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TWO EPITAPHS OF A LYDIAN FAMILY

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In 1989 and again in 1992 a funerary stele which deserves to be saved from oblivion was offered for sale by Sotheby's in New York (Plate VIII a)¹. The nearly rectangular stone is slightly tapering and crowned by a triangular pediment with a slanting geison and corner-akroteria decorated with carved foliage; there are three relief ornaments in the recessed field of the tympanon: a disk in the center and two stylized ivy leaves in the lower corners. A shallow relief in a recessed rectangular field under the pediment represents a frontally rendered bearded man standing on a protruding ledge. He is clad in a himation wrapped in such a manner that his right hand protrudes from a fold of drapery. The folds of the garment are rendered quite schematically by means of vertical lines and a zigzag motif. Under the relief an inscription of six lines is engraved, which can be read from the photo in the catalogues without difficulty.

Ἔτους σπζ', μη(νός) Ἄπελ-
 λαίου γ'. Ποπλιανή Γλύ-
 κωνα τὸν σύνβιον, ὁμοίως
 4 Πόπλιος, Λούκις, Γλύκων,
 Μηνόφιλος τὸν ἑαυτῶν
 πατέρα ἐτείμησαν

Careful, regular script with slight apices. Characteristic letter forms: Λ , β , ω

Line 1: σπζ' = 287 = 202/203 A.D. (Sullan era; see below); small H above M;

Lines 1-2: all elements of the date are separated by punctuation marks: dots after ΕΤΟΥΣ, Σ, Π, Ζ, ΜΗ and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ;

Line 4: Λούκις = Λούκιος;

Line 6: dot after ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ

The provenance of this stele is not indicated in the catalogue, but its formal characteristics as described above, as well as the formula ἐτ(ε)ίμησαν connected with an enumeration of the members of the family containing individual specifications of their relationship to the deceased, lead us to north east Lydia². A nice coincidence enables us to establish its precise provenance. In

* I wish to thank Prof. Dr. G. Petzl, Köln, for sending me a photograph of the inscription TAM V 1 168a.

¹ *Sotheby's Catalogue New York Antiquities and Islamic Art*, Wednesday 29th November 1989, no. 132 and Thursday 25th June 1992, no. 136, both with a photograph which is here reproduced. Marble; height: 83.2 cm. The akroterion at the top of the pediment and the lower right corner are broken. The text is now also in *SEG XXXIX* 1280.

² For the type of the stele cf. e.g. TAM V 1 nos. 101, 103, 110 (Plate 110), 190 (Plate 14) and 292 (Plate 17); for the τιμάω-formula, also current in the adjoining part of Phrygia (north west Phrygia), see L. Robert, *RPh* 13 (1939) 191-192 (= *Op. Min.* II, Amsterdam 1969, 1344); id., *Hellenica* VI (Paris 1948) 92-93, 122; P. Herrmann, *AAWW* 98 (1961) 120; E. Gibson, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 237; S. Bakir-Barthel, H. Müller, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 163; C. Naour, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 15-16; H. Malay - Y. Gül, *ibid.* 81; E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 13 (1989) 17-18.

1978 G. Petzl published an epitaph which he found built into a staircase in Encekler, a village 5 km south of Saittai, in 1977 (Plate VIII b)³. The text runs as follows.

[Ὶ]τους σπδ', μη(νός) Δείου β' ·
 [Γ]λύκων καὶ Ποπλι-
 [α]νή ἐαυτῶν θρε-
 4 πτὸν Δημόφιλον,
 [κ]αὶ Γλύκων καὶ Πόπλι-
 [ο]ς καὶ Λούκιος τὸν
 [σ]ύντροφον ζήσαν-
 8 [τ]α ἔτη κγ'

Clearly the two epitaphs were erected by the same family⁴. In 199/200 A.D.⁵ the couple Glykon and Popliane, and their sons Glykon, Poplios and Loukios honoured their θρεπτός and σύντροφος Demophilos, who died at the age of 23. Three years later the family suffered another loss: Popliane and her sons Poplios, Loukios, Glykon and Menophilos commemorated their husband and father Glykon Sr. Menophilos was apparently not yet born when the stele for Demophilos was erected. Being the youngest he was mentioned after his three brothers. His elder brothers Poplios and Loukios appear twice in the same order, but this neat pattern is disturbed by Glykon Jr., who opens the row in the epitaph for Demophilos, but occupies the third place in that for his father. Another, minor, inconsistency is the variant spelling of Λούκι(ο)ς. It is interesting to observe that the family chose different types of stelai, which were apparently not manufactured by the same atelier⁶: whereas the threptos had to do with the familiar type decorated with a wreath, the pater familias was honoured with the more exclusive and undoubtedly more expensive variant featuring a full relief representation of the deceased⁷. On the other hand it is the age of

³ G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 262 no. 8, Taf. XI no. 8 (*SEG* XXVIII 928) = *TAM* V 1 168a.

⁴ Except for Ποπλιανή, of which there is no other attestation, the names on record in our two epitaphs occur so frequently in the Saittan corpus (cf. note 13) that further identifications of members of the family are unwarranted. One should note, however, a Γλύκων Ποπλίου who died in 119/120 A.D. (*SEG* XXXII 1225) and another Γλύκων Ποπλίου on record as a priest in an undated text (*SEG* XXXIV 1219 L. 11), which should probably be assigned to the late 2nd or the 3rd cent. A.D. on the basis of similar dated texts concerning the Θεοὶ Περειθνηνοί (*SEG* XXXIV 1210-1211, 1213-1218, ranging from 194/195 to 295/296 A.D.).

⁵ Line 1: 284 (Sullan era). On the use of this era in Saittai P. Herrmann, *Chiron* (1972) 527-528; id., *TAM* V 1 p. 29, and ad no. 109.

⁶ There is also a difference in the lettering; compare especially the forms of upsilon and omega.

⁷ These two basic types of stelai in use in Saittai continued to be produced with a remarkable lack of formal and stylistic development for over two centuries. Dated stelai of the wreath-type range from 8/9 A.D. (*TAM* V 1 152) to 293/294 A.D. (*SEG* XXXI 1016), those with reliefs in a recessed rectangular or arched field representing one or more standing persons from 67/68 A.D. (*SEG* XXXVI 1080) to 249/250 A.D. (*TAM* V 1 129). A quick glance through the plates of the relevant publications (*TAM* V 1 Pl. 10-14; for further references see the *SEG*-nos. adduced in note 13) shows that tombstones of the wreath-type form a clear majority.

Demophilos, and not that of Glykon Sr. which the family had recorded; probably this aspect was felt to be more relevant in the case of the threptos, who died prematurely⁸.

On the assumption that the family did not move from one place to another within the Saittan territory between 199/200 and 202/203, and that the tombstone of Demophilos did not move within the same area between 199/200 and 1977, the new stele can be assigned to Encekler. Near this village a katoikia with a nekropolis belonging to the territory of Saittai was situated⁹. Like many other Saittan inscriptions it must have come to light by unauthorized digging, which is carried out on a large scale in this area¹⁰. Fortunately we can now add it to the already vast corpus of inscriptions found in or assigned to Saittai and its territory¹¹, which dates from the early 1st cent. A.D. to the late 3rd cent. A.D.¹² and consists mainly of epitaphs. This dossier has grown enormously especially during the past few years¹³ and still awaits a systematic study. Recently P. Debord once more drew attention to its importance for the study of several aspects of the Saittan society¹⁴, in both family-relations and social and economic history: associations based on kinship, friendship, neighbourhood or crafts; agricultural products; manufactures. We may add that the many explicit data provided by the rich harvest of epitaphs would allow for some statistical

⁸ For two other instances of epitaphs from Saittai erected by the same family see *TAM V* 1 97 (with a stemma) and 100, dated 83/84 and 106/107 A.D.; 175 and 176 (with a stemma; cf. also 172 and 173), dated 166/167 and 171/172 A.D. The family of *TAM V* 1 97/100 chose a stele with a relief of the deceased for a son (97), but a stele with wreath for its mother (100); the stelai 175/176 are both of the wreath-type and probably come from the same atelier (P. Herrmann ad 176); they were erected for a girl aged 16 (175) and her 67 year old father-in-law (176).

⁹ For Encekler (cf. the folding-map at the end of *TAM V* 1) see J. Keil - A. v. Premerstein, 2. Reise, *Denksch. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* 54 (1911) 109; G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 249; on the nekropolis C. Naour, *EA* 2 (1983) 127-128. Inscriptions from Encekler: *TAM V* 1 166-178; *SEG* XXXI 1006-1007, 1009-1010, 1012-1016, 1018-1019; XXXIII 1012-1016.

¹⁰ Cf. P. Herrmann, *Denksch. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* 80 (1962) 13-14; H. Malay - Y. Gül, *ZPE* 81 (1981) 81; C. Naour, *EA* 2 (1983) 127; P. Herrmann - E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 3 (1984) 1.

¹¹ On the city and its territory see Keil-v. Premerstein (cf. note 9) 108-109; L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 123-129 and 134-136 (= *Op. Min.* I, Amsterdam 1969, 422-428 and 433-435); id., *REG* 79 (1966) 757-758; P. Herrmann, *Denksch. Ak. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* 80 (1962) 12-17; id., *TAM V* 1, pp. 28-30; C. Naour, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 16-17; id., *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie II* (Collection Turcica IV; Leuven 1984) 22.

¹² The chronological limits of the dated inscriptions published so far (see note 12) are 8/9 A.D. (*TAM V* 1 152) and 295/296 A.D. (*SEG* XXXIV 1216). For a "curve of frequency" of the 405 exactly dated inscriptions of north-eastern Lydia see R. MacMullen, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 237-238: steady increase after the beginning of our era, peak between 140 and 200 A.D., gradual decline between 200 and 280 A.D.

¹³ After the publication of *TAM V* 1 by P. Herrmann in 1981, containing 120 nos. (74-193) covering 133 texts, 198 new inscriptions have been published. See *SEG* XXIX 1178-1203; XXXI 1003-1043; XXXII 1222-1234; XXXIII 1012-1024; XXXIV 1210-1233; XXXV 1232-1250; XXXVI 1080-1086, all with further references; G. Petzl, *EA* 15 (1990) 58-67 nos. 15-20, 22-24, 26-28; E. Varinlioğlu, *ibid.* 73-74 no. 22, 83-84 no. 34; F. Kolb, *ibid.* 107-119 nos. 1-41.

¹⁴ P. Debord, *REA* 87 (1985) [1987] 354-355; cf. already L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (Paris 1948) 90 note 6, 96 with note 1; id., *Op. Min.* IV (Amsterdam 1974) 337; P. Herrmann, *AAWW* 98 (1961) 120; S. Bakir-Barthel, H. Müller, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 163-164. On Saittai as a production-center of textile see F. Kolb, *EA* 15 (1990) 118.

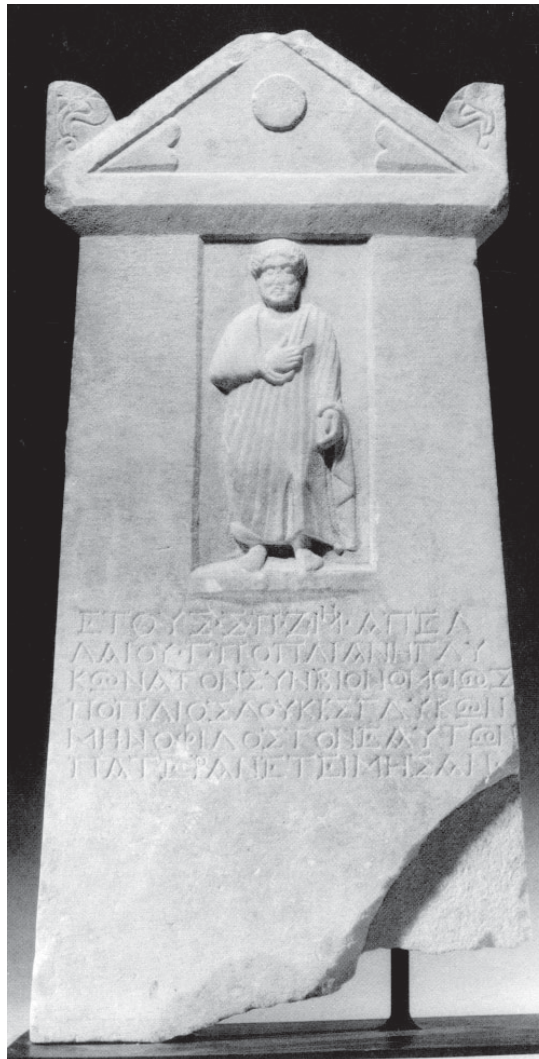
processing, which could shed light on the composition of families¹⁵, the ratio of men and women on record as deceased and as dedicants, the average age at death of men and women, the average number of *θρεπτοί* and *θρεπταί* per family¹⁶, the choice of a particular type of stele, etc.

Leiden

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¹⁵ It is striking that in enumerations of children, daughters form a distinct minority. Dr. J.H.M. Strubbe suggests to me that this disparity may be due to the fact that daughters were given in marriage at an early age; when their names were subsequently mentioned on gravestones, they were recorded as spouses in their new families.

¹⁶ Members of this group are quite numerous in this area. On *θρεπτός*, *σύντροφος* and related terms see A. Cameron in *Anatolian Studies* W.H. Buckler (Manchester 1939) 27-62; T.G. Nani, *Epigraphica* 5-6 (1943-1944) 45-84; G. Sacco, *Settima Miscellanea greca e romana* (Roma 1980) 271-286 (cf. *SEG* XXX 1876); *MAMA* IX pp. LXIV-LXVI. For further references see P. Herrmann - E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 3 (1984) 14 note 48.



a)



b)

a) Grabinschrift aus Nord-Ost Lydien
 b) Grabinschrift aus Encekler (TAM V 1 168a)