (repeated)	Deir el-Qal'a, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 84.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Seleucia Pieria, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 127.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Myriand(r)os, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 135.
EYTYXΩC [E]IPHNEΩ	Anthedon, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 56.
]YTX[]PHNE[Anthedon, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 57.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Caesarea, Palestine	J. A. RILEY, The Pottery from the First Session of Excavation in the Caesarea Hippodrome, <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> 218 (1975) 41, 43 fig. 5.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Caesarea, Palestine	BLAKELY – BRINKMANN –

		VITALIANO, Roman Mortaria, 197, fig. 4, no. 14, 210 no. 14.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Caesarea, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 80.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 23.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 24.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 25.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 26.
EY]TXX[ΩC] EIPHNE[Ω	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 36.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Anemurium, Asia Minor	C. WILLIAMS, <i>Anemurium, The Roman and Early Byzantine Pottery</i> , Belgium 1989, 77 no. 453, pl. 14.
EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩ	Cyprus Museum, Cyprus	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 346 no. 146.
EYTYXΩI EIPHNEΩI	Lebena (Lentas), Crete	D. VALLIANOU, Λέντας (Λεβήν), <i>AΑ</i> 42, B, 2 (1987) 537; SEG XLII 809 (wherein it is proposed to read: EYTYXΩC EIPHNEΩI).
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Bassit, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 103.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, <i>Pelves</i> , 198 no. 4822.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, <i>Pelves</i> , 198, no. 4825.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, <i>Pelves</i> , 198, no. 4805.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Bassit, Syria	VALLERIN, <i>Pelves</i> , 198, no. 4815.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Deir el-Qal'a, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 85.

EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Tell 'Atar, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 89.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Byblos, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 91.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Byblos, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 92.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Byblos, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 93.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Byblos, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 344 no. 94.
EIPHNA[I] EYTYXI[*]	Seleucia Pieria, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 126.
]IPHNA[I E]YTYX[I*	Myriand(r)os, Syria	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 345 no. 134.
EIPHNA[I] EYTYXI*	Cheikh Zouède, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 51.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Anthedon, Palestine	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 55.
EIPHNAIO]Y EYT[YXI	Meroth, Palestine	Z. ILAN, Meroth—1987, <i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i> 7-8 (1988-1989) 128-129; SEG XLI 1565 (wherein it is proposed the vessel belongs to the North Syrian mortaria).
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Israel Museum, Israel	Y. YISRAELI, A Roman Pottery <i>Mortarium</i> , 'Atiqot 6 (1970) 10*, pl. XXIV, 2-4.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 27.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Alexandria, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 28.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Achmim-Panopolis, Egypt	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 47.

IPHNA[E]YTYXI-	Anemurium, Asia Minor	WILLIAMS, <i>Anemurium</i> , 77 no. 452.
EIPH]NAI [EYTY]XI*	Athens, Greece	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 342 no. 4.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Egypt / Benaki Museum	HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 343 no. 44.
EIPHNA[I] EYTYXI*	Strasbourg, France	SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 1 fig. 1; RIESE, <i>Das Rheinische Germanien</i> , 430 no. 4441; HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 346 no. 160.
EIPHNAI EYTYXI*	Risingham, England	SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 1-2 fig. 2; HAYES, North Syrian Mortaria, 346 no. 161.
]IANE EYTYX[New Paphos, Cyprus	F. GIUDICE et al., Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Campagna 1989, <i>RDAC</i> (1993) 304 no. B58, 322 fig. 10, 2a-b, pl. LXXVIII, 4a-b; SEG XLIII 1012.
EYTYXIA EIPIN[I]?	Gortyn, Greece	MARGINESU, Tre frammenti, 278-279, fig. 5; SEG L 907.

Appendix B: Objects of everyday or personal use bearing inscriptions identical or similar to those on North Syrian mortaria.

Group B.1.: Objects with $\varepsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\chi\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\varepsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\chi\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ and another word or phrase.

No.	Type of object	Inscription	Remarks	Provenance or/ and Collection	Date	Bibliography
B.1.1.	tile	EYTYXQC EIPHNEQ	retrograde	Bassit, Syria	end of 3rd- beginning of 4th c. AD	VALLERIN, Pelves, 186 n. 103.
B.1.2.	seal	EYTYXQC	seal in the form of a crucifix	Cyprus / Cabinet des Médailles	Byzantine period	HELMANN, W. Froehner et Chypre, 25 no. IX, 274, pl. II, 6; SEG XLI 1493.
B.1.3.	cameo	EYTYXQC OMONIA	decoration	Wiltshire, North Wraxall, England/ Ashmolean Museum	3rd c. AD	WILSON – WRIGHT – HASSALL, Roman Britain in 1972, 334 no. 37; HENIG, Ancient Cameos, 28 fig. 2.2; M. HENIG – A. MACGREGOR, <i>Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger-Rings in the Ashmolean Museum. II. Roman</i> [BAR Internat. Ser. 1332], Oxford 2004, 115 no. 11.15.
B.1.4.	bracelet	EYTYXQC XPO AIA BIOY		Tarsus, Syria / Berlin	end of the 4th c. AD	PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI, <i>L'oro dei Romani</i> , 224 fig. 289, 274 no. 261.

B.1.5.	gold foil ornament ("bracteate")	EYTYXΩC XΡΩ	decoration	unknown / Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	ca. 400 AD	SEG XLV 2201.
B.1.6.	compass	EYTYXΩC XΡΩ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ		Egypt / Benaki Museum, Athens	6th-7th c. AD	Photopoulos – DELIVORIAS, <i>H Ελλάδα τοῦ Μονείου Μπενάκη</i> , 206 no. 350; SEG XLVIII 2128.
B.1.7.	gem on a ring	EYTYKΩC ΓΡΟΠΟΙΤΕ ΚΟΙΤΕ		Héninel (Pas-de- Calais), France	2nd-4th c. AD	SEG XXXVIII 1032; GUIRAUD, <i>Intailles et camées</i> , 203 no. 1010.
B.1.8.	cameo set on a buckle	EYTYXΩC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΤΕ Ο ΦΟΡΩΝ		British Museum, London	4th c. AD	O. M. DALTON, <i>Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum</i> , London 1901, no. 280; ALFOLDI, Ein Glückwunsch, 11-12 no. 4, fig. 3.
B.1.9.	cameo	EYTYXΩC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΤΕ		Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genf	-	ALFOLDI, Ein Glückwunsch, 12 no. 5.
B.1.10.	cameo	EYTYXΩC ΑΠΟΚΟΠΙΤΕ Ο ΦΟΡΩΝ		-	-	VAN DEN HOEK – FEISSEL – HERRMANN, Lucky Wearers, 54 Appendix Group C no. 4. See also: ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions, 12 n. 36 (However Robert and, more recently, Van den Hoek – Feissel – Herrmann note that perhaps the correct transcription is πρόκοπτε).
B.1.11.	gem	EYTYXΩC ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΩ	obverse: decoration	unknown (Alexandria?)	2nd-3rd c. AD	SEG LIII 2115.

B.1.12.	gold leaflets	EΥΤΥΧΩC TΟΙΣ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΙΣ	probably from a wreath	Gaza, Palestine	1st-3rd c. AD	SEG XXXIX 1607.
B.1.13.	gem on a ring	OΥΑΛΕΝΤΙ EΥΤΥΧΩC		unknown / Kunsthistorischen Museum, Wien	3rd-4th c. AD	EICHLER - KRIS, <i>Die Kameen</i> , 86 no. 98, pl. 17 no. 98.
B.1.14.	gem	ΒΙΚΤΟΠΙ EΥΤΥΧΩC		?		CJL XIII, 3, 2, 10024, 540.
B.1.15.	gem	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΩ EΥΤΥΧΩC		?		CJL XIII, 3, 2, 10024, 537.

Group B.2: Objects with εἰνύχ(ε)ι.

No.	Type of object	Inscription	Remarks	Provenance or/and Collection	Date	Bibliography
B.2.1.	cameo	EΥΤΥΧΙ	decoration	Archaeological Museum, Florence	3rd c. AD	TONDO, <i>I cammei</i> , 94 no. 265.
B.2.2.	gem	EΥΤΥΧΕΙ		unknown / Kunsthistorischen Museum, Wien	3rd-4th c. AD	EICHLER - KRIS, <i>Die Kameen</i> , 87 no. 100, pl. 17 no. 100.

B.2.3.	cameo on a ring	EYTYXI	decoration	said to be found in France / Walters Art Museum	3rd-4th c. AD	A. OLIVER, Jr., Roman Jewelry in: <i>Jewelry Ancient to Modern, A Studio Book</i> , ed. A. GARSIDE New York - Baltimore 1979, 126 no. 355; PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI, <i>L'oro dei Romani</i> , 211 fig. 264, 268 no. 233.
B.2.4.	ring	EYTYXI	decoration	National Museum of Belgrade	2nd-3rd c. AD	I. POPOVIC, <i>Les Bijoux du Musée National de Béograd I, Les Bagues</i> , Beograd 1992, 90 no. 79.
B.2.5.	cameo	EYTYXI	Content Family Collection	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENIG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 17 no. 29.
B.2.6.	cameo	EYTYXI	Content Family Collection	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENIG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 17 no. 30.
B.2.7.	glass bottle	EYTYXI		Corning Museum of Glass	4th c. AD	WHITEHOUSE, <i>Roman Glass</i> , 265-266 no. 454; <i>BullEp</i> 1999 133.
B.2.8.	glass bowl	EYTYXI		former Constable-Maxwell Collection	4th c. AD	GROSE, <i>Roman Vessels</i> , 23, 25 fig. 3; WHITEHOUSE, <i>Roman Glass</i> , 265-266 no. 454 (for the reference).
B.2.9.	glass dish	EVTVXI		Mount Holyoke College Art Museum	4th c. AD	GROSE, <i>Roman Vessels</i> , 24; WHITEHOUSE, <i>Roman Glass</i> , 265-266 no. 454 (for the reference).

Group B.3.: Objects with εὐτύχ(ε)ι and a name or verb or phrase either before or after εὐτύχ(ε)ι.

Group	Type of object	Inscription	Remarks	Provenance or/and Collection	Date	Bibliography
B.3.1.	ring	EYTYXII TOPTONI		Corinth, Greece	3rd c. AD	G. R. DAVIDSON, <i>Corinth, Results of Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> , v. XII, <i>The Minor Objects</i> , Princeton, New Jersey 1952, 233-234 no. 1810, pl. 102 no. 1810.
B.3.2.	cameo	EYTYXII TOPTONI		Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 19 no. 34.
B.3.3.	gem set in a ring	EYTYXI EYCEBI		Metropolitan Museum of Art	-	RICHTER, <i>Catalogue</i> , 120 no. 602, pl. XLV, 602.
B.3.4.	cameo	EYTYXI AKAKIN	unknown / Archaeological Museum, Naples		-	PANNUTI, <i>La collezione</i> , 343-344 no. 305; SEG XLIV 1704; <i>BullEp</i> 1996, 103; FRISSEL, <i>Chroniques</i> , 1043.
B.3.5.	cameo	EYTYXI AKAKIN		British Museum	-	H. B. WALTERS, <i>Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the British Museum</i> , London 1926, 348 no. 3703.

B.3.6.	cameo	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΙ	Art Museum, Princeton University	3rd c. AD	B. A. FORBES, <i>Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the Art Museum, Princeton University</i> , University of California PhD, Berkeley 1978, 143 no. 140, pl. VI, 140.
B.3.7.	ring	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΑΚΑΚΙ	Bonn	-	HENKEL, <i>Die Römische Fingerringe</i> , 32 no. 219, pl. XL, 219, a-b.
B.3.8.	gem	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΘΕΟΔΩCI	Brigetio, Pannonia/ Magyar Nemzeti Museum, Budapest	3rd c. AD	SEG XXIX 1033.
B.3.9.	gem	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΜΑΚΑΠΙ	Brigetio, Pannonia/ Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata	3rd c. AD	SEG XXIX 1034.
B.3.10.	gem	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΑE	other decoration	unknown	- SEG XXXII 1623.
B.3.11.	gem	EΥΤΥΧΙ ΕΥΑΙΠΙ	unknown / Kunsthistorischen Museum, Wien	3rd-4th c. AD	EICHLER - KRIS, <i>Die Kameen</i> , 87 no. 99, pl. 17 no. 99.

B.3.12.	gem	EYTYX(E)I BEPNAKAE	Nikomedеia, Bithynia	-	J.-P. GRÉOIS, <i>Dr. John Covel Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677</i> [Réalités Byzantines 6], Paris 1998, 262 fig. d20, 384 no. 61; SEG XLIX 1795.
B.3.13.	gem	EYTYXI ΘΕΟΛΟCI	unknown / Hungarian National Museum	2nd c. AD	GESZTEIXI, <i>Antike Gemmen</i> , 81 no. 261.
B.3.14.	cameo	EYTYXI MAPTYP <small>I</small>	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	-	SPIER, <i>Late Antique Cameos</i> , 47-48 fig. 3,3.
B.3.15.	cameo	EYTYXI EYCTAΘI	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENIG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 18 no. 33.
B.3.16.	ring	EYTYXI ΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΙ ΣΥΝ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙΩ	Antioch, Syria	-	SEG XXXI 1384.
B.3.17.	cameo	EYTYXI ΚΑΠΠΩΝΙΑ	British Museum	-	<i>CJL XIII</i> , 3, 2, 10024, 55; WALTERS, <i>Catalogue</i> , 348 no. 3704.
B.3.18.	ring	EYTYXI ΛΛΑΦΟΝ	unknown	1st c. BC - 2nd c. AD	SEG XXVI 1858.

B.3.19.	gem	EYTYXIEYTENI	unknown / Numismatic Museum, Greece	-	I. N. Svoronos, Προσωπίκατα τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου, Ἀπό 1 Σεπτεμβρίου 1910 μέχρι 31 Αὐγούστου 1911, Κεφάλαιον ΛΑ' (18 Μαΐου 1911), Διορεύτη Κωνσταντίνου Καρατάνου, Συλλογή Γλυπτῶν Λιθών, <i>Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique</i> 15 (1913) 184 no. 951, pl. XV no. 951.
B.3.20.	ring	EYTYXIEYTENI	private collection	-	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 3, 2, 10024, 549; SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 13; RIESE, <i>Das Rheinische Germanien</i> , 430 no. 4442.
B.3.21.	cameo	EYTYXIEΛΑCI	(?)	-	<i>CIL</i> XIII, 3, 2, 10024, 542; SIEBOURG, Eine griechische Akklamation, 13.
B.3.22.	cameo	EYTYX...	Antiquarium, Berlin	-	A. FURTWÄNGLER, <i>Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Geschmittenen Steine im Antiquarium</i> , Berlin 1896, 347 no. 11136.
B.3.23.	ring	EYTYXOI O ACINΔEY	British Museum	3rd c. AD	MARSHALL, <i>Catalogue</i> , 106 no. 632.
B.3.24.	cameo	EYTYXI CYNTEΔEС	Antiquarium, Berlin	-	FURTWÄNGLER, <i>Beschreibung</i> , 347 no. 11137.

B.3.25.	ring	EYTYX(I) ZHCAIC	Kostolac (Viminacium), Moesia /National Museum of Belgrade	250-300 AD	I Popović, <i>Les camées romains au Musée National de Beograd</i> [Musée National de Beograd Antiquité VI]. Beograd 1989, 85 no. 70.
B.3.26.	bell	EYTYXEI NIKA	Chalkis, Greece	-	G. A. PAPAVASILIOU, 'Αναστορητὰ παρὰ τὴν Χαλκίδα, ΠΑΕ (1911), 236 fig. β'; NAGY, ΕΥΟΠΑΙΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ, 25 no. 15.
B.3.27.	cameo	EYTYXI EYCTAΘI [ZH]HCAIC	unknown / Ashmolean Museum	3rd c. AD	HENG - MACGREGOR, <i>Catalogue</i> , 134 no. 15.12; SEG LIV 1794.
B.3.28.	cameo	EYTYXI EYΤΕΝI ZHCAIC	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 20 no. 37.
B.3.29.	cameo	EYTYXI EYCTOPTI	unknown / Archaeological Museum, Naples	-	PANNUTI, <i>La collezione</i> , 344 no. 306; SEG XLIV 1704; <i>BullEp</i> 1996 103; FEISSEL, <i>Chroniques</i> , 1043.
B.3.30.	cameo	EYTYXI ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΤΕ AKAKI	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 38 no. 39.
B.3.31.	cameo	EYTYXI ΠΑΝΟΚΙΙΟ ΦΟΡΩΝ	Archaeological Museum, Naples	-	PANNUTI, <i>La collezione</i> , 342 no. 303; SEG XLIV 1704; <i>BullEp</i> 1996 103.
B.3.32.	bell	EYTYXI EYΠΑΟI	Odissos / Varna Museum	2nd c. AD	NAGY, EYΩΙΑΙ EYTYXI, 25 no. 16.
B.3.33.	day lamp	... EΠΩΣ(Σ) EYTYXH	graffito in two lines	5th-6th c. AD	J. WISEMAN, The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969-1970, <i>Hesperia</i> 41 (1972) 29 fig. 10 L-69-105, 32 no. 24; SEG XLIV 296.

B.3.34.	mortar	... ΕΥΤΥΞΕΙ	Frankfurt-Heddernheim/ Historisch-Archäologischen Gesellschaft Frankfurt am Main	2nd c. AD	SpICKERMANN, Eine Reliefschlüssel, 597-605; fig. 1, fig. 2, fig. 3, fig. 4; SEG XLIV 853.
B.3.35.	bell	ΕΥΟΙΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Budapest	Later Roman imperial period	NAGY, ΕΥΟΙΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ, 15-23 figs. 7-9, figs. 11-18, 25 no. 21.
B.3.36.	bell	ΕΥΠΛΑΟΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ	Rome	-	NAGY, ΕΥΟΙΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ, 24 no. 1.
B.3.37.	cameo	ΕΥΤΥΞΙ ΕΝΑΕ/ΑΞΕΙ	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENIG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 18 no. 32.
B.3.38.	cameo	ΕΥΤΥΞΙ ΙΤΕΛΑΚΙ	Content Family Collection	3rd c. AD	HENIG, <i>The Content Family Collection</i> , 19 no. 35.
B.3.39.	bell	ΕΥΑΤΡΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ	Aquileia Archaeological Museum	-	NAGY, ΕΥΟΙΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ, 24 no. 10 n. 39.
B.3.40.	cameo	ΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΑ ΕΥΤΥΞΙ	Museum of Art and History, Geneva	Second half of the 4th / start of the 5th c. AD	M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER, <i>Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées, v. III, La Collection du Révérend Dr. V.E.G. Kenna et d'autres acquisitions et dons récents</i> , Mainz am Rhein 1983, 190 no. 241.

B.3.41.	bell	ALBANI EYTYYXI	Trier Museum	-	<i>CIL XIII 3, 2, 10027.239; RIESE, Das Rheinische Germanien, 430 no. 4434; NAGY, EYOLAI EYTYYXI, 24 no. 19.</i>
B.3.42.	gem	EYTYYXI BEPONIKH	The Marlborough Collection formerly at Blenheim Palace	2nd-3rd c. AD	<i>J. Boardman, D. Scarisbrick, C. Wagner, E. Zwierlein-Diehl, <i>The Marlborough Gems Formerly at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire</i>, Oxford - New York 2009, no. 523.</i>

Group B.4: Objects with *εὐτυχία*.

Group	Type of object	Inscription	Remarks	Provenance	Date	Bibliography
B.4.1.	jug	[EYT]XIA		Kenchreai, Greece	3rd-5th c. AD	<i>B. ADAMSHECK, <i>Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth, v. IV, The Pottery</i>, Leiden 1979, 89 LRB11, pl. 22 LRB11a; SEG XXXI 297.</i>



Fig. 1: North Syrian mortarium from ancient Messene (Inv. Number: 8028) (1:4).



Fig. 2: Stamp from a North Syrian *mortarium* with the inscription: EPMOTENOYC, from ancient Messene (Inv. Number: 15267).



Fig. 3: Drawing of a stamp from a North Syrian *mortarium* with the inscription: EIPHNAI EYTYXI* (1:1) (after: HAYES, *North Syrian Mortaria*, 339 fig. 2, no. 161; reproduction is courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



Fig. 4: An onyx cameo with the inscription: EYTYXI (in: HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 17 no. 30; photo: C. Wagner, Beazley Archive, Oxford University).



Fig. 5: The bezel of a ring from Corinth with the inscription: EYTYXI GOPTONI (in: DAVIDSON, *The Minor Objects*, pl. 102 no. 1810; reproduction is courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



Fig. 6: An onyx cameo with the inscription: EYTYXI EYCTAOI (in: HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 18 no. 33; photo: C. Wagner, Beazley Archive, Oxford University).



Fig. 7: An onyx cameo with the inscription: EYTYXI EYTENI ZHCAIC (in: HENIG, *The Content Family Collection*, 20 no. 37; photo: C. Wagner, Beazley Archive, Oxford University).



Fig. 8: An onyx cameo with the inscription: EYTYXI EYCTAOI ZHCAIC (in: HENIG - MACGREGOR, *Catalogue*, 134 no. 15.12; photo copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).



Fig. 9: Cameo with the inscription: EYTYXI EYTENI (in: SVORONOS, Δωρεά Κωνσταντίνου Καραπάνου, pl. XV no. 951; courtesy of the Numismatic Museum, Athens).

ΠΗΛΙΝΑ ΙΓΔΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΟ ΣΥΡΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΑ ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΗΣ ΠΟΥ
ΦΕΡΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΚΑΛΗ ΤΥΧΗ

Ορισμένα από τα σφραγίσματα που εντοπίζονται σε ιγδία από τη Βόρειο Συρία, μία ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένη ομάδα πήλινων ιγδίων που χρονολογούνται στο τέλος του 3ου και στο πρώτο μισό του 4ου αι. μ.Χ., φέρουν επιγραφές όπου κυρίως γίνεται χρήση του επιφράγματος εύτυχως ή του ρήματος εύτυχω σε συνδυασμό με ένα κύριο όνομα. Η μελέτη συγκεντρώνει τα πολυάριθμα ιγδία που φέρουν σχετικές επιγραφές (Παράρτημα Α), καθώς και πολλά αντικείμενα καθημερινής και προσωπικής χρήσης (δακτυλίδια, σφραγίδες, πυξίδες, γυάλινα αγγεία, πήλινα λυχνάρια, πήλινες οινοχόες) με επιγραφές παρόμοιου περιεχομένου. Τα περισσότερα από τα αντικείμενα αυτά είναι σύγχρονα με τα ιγδία, ενώ ορισμένα χρονολογούνται στην περίοδο από τον 5ο μέχρι και τον 7ο αι. μ.Χ. Αναλύεται η μορφή και το περιεχόμενο αυτών των επιγραφών, μέσω των οποίων εκφράζονται ευχές για καλή τύχη. Σχολιάζεται κατά πόσον αυτές, στην περίπτωση των πήλινων ιγδίων, αναφέρονται παράλληλα και στο εργαστήριο κατασκευής αυτών των αγγείων. Αυτού του είδους οι επιγραφές που εντοπίζονται στα ιγδία από τη Βόρειο Συρία αποτελούν μέρος μίας μακράς επιγραφικής παράδοσης και, βάσει της χρονολόγησης των λοιπών αντικειμένων στα οποία αυτές απαντούν, συνέχισαν να είναι αρκετά κοινές για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα, προφανώς δεδομένου του περιεχομένου του μηνύματός τους.

