



Herausgegeben von

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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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AUF EIN NEUES VIERTEL!

Vor 25 Jahren trug Hermann Harrauer, Direktor der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, an die damaligen Vertreter des Instituts für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Universität Wien den Vorschlag heran, eine alt-historisch-epigraphisch-papyrologische Zeitschrift zu gründen. Anfängliche Bedenken wurden durch aufkeimenden Enthusiasmus rasch zerstreut, zumal wir uns der großzügigen und tatkräftigen Unterstützung des Holzhausen-Verlags versichern konnten. So erschien 1986 der erste Band der „TYCHE“ samt einem Geleitwort des unvergeßlichen Tony Raubitschek und einem Apotropaion, welches sich als so wirksam erwies, daß sich die Zeitschrift seither kontinuierlich (mit mittlerweile 24 Jahres-, 7 Supplement- und 5 Sonderbänden) weiterentwickelte und bis heute existiert.

In den letzten Jahren hat indes nicht nur an den beteiligten Institutionen ein Generationenwechsel stattgefunden, sondern auch die wissenschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen haben sich gravierend verändert. Die neue TYCHE, die Sie nun in Händen halten, spiegelt diese Umgestaltungen nicht nur äußerlich wider. Die fachliche und redaktionelle Verantwortung obliegt jetzt einem gleichnamigen Trägerverein, der die aktuellen Professoren des Wiener Instituts Thomas Corsten, Fritz Mitthof, Bernhard Palme sowie Hans Taeuber mit der Herausgabe betraut hat. Wir sind den neuen Eigentümern des Holzhausen-Verlags und vor allem Fr. Dr. Gabriele Ambros außerordentlich dankbar, daß wir durch ihr großzügiges Entgegenkommen eine tragfähige Basis für die Fortführung unserer Publikationsreihen vereinbaren konnten. Um ein hohen Ansprüchen genügendes *peer review*-System zu gewährleisten, wurde ein internationaler wissenschaftlicher Beirat konstituiert, dessen Mitgliedern (Angelos Chaniotis, Denis Feissel, Nikolaos Gonis, Klaus Hallof, Anne Kolb und Michael Peachin) wir für ihre Bereitschaft zur Teilnahme sehr zu Dank verpflichtet sind. Die redaktionelle Arbeit wurde durch die Aufnahme neuer Mitarbeiter/innen und durch die Aktualisierung der technischen Ausstattung erleichtert und verbessert. Wir hoffen, durch all diese Maßnahmen die Qualität unserer Zeitschrift weiter steigern zu können.

An diesem Einschnitt ist es angebracht, jenen zu danken, die bisher das Schicksal der Tyche bestimmt haben. In erster Linie ist dabei Hermann Harrauer zu nennen, ohne den es diese Zeitschrift nicht gäbe, der sich aber auch durch sein nimmermüdes Engagement über viele Jahre hinweg als *spiritus rector* des Unternehmens erwiesen hat. Die Mitherausgeber Gerhard Dobesch, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber haben — jeder auf seine Weise — wesentlich am Gelingen des Unternehmens mitgewirkt. Auch den bisherigen österreichischen Co-Herausgebern (Reinhold Bichler, Herbert Graßl, Sigrid Jalkotzy und Ingomar Weiler) sei für ihren Beitrag herzlichst gedankt. *Last, but not least* gilt unser Dank auch Verlag und Druckerei Holzhausen, seinerzeit vertreten von KR Michael Hochenegg und Helmuth Breyer, deren unternehmerischer Weitblick, technische Versiertheit und vielfältige Unterstützung den Erfolg des Projekts TYCHE erst ermöglicht haben.

Die Herausgeber

I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Rainer B e r n h a r d t (Norderstedt): Sardanapal — Urbild des lasterhaften orientalischen Despoten: Entstehung, Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt und Nachwirkung (Tafel 1–3)	1
Yanne B r o u x — Willy C l a r y s s e (Leuven): Two Greek Funerary Stelae from Lydia and the Antonine Plague (Tafel 4–5)	27
Hans F ö r s t e r (Wien): Philotheos, der Verwalter Schenute und die Schiffe. Ein Wiener Text aus dem Schenute-Archiv: Edition von P.Vindob. K 4718 (Tafel 6)	35
Matthias H a a k e (Münster): Der Philosoph Satyros, Sohn des Philinos, aus Athen: Zu zwei neuen hellenistischen Ehrendekreten aus Larisa für einen bislang unbekanntem Philosophen	49
Pierre J u h e l (Corté): {‘Ο ἐπί + substantif au génitif}, titre des fonctionnaires de l’administration hellénistique en général et des hauts fonctionnaires royaux de la Macédoine antigonide en particulier	59
Holger M ü l l e r (Stuttgart): Reparationszahlungen an Rom zur Zeit der römischen Republik	77
Johannes P l a t s c h e k (Göttingen): <i>Procurare aliquem</i> in CIL X 2872 .	97
Andrea P r i m o (Pisa): La battaglia di Ipso e la storiografia sui Seleucidi	99
Kerstin S ä n g e r - B ö h m (Wien): Überlegungen zum Steuertitel <i>χαρτηρά</i>	103
Nils S t e f f e n s e n (Tübingen): Land — Geld — Ämter: Versuch über die politische Anthropologie des T. Livius	115
Ekkehard W e b e r (Wien): Eine Reminiszenz an die <i>lex Plautia Papiria</i> im P.Giss. I 40?	153
Marita H o l z n e r (Wien): <i>Annona epigraphica Austriaca 2008</i>	163
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXII (<Korr. Tyche> 611–632)	215
Buchbesprechungen	225
Vittorio B a r t o l e t t i, Guido B a s t i a n i n i, Gabriella M e s s e r i, Franco M o n t a n a r i, Rosario P i n t a u d i, <i>Papiri greci e latini. Volume quindicesimo, N.º 1453–1574</i> , Firenze 2008 (A. Benaissa: 225) — Axel F i l g e s (Hrsg.), <i>Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet</i> , Tübingen 2006 (M. Holzner: 229) — Hans F ö r s t e r, <i>Die Anfänge von Weihnachten und Epiphaniae. Eine Anfrage an die Entstehungshypothesen</i> , Tübingen 2007 (H. Buchinger: 231) — Jean G a s c o u, <i>Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine</i> , Paris 2008 (J. G. Keenan: 233) — Edward H a r r i s, Gerhard T h ü r (Hrsg.), <i>Symposion 2007. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Durham, 2.–6. September 2007)</i> , Wien 2008 (L. Migeotte: 236) — Heinz H e i n e n	

Inhaltsverzeichnis

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Indices 259

Eingelangte Bücher 261

Tafeln 1–6

Two Greek Funerary Stelae from Lydia and the Antonine Plague

Tafel 4–5

The two stelae published below belong to private collections in Antwerp and Durham respectively. They were bought on the antiquities market and belong to a type that is particularly frequent in North-east Lydia, especially the area of ancient Saittae.

1. Funerary Stelae from Lydia

Many stelae found in the Hermos valley have a trapezoid form, narrowing towards the top. They are crowned by a triangular pediment with akroteria and were fixed in the ground with a tenon, which remains rough, as is also their back side. The trapezoid central part of the stela usually contains a decoration and a text. The decoration consists of wreaths cut in low relief, or human figures, often standing in a niche, sometimes also objects e.g. a mirror for women. Human figures are often cut in deeper relief than the wreaths.

The texts on the funerary stelae follow a fixed pattern, consisting of three elements:

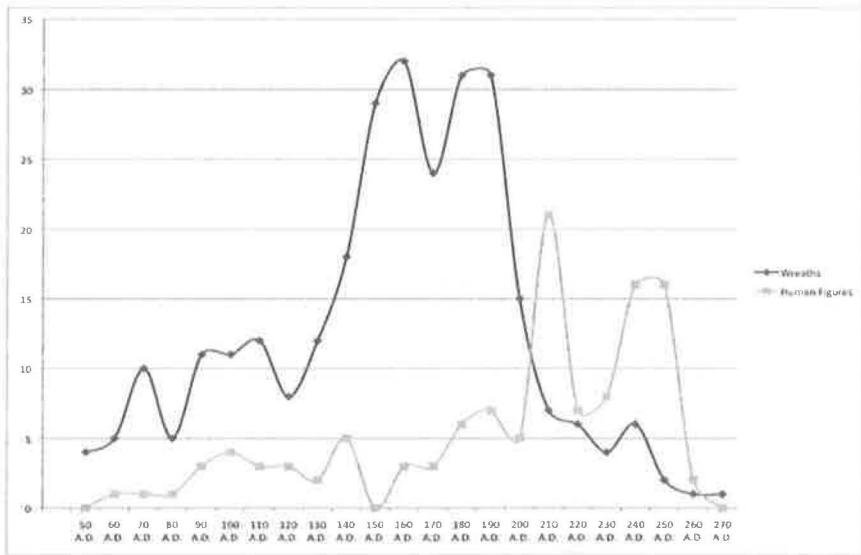
— a date by the era of Sulla (or in some doubtful cases the era of Actium) and a Macedonian month and day (the day is often omitted). The era of Sulla begins in 85 BC, when Sulla liberated Asia Minor from Mithridates, cf. W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären. Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros* (Historia Einzelschriften 81), Stuttgart 1993, 216–221.

— the names of the commissioner(s) in the nominative and of the deceased in the accusative; the dedicators always indicate their relationship to the deceased either as members of his family (wife, children, cousins, etc.) or as members of an association. The prominence of the dedicators is unusual in ancient funerary monuments and therefore a typical feature of these texts. The age of the deceased, when given, is usually preceded by the participle ζήσας.

— the verb ἐτίμησεν (plur. ἐτίμησαν) may stand between the names of the dedicators and the deceased, at the beginning or at the end of the text.

We have collected 481 dated funerary stelae in the typical format and/or with the typical inscription described above¹, all coming from the same area in north-east Lydia². The closest parallels for our stelae come from the area of ancient Saittae. We have excluded texts without date, and those where the format and/or decoration is different or beyond recovery. Local variants have thus far not been studied, but in Iulia Gordos for instance, the wreath is usually depicted between the date above and the rest of the text below³.

Many of these stelae were published (or republished) in 1981 by P. Herrmann in TAM V.1. Numerous recent finds have been added by H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (ETAM 19, ÖAW, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 237), Wien 1994, and Idem, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis* (ETAM 23, ÖAW, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 279), Wien 1999. Others have appeared in recent issues of ZPE and EA. Their texts are included in SEG. The most recent addition is by S. Scheuble, ZPE 161 (2007) 173–176 (with plate). When their provenance is known they always come from the same area. Some stelae were reused in village constructions. Though most are now in the museums of Manisa and Uşak, many others were sold on the antiquities market in the later 20th century and are now scattered in private collections⁴.



¹ The same type of stelae is sometimes also used for dedications, but we have not included these in our database. For examples, see H. Malay, ETAM 19, nos. 64, 65, 160, 167, 181, 187, and 235.

² For the area, see the maps in TAM V.1, p. 293 and ETAM 23, pl. 179.

³ See TAM V.1 nos. 700–751 passim.

⁴ Cf. e.g. P. Herrmann, *Überlegungen zur Datierung der „Constitutio Antoniniana“*, Chiron 2 (1972) 526 and M. Malay, *Some Inscriptions from Lydia up for Auction*, EA 39 (2006) 87–97.

The first graph (see above), based on 397 texts dated between AD 50 and AD 279, on which a depiction of a wreath or human figures survives (intervals of 10 years; 160 = 160–169), shows that this type of funerary stelae reaches its greatest popularity in the later second and the first half of the third century and that decorations with wreaths and human figures occur side by side. Until the early third century wreaths predominate, whereas human figures take over in the third century AD.

Our database also includes other funerary texts from the same area, such as *tabulae ansatae*, altars and *cippi*. This brings the total of dated funerary monuments to 606. The chronological distribution of all dated funerary items is presented in the second graph (intervals of five years; 160 = 160–164)⁵ (see below p. 30).

As can be seen in the graph 2 the number of funerary inscriptions nearly doubles in the years AD 165–169, from between 15 and 20 per five years to 34:

Sulla 245	AD 160/161	1 ⁶
Sulla 246	AD 161/162	4 ⁷
Sulla 247	AD 162/163	4 ⁸
Sulla 248	AD 163/164	0
Sulla 249	AD 164/165	3 ⁹
Sulla 250	AD 165/166	6 ¹⁰
Sulla 251	AD 166/167	8 ¹¹
Sulla 252	AD 167/168	8 ¹²
Sulla 253	AD 169/171	4 ¹³
Sulla 254	AD 171/172	7 ¹⁴
Sulla 255	AD 172/173	7 ¹⁵
Sulla 256	AD 174/175	3 ¹⁶
Sulla 257	AD 175/176	2 ¹⁷

⁵ The graph by R. MacMullen, *Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia*, ZPE 65 (1986) 237–238, based on 405 inscriptions, shows a similar pattern. For our purpose we count funerary inscriptions only and we work with periods of five years instead of MacMullen's ten years.

⁶ SEG 49 no. 1688 = ETAM 23 no. 204.

⁷ ETAM 24 no. 79; SEG 32 no. 1213; SEG 35 no. 1258; SEG 48 no. 1429.

⁸ SEG 31 nos. 1026 and 1049; SEG 40 no. 1078; TAM V.1 no. 728.

⁹ TAM V.1 no. 282; SEG 40 no. 1092; ETAM 24 no. 57.

¹⁰ SEG 29 nos. 1186 and 1187; SEG 31 no. 1009; SEG 35 no. 1248; TAM V.1 nos. 167d and 817. Note that four of the six inscriptions date from the summer of 166.

¹¹ SEG 31 nos. 1010 and 1027; SEG 35 no. 1263; SEG 34 no. 1225 = 49 no. 1629 (not identified in SEG); TAM V.1 nos. 146 and 175; ETAM 24 no. 88; EA 39 (2006) 35.

¹² SEG 31 nos. 1028–1029; 32 no. 1214; 33 no. 1028; 49 no. 1732; TAM V.1 nos. 87a, 91 and 283.

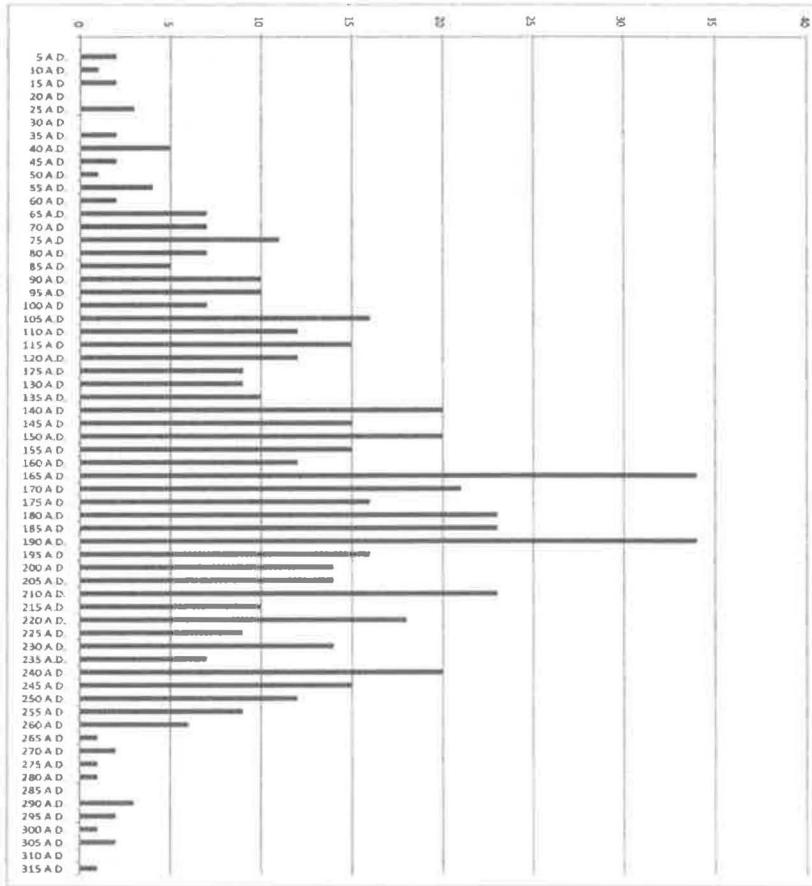
¹³ TAM V.1 nos. 92 and 379; ETAM 23 no. 206; EA 38 (2005), p. 25.

¹⁴ TAM V.1 nos. 109, 110, 111, 162, 188, 473; SEG 49 no. 1733.

¹⁵ TAM V.1 nos. 163 and 170; ETAM 23 nos. 207 and 236; SEG 34 no. 1205; 35 no. 1234; 49 no. 1683.

¹⁶ TAM V.1 nos. 176 and 764; SEG 35 no. 1235.

¹⁷ TAM V.1 no. 112; EA 39 (2006), p. 63 no. 33.



The second graph reflects the “epigraphic habit” of the Roman world, which implies that the number of inscriptions goes up until the late 2nd / early 3rd century AD¹⁸, but this cannot explain the sudden rise after AD 165. The years 165–169 coincide with the first outbreak of the plague, which shook the Roman empire in the later part of the second century AD¹⁹. It started in the winter of AD 165/166 and lasted for several

¹⁸ For this phenomenon, see R. MacMullen, *The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire*, *AJP* 103 (1982) 233–46 and G. Wolf, *Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire*, *JRS* 86 (1996) 22–24 (“the epigraphic habit revisited”).

¹⁹ For the plague of AD 165, see F. Gilliam, *The Plague under Marcus Aurelius*, *AJP* 73 (1961) 225–251 (= *Roman Army Papers* II, 225–251) and R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Impact of the Antonine Plague*, *JRA* 9 (1996) 108–136, esp. 115–117 with further bibliography. The discussion on the economic impact of the plague, which continues with contributions from R. S. Bagnall, *P.Oxy. 4527 and the Antonine Plague in Egypt: Death or Flight?*, *JRA* 13 (2000)

years²⁰. It raged in Rome in AD 166 and among the troops in Aquileia in AD 168/169. In north-eastern Lydia the plague is perhaps attested by an undated metrical *ex-voto*²¹. The sudden rise in mortality among the upper classes (those who could afford a carved stone stela) in exactly these years is unlikely to be accidental.

The peak of AD 190 coincides with the second epidemic, which started in AD 189²², though here the difference with the preceding years is less conspicuous and therefore the link with the plague is somewhat less clear.

2. Inscription for Glykon (Taf. 4)

Measurements: 81.5 × 36 cm × 7 cm

Private collection Nigel Corner, Durham

Unpublished

Provenance: North-east Lydia, probably Saittae or surroundings (see above)

Date: AD 193, March 27 (?)

- 1 ἔτ(ους) · σ·ο·ζ · μη(νός) Ἄρτε-
- 2 μείσιου δ Γλύ-
- 3 κωνα Ἄριου ἐτείμη-
- 4 σεν Χρυσίον ἢ σύν-
- 5 βιος καὶ Ἄρτεμίδω-
- 6 ρος δ ὕδς – ζήσαν-
- 7 τα ἔτη – μ·ε

Year 277, month Artemisios 4. Chryision his consort has honoured Glykon son of Areios, and Artemidoros his son honoured (him) having lived 45 years.

The stela is completely preserved except for the tenon below. It has the usual trapezoidal form, broader at the bottom than at the top and is surmounted by a pediment with three acroteria. Within this triangular pediment there is a circle, and in the right and left corners two leaves, which are not well cut so that they appear as triangles. Below is a circular wreath in low relief. Two branches of leaves descend from a small circle above; they consist of three double leaves joined by a single leaf and ending below in one common single leaf. This type of wreath is rather unusual; the best parallels we could find are SEG 35 no. 1235 (= EA 6, pl. 5.2; AD 171); ZPE 36

288–292; W. Scheidel, *A Model of Demographic and Economic Change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine Plague*, JRA 15 (2002) 97–114; R. S. Bagnall, *The Effects of Plague: Model and Evidence*, JRA 15 (2002) 114–120 and J. Greenberg, *Plagued by Doubt: Reconsidering the Impact of a Mortality Crisis in the 2nd c. A.D.*, JRA 16 (2003) 413–425, does not concern us here.

²⁰ For the sources, mainly Lucian and Galen, see P. Salmon, *Population et dépopulation dans l'empire romain* (Collection Latomus 137), Brussels 1974, 133–139.

²¹ TAM V.1 no. 761 = R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I*, 1998, 430 (04/10/01). A certain Flaccus thanks the god that he escaped the ἀργαλέην νόσον with his friends (with thanks to G. Petzl for drawing our attention to this text).

²² For this epidemic in Rome, see Dio Cassius 72, 14.3–4.

(1979) pl. VIII no. 47 (AD 182); SEG 31 no. 1033 (= ZPE 44 [1981] pl. VIII no. 14; AD 190) and TAM V.1 no. 84 (= Herrmann, *Ergebnisse* 1962, pl. IV no. 8). All three parallels are carved in an alphabet similar to that of our text, with the same type of *omega*.

The writing is rather sloppy compared to other texts of this group, as e.g. our second text: the letters are not regular, they have no serifs and are cut as single lines. The *alpha* is of the broken type, *sigma* has the classical form Σ, *psilon* has both the forms V and Y and *omega* is a turned over semicircle ending in inwards turned curls, once with a single line under it (l.3) and once without line (l.5). A typical feature are the dots and short strokes used for figures (l.1 and 7) and between some words (l.1 and 6). Similar dots are found in ETAM 19 nos. 292 [correct date: AD 194, not 174], 352, 362, 379, 533 and SEG 31 no. 1031, SEG 48 no. 1465, where figures are separated by dots. For strokes, see for instance ETAM 24 no. 35 and SEG 29 no. 1188, SEG 35 no. 1245 (AD 175).

2. The sigma of Ἀρτεμεισίου and the day date Δ are corrections by the stonecutter.

2–3. Glykon is one of the most common names in texts from North-east Lydia. The name of his father Areios is typical of Egypt, but rare elsewhere; see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 7–8 and Bull. ép. 1976.151. For Lydia, a person named Ar(e)ios is found in ETAM 24 no. 57 and a Zeus Ariou is attested in TAM V.1 no. 535 and ETAM 19 no. 54. All three texts come from the area of Maionia and Kollyda, south of the Hermos.

4. For Lydia the female name Chryson is found in TAM V.1 nos. 623 and 636 (Daldis) and in TAM V.2 no. 1288 (Hierocaesarea).

6–7. The age of the deceased is given as 45 year here, whereas in text no. 2 no age is mentioned. Note the superfluous hyphen in ζή-σαν. In this type of tombstones the age of death is omitted in 60 % of the cases (297 instances out of 503). Especially in the earlier period (up to AD 140) it is usually not mentioned. Stelae set up by professional or age groups (about 30 are preserved), called *tituli a collegiis positi* in TAM V.1, all give the age of the deceased. Why some of the stelae set up by family members give the age and others not, remains puzzling.

3. Inscription for Apollonios (Taf. 5)

Measurements: H. 70.5 cm × W. 44.5 cm (bottom) and 35 cm (top) × T. 5.5 cm. (bottom) and 4.5 cm (top)

Inventory number: Antwerp, Katoen Natie 1387

A photograph and a short description are given by A. De Moor, C. Verheeken-Lammens,

A. Verheeken, *Three Thousand Five Hundred Years of Textile Art*, Tiel 2008, 126–127.

Provenance: North-east Lydia, probably the area of Saittae

Date: AD 216, November/December

- 1 ἔτους ἑτᾶ: μ(ηνός) · Αὐδναίου · Αὐρ(ηλία)
- 2 Ἀντωνία Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ἄν-
- 3 δρα καὶ · Αὐρ(ηλίου) · Στρατονεικιανός καὶ
- 4 Ῥουφείνος τὸν πατέρα · ἐτείμησαν

Year 301, month Audnaios. Aurelia Antonia has honoured her husband Apollonios, the Aurelii Stratonicianus and Rufinus (have honoured) their father.

The triangular pediment and the tenon have been cut off, no doubt to facilitate

transport. The deceased is represented in bold relief as a bearded man, dressed in tunica and mantle. His left arm is covered by the mantle, which he grips with his fingers; his right arm hangs down and it is not clear if he holds some object with his hand. He does not stand in a niche, as is often the case, but his feet rest on a free-standing platform. The same pose is found on several stelae dating between AD 141 and 262, e.g. TAM V.1 nos. 127, 294; ETAM 23 no. 151; ETAM 19 nos. 266 and 384; SEG 27 no. 785 (a very similar figure standing underneath an arch); SEG 31 no. 1013 (plate in ZPE 44 [1981] pl. II no. 4) and SEG 32 no. 1218 (plate in ZPE 49 [1982] pl. X no. 6).

The letters are carefully cut, with elaborate serifs (e.g. for Α, Ε and Σ; cf. ETAM 19 no. 249). They are inserted between two imaginary lines and become gradually narrower towards the end (19 letters in l.1, with spaces for the figures; 22 letters in l.2, 27 in ll.3 and 4), even though there was enough room for another line. A typical feature are the dots between figures (l.1) and before and after some words (ll.1, 3, 4).

The typical letters are paralleled in other texts from the area, e.g. *omega* as a turned over semi-circle ending in curls, underlined with a broken line (cf. TAM V.1 no. 473c; SEG 29 no. 1184; SEG 31 no. 1025 and 1033; ETAM 19 nos. 179 and 387 [dated between AD 140 and 229]); *epsilon* has a detached middle stroke; *omikron* is written somewhat smaller and “hiding” under the preceding *tau*.

1. μ(ηνὸς) and Αὐρ(ηλία) are abbreviated as M and AYP with a short stroke over *my* and *psilon*. This form of abbreviation is perhaps due to influence of the Latin script. The year figures are also set apart by supralinear strokes and dots. This kind of supralinear strokes is also found in TAM V.1 no. 474, of which the script is very similar (AD 223).

Year 301 corresponds to AD 216. This fits the general use of Aurelius names, which starts with the Constitutio Antoniniana in AD 212, as shown by P. Herrmann, *Überlegungen zur Datierung der „Constitutio Antoniniana“*, Chiron 2 (1972) 519–530 on the basis of a stela similar to ours, dated four years earlier. In our text, as in many others (e.g. TAM V.1 nos. 122, 125, 127, 737, 738, 759; ETAM 19 nos. 379 and 387), the Aurelius name is used for the dedicator(s) but not for the deceased.

Audnaios corresponds with November/December. Note the absence of the day of the month. In a funerary inscription one expects an exact day of death, but in about 14 % of this type of stelae a month is given without any day indication.

3. The name Stratonicianus is typical of western Asia Minor in the Roman period. Examples are found in Lydia (TAM V.1 nos. 213, 651, 789; V.2 nos. 1128 [twice] and 2000; ETAM 24 no. 25 [Iulia Gordos]), Phrygia (MAMA V, Lists I [1] 181.32) and Caria (Panamara 322).

Latinization of Greek names with the suffix *-ianus* becomes frequent in Asia Minor in the late 2nd century AD, cf. H. Solin, *Latin Cognomina in the Greek East*, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7), Helsinki 2001, 189–202, esp. 201–202.



zu Y. Broux, W. Clarysse, S. 31–32, Nr. 2: (Durham, Private Collection N. Corner)



zu Y. Broux, W. Clarysse, S. 32–33, Nr. 3: (Antwerp, Katoen Natie 1387)