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ANOTHER BOUNDARY STONE BETWEEN TYMBRIANASSOS AND SAGALASSOS IN
PISIDIA

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ANOTHER BOUNDARY STONE BETWEEN TYMBRIANASSOS AND SAGALASSOS
IN PISIDIA¹

In 1988 a large, rectangular limestone block, broken almost horizontally across the middle, was brought into Burdur Museum from Hacılar Köyü (inv. 12.26.88). The section of the stone above the break contains eight complete lines and the beginning of two others (*ll.* 9–10); the lower fragment contains 14 complete lines (*ll.* 11–24) with, above them, the completion of the two broken lines, *ll.* 9–10 (Pl. VI).² All four faces of the stone are fairly rough, including the face on which the text has been carved. The lettering is not very neat or even, and does not keep to straight horizontal lines; nor is a left margin observed strictly, especially nearer the end of the inscription. Despite the stone's damaged condition the text appears complete.

ἐξ ἐπιτολῆς θεοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Καίσαρος Κοίντος Πε-
 4 τρώνιος Οὐμβερ πρε-
 (v.) ςβευτῆς καὶ ἀντι-
 {τις}τράτηγοϛ¹ Νέρω-
 νος Κλαυδίου Καί-
 8 αρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ(μανικοῦ)
 καὶ{σαρος} Λούκ[ι]-
 ος Πούπιος Πραίσις
 [ἐπί]τροπος Νέρωνο-
 12 ς (v.) Κλαυδίου Καίσαρο-
 ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο-
 ῦ ὥρ(v.)οθέτησαγ τὰ μ-
 ἐν (ἐν) δεξι(ᾷ) εἶναι Κα-
 16 γαλα(σσέ)ων, τὰ δὲ
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἶναι
 κώμης Τυμβρια(νασσέ)ω-
 ϛ¹ Νέρωνος Κλαυδί -
 20 (v.) ου Καίσαρος Σεβασ-
 (v.) τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,
 (v.) ἐν ἧ καὶ πέμπτον
 (v.) μέρος Καγαλα(σσέ)ω-
 24 γ (vacat)

“According to the letter of the god Augustus Germanicus Caesar, Quintus Petronius Umber, *legatus pro praetore* of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, and Lucius Pupius Praesens, procurator of

¹ Thanks are due to the Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü of the Turkish Ministry of Culture for approving our permit to research the inscriptions at Burdur. We especially thank Bay Hacı Ali Ekinci, the Museum Director, for his ready co-operation in our task. Our work has been facilitated by grants to us both from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara; financial support was also provided by the Australian Research Council and Macquarie University (RAK), the University of New England and the Australian Institute of Archaeology (GHRH). The advice of W. Eck on several aspects of our paper has been valuable. G. Petzl has provided improved readings at two points in the text.

² Dimensions: c. .63 (w.); 1.22 (c. .48, top fragment; .74, lower fragment) (h.); .61 (d.) m. Inscribed area: c. 55 (w.) x c. 1.02 (h.) m.

Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, set the boundary: the (territory) on the right side is to belong to the Sagalassians and the (territory) on the left side is to belong to the village of the Tymbrianassians of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, in which a fifth part also belongs to the people of Sagalassos.”

Lettering:

ll. 5–6 TIC|TIC dittography

l. 6 Y *lapis*; read C

l. 8 ΓΕΡ *lapis*; the rest of the name was not cut

l. 9 ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC *lapis*; read καί

l. 14 after P the mason left one letter space in mid-word because of the roughness of the surface.

ll. 14–15 Μ|ΕΝΔΕΞΙΕΙΝΑΙ *lapis*; read ΜΕΝΕΝΔΕΞΙΑΕΙΝΑΙ

ll. 15–16 CΑ|ΓΑΛΛΩΝ *lapis*; read CΑ|ΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ

ll. 18–19 ΤΥΝΒΡΙΑΩ|Υ *lapis*; read ΤΥΝΒΡΙΑΝΑCCEΩ|Ν

ll. 23–24 CΑΓΑΛΛΑCΩ|Ν *lapis*; read CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩ|Ν

This is the fourth boundary stone separating the imperial estate containing Tymbrianassos and the territory of Sagalassos to be published. The first three discovered were all found in Düver (modern Düğer). Two were published by William Ramsay in 1886, and reproduced by him with minor changes in subsequent publications; the third by George Bean in 1959.³ On the occasion of publishing the third stone Bean also revised Ramsay’s restorations of the less well-preserved of his two inscriptions, and explored historical issues raised by the inscriptions and by their locations. For the purposes of discussion he designated the inscriptions X (= Ramsay, well preserved), Y (= Bean), and Z (= Ramsay/Bean, very fragmentary).

In 1960 two further boundary stone inscriptions were announced by Louis Robert who remarked that he had made copies of them at Yarıköy, a village not far from Düver.⁴ These were never published and, therefore, no details of their dimensions or text are available. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely, because of its Hacilar provenance, that the stone now at Burdur Museum was one of Robert’s finds. Assuming this to be so, we must reckon on at least six surviving stones referring to the Sagalassos/Tymbrianassos boundary.⁵

When a comparison is made of the wording of the three inscriptions whose texts are available, those from Düver and that from Hacilar match completely apart from two minor exceptions.⁶ Version X from Düver bears a text which is unblemished apart from the disappearance of some letters due, no doubt, to weathering.⁷ On both the new Hacilar and the Düver (Y) versions, however, some errors have been perpetrated by the stone-mason.⁸ The following table illustrates their nature and quantity:

³ W. M. Ramsay, *Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor*, AJA (ser. 1) 2, 1886, 128–29; id., *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I*, London 1895, 336 no. 165; id., *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Aberdeen 1941, repr. 1967, 234–36 nos. 237–38; G. E. Bean, *Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia. Part I*, AS 9, 1959, 84–88 no. 30 (pl. XXIa) = SEG 19, 1962, 765.

⁴ *Hellenica XI–XII*, Paris 1960, 596. Cf. BE, 1961, 733.

⁵ The possibility of yet a further stone exists, cf. Bean, (n. 3) 88 n. 45.

⁶ In l. 17 εἶναι appears as an extra word on the Hacilar stone. Its omission in the other versions means it has to be understood though not restored, unless it is supposed that all these stones were cut from the same autograph copy. The same is true of μέρος in l. 23.

⁷ Ramsay registered the omission of καί at the end of l. 8 (*Social Basis* [n. 3] 235), but Bean was able to read it and to make other some clarificatory changes after examining the stone again in 1956 (Bean, [n. 3] 84–86).

⁸ The quantity of preserved text is too small to draw any conclusions as to the accuracy of version Z, cf. Bean, [n. 3] 87.

	Omissions	Dittography	Extra Letters	Incorrect Letters
Hacılar	<i>l.</i> 8, ⁹ 14, 15, 16, 18, 23	<i>l.</i> 6	<i>l.</i> 9	<i>l.</i> 6, 19
Düver (Y)	<i>l.</i> 1, 4, 11, 22	<i>l.</i> 10–11, 15–16		

None of the three stones is identical in size or shape, with the result that the number of lines of text and amount of lettering on each line varies from one stone to another:¹⁰

	(w)	(ht)	(d)	No. of lines
Hacılar	.63	1.22	.61	24
Düver (X/Ramsay)	.75	1.16	.37	20
Düver (Y/Bean)	.75	1.69	.43	25

The impression gained by a comparison of the appearance of the Hacılar and Düver (Y) stones, the only ones for which photographs are available, is that a single workshop, perhaps even the one person, may have produced both of the inscriptions.¹¹ The layout of the inscription and the lettering on both stones have some distinctive features. For example, the lines of lettering are not horizontal. On the Hacılar stone they drift upwards at the right-hand end, and the left margin, commencing at *c.* 3 cm, has increased to 10 cm by *l.* 24. Bean's photograph of Düver (Y) shows that its lines, too, were carved somewhat obliquely across the stone, in this case dipping downwards markedly from at least the mid-point onwards. His printed text shows that the left-hand margin of the same inscription varied in width, although no measurements are provided by him. On both stones the individual letters vary considerably in size within a similar range.¹²

One other feature of the Hacılar stone not yet mentioned is the repeated failure of its mason to observe syllable division, cf. *ll.* 4–5, 7–8, 11–12, 12–13, 13–14, 18–19, 23–24. This characteristic is not in evidence on Düver (Y). It does, however, occur at *ll.* 12–13 of Düver (X), and raises the question whether that inscription could have been linked more closely in style to the other two if a more detailed study of the stone were possible.¹³

The Date of the Inscriptions

The ruling on the boundary between Tymbrianassos and Sagalassos was made in mid I AD since Petronius Ueber's service under Nero is specified (*ll.* 4–9). He refers to an earlier letter issued by

⁹ Even though ΓΕΡ does occur as a normal abbreviation elsewhere, we do not believe that this is the appropriate way to understand it here. There is no room on the end of *l.* 8 of the stone for any further letters; moreover, in view of *l.* 2 and *ll.* 13–14 and *l.* 21 we should not anticipate abbreviation at *l.* 8. Just as in *ll.* 13–14 the mason split the word across two lines, he could have done so between *ll.* 8–9 given that *l.* 9 has a smaller number of letters (12) than most other lines. No word is abbreviated anywhere in the text, in fact. In the case of the parallel copies of this text: Ramsay X; Bean Y have no abbreviations at all; but in the latter case twice the name Germanicus has errors in it. The consequence is, we feel, that in the text of *l.* 8 the final seven letters added by us should not be treated as the resolution of an abbreviation but as an editorial indication of omission by the mason.

¹⁰ Information as to the dimensions of Ramsay/Bean (Z) are too scanty to permit consideration although Ramsay (Social Basis [n. 3] 235) refers to it as 'about 5 feet high'. According to the restorations of both Ramsay and Bean there were 20 lines of lettering (Bean, [n. 3] 87).

¹¹ Bean's transcription ([n. 3] 85) indicates that the left hand margin on Düver (X) was maintained at a regular size, but no comparison is possible in terms of the lettering.

¹² Hacılar: 2–4.5 cm; Düver (Y): 2–5 cm.

¹³ Syllable division is not necessarily a distinctive element; other Pisidian inscriptions of the imperial period break words in this awkward way also: e.g. S. Mitchell, Appendix: The Inscriptions, in D. Kaya, The Sanctuary of the God Eurymedon at Tymbrida in Pisidia, AS 35, 1985, 54, *l.* 1.

Claudius which apparently was not acted upon until after his death.¹⁴ A more precise date for the inscription is provided by the reference to Quintus Petronius Umber's term of office, 54–55,¹⁵ as imperial legate in Asia Minor.

While the date of the inscription is clear on internal grounds, the letter forms of two of the stones at least, ie. that from Düver (Y) and the new one from Hacilar, with their consistent use of lunate *epsilon* and *sigma*, and Ω not Ω, suggest that these inscriptions might have been carved in late II or even III. This anomaly may simply be a salutary reminder of the vagaries inherent in dating by letter-style; however, it is wise not to dismiss entirely the possibility that at least these two stones were recarved a long time after the decision had originally been promulgated and put into effect. This question will be considered briefly at the end of the paper.

Imperial Estates in Pisidia

The acquisition of Pisidian land-holdings by Roman authorities from the Augustan period onwards was sufficiently large to have had a major impact on the local people. When the colonies were established in late I BC land for the inhabitants was sometimes obtained by planting settlements in a locality where little or no prior occupation existed, but on other occasions the Roman settlers were superimposed on a previously-existing native town at the expense of its individual identity. A supplementary option appears to have been the confiscation of territory owned by a local deity; this was most probably the case at Antioch near which was a large and important sanctuary of Men.¹⁶ Yet a further alternative must have been the re-allocation of territory from an existing city to one of the new foundations since Apollonia received land which once belonged to Tymbriada.¹⁷

By contrast with the colonies and their territories, the extensive imperial estates in Pisidia are thought to have been created only out of tracts of *ager publicus* won by Rome's wars of conquest.¹⁸ Of the estates now known to have existed in the region, two of those near Lake Beyşehir may have been defined as early as Augustus, and a third can be dated at least as early as the Flavian dynasty.¹⁹ Further west, the existence of an imperial estate at the north-east end of Burdur Lake (date of acquisition uncertain) has also been revealed by epigraphic evidence,²⁰ while the new text under discussion makes clear that one more estate, in existence already by mid I AD, extended up to the lake's south-western corner encompassing the village of Tymbrianassos and adjoining the western boundary of the territory of Sagalassos.²¹ That the situation prevailing in mid I AD continued without any change should not be presumed; however, the fact that both Yarıköy and Düver remained under Sagalassos' control into the

¹⁴ Bean ([n. 3] 86, 87) rightly dismisses Ramsay's proposal of the lapicide's deliberate erasure of Nero's name in *ll.* 1–2; and the probability of his explanation being the correct one is confirmed by the repetition of the discrete imperial titulare in each of the copies of the inscription.

¹⁵ B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum I* (Gothenburg 1984) 255 no. 14 (following R. Sherck, *Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 BC – AD 14*, ANRW II.7.2, Berlin 1980, 977–78). Some doubt exists as to his province: S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor II*, Oxford 1993, 154 suggests Lycia/Pamphylia against Sherck's Galatia. The authority of the procurator, Lucius Pupius Praesens, most likely extended across the border between the two provinces (Mitchell, *ibid.*), and so his involvement does not assist in resolving the question of Petronius Umber's sphere of authority.

¹⁶ B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, 73.

¹⁷ Mitchell, *Anatolia I* (n. 15) 90–91, who also points out that, less frequently, a native town was able to reassert itself and assume an independent existence.

¹⁸ Mitchell, *Anatolia I* (n. 15) 90–91, 157–58.

¹⁹ S. Mitchell, *Population and the Land in Roman Galatia*, ANRW II.7.2, Berlin 1980, 1078–80.

²⁰ Bean, (n. 3) 86; Mitchell, *Anatolia I* (n. 15) 157 with H. Brandt, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum*, *Asia Minor Studien* 7, Bonn 1992, 123 n. 1077.

²¹ Although its existence has been queried in the past (cf. Bean, [n. 3] 86), the existence of the estate is considered certain now (Brandt, [n. 20] 124). Tymbrianassos' location has been identified with that of modern-day Örenler, north of Düver (Bean, [n. 3] 88).

second century and beyond,²² is a strong indication that no alteration to the position of the boundary had occurred.

More problematical is the specific nature of the boundary. Ramsay suggested it was formed by ‘the road leading out to Lysinia and to Tymbrianassos’.²³ Bean rejected this, however, and proposed instead that the boundary was formed not by a road but by water. The river Lysis did not flow close enough to Düver to come into consideration by him as providing a suitable boundary: instead he pointed to a stream which ran through the village.²⁴

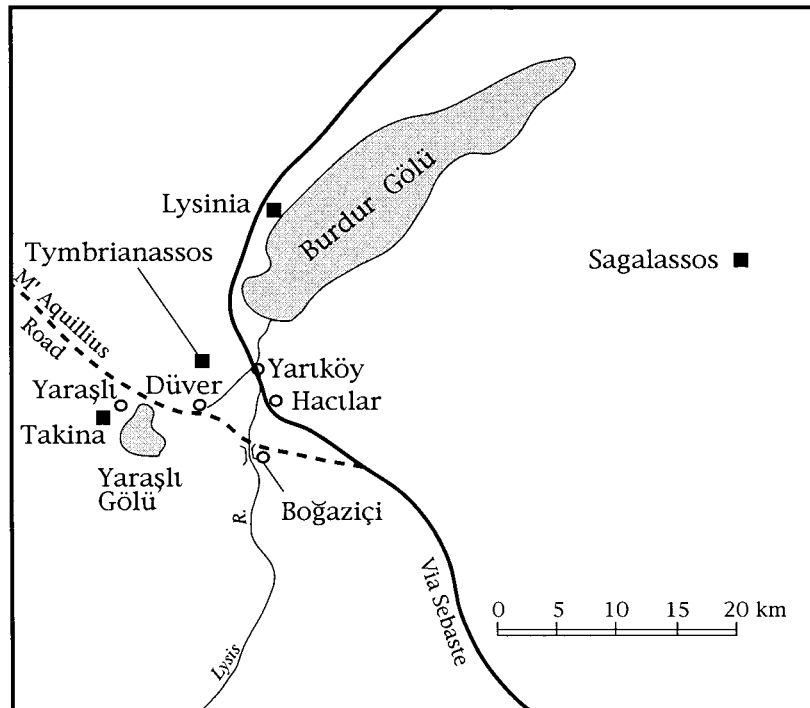


Figure 1

Both Ramsay’s and Bean’s deductions were limited by being necessarily based only on the stones found at Düver. When the three provenances for the inscriptions, Düver, Hacılar, and Yarıköy (i.e., the two unpublished texts known to Robert), are taken into account a different solution must be sought. Due to the fact that they lie in a triangular configuration rather than a straight line, it is unlikely that the boundary was defined either by stream or road alone. For, whereas the Via Sebaste passes by Hacılar and Yarıköy as it heads NW to round the south-western end of Lake Burdur, it stays well east of Düver. On the other hand, while the stream through Düver flows past Yarıköy in its northerly extension, joining up with the Lysis, the stone at Hacılar then remains unaccounted for (Fig. 1). Perhaps, therefore, the boundary was formed by a combination of river and road. In that case, M’ Aquillius’ road, which diverged from the Via Sebaste to the south of Hacılar crossing the Lysis at Boğaziçi before travelling in a north-westerly direction to Yaraşlı, comes into consideration.²⁵ At Düver, the tributary of the Lysis

²² S. Mitchell, Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia, *JRS* 66, 1976, 118 n. 56 with M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear, M. Özseit, *Trois milliaires d’Asie Mineure*, *Anatolia Antiqua* 2, 1993, 164–69; R. Syme, *Anatolica*, Oxford 1995, 202.

²³ *Social Basis* (n. 3) 236.

²⁴ Bean, (n. 3) 87–88.

²⁵ On the course of Aquillius’ road: D. H. French, *The Roman Road-System of Asia Minor*, ANRW II.7.2, Berlin 1980, 707; for milestones at Yaraşlı: D. H. French, *Roman Roads & Milestones in Asia Minor* 2.1, Oxford 1988, 111 nos 294–95. The road was still in use in the third century (French, *ibid.*, 112–13, nos 296–99). And it may be queried whether there was not

identified by Bean could have provided the continuation of the estate boundary to Yarıköy if indeed its course in antiquity was similar to that in modern times. How the boundary continued after Yarıköy is unknown, but at least two possibilities for its northward continuation offer themselves. Either the boundary followed the Via Sebaste, leaving the area between Yarıköy and the southern shore of Lake Burdur to the people of Sagalassos,²⁶ or it followed the course of the Lysis in which case the westward extension of Sagalassos' territory around the southern shore of the lake would have been curtailed.

The Historical Context of the Boundary Inscriptions

The shape of the boundary, with its deep curve westward to Düver between Hacilar in the south and Yarıköy in the north, may conceivably relate to the time the imperial estate was established, presumably in late I BC – early AD I, and represent a compromise by the imperial government to certain claims of Sagalassos. From what is known of the westward extension of Sagalassos' territory, it seems possible that the city lost at least some land when the imperial estate was formed. At the time of Claudius its territory was deemed to finish at Yarıköy, yet earlier in AD I its territory extended westwards beyond the Burdur lake, at least in the area of Eğnes, *c.* 15 km. to the south.²⁷ The provision that one-fifth of Tymbrianassos' usufruct should belong to the Sagalassians (*ll.* 22–24), therefore, may reflect that loss and represent an economic compromise in the disputed area. The shape of the border in the area of Hacilar, Düver and Yarıköy, likewise, suggests that, because of its particular value as pasture-land,²⁸ this, too, was allowed to Sagalassos by way of concession when other land nearby was appropriated for the imperial estate.

The Roman government's intervention regarding the position of the boundary during the time of Nero still remains to be considered. The presence of several identical boundary markers within less than 10 kms is suggestive of a controversy. Consideration of another inscription recording an imperial ruling and also found in this area of Pisidia may assist in gaining an appreciation of the situation involved.²⁹ It is also dated to the Julio-Claudian period and was issued under Tiberius.³⁰

This latter intervention by the Roman government was also concerned with settling the geographical limits of Sagalassos' territory. Part of its purpose was to clarify Sagalassos' responsibility in relation to the regulations for provision of transport and related services; and the detailed specifications of the imperial legate, Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, indirectly reveal difficulties and disputes which might arise locally over such requirements. Questions appear to have arisen as to whether Sagalassos was fulfilling its responsibility for all the territory under its control, for example. Was the text created to deal with complaints from smaller communities who felt they were being exploited by Sagalassos?³¹ The possibility also exists that Sagalassos was the aggrieved party rather than the aggressor. It is conceivable that the legate took action at Sagalassos' request in order to clarify who was responsible for the provision of transport on the various roads in the area. In the historical situation which gave rise to the

a further road branching to the north-west from Aquillius' road and following the line taken by Manlius Vulso in 189 BC through Düver to Yazıköy (cf. Bean, [n. 3] 116). If such a road did exist, it rather than Aquillius' would be more appropriate to mark the boundary between Sagalassos and Tymbrianassos.

²⁶ Sagalassos' territory did reach to the southern shore of the lake at some point (M. Waelkens, in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome edd., *Sagalassos III*, Leuven 1995, 11).

²⁷ Mitchell, (n. 22) 117.

²⁸ Cf. M. Waelkens, *Sagalassos I*, Leuven 1993, 39.

²⁹ Mitchell, (n. 22) 106–31 (SEG 26, 1392); E. A. Judge, in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 1*, ed. G. H. R. Horsley, Sydney 1981, 36–43 (SEG 31, 1286). The inscription is now in Burdur Museum, inv. 2670.

³⁰ E. A. Judge, (n. 29) 40–42; S. Mitchell, *Galatia under Tiberius*, Chiron 16, 1986, 25–27.

³¹ Roman provincial administrators were often called on to arbitrate in boundary disputes between communities, according to the frequency with which stones such as those under discussion here are preserved (W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit* [Basel 1995] 355–57).

boundary markers, Tymbrianassos (for example) may have been claiming privileged exemption on some issue since it was within the boundary of an imperial estate.

The boundary indicated on the inscription may not have been marked only by the series of stones. Topographical features such as road, river and raised earth wall,³² may have played their part; but in that case, the ‘on the right side/on the left side’ wording of the inscription means that such a feature was quite prominent. Furthermore, by their very presence these markers will have had for the affected communities an informative function at a subliminal level as well, whether or not they were actually read. The lengthier text of the boundary stones under consideration here contrasts with the terse words, *Finis Caesaris N(eronis)*, which sufficed to establish the limit of an imperial estate elsewhere in the region.³³

Finally, what weight should be given to the possibility that the preserved inscriptions from Hacilar and Düver (Y) may represent a reinforcement of the imperial decision of the first century by a re-engraving of the inscriptions at a later date, perhaps in the late second century or early third? The continued importance attached by Sagalassos to the identification of its territorial border in this area is revealed by a milestone-dedication to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus erected at Yazıköy in late 164–early 165.³⁴ The various periods when Roman governors effected repairs to the Via Sebaste and other roads in the area during the second half of the second century³⁵ represent likely occasions for official regulations to be restated and drawn to the attention of local communities by the re-engraving of inscriptions. However, it seems to us unusual that all (or even some) copies would have been remade without detail of the later authorisation for re-erection.

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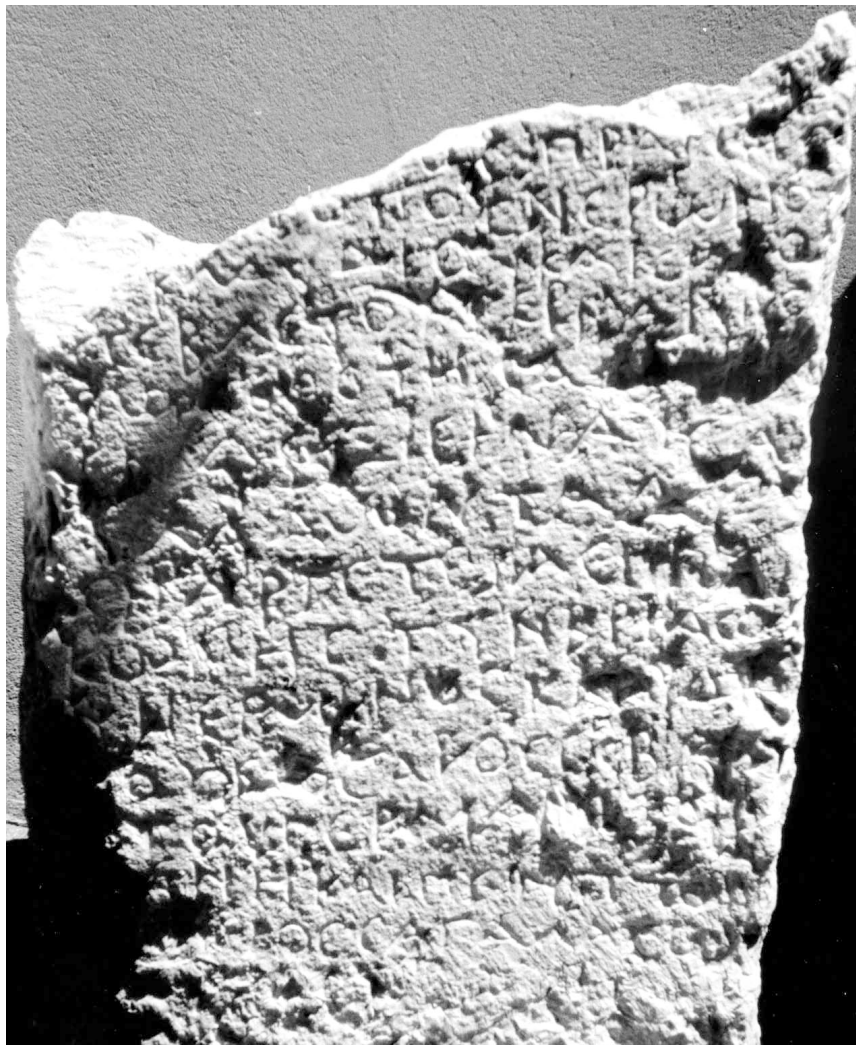
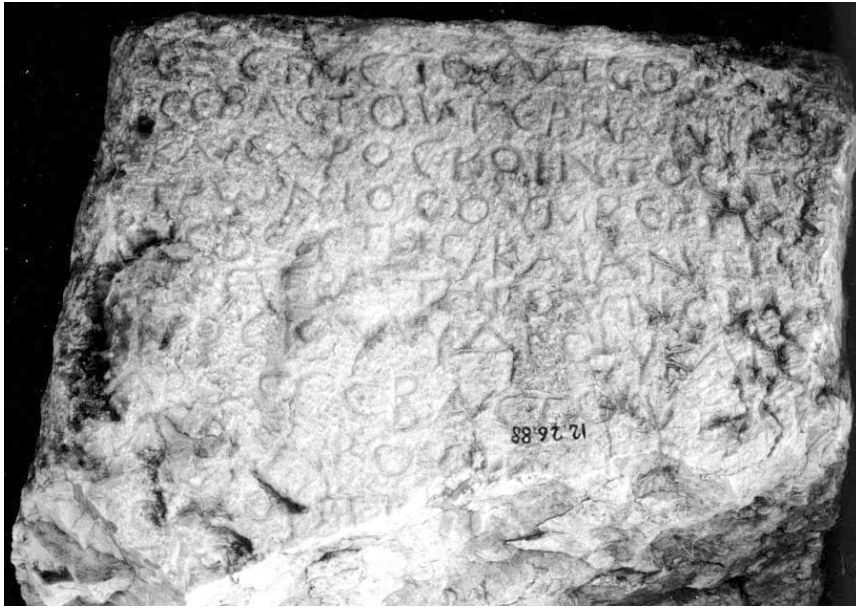
³² E.g. in Pontus (Mitchell, *Anatolia I* [n. 15], 94 and footnote 150).

³³ One of them at least is from Baladiz north of Burdur lake (H. Waldmann, *Neue Inschriften aus Pisidien*, ZPE 44, 1981, 101 no. 9).

³⁴ Christol, Drew-Bear and Özsait (n. 22) 169.

³⁵ Cf. M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *D. Fonteius Fronto, Proconsul de Lycie-Pamphylie*, GRBS 32, 1991, 405–8.

TAFEL VI



Boundary stone, upper and lower fragment (Burdur Museum, inv. 12.26.88);
G. H. R. Horsley – R. A. Kearsley, pp. 123–129