

Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten  
Fritz Mitthof  
Bernhard Palme  
Hans Taeuber

# TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte  
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

**HOLZHAUSEN**

Der Verlag

**Band 33, 2018**

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## ADNOTATIONES EPIGRAPHICAE IX

<Adn. Tyche>

### 74. Rereading *CIL* XII, 2164 as a *carmen*

A. Allmer introduced in his *Inscriptions de Vienne en Dauphiné*<sup>1</sup> this inscription, among many other unedited pieces. It consists of a marble plate missing all its sides: (27) x (26) x 8.5 cm; two lines of text still remain which are close to the lower border, given the broad anepigraphic space under the text.

Allmer edited these two remaining lines as follows:

.....  
.. SVIS AETERNVM . . .  
PRO MERITIS NVNC . . .

He saw the inscription and draw it, pointing out that it was *posé dans une cour sur le quai du Rhône*. He already claimed that it was undoubtedly a *débris d'une épitaphe métrique*.

O. Hirschfeld (*CIL* XII, 2164) partially corrected the above-mentioned reading by drawing the remaining vertical strokes at the beginning of the first line and at the end of the second line respectively. He also replaced SVIS by RIVIS. The next edition, carried out by E. Le Blant<sup>2</sup>, which consists of a drawing, is unreadable in these spots.

F. Descombes provided the last edition of this fragment. She states that she could not see the inscription and cautiously edits *...IS aeternum... / ... p]ro meritis nunc...*, following the drawing by Allmer<sup>3</sup>. She also insists once again on the metric character of the piece, a possibility that both Hirschfeld and Le Blant presumably neglected.

After having analysed the piece at the Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie of Vienne, where it can be currently found<sup>4</sup> (inv. no. 1100), as part of the project for the edition and study of *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* from Gaul<sup>5</sup>, it is possible to reconstitute the following text:



<sup>1</sup> A. Allmer, *Inscriptions antiques et du Moyen Age de Vienne en Dauphiné. Première partie: Inscriptions antiques antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 4 vol., Vienne 1875–1876, IV, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> E. Le Blant, *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1892, 122.

<sup>3</sup> A. Allmer, A. Allmer, *Atlas des inscriptions antiques et du Moyen Age de Vienne en Dauphiné reproduites en Fac-Simile*, Vienne 1875, pl. 320,73.

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank the people in charge of the museum for the help provided, especially Ms. Gómez and Ms. Durand.

<sup>5</sup> Hacia un nuevo volumen del *CIL*: XVIII/3: *Carmina Latina Epigraphica de las Galias*, edición y estudio. Transferencia online de resultados (ref. FFI2013-42725-P). The trip was part



-----

[- - - vit]a brevis aeternum [- - -]

[- - - p]ro meritis nunc p[aradisus habet]

At the beginning of line 1 there are remains of a stroke ascending obliquely to the left, followed by the word BREVIS (Allmer read instead SVIS while Hirschfeld interpreted it as RIVIS). The restitution of the expression *vit]a brevis* is very apposite not only from the standpoint of the content, as we will see, but also in light of some instances from the of Christian CLE<sup>6</sup> (cf. e.g. *alios mone: vita brevis est*, 627,6; *vita brevis longo melior mortalibus aevo*, 1203,1; *heu quam vita brevis*,..., 1443,5). The antithesis *brevis/aeternum*<sup>7</sup> appears in CLE as a contraposition between the earthly life, which is perishable, as opposed to the heavenly life, which is considered eternal in the contemplation of God (cf. e.g. *vita hominum brevis est certa hanc determinat hora / sed vitae aeternae inde paratur iter*, ICUR II, 4159,1–2).

This topos is closely related to the sequence preserved in line 2 (cf. e.g. *sic vixi ut merito possem vita in aeternum frui*, PEPC<sup>8</sup> T25; *te tua pro meritis virtutis ad astra vehebat*, CLE 2099,5). The prepositional phrase *pro meritis* is common in both pagan and Christian prose inscriptions and its use with *nunc* here can also be found in two inscriptions in verse, namely in CLE 911,2 (*martyrii meritis nunc decorata nitet*) as well as in Paul. Med. *carm.* 33,50<sup>9</sup> (*quod te pro meritis nunc paradysus habet*). Accordingly, it is possible to suggest a restitution of the end of the sequence, especially in view of the remaining strokes of a P close to the break on the right; this sequence is also known in the same context by another two Christian CLE from Rome (cf. *te paradysus habet, lux est quaesita sepulchro*, ICUR VIII, 23057,3; *nunc paradysus habet, sumsit qui ex hoste tropaea*, ICUR IV, 10129,7<sup>10</sup>).

In light of the above, there is no doubt that the fragment must be classified as a CLE of dactylic rhythm. The sequence *vita brevis aeternum* in a verse of this type could only be possible through a penthemimeral caesura or a diaeresis of the pentameter with the subsequent lengthening of the second syllable of *brevis*<sup>11</sup>. This would fit in well with the style of this verse, since both concepts would be opposed in each hemistich of the hexameter. Likewise, the sequences of line

---

of a research stay at the Centre Camille Jullian (Aix-en-Provence) in the context of a research program (ref. FPU13/01684 and EST16/00063).

<sup>6</sup> F. Bücheler, E. Lommatsch, *Anthologia Latina, pars posterior I–II: Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Supplementum*, Leipzig 1895–1926 (= Stuttgart 1982).

<sup>7</sup> Commonly determining *donum* in CLE (*aeternum sperans te d(omi)ne largiente donum*, 769,6), *munus* (*munus ad aeternum susceptus limine Pauli*, ICUR II, 4157, cf. CLE 311), or *aevum* (*vivit in aeternum nullum | moritura per aevum*, 716,2; *aeternum laetus rediens redivivus in aevum*, CLE 778,8, cf. AE 2014, 174b).

<sup>8</sup> J. Gómez Pallarès, *Poesia Epigràfica Llatina als Països Catalans. Edició i Comentari*, Barcelona 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. I*, 1881, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, Città del Vaticano 1942, 63 p. 233–235.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm 1958, 68.

2 seem to correspond to the central position of another dactylic verse, probably a pentameter, if we take account of the two above-mentioned examples. Note that the monosyllable *nunc* does not contravene Marx's law<sup>12</sup> in the resulting hexameter:

[ - ~ ~ ] a brevis, aeternum [ - ~ ~ | - ~ ]  
 [ - ~ ~ p ] ro meritis nunc p [ aradisus habet ]

In regard to all these arguments, it seems more than expedient to suggest a new classification of the inscription as a *CLE* consisting of elegiac distiches in which verse boundaries are observed.

Alberto BOLAÑOS HERRERA

#### 75. Aus zwei mach eins?

Die Inschrift(en?) CIL XIII 7782 + 7783 aus Dernau (Rheinland-Pfalz, D)<sup>13</sup>

Kenntnis von der Existenz der Inschriftenfragmente CIL XIII 7782 und CIL XIII 7783 besteht bereits seit der Publikation von P. Joerres zu den römischen Niederlassungen an der Ahr aus dem Jahr 1886.<sup>14</sup> Die dort wiedergegebenen Skizzen vermittelten immerhin eine Vorstellung. Diese und die wenig später (auf Grundlage von Joerres) abgedruckten leicht modifizierten Skizzen im *CIL* gaben damit über ein Jahrhundert die einzigen Bildvorlagen der — zumal noch vorhandenen — Dernauer Inschriftenfragmente ab. Die schließlich 2007 angefertigten ersten und bislang einzigen Fotos sind der epigraphischen Forschung jetzt über die Fotodatenbank der *EDH* zugänglich.<sup>15</sup>

Während sowohl Joerres als auch *CIL* ganz selbstverständlich von zwei Inschriften ausgingen und deren mögliche Zusammengehörigkeit noch nicht einmal in Erwägung zogen, macht nun ihre fotografische Gegenüberstellung evident, dass es sich hierbei angesichts der starken Übereinstimmungen in Buchstabenform und -größe, in den Zeilenabständen und in der grundsätzlichen Disposition des eingemeißelten Textes und aufgrund des gesamten erhaltenen Textdukus mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit um Teile ein und derselben Inschrift handeln dürfte.<sup>16</sup> Bertram hat dieser Vermutung in der von ihm erstellten und nunmehr zur allgemeinen Verfügung stehenden Fotocollage bereits Ausdruck verliehen.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. F. Marx, *Molossische und bakcheische Wortformen in der Verskunst der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1922, 198.

<sup>13</sup> Die vorliegende *adnotatio epigraphica* ist durch die Aufmerksamkeit von Herrn Matthias Bertram (Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler, D) veranlasst. Er wandte sich im August 2018 mit der Information an die Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (*EDH*), auf Hinweis der Landesarchäologie Koblenz die Inschriftenfragmente im Jahr 2007 in den Kellern des Stadtarchivs von Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler gesichtet und fotografisch dokumentiert zu haben. Nach kurzzeitiger Präsentation für die Öffentlichkeit seien sie wieder in den Archivkeller zurückgekehrt und seitdem nicht mehr ohne weiteres zugänglich.

<sup>14</sup> *Römische Niederlassungen an der Ahr*, BJ 82 (1886) 82–93; zu den Inschriftenfragmenten v. a. 91–92, Nr. 7.

<sup>15</sup> <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F038311>; Foto: Thomas Ley, Collage: Matthias Bertram.

<sup>16</sup> Um letzte Sicherheit insbesondere zur materialbezogenen und der ursprünglichen physischen Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Inschriftenteile zu gewinnen, ist allerdings eine gründliche Autopsie erforderlich, was aktuell noch nicht zu leisten war. Bis zu einer endgültigen Klärung behalten daher die diesbezüglichen Trismegistos-Identifizierer (TM 414856 und 414857) ihre Gültigkeit.

<sup>17</sup> Eine von Bertram bei József Beszédes (Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest) erbetene Einschätzung auf der Basis von Fotos unterstützte ebenfalls schon die Vermutung der Zusammengehörigkeit der Stücke.



Die Abmessungen<sup>18</sup> der beiden Teile<sup>19</sup> betragen (36) x (44) x 15,5 sowie (50) x (50) x 13 cm. Das Material scheint aus einem lokalen Kalkstein zu bestehen.<sup>20</sup> Die Buchstabenhöhen bewegen sich zwischen 8 (oben) und 7 (unten) cm. In den Buchstaben sind Reste roter Farbe erhalten. Als Denkmaltyp wird am ehesten eine Grabstele in Frage kommen.

Der obere Teil mit gerade geschnittenem oberem Rand weist zwei weitgehend vollständig erhaltene Zeilen auf sowie noch eine dritte Zeile, von der an der Bruchstelle nur mehr einige Buchstabenreste erhalten sind. Vom unteren Teil mit gerade geschnittenem unterem Rand sind die unteren vier Zeilen weitgehend vollständig erhalten, während seine oberste, durch die Bruchkante weitgehend zerstörte Zeile nur noch Buchstabenreste aufweist.

Sollten die Inschriftenteile also zu einer Inschrift gehören, so umfasste diese mindestens sieben Zeilen. Ob die beschädigten Zeilen der beiden Bruchkanten ursprünglich zu einer einzigen Zeile gehörten oder ob hier weitere Zeilen zu ergänzen sind, lässt sich ohne vorherige Inaugenscheinnahme derzeit weder bestätigen noch widerlegen.

Die Zusammengehörigkeit der Teile vorausgesetzt, zudem unter Berücksichtigung der Nennung des Verstorbenen im Dativ am Anfang der Inschrift, was am Ende der Inschrift die Nennung der Dedikantin im Nominativ nahelegt, lese ich die Inschrift — in Abweichung zu den bei Joerres bzw. im *CIL* dargebotenen Lesungen<sup>21</sup> — folgendermaßen:

1 C IVLIO  
 2 PEREGRINO  
 3 [---]I(?)[---]  
 ----- (?)  
 ----- (?)  
 (3+?)[---]N(?) L(?) E(?)[---]  
 (4+?)SIBI  
 (5+?)PRIMIA  
 (6+?)CAMVL[A]  
 (7+?)CONIVGI  
  
 C(aio) Iulio / Peregrino / [---]I(?)[---] / ----- (?)  
 ----- (?) / [a]n(nos)(?) L(?) e[t](?) / sibi / Primia / Camul[a] / coniugi

<sup>18</sup> Maße nach Joerres 92; eine aktuelle Bemaßung wird bei der noch ausstehenden Autopsie vorzunehmen sein. Zu überprüfen wäre dann auch, ob die vorhandenen Breiten der beiden Teile der jeweils ursprünglichen Breite entsprochen haben, was für These einer Zusammengehörigkeit mit entscheidend werden dürfte; anhand der Fotos lässt sich dies noch nicht mit letzter Sicherheit verifizieren.

<sup>19</sup> Der — die Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Teile vorausgesetzt — ‚obere‘ Teil war bei Auffindung laut der Zeichnung bei Joerres seinerseits in drei Fragmente zerbrochen; zwischenzeitlich ist ein weiterer Bruch im rechten größeren Fragmentstück hinzugekommen, während das linke obere Fragmentstück mit dem Buchstaben C (Anfang von Zeile 1) verschollen oder verloren ist.

<sup>20</sup> „Das Material der Steine scheint von Niedermendig zu stammen“ (Joerres 91).

<sup>21</sup> ... *ibi(?) sibi [et] Primia[e] Camul[ae] coniugi(sic) [fec(it)]* (Joerres 92). — Die Lesabweichungen liegen, von jenen der Bruchstellen abgesehen, einerseits im bereits genannten anders interpretierten Kasus (Nominativ statt Dativ) des als Dedikantin verstandenen Frauennamens, andererseits in der invertierten Stellung von *[et] sibi* statt *sibi [et]*. Obwohl beide Varianten auf Inschriften vielfach belegt sind, unterscheidet sich ihr Vorkommen je nach der Wortstellung zwischen bzw. der Bezugnahme auf das Dativobjekt und das Subjekt; *[et] sibi* steht demnach in der Regel, wie hier, nach vorausgehendem Dativobjekt (dem Verstorbenen) und vor folgendem Subjekt (Stifter).

Eine präzise Datierung lässt sich nicht vornehmen. Als Entstehungszeitraum der Inschrift wird man aus paläographischen Gründen, aufgrund der beschriebenen Anwendung der Kasus und der generellen Inschriftenordination den Zeitraum zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 1. und dem 2. Jh. annehmen dürften.<sup>22</sup>

Francisca FERAUDI-GRUÉNAIS

#### 76. H statt O: Zur Grabinschrift der Berous aus Rhosos in Kilikien (Taf. 12)

Die Inschrift wurde erstmals in IGLS III 721 publiziert, deren Herausgeber sie 1931 in Alexandrette (heute İskenderun, türkische Provinz Hatay) am Wohnsitz des französischen Delegierten gesehen hatten.<sup>23</sup> Eine Neuedition ist bei W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Berlin 1955, 1737 zu finden.<sup>24</sup>

Der Text zerfällt in zwei Teile: In Z. 1–7, einem Grabepigramm im homerischen Stil, wird die verstorbene Berous rühmend mit Penelope verglichen. Z. 8–9 ist ein schlichter Gruß an mehrere Verstorbene. Dieser zweite Teil wird von den bisherigen Editoren übereinstimmend folgendermaßen wiedergegeben:

Χρῦσιππε καὶ Βεροῦ κα<ι> Νεικοφόρε καὶ Νείκαιε καὶ Σωτηρὶς  
ἄλλοι χαίρετε.

Im April 2018 hatte ich Gelegenheit, den mittlerweile in Wien befindlichen Stein anzuschauen.<sup>25</sup> Die Buchstaben sind am linken Rand etwas abgerieben, sonst jedoch sehr gut erhalten. Der mittlere Name in Z. 8 lautet auf dem Stein eindeutig Νεικηφόρε und nicht Νεικοφόρε. Nach dem derzeitigen Zustand der Inschrift transkribiere ich Z. 8–9 daher wie folgt:

[Χρῦ]σιππε καὶ Βεροῦ κα<ι> Νεικηφόρε καὶ Νείκαιε καὶ Σωτηρὶς  
ἄλλοι χαίρετε.

Katharina MICHNER

<sup>22</sup> Für einen engeren zeitlichen Ansatz Joerres 92: „Die Inschrift der Primia scheint dem ersten Jahrhundert anzugehören; die andere ist wohl nicht viel jüngeren Datums“; ebenso die Einschätzung von Beszédes (vgl. o. Anm. 17).

<sup>23</sup> Dieser Delegierte ist vielleicht der von S. Yérasimos, *Le sandjak d’Alexandrette: formation et intégration d’un territoire*, Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée 48/49, 1988, 205f. genannte Pierre Durieux.

<sup>24</sup> Der Edition von Peek (ohne Z. 8–9) folgen in den meisten Einzelheiten SEG 17, 753 und R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, SGO IV 19/19/02 (vollständiger Text); wiederum leicht abweichend die Edition von W. Peek, *Griechische Epigramme aus Syrien, Afrika und Italien*, ArchEph 1953/54, 285–287 (ohne Z. 8–9) (BE 1959, 458). Weitere Literatur zur Inschrift: BE 1951, 227; J. Keil, Rez. zu IGLS III, Gnomon 28 (1956) 534 (BE 1958, 500); W. Peek, *Die Penelope der Ionierinnen*, MDAI(A) 80 (1965) 164 (BE 1969, 584).

<sup>25</sup> Der Stein wurde 2013 in Frankreich von dem Wiener Kunsthändler Christoph Bacher erworben, dem ich für die Genehmigung zur Untersuchung, Publikation und zum Abdruck des Photos danke.

## 77.–82. Notes on Greek Epitaphs

L.S.B. MacCoull μνήμης χάριν

## 77. Perinthus: I.Perinthus-Herakleia 146

A funerary monument at Perinthus of the first or second century stipulates a fine for violating the tomb, to be paid to “my cohort,” the “Swaddlings” (probably a Dionysiac group as the editor observed).<sup>26</sup> The amount of the fine as inscribed contains an error of some sort:

... [- - - - -]  
 Σωφροσύνη. [ἐὰν δὲ ἔ]-  
 τερόν τις ἐνθάδε θάψῃ,  
 4 δώσει μου σπείρη, οἷς τοῦ-  
 νομα Σπαργανιώταις, <Zahl>  
 χρυσοῦς ἑκατόν τε  
 τετραχρύσους.

At the end of line 5, there is not space for a siglum, let alone a word. The editor concluded that the mason omitted a numeral: thus, a fine was described in two numbers, <x> aurei plus 100 quadruple-aurei. One must wonder why the two amounts of gold were not simply added so as to give one sum. I propose that the mason committed a different error, one that is well attested:<sup>27</sup> he repeated a syllable as he passed from one line to the next, in effect starting the word again, χρυσοῦς ἑκατόν {τε} / τετραχρύσους. The fine then was simplex rather than complex, “in gold, 100 *tetrachrysoi*.”

But what were these?<sup>28</sup> In the classical empire gold is rarely specified for sepulchral fines (in contrast to late antiquity). When this does occur, it is likely a notional unit, meant to be paid in the silver denarii that circulated everywhere. Thus at Olympus in Lycia 10 *chrysoi* to the fiscus and 10 to the prosecutor would equate to 250 + 250 denarii (*TAM* II 991). A good illustration of intent is a fine of 100 *chrysoi* at Termessus in Pisidia (*TAM* III 801), which equals the most common fine in the epitaphs of Termessus, 2,500 denarii.

Before late antiquity, the most favored total on the gravestones of Perinthus is 5,000 denarii, often divided between fiscus and city; the second most favored is 2,500.<sup>29</sup> If *tetrachrysoi* are literally meant, the fine was 10,000 denarii, double the highest sum otherwise attested at Perinthus before late antiquity.

Of gold coins, only the aureus and the half aureus (the quinarius) could be known to the Perinthians. The occasional multiple aureus was rare in the extreme, a presentation coin that can hardly have circulated widely.<sup>30</sup>

To state a sum as 100 quadruple aurei is idle: if 400 aurei is meant, one writes 400 aurei, even if in practice a silver equivalent is expected. A modern analogy would be to state a price not as \$100 but as 10 ten-dollar bills — a pointless specification. And there were no quadruple aurei. The description of the fine cannot literally mean what it says, payment required in quadruple aurei.

<sup>26</sup> M. Sayar, I.Perinthus-Herakleia 146 [SEG XLVIII 934]. For the infant Dionysus swaddled see e.g. C. Gasparri, *Dionysos*, LIMC III (1986) 480, nos. 683 and 686 (vase paintings of the fifth century).

<sup>27</sup> An example at random is MAMA VI 19.9–10 οὐδενὶ δ’ ἐξέσται {αλ} / ἄλλω. In I.Callatis 44.19–20 an ancient correction, [[προαι]]/προαιρηθέντας.

<sup>28</sup> The editor explained the term as a hapax for “quaterniones,” which is not an ancient word.

<sup>29</sup> See Sayar’s (n. 26) valuable tabulation, pp. 253–256. Only two fines are higher, με and εμ, 50,000 denarii (nos. 173 and 194), elevated sums which he explains by the inflation of later antiquity.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, New York 1944 (repr. 1986), 22–23.

The word *tetrachrysos* appears in only one other text, a papyrus of A.D. 331: the cost of transporting some statues from the Dakleh Oasis to Alexandria is ἀ[ρ]γυρίου ἐν τετραχρύσῳ ν[ομ]ίσματι τάλαντα ἑννέα, γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) θ: “of money in the form of *tetrachrysos* coin, nine talents = 9 T.” This is opaque. There were fractions of the solidus and occasional multiples, but no quadruple-solidi; and the sum nine talents does not reveal to us an assured number of gold coins of any denomination. Again, whatever the total, why not reckon it simply in the familiar solidi rather than a non-existent multiple? In both Perinthus and Dakleh, the term *tetrachrysos* seems a deliberate oddity. What concern did it reflect?

In both places different sizes of gold coin might be available. Perinthus could know both the aureus and the half-aureus. The situation in 331 was more complicated, with fractional solidi and occasional multiples. I suggest that the term *tetrachrysos* was formed in classicizing imitation of the age-old word *tetradrachmon*, as a way of specifying the bigger/the standard gold coin denomination: the fear thus could be that “aureus/gold” alone or “solidus” alone might be interpreted as the smaller gold coin – the difference between 100 aurei and 100 quinarii is substantial. On this theory, the word was an anxious affectation, and rare; most people were content to write *aurei* / *chrysoi* / *solidi* / χρυσοῦ νομίσματα knowing that this would be understood as the aureus or solidus and not its fraction. So if *tetrachrysos* is an affectation, the family at Perinthus intended the fine to be simply 100 aurei; this equals the 2,500 denarii that was common there. But the sum intended at Dakleh remains inscrutable.

At Nicomedeia, a funerary poem of a ship captain demands: δώσει φίσκῳ ἑκατὸν δέκα χρυσοῦς.<sup>31</sup> These 110 aurei would equal 2,750 denarii. The number 110 is strangely particular, rather than one of the usual round sums. Perhaps instead read ἑκατὸν δεκαχρύσους; a hapax, but a formation parallel to *tetrachrysos*. If literally meant, it would equal 25,000 denarii.<sup>32</sup> But the word may again be a classicizing conceit, echoing the old term *dekadrachmon*, and intending merely the bigger of the two gold coins, the aureus rather than the quinarius. That again would make the fine equivalent to 2,500 denarii, a familiar sum in the epitaphs of Roman Nicomedeia.<sup>33</sup>

The claim that fussiness and archaism produced rare neologisms for the chief gold coin is only a fragile hypothesis. If it is right, in the background lies the pretentious phrase “Attic drachmas,” the archaizing euphemism for Roman silver denarii that was in vogue from Macedonia to Egypt — an affectation redolent of the shallow classicism of the Second Sophistic.

## 78. Hierapolis: *SEG XLIX 1817*

In Phrygian Hierapolis in the third century, a Jewish woman Aurelia Stratonice had a sarcophagus reserved for herself and her husband.<sup>34</sup> The penalty for misappropriation of the tomb was: δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ \* v. The editor commented that 50 denarii seems modest. She noted (p. 148) that the most frequent sum stipulated in the Jewish graves of Hierapolis is 500 denarii; the highest is 2,000 (her no.1; the lowest otherwise is a fine of 300, + 100 as a reward to the informant: no. 16 = *Alt.Hierap.* 212). A possible interpretation for Stratonice would be 50,000 denarii (v), but such a large sum would usually have been stated with myriads,<sup>35</sup> με, so as not to leave the number unenforceably ambiguous.

<sup>31</sup> S. Şahin, M. Sayar, *Fünf Inschriften aus dem Gebiet des Golfes von Nikomedeia*, ZPE 47 (1982) 45–46 no. 2.8 [*SEG XXXII 1256*].

<sup>32</sup> Such high sums are usually late, cf. Sayar on *I.Perinthos* 182 and 192, T. Corsten on *I.Prusa Olymp.* 200.

<sup>33</sup> See the list at *TAM IV.1* p. 101–102; add *SEG LXI 1057.12* (3,000 Attic drachmas).

<sup>34</sup> E. Miranda, *La comunità giudaica di Hierapolis di Frigia*, EA 31 (1999) 117–118 no. 4, with photograph [*SEG XLIX 1817*].

<sup>35</sup> Cf. one myriad in *Alt.Hierap.* 97 and 125.

As is clear from the published photograph, the mason wrote N. A fine of 50 denarii, however, is alarmingly low: the threatened punishment would be self-defeating. A city in which funerary inscriptions typically stipulate a penalty of 500 or 1000 denarii for usurpation constitutes for this sarcophagus not just the verbal context of neighboring tombs, but also an economic context: in effect, the numeral is an invitation that anyone can use this tomb by risking a sum of only 50 denarii. That seems unlikely, and N can be suspected to be an error.

At Hierapolis, the often-used fine of 500 denarii is sometimes written out, πεντακόσια, but more often φ. Two explanations of an erroneous N seem possible. The numeral may reflect an accidental omission: <σ>v, an intended 250 denarii, matching the lowest sum attested at this city. An alternative seems more likely: a confusion, whether by eye or by ear, in which a written or spoken πεντακόσια, an intended 500, was taken for πενήκοντα, and the mason followed the majority habit of his trade and abbreviated, carving N. Compare the fine of αν stated in *I.Prusias Olymp. 72*: T. Corsten commented reasonably that this strange number, 1,050, may be an error based on confusing 50 and 500.

### 79. Apollonis: TAM V 1219

A gravestone at Lydian Apollonis is preserved in only the final words (TAM V 1219):

-----  
 καὶ στρατι-  
 ωναρίῳ τῷ  
 κατὰ καιρ-  
 4 ὄν Ἀτικὰς  
 χειλίας  
 εἰς ἀρχεῖ-  
 ον.

To the *stationarius* at the time, 1,000 denarii: it is a great rarity to list a specific official as beneficiary in penalty clauses. Fines were paid to permanent organizations — city, fiscus, temple, corporation. Only occasionally is a particular magistracy identified.<sup>36</sup> What can follow that stipulation is an offer of reward money for enforcement, and this probably what we see here. That is, what preceded the extant text was the definition of the fine itself and its recipient. As to a reward, most often this is directed to the general public, commonly τῷ ἐκδικήσαντι or τῷ ἐλέγξαντι — money for the informant/prosecutor who denounced the criminal. For the *stationarius* at Apollonis, Robert found a second example in an inscription from Ticio, in which all that survives of the warning is: [- - τῷ κ]ατὰ καιρὸν στρατ[ι]ωναρίῳ - -].<sup>37</sup>

C. Brélaz has adduced a third instance,<sup>38</sup> a grave at Prusias ad Hyprium that stipulates 1,000 denarii to the treasury and 500 to a soldier: δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμ[ε]ίῳ προστείμου \* α καὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον στρατιώτῃ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην πρᾶσοντι [ἐ]ν τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν Προυσιάδει \* φ,<sup>39</sup> “he will give to the most sacred fiscus as a penalty 1,000 denarii, and to the local/allocated soldier who will

<sup>36</sup> In *Alt.Hierap.* 331 a complicated formula of 6,000 denarii: 1,500 τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ταμίᾳ, 1,500 to the gerosia, 1,500 to the council, and 1,500 τῷ ἐκδικήσαντι.

<sup>37</sup> *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 284–285 (for the poem that follows see GVI 778 = SGO 10/01/01).

<sup>38</sup> *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineur*, Basel 2005, 262–263.

<sup>39</sup> W. Ameling, *I.Prusias Hyp.* 91 with photograph: [ . .]εφ[ . .]νην Ameling, [ε]ἰρήνην A. Martin, review in *AntClass* 56 (1987) 428 (citing Dig. 1.12.1.12, *ad tuendam popularium quietem*).

be maintaining peace<sup>40</sup> in our fatherland Prusias, 500 denarii.” A fourth instance is at Aphrodisias:<sup>41</sup> θεῶ Ἀφροδείτῃ ἀργυρίου \* βφ καὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἑκατοντάρχῳ \* α, “to Aphrodite 1,500 denarii and to the local centurion 1,000 denarii.” In these two texts the deceased preferred to identify the man by his function or his rank rather than his office; but he was likely also called *stationarius*.

Keil and von Premerstein, the editors of the Apollonis inscription, urged that the *stationarius* was tasked to collect fines due to the *fiscus*;<sup>42</sup> at Aphrodisias, however, the fine went to the temple, so a city or the deceased seems to have had some choice about whom to reward for intervention. This officer was a sensible choice. A *stationarius*, a Roman soldier assigned to a place by the central government, had the aura and authority of the emperor.<sup>43</sup> His service and maintenance were a gift from Rome, free and useful labor bestowed on a community, guard duty at no expense to the locals. This was a desired benefaction; so for a village in Phrygia:<sup>44</sup>

*Valēs*: Ἀνοσσηνοὶ ἀξιούσιν στατιωνάριον λαβεῖν. [*Philocurius proc.*: ὅπως τηρ(?)ῆται τὰ κεκριμένα, δώσω στατιωνάριον.

*Valēs*: “The Anosseni are asking to receive a *stationarius*.” Philokyrios the procurator: “To preserve what has been decided, I will grant a *stationarius*.”

It was useful for a family or a community to encourage this personage in particular to pay special attention to graves.<sup>45</sup>

The reward stipulated in funerary texts was an incentive, in a world with few public resources for law enforcement, to be watchful and to prosecute the misuse of graves. We learn that these four cities each enjoyed the use of a Roman soldier, the emperor’s man, and that in these instances that officer was incentivized rather than (or in addition to) a generic “denouncer.” Where the officer alone was offered the reward money (as at Prusias and Aphrodisias), we might deduce that the effect would be to disincentivize the general public. But it is easy to imagine that someone with information to take to the soldier might ask to share in the reward.

The last two words of the Apollonis inscription give pause. A great many funerary warnings end with εἰς (τὸ) ἀρχεῖον, but as the conclusion to a quite different statement: a copy of this text has been deposited (e.g. ἀπόκειται / ἀπετέθη) “in the archive.” One might punctuate after χειλίας and take εἰς ἀρχεῖον as a final proclamation rather than the usual complete sentence: “In the archive”. But Keil and von Premerstein cautiously deduced from these words that the *stationarius* apparently had a space of his own in a civic building (“ein eigenes Amtszimmer”). To this some support can now be offered: a list of expenses for transportation in Egypt includes the entry ἐν τῷ τελωνίῳ στατιων(αρίῳ) S δ, “in the customs-house, four drachmas to a *stationarius*.”<sup>46</sup> So a *stationarius* might well have an office or table of his own in a public building; and it was in the

<sup>40</sup> For the phrase compare Andoc. Pac. 35 (ἐὰν δέ τις ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην πρῶτη), Xen. Ages. 1.11.

<sup>41</sup> A. Chaniotis, *Roman Army in Aphrodisias*, *REMA* 6 (2013) 151–158.

<sup>42</sup> *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis*, Vienna 1908, on no. 101.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Brélaz, *La sécurité* (n. 38 above) 254–263 (263 “représentant de la puissance de Rome”).

<sup>44</sup> W. H. C. Frend, *A Third-Century Inscription Relating to Angareia in Phrygia*, *JRS* 46 (1956) 46–56 [*SEG XVI 754*] lines 32–33.

<sup>45</sup> An alternative is attested on graves in the Cibyratis, offering the reward to “the local hireling,” τῷ κατὰ τόπον μισθωτῇ: W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I*, La Vergne/TN 2010, 272–273 nos. 192, 193 (adding τοῦ χωρίου), and *IGR III* 478. Ramsay judged that these men were estate managers; so expressly in C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, Princeton 1971, 308 μισθωτῆ[ς - χωρί]ου Καίσαρος. Of indeterminate employment (and not named as recipients of reward money): *MAMA I* 292 two μισθωτὰ χωρ[ί]ου; *MAMA V* 219 μισθωτῆς τῆς κόμης; *SEG XLVIII* 1605 μισθωτῆς τῶν περὶ Ἄλασσον τόπων.

<sup>46</sup> *P. Wash. Univ.* II (1990) 80.18 (third century).

archives building that Greek cities kept their records of funerary injunctions, which in Apollonis he could readily consult, εἰς ἀρχεῖον. In neither of these two texts is his place called a *statio*.<sup>47</sup>

### 80. Neoclaudiopolis: Marek/Adak, *Epigraphische Forschungen* 92

A gravestone found in the territory of Neoclaudiopolis in Paphlagonia includes an incoherent string of letters:<sup>48</sup>

ταφΙ- - -  
 στήσε στήλην κὲ τὰ γρά(μματα)  
 ἐγγρ(ά)ψε· ἂν δὲ τέκνα ποιή-  
 4 ση προσέχιν τῷ τάφῳ σ[υγ]-  
 χωρήσαντός μοι τὴν θέ-  
 σιν Δομετιανοῦ τοῦ γαν-  
 βροῦ μου ἢ αὐτὸν βληθῆ-  
 8 νε μετὰ τῆς γυνεκὸς ἢ ἄ-  
 ν προλάβουσι τέκνα με  
 δ' ἔτους τρὶς ΕΝΤΙΦΕΙΣΟΝ  
 τάφον ὃς ἂν ἀπανύξη  
 12 δῶσι τῷ ταμίῳ προστί-  
 μου \* αφ.

3: ΕΝΓΡΨΕ

At lines 1–3, possibly ἀνέ]/στησε and ἐν(έ)γγρ(ά)ψε. At the end of line 2, the letters are hard to make out, and abbreviation should be doubted. In funerary texts, ἐγγραφ- is often used of what has been publicly “registered” as lawful regarding use of the tomb:<sup>49</sup> e.g. *SEG* XXX 1349 περὶ τούτων ἔνγραφον ἀπόκειται εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον (Miletus); *Alt.Hierap.* 339 καὶ εἴ τιτι ἐτέρῳ αὐτὸς συνχωρήσῃ δι' ἐγγράφου; *MAMA* VIII 596 συνχωρήσῃ ἐν[γ]ράφως, ἕτερος [δὲ οὐδεις ἔξει ἐξουσίαν (Aphrodisias). The photographs show two hastas and then alpha: I would urge κὲ ταῦτα, “and registered these things.”

The oddity of the text lies in the stipulations made by Domitianus who apparently owned the tomb (7 ff.). The inscribing has faults, but Chr. Marek’s reading, as the photographs show, is clearly exact. He translated:

<sup>47</sup> Contrast a threshold in a temple in Heliopolis, inscribed *pro sal(ute) imperatorum, occup(ata) stat(io)*, a space reserved for someone (J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLSyrie* VI 2800): perhaps for a *stationarius*. Another doorway in the temple is labeled for a named individual, a slave, *pro [s]alute im[pe]rator(is), occupatum locum Secundo T. Fl. Solani Lamontis* (2799).

<sup>48</sup> Chr. Marek, M. Adak, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Bithynien, Paphlagonien, Galatien und Pontus*, Istanbul 2016, no. 92, with photographs of the stone and a squeeze.

<sup>49</sup> On the legal archiving of such texts see M. Wörrle, *Zwei neue griechische Inschriften aus Myra*, in: J. Borchardt (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, Berlin 1975, 254–286; K. Harter-Uibopuu, *Epigraphische Quellen zum Archivwesen in den griechischen Poleis*, in: M. Faraguna (ed.), *Archives and archival documents in ancient societies: Legal documents in ancient societies IV, Trieste 30 September – 1 October 2011*, Trieste 2013, 273–305, esp. bibliography at 295 n. 71, and ead., *Tote soll man ruhen lassen. Verbote und Strafen zur Sicherung von Gräbern am Beispiel von Inschriften aus Ephesos*, in: J. Fischer (ed.), *Der Beitrag Kleinasiens zur Kultur und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Vienna 2014, 157–180, esp. 159–160 on *I.Ephesos* 2121.

“... nachdem ... Dometianus gestattet hat, dass entweder ich selbst zusammen mit meiner Frau bestattet werde, oder, wenn die Kinder früher als ich sterben, im vierten Jahr dreimal in das Grab aufgenommen werden.”

He tentatively interpreted: “dass frühzeitig sterbende Kinder erst ab einem Alter von vier Jahren, und dann höchstens bis zu dreien in dem Grab bestattet werden dürfen.”

In line 11, the verb (ἀπ)ανοίγνυμι<sup>50</sup> in penalty clauses does not need an object and usually does not have one; and what precedes the phrase here looks like the familiar “in the tomb” and the end of a sentence. As Marek saw, the writing as it stands is too garbled to allow for convincing emendation. One can merely say that what might be expected at this point in the text is ἢ ἂν προλάβουσι τέκνα: μ<η>/δ’ ἐτ<έρ>ους {τρις} ἐντι<θέναι> εἰς <τ>ὸν τάφον· ὃς ἂν ἀπανύξη (κτλ.), that is, a separate provision “not to bury others in the tomb.”

### 81. Marseilles: *IG France* no. 43

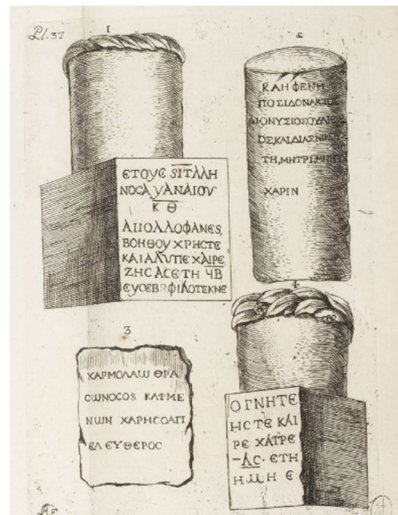
Two funerary monuments, recorded near Marseilles in the eighteenth century and soon after lost, are known to us from the drawings published in 1773, which are reproduced now in the corpus for France.<sup>51</sup> The monuments are of the same design, a rectangular block surmounted by a cylinder of about the same proportions, and show much the same formulary. The more ambitious text offers a date (*IG France* no. 43):

- ἔτους σιγ μη-  
νός Αὐδναίου  
κθ  
4 Ἀπολλόφανες  
Βοήθου χρηστὲ  
καὶ ἄλυπε χαίρε,  
ζήσας ἔτη ρβ.  
8 εὐσέβη, φιλότεκνε.

The year had been read as 613; J.-C. Decourt thought 513 more likely, “probably Seleucid era.” But the drawing allows for no doubt: as F. Canali De Rossi has seen (*BMCR* 2005.05.37), it gives ςιγ, year 316 in the retrograde sequence that was common for year dates in Syria; with the Seleucid era, he dated the stone to A.D. 4/5.

These might be the graves of Syrians resident in the west, as in the Palmyrene dedications in Rome *IGUR* I 122 (εμν 445 = A.D. 133/4) and 119 (ζμφ 547 = 235/6) or the grave of an Apamean near Aquileia *IG* XIV 2332 (ακψ 721 = 409/10). But the similarities of the two monuments make it more likely that they were acquired together in the east in modern times and brought to France for show.

What is decisive about the origin of the two is their unusual form, a mortuary stone carved to be a rectangular block topped by a garlanded cylinder. Their quiet elegance makes one think



Grosson, *Recueil* pl. 37

<sup>50</sup> For the compound here (not in LSJ or DGE) cf. *Studia Pontica* III 50 ὃς δ’ ἂν ἀπανύξη (Neoclaudiopolis).

<sup>51</sup> J. B. Grosson, *Recueil des antiquités, et monuments marseillois*, Marseilles 1773 [J.-C. Decourt, *IGFrance* nos. 40 and 43].



of Phoenicia. To be exact, this design is distinctive of Sidon.<sup>52</sup> A more thorough search than I have made may well find examples elsewhere, but Sidon has yielded many dozens of these little markers (typically about 35 cm. tall). To speak only of France, the Louvre has fifty-one.<sup>53</sup> It is most probable that the two Marseilles decoratives are spolia from the graveyards of Sidon. The era of Sidon began in 111/0 B.C.: Apollophanes died in A.D. 205/6. Aged 92, he had been born in the reign of Trajan.

The month Audnaios is on record at Sidon and Tyre.<sup>54</sup> In line 8, read εὐσέβει, φιλότεκνε: “be pious, my child.”<sup>55</sup> This rare exhortation recurs in an epitaph at Syrian Aramea, ἄλυπε χαίρε. “εὐσέβει.”<sup>56</sup> It belongs in quotation marks, the advice of the dead to the living, and of age to youth. The *Hermetic Corpus* offers an exact parallel: εὐσέβει, ὃ τέκνον.<sup>57</sup>

## 82. Emesa: *IGLSyrie* V 2358–2359

In Emesa at the end of the fifth century, a Roman official Megas, [Με]γάλου ἐπαρχικοῦ Καισαρά[ω]ς, lost two children.<sup>58</sup> A man of Caesarea, he was of some prominence, a member of the governor’s staff (ἐπαρχικός).<sup>59</sup> The editor of the children’s epitaphs suggested that Megas was in Emesa only temporarily and in an official capacity.

The boy Leontios, aged 4, died first; the girl Iohannous, aged 9, came to be buried next to her brother, παρετέθ]η τῷ μακαρίῳ Λεο[ντίῳ]. Both graves are dated:

Leontios, 2358.13–15: [έτε]λιώθη ἐν[ι]αυτῶν δ, μ<sup>η</sup> [...]ρ Π, [έτο]υς εω, ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ

Iohannous, 2359.9–10: ἐτελιώθη ἐνιαυτῶν θ, [μ<sup>η</sup> - -]εμβρ(ίου) ε, ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ, ἔτους ζω  
Leontios died on the second of some month (so *IGLSyrie*) in Seleucid 806, indiction 3: the year that began with September 494. Iohannous died on -ember 5, indiction 4, Seleucid 807: the year that began with September 495. “Joannous est morte en sept., nov. ou déc. 495, un an après son petit frère.”

In Leontios’ epitaph, the reported space for the month name is limited; and for the day, a Roman numeral would be anomalous. Normal usage is met by writing μ<sup>η</sup> [Απ]ρι(λίου) ι: April 10. Hence a narrower time frame: the two children can have died as little as five months apart, in spring and autumn of 495.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>52</sup> E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, 381 (“le trait caractéristique des humbles sépultures sidoniennes”); T. Macridy Bey, *Le temple d’Echmoun à Sidon*, Paris 1904, 45, 51; W. J. Moulton, *Twelve Mortuary Inscriptions from Sidon*, *AJA* 8 (1904) 283–287; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* I, Constantinople 1912, 150–157 (nos. 45, 49, and 56 dated Sidonian 287, 277, and 282); G. Conteneau, *Mission archéologique à Sidon (1914)*, Syria 1 (1920) 49–50; J.-B. Yon, *Quelques cippes funéraires de Sidon*, Syria 93 (2016) 17–28.

<sup>53</sup> A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits*, Paris 1933, nos. 87–137, all with recorded provenance.

<sup>54</sup> A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich 1972, 174, 176.

<sup>55</sup> εὐσέβει Decourt, taken to intend middle-passive, “reçois nos marques de piété.”

<sup>56</sup> R. Mouterde, *IGLSyrie* IV 1530: ἄλυπε χαίρε. Εὐσεβεῖ, “A la Pieuse (ou: A Eusèbe).”

<sup>57</sup> *Corp.Herm.* fr. IIB.2 (III p. 13 Festugière).

<sup>58</sup> R. Mouterde, *IGLSyrie* V 2358–2359, with D. Feissel, *Bull.épigr.* 1998, 516, p. 681.

<sup>59</sup> At Caesarea he owned a burial site for his slaves (*C.I.Iudaeae* II 1514 Μεγάλου ἐ]παρχικοῦ). The name is well represented in Byzantine Syria; but perhaps Megas, the well-connected bishop of Beroea in the 530s, was related: *ACO* III 169 (Council of 536); Procop. *Wars* 2.6.17 (in 540 sent from Antioch by the government to negotiate with Chosroes).

<sup>60</sup> I recall Mallarmé’s son: “malade au printemps / mort en automne.” It is easy to picture a child wasting away across a fierce Syrian summer.

The proximate deaths of children were keenly felt and recorded in antiquity. Talk of “plague” was frequent. As examples of extreme cases, the children of Aemilius Paulus, aged 14 and 12, died eight days apart (Plut. *Aem.Paul.* 35.2), the two daughters of the sophist Prohaeresius ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἄμβω (Eunap. *VS* 10.80 Goulet). Such losses were familiar enough to make an occasional theme for the poets, e.g. Apollonides on the deaths of four sons in four days.<sup>61</sup>

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### 83.–84. Due nuove iscrizioni menzionanti i *cepotaphia* *CIL*, VI 30493 e *CIL*, VI 30590,3

Il termine *cepotaphium* fa riferimento ad un tipo di monumento funebre inserito all'interno di un giardino, come indicano i termini greci κήπος, “giardino”, e τάφος, “tomba”. Tale denominazione si affiancò a quella di *hortus* a partire dall'età adrianea-antonina e continuò ad essere utilizzata per tutto il III secolo d.C.<sup>62</sup> Le attestazioni in Italia si concentrano principalmente nell'area di Roma, dove l'uso di questo termine si sarebbe diffuso tramite i numerosi schiavi e liberti di provenienza orientale<sup>63</sup>. È verosimile che la funzione dei *cepotaphia* fosse legata a più esigenze, ad esempio abbellire il luogo di sepoltura con piante e fiori (forse anche al fine di fornire al defunto un ambiente più piacevole, fatto ad immagine dei Campi Elisi) ma anche creare spazi e strutture adibiti al culto, soprattutto in occasione delle commemorazioni dei defunti<sup>64</sup>. Spesso ricorre, assieme al termine *cepotaphium*, il riferimento ad un muro di recinzione (detto *maceria* o *murus*) dal valore sia simbolico che funzionale, il quale rendeva il sepolcro intangibile dal punto di vista spirituale e fisico<sup>65</sup>.

Presentiamo in questa sede due iscrizioni, *CIL*, VI 30493 e *CIL*, VI 30590, 3, in cui la menzione del termine *cepotaphium* non era stata finora notata, ma è emersa durante la revisione del materiale epigrafico urbano in vista del suo inserimento nella banca dati EDR (Epigraphic Database Roma: [www.edr-edr.it](http://www.edr-edr.it)). Queste si aggiungono alle testimonianze trattate nell'articolo di Gian Luca Gregori<sup>66</sup>, lavoro che resta un punto di riferimento per questo tipo di monumenti.

Le due iscrizioni forniscono, come vedremo, un ulteriore contributo allo studio di questa tipologia sepolcrale; in particolare, la provenienza di *CIL*, VI 30493 dalla Via Latina risulta molto interessante, considerando che da questa stessa zona viene una delle rare attestazioni del termine

<sup>61</sup> Gow/Page, *Garland of Philip Apollonides* 6 (*Anth.Gr.* 7.389).

I am most grateful to the editors and referees of *Tyche* for their expert advice and assistance in improving this paper.

<sup>62</sup> G. L. Gregori, *Horti sepulchrales e cepotaphia nelle iscrizioni urbane*, Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. Roma LXI (1987) 182.

<sup>63</sup> Un contributo recente sull'argomento è stato apportato da J. Bodel, il quale, analizzando le aree di provenienza delle più antiche attestazioni del termine, lo considera originario di Alessandria d'Egitto, dove si sarebbe diffuso nel tardo periodo tolemaico o nella prima età romana come giardino dotato di una tomba e caratterizzato da specifiche esigenze produttive. Lo studioso non esclude quindi che anche nell'adozione di questa tipologia in ambiente romano si siano potuti considerare sia gli aspetti ornamentali e decorativi, sia quelli produttivi, al fine di espletare le necessità dei riti presso la tomba (J. Bodel, *Roman tomb gardens*, in: K. L. Gleason e.a. [ed.], *Gardens of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2018, 214–215).

<sup>64</sup> Gregori, *Horti* (n. 62), 175.

<sup>65</sup> Gregori, *Horti* (n. 62), 182.

<sup>66</sup> Gregori, *Horti* (n. 62), 175–188.

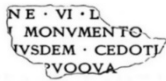
in greco<sup>67</sup>. Più in generale, proprio l'area delimitata dai percorsi delle Vie Labicana e Appia e attraversata dalla Via Latina ha fornito gran parte delle attestazioni urbane di giardini sepolcrali<sup>68</sup>.

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83. *CIL*, VI 30493 = EDR158609

Frammento di lastra marmorea mancante da tutti i lati (20 x 24 x 10; lett. 3–2). Fu ritrovato nel 1890 in occasione dei lavori per la costruzione della direttissima Roma-Napoli, a Tor Fiscale, nei pressi delle condutture dell'acquedotto Felice e dei ruderi detti “delle vignacce”, come apprendiamo dagli appunti di Lanciani<sup>69</sup>, insieme a tratti del basolato della Via Latina, sepolcri e resti di edifici<sup>70</sup>. Si conserva a Roma, nel Parco archeologico della Via Latina (magazzino della Basilica di S. Stefano), inv. Terme 263536.

**30493** fragmentum tabulae marmoreae repertum  
in via Latina prope ductum aquae Felicis et  
rudera delle vignacce, cum via ferrata facta est.



Lanciani apud Fiorellium notizie degli scavi 1890  
p. 12.



-----  
[ - - ] ne VI ++ [ - - ]  
[ - - ] m monvmentō [ - - ]  
[ - - ] eiusdem cepot[ aphi - - ]  
[ - - ] a] quoqua[ m - - ]

5 ----- + ----

<sup>67</sup> Delle 7 attestazioni del termine in lingua greca, 3 si trovano nello stesso passo di un'opera del V secolo redatta da un vescovo della Bitinia in riferimento ad un viaggio in Egitto compiuto nel secolo precedente dal monaco Macario. Delle altre 4 attestazioni, due provengono da Alessandria d'Egitto, una dalla Pisidia ed una, per l'appunto, da Roma (Bodel, *Roman tomb gardens* [n. 63] 210–214). Comprendiamo quindi l'importanza della provenienza dell'iscrizione *CIL*, VI 30493 proprio dalla stessa area, che fornisce, essa sola, non una ma almeno due attestazioni di questa tipologia sepolcrale. L'eccezionalità del caso è poi rimarcata dal fatto che l'iscrizione IGUR, 836 riporti una preghiera ad Iside, circostanza che avvicina ulteriormente questa tipologia alle esperienze egiziane (cfr. nt. 63).

<sup>68</sup> Bodel, *Roman tomb gardens* (n. 63) 234–237.

<sup>69</sup> R. Lanciani, *Codici vaticani latini 13044, 13045*, in: M. Buonocore (a cura di), *Appunti di topografia romana nei codici Lanciani della Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, IV*, Roma-Città del Vaticano 2001, f. 117v. Questi si trovano a nord ovest del casale di Roma Vecchia, presso il IV miglio della Via Latina. La zona è considerata parte del latifondo di Costantino (P. Brandizzi Vittucci, *La collezione archeologica nel casale di Roma Vecchia*, Roma 1981, 17 n. 22).

<sup>70</sup> Fondazioni murarie, resti di pavimento, depositi dell'acquedotto, una meridiana (T. Ashby, *The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna. Part III. The Via Latina (parte prima)*, in: *PBSR* 4, Roma 1907, 78); vedi anche Brandizzi Vittucci, *La collezione archeologica* [n. 69] 20, nt. 54 (con bibliografia precedente).

Scrittura capitale tendente all'*actuaria* con lettere piuttosto ravvicinate. Segni di interpunzione regolari.

A r. 1 la presenza di alcune lettere e termini frammentari non permette di ricostruire con chiarezza il testo. Non è esclusa l'interpretazione del secondo termine come ablativo indicante un'azione compiuta con la forza ai danni del sepolcro, da mettere in relazione con l'intento di evitare appropriazioni illegittime. Alla stessa riga, non è possibile definire con certezza le lettere successive, di cui la prima può essere sia una *E*, sia una *L*, mentre della seconda si conserva solo un'asta verticale.

A r. 2 compare il resto di un'asta ed un lievissimo accenno di un tratto ascendente che mi fanno propendere per una *M*.

Salta all'occhio, a r. 3, *cepot*[- - -], facilmente integrabile in *cepotaphi*<sup>71</sup>. Tale riferimento era sfuggito sia agli autori del *CIL* che a Lanciani, i quali rinunciano ad ogni ulteriore integrazione<sup>72</sup>. A r. 2 è presente un riferimento allo stesso monumento funebre (*monumento*): ricorre spesso infatti, in riferimento ai giardini sepolcrali, il termine *monumentum*, nella duplice accezione funeraria e commemorativa: luogo fisico in cui sono conservati i resti del defunto da un lato, luogo della memoria dove è ancora possibile entrare in contatto con i propri cari defunti e ricordarli attraverso i riti<sup>73</sup>.

A r. 4 l'integrazione [*a*] *quoqua*[*m* - - -] sembra essere confermata da una lievissima traccia che potrebbe essere attribuita alla lettera *M*. Ritengo molto probabile che l'iscrizione avesse in questo punto la funzione di sventare eventuali appropriazioni illegittime del sepolcro e che quindi fosse presente un verbo in riferimento all'atto di vendere, sottrarre, ecc. Calzante è infatti il parallelo con *CIL*, VI 26943, in cui leggiamo: *ne a quoquam eorum hortulus alienetur vel veneat quot si quis donare vendere alienareve aliquo modo voluerit*.<sup>74</sup> Bisogna sottolineare che anche in questo caso si tratta della stessa tipologia sepolcrale (è presente infatti il termine *hortulus*).

Lungo il margine inferiore è appena visibile il resto di una lettera, una *A* o forse una *M*, preceduta dalla traccia di un'altra lettera, per cui il testo doveva essere composto di almeno 5 righe.

Per l'analisi paleografica e per il formulario ritengo probabile una datazione al III secolo d.C.

Valentina VARI

#### 84. *CIL*, VI 30590, 3 = EDR164014

Frammento pertinente alla parte centrale del margine inferiore di una lastra marmorea (21 x 14 x ?; lett. 2,7–1,5). Di provenienza ignota, fu vista per la prima volta in Palazzo Podocatari Corsetti, dove tuttora si conserva, murata<sup>75</sup>.

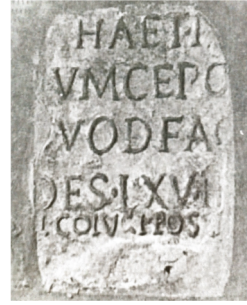
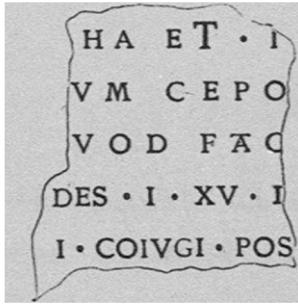
<sup>71</sup> Vedi anche E. De Ruggiero (a cura di), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, IV, 1–2, Roma 1961, 203.

<sup>72</sup> La lettura del *CIL* *cedotif*[- - -] e quella di Lanciani (R. Lanciani, *Codici vaticani latini 13046, 13047, 15229*, in: Marco Buonocore [a cura di], *Appunti di topografia romana nei codici Lanciani della Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*, V, Roma 2002, f. 117v) *cepotif*[- - -] sono infatti errate.

<sup>73</sup> Gregori, *Horti* (n. 62), 175–188.

<sup>74</sup> Testo completo in EDR168838 del 12/08/2018 (S. Orlandi).

<sup>75</sup> SupplIt Images – Roma, 5, 5017.



- [---]ha et m[---]  
 [---]cum cepo[taphio] --- ?]  
 [---]quod fac[it] --- ?]  
 [---]pe]des LXV I[---]  
 5 [---]i coiugi (!) pos[uit] ---].

Scrittura capitale con segni di interpunzione regolari.

In r. 1 la lettera finale è stata trascritta dal *CIL* come una *I*, ma osservando attentamente la superficie si evince la presenza di un'asta obliqua che mi porta ad interpretare la lettera come una *M*. Rimangono, tuttavia, dubbie le integrazioni sia della lacuna a destra, sia delle lettere *HA* che la precedono.

A r. 2 si riconosce la presenza della parola *cepo[taphio]* preceduta dalla preposizione *cum*, da riferire alla descrizione dell'area sepolcrale, che doveva comprendere più strutture. Alla superficie complessivamente occupata da quest'area si riferisce l'espressione successiva (*quod facit...*), assai rara, ma integrabile sulla base di alcuni confronti: in particolare *CIL*, VI 13225, reimpiegata nelle catacombe di Pretestato<sup>76</sup>, in cui si parla di una piccola area annessa ad un sepolcro *quae facit in fronte pedes XIII, in agro pedes XXVII*, e *CIL*, XIV 730, dalla necropoli di Portus<sup>77</sup>, in cui si menziona una *sepulcrum*, circondato da un muro di recinzione, *quod facit iugerum*.

Purtroppo non conosciamo l'ampiezza del supporto e di conseguenza risulta complesso dare un'integrazione dell'epigrafe.

Sulla base paleografica è possibile proporre una datazione a cavallo tra il I e il II secolo d.C.

Veronica LUPO

<sup>76</sup> *D(is) M(anibus). / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Secundus et / Aurelia Aravia co(n)iux se vivi / fecer(unt) sibi et fili(i)s suis et li(bert(is)) libertabusq(ue) posteris/que eorum. Ad hoc monimen/tum ariola pertinet quae / facit in fr(onte) p(edes) XIII, in agr(o) p(edes) XXVII* = EDR168837 del 12/08/2018 (S. Orlandi).

<sup>77</sup> *A(ulus) Caesennius Galli / l(ibertus) Herma / A(ulus) Caesennius Italicus / Caesennia L(uci) l(iberta) Erotis uxor / fecerunt sibi et suis / lib(ertis) libertabusque posterisq(ue) eorum / sepulcrum macereis circumclusum. / In fr(onte) p(edes) CCC, in agr(o) p(edes) XCVI q(uod) f(acit) iug(erum)* = EDR101543 del 24/10/2009 (M. De Paolis).



zu K. Michner, Adn. 76