

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

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ALEXANDER FREE

A New Epitaph from Aphrodisias*

Plates 2–5

A fully preserved composite sarcophagus chest with an almost complete epitaph was found in 2016 during rescue excavations directed by the museum of Aphrodisias in the field of a local farmer 1.5 km southwest of the theatre hill. The sarcophagus was once set up in the southwest necropolis of Aphrodisias, one of six necropoleis that formerly surrounded the city (pl. 2, fig. 1). Although these necropoleis have never been excavated systematically due to the use of the area as farmland and the location of the modern village of Geyre, about 105 fully or mostly preserved and approximately 700 fragmentary sarcophagi are known so far.¹ While one fourth of the total findings are of a columnar type, 60% and therefore the largest group are garland sarcophagi which is also the model of the sarcophagus under discussion here.²

* I would like to thank Bert Smith and Angelos Chaniotis for inviting me to Aphrodisias and giving me the opportunity to work on this inscription. I am due to both of them as well as to Henry Heitmann-Gordon for discussing some aspects of the inscription and for improving the English manuscript. I also thank Karin Wiedergut who granted me an insight into her PhD thesis on polis-archives in the provinces of Asia and Lycia et Pamphylia.

¹ See H. Turnbow, *The Display of Sarcophagi in the Cemeteries of Aphrodisias*, in: R. R. R. Smith (ed.), *Aphrodisias'tan Roma Portreleri. Roman Portraits from Aphrodisias*, Istanbul 2008, 152–167 and H. Turnbow, *Roman Sarcophagi*, in: C. Ratté, P. D. De Staebler (edd.), *The Aphrodisias Regional Survey* (Aphrodisias V), Mainz 2012, 309–345 on the Aphrodisian necropoleis. Ibid. 309 she provides information about the findspots of the majority of the sarcophagi that are located within 1 km from the centre of the city or immediately outside of this perimeter. The new sarcophagus can therefore be perfectly integrated into the wider context of sepulchres in the immediate urban periphery of Aphrodisias near a central road to the southwest gate in the city wall. E. Ögüş, *The Rise and Fall of Sarcophagus Production at Aphrodisias*, Phoenix 68.1/2 (2014) 137 provides the most recent number of extant sarcophagi from Aphrodisias. See also E. Ögüş, *Sarcophagus Production: From Quarry Block to Funerary Monument*, in: R. R. R. Smith (ed.), *Aphrodisias'tan Roma Portreleri. Roman Portraits from Aphrodisias*, Istanbul 2008, 169, F. Işık, *Die Sarkophage von Aphrodisias*, in: B. Andreae (ed.), *Symposium über die antiken Sarkophage. Pisa 5.–12. September 1982*, Marburg/Lahn 1984, 243 and R. R. R. Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship*, in: C. Ratté, R. R. R. Smith (edd.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments* (JRA Suppl. 70), Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2008, 347.

² The numbers are taken from Turnbow, *Roman Sarcophagi* (s. n. 1) 314–315 who also mentions more types of sarcophagi. Cf. also Işık, *Sarkophage von Aphrodisias* (s. n. 1), who classifies the different types of Aphrodisian sarcophagi.

The sarcophagus measures 85 cm in height, 210 cm in width and 93 cm in depth. While the left side and the back were left as plain, rough-pointed surfaces, the front and right side were worked with typical motives of Aphrodisian sarcophagus design (pl. 3–4, fig. 2–5).³ The chest is decorated with a central tabula ansata with double scallop handles and two fruit garlands combined with hanging grape clusters on either side, and it is supported by unfluted pillars of a Doric type at each corner. The design is a simplified version of a common Aphrodisian sarcophagus scheme. The corner piers replace Nikai, and Eros or putti figures holding each side of the tabula are omitted. The lunette spaces above the garlands are occupied by unfinished, roughed out portrait busts on each side. These busts have the typical form of shoulder busts of the later second and early third century. They are unusual in having the appearance of simple cut-out bust shapes with no discernible hairstyles (as Aphrodisian unfinished sarcophagus bust portraits often have) and not even any discernible difference of gender between the two busts – nearly always female on the left, and male on the right. Parts of the left garland as well as the left and right grape cluster are carved. The garlands are roughly worked as are the grapes of only the left pendant bunch. The worked right side has a severely abbreviated design of an entirely unarticulated garland swag, finished as a kind of abstract tube, hung between the corner piers. A rudimentary reminiscence of a grape bunch is carved below and a large finished libation phiale in the lunette above. By abstaining from working out the other sides of the object as well as omitting putti that hold the tabula in the centre of the chest and using pillars instead of Nikai for supporting the garlands in the corners, the sarcophagus has a slightly different iconography than the majority of the Aphrodisian exemplars, emphasizing the personal choices made by the civic customer in the moment of acquisition.⁴ Nevertheless, the sarcophagus falls within the range of the numerous Aphrodisian *Halbfabrikate* (half-finished) that are interpreted as the common burial style of the middle level propertied inhabitants of the city.⁵

³ Ögüç, *Sarcophagus Production* (s. n. 1) 179 explains the decoration of only one side of a sarcophagus with the intention to place it originally in a niche, where it could be viewed only frontally. But cf. also Turnbow, *Display of Sarcophagi* (s. n. 1) 163–164 on the practice of positioning sarcophagi with decorations on three and four sides in the Roman cemeteries of Asia Minor.

⁴ Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) 349 gives an impression of a usual Aphrodisian garland sarcophagus: “Typically the chests are decorated with a central tabula supported by two putti and a garland to each side carried by a Nike figure at each corner. [...] Variation comes in the motifs that fill the garland swags. [...] Also popular are frontal portrait busts, typically a man and a woman pair, usually to be taken as husband and wife.” Cf. also Ögüç, *Sarcophagus Production* (s. n. 1) 170, Işık, *Sarkophage von Aphrodisias* (s. n. 1) 256–275 and the corpus of F. Işık, *Girlanden-Sarkophage aus Aphrodisias* (Sarkophag-Studien 5), Mainz 2007. According to Işık, *Sarkophage von Aphrodisias* (s. n. 1) 264 the sarcophagus at hand could be characterised as a mixed type, where the Erotes holding the garlands are replaced by architectural carriers in the form of columns or pillars.

⁵ On the preferred purchase of modest garland sarcophagi with two portrait busts by inhabitants of Aphrodisias see Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) 349. Ögüç, *Sarcophagus Production* (s. n. 1) 175–177 contemplates the reasons for the acquisition of half-finished sarcophagi by the customers. The excavation results clearly show that such sarcophagi

The inscription on the tabula ansata is formulaic and, in that sense, just as common as the iconographic attributes of the sarcophagus. The text must have started on the lid, which is lost. However, according to the abundant parallel attestations and the cross-reference in line 3–4 the text must have started with the sarcophagus itself, ἡ σορός.⁶ It continues on the upper border of the chest for one line, before it enters the tabula ansata (pl. 5, fig. 6). Due to the compactness of the letters that even encroach on the rim of the tabula, it is obvious that the original draft must have been a longer document that even in its condensed form was still too long for the inscription field.⁷

The text at hand follows the usual model structure of Aphrodisian sarcophagus inscriptions. It provides information on the owner of the grave and the persons entitled to the burial. It lists prohibitions for unauthorised burial and penalties in the case of violation.⁸ This text is about the burial instructions of a certain Epigonos and his family. Due to the eponymous stephanephoros, who is known from other texts, and the fact that Epigonos was not a Roman citizen, the inscription can be dated to around 200 AD, with

were often used for burials without being further elaborated. Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) 350 as well as R. R. R. Smith, A. Chaniotis, *Eleven new sarcophagi, mostly inscribed*, in: R. R. R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek, K. Welch (edd.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006–2012* (JRS Suppl. 103), Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2016, 304 reject common interpretations, such as buying from stock, uncaring relatives or lacking financial prosperity. Instead, they argue that the decisive reason was a sense of superstition about completing a funerary portrait of someone who is not yet dead. For that question as well as the Aphrodisian *Halbfabrikate* cf. furthermore Turnbow, *Roman Sarcophagi* (s. n. 1) 315–316. F. Işık, *Zum Produktionsbeginn von Halbfabrikaten kleinasiatischer Girlanden-sarkophage*, AA (1992) 121–145. B. Andreae, *Bossierte Porträts auf römischen Sarkophagen – ein ungelöstes Problem*, in: Idem (ed.), *Symposium über die antiken Sarkophage. Pisa 5.–12. September 1982*, Marburg/Lahn 1984, 109–128 and J. Huskinson, *Unfinished Portrait Heads' on Later Roman Sarcophagi: Some new Perspectives*, PBR 66 (1998) 129–158.

⁶ Cf. only SEG LIV 1056–1061. SEG LXII 804–806. 812. 818. *I Aph* 2007 13.604. 13.602. 13.155. 13.603. 13.153. 13.106. 7.15. 13.156. 13.111. 15.340. 15.345. 13.109. 13.108. 14.15. 13.618. 15.343.

⁷ This is a common phenomenon on the inscribed sarcophagi of Aphrodisias. See only J. M. Reynolds, C. Roueché, *The Inscriptions*, in: F. Işık (ed.), *Girlanden-Sarkophage aus Aphrodisias* (Sarkophag-Studien 5), Mainz 2007, 147–148 and Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) 389 with the examples *ibid.* Fig. 59. Cat. 21, Fig. 62. Cat. 22 and Fig. 64. Cat. 23. In some cases the text could even continue below the tabula on the base moulding. Ögüç, *Sarcophagus Production* (s. n. 1) 174–180 deals with the production of the sarcophagi. For the addition of the inscription see *ibid.* 179–180.

⁸ The formulaic character is analysed in detail by Smith, Chaniotis, *Eleven new sarcophagi* (s. n. 5) 305 and A. Chaniotis, *Inscriptions*, in: C. Ratté, P. D. De Staebler (edd.), *The Aphrodisias Regional Survey* (Aphrodisias V), Mainz 2012, 352. See also the additional remarks of A. Chaniotis, *New Inscriptions from Aphrodisias (1995–2001)*, *AJA* 108 (2004) 400–403, Reynolds, Roueché, *Inscriptions* (s. n. 7) 147–152, A. Rupp, *Verbote und Strafzahlungen auf Grabinschriften am Beispiel von Aphrodisias*, *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2015) 146–148 and A. Rupp, *Frauen und Sarkophage. Untersuchungen zu den Grabinschriften aus Aphrodisias*, in: B. Porod, G. Koiner (edd.), *Römische Sarkophage. Akten des internationalen Werkstattgesprächs 11.–13. Oktober 2012 (Graz)* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Archäologie der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 12), Graz 2015, 227.

reasonable certainty before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.⁹ Both Epigonos and his wife considered themselves important members of Aphrodisian society. While Epigonos tried to indicate this by mentioning his long line of ancestors, his wife, Aurelia Flavia Antonia Zenonis, came from a family that, according to her name, received Roman citizenship already in the first century AD, under the Flavians. The significance of the inscription thus lies in the funerary representation of so far unknown Aphrodisian middle class inhabitants only a short time before the extension of Roman citizenship to the Empire at large and the surge of sarcophagus monuments this caused among average Aphrodisian residents. Apparently, the grant of Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of Aphrodisias in 212 AD inspired the new citizens to emphasize their newly acquired status and honour. The garland sarcophagus became the most popular type of monument for the new Romans and gave them the opportunity to show their civic pride and enthusiasm for acquiring Roman citizenship.¹⁰ Considered in this context, Epigonos was thus perhaps not quite so average. His long list of ancestors reveals his pride in his ancestry, which could function as symbolic capital that distinguished him from the other inhabitants without Roman citizenship.¹¹ Thus, the sarcophagus shows an example of which sarcophagus design was appropriate for the future Roman citizens and which Aphrodisian people were worthy of emulation for the average Aphrodisian. The text runs as follows:

⁹ Although it is possible that Greek names without the addition of the *gentilicium* Aurelius still existed after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the epigraphic habit of Aphrodisias clearly shows that such a custom was not common for this city. Cf. Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) on Aphrodisias and A. Blanco-Pérez, *Nomenclature and Dating in Roman Asia Minor: (M.) Aurelius/a and the 3rd century AD*, ZPE 199 (2016) 271–293 on the nomenclature of Aurelius in the third century AD.

¹⁰ See Smith, *Sarcophagi and Roman citizenship* (s. n. 1) 386–392 and Ögüç, *Rise and Fall* (s. n. 1) 137–148.

¹¹ This interpretation is further supported by the nomenclature of other members of Aphrodisian society. Only eight records mention persons with such a long line of ancestors as Epigonos. In this regard, *I Aph* 2007 13.112 is most instructive. On this epitaph a certain M. Aurelius Polychronios Charmides is mentioned. Although he had already acquired Roman citizenship, he insisted on also naming his old Greek name combined with his ancestors, thereby proving the social importance of a long list of ancestry still after 212 AD. In the same manner *I Aph* 2007 8.904 and 13.203 mention Roman citizens after 212 AD with four ancestors and *I Aph* 2007 11.29 even refers to a woman whose father is named with three further ancestors. Comparable to Epigonos are also a certain Polydeukes and an Adrastos in *I Aph* 2007 13.150 and 15.245. Of even more importance seem to be a M. Aurelius Alexandros and a M. Aurelius Menandros who are named with six ancestors in all. Cf. *I Aph* 2007 13.109 and 13.151. For the interpretation of the importance of the line of ancestors see furthermore the considerations of Reynolds, Roueché, *Inscriptions* (s. n. 7) 150 with *MAMA VIII* 413a (= *I Aph* 2007 12.26). Blanco-Pérez, *Nomenclature and Dating* (s. n. 9) 274 rightly concludes: “[...] the choice and epigraphic display of one’s name was not trivial.”

Sarcophagus of Epigonos (S-846, I-16-09)

Found 1.5 km southwest of the theatre hill, Imame Mevkii, 194 Ada, 2 parsel, field of Cengiz Karakuzuoğlu. H: 85, W: 210, D: 93 cm. It is S-846 in the sarcophagus inventory of the Aphrodisias project.

Date: ca. 200 CE.

[ἡ σορὸς καὶ -----]
 ἔστιν
 Ἐ[πιγόνο]υ τρις τοῦ Σ[ω]κράτους
 τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Διοδότου· ἐν ἧ σο-
 4 ρῶ κηδευθήσονται Ἐπίγονος ὁ
 προδηλούμενος καὶ Αὐρηλία Φλα-
 βία Ἀντωνία Ζηνωνίς ἡ γυνὴ
 τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου καὶ οὖς ἂν Ἐπίγο-
 8 νος βουληθῆ ἢ διατάξῃται, ἕται-
 ρος δὲ οὐδεὶς· αἰᾶν δέ τις ἐνθάψει
 τινὰ χωρὶς τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπιγό-
 νου ἢ ἐκθάψει τῶν ἐνταφέντων
 12 ἔστω ἀσεβῆς καὶ τυμβωρύχος.
 ἐν <δ>ὲ ταῖς ἰσώσταις καὶ τῷ πλά<τα>
 κηδευθήσονται οὖς ἂν Ἐπί-
 γονος, κληρονόμοι, διάδοχοί
 16 τε αὐτοῦ βουληθῶσιν. τῆς ἐπι-
 γραφῆς ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον
 εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ στεφα-
 νηφόρου τὸ σ' Τί(του) Φλ(αβίου) Χα<ι>ρέου, μη-
 20 νὸς Πανήμου.

L. 5 Ligature of ME || L. 6 Ligatures of HN and NH || L. 8–9 ἕται|ρος for ἕτε|ρος || L. 9 αἰάν for ἐάν || L. 11 ἐκθάψει for ἐκθάψει || L. 12 τυμβωρύχος for τυμβωρύχος || L. 13. initio ENAE, lapis; ἰσώσταις for εἰσώσταις; in fine, ΠΑΑ, lapis. || L. 19. ΧΑΡΕΟΥ, lapis.

[This sarcophagus ...] belongs to Epigonos, son of Epigonos, son of Epigonos, son of Sokrates, son of Zenon, son of Diodotos. In this sarcophagus will be buried the aforementioned Epigonos and Aurelia Flavia Antonia Zenonis, Epigonos' wife, and whoever Epigonos wishes or determines, and no one else. And if someone buries someone without Epigonos' consent or removes a body of those that have been buried inside, let him be impious and a tomb-robber. In the niches and the platform will be buried whoever Epigonos, his heirs, and descendants wish or determine. A copy of the inscription was deposited in the registry when Titus Flavius Chaireas was stephanephoros for the sixth time, in the month Panemos.

L. 1 On the possible enumeration of parts of the grave monument in combination with the singular of ἔστιν see e.g. *SEG XLVIII* 1326, *I Aph* 2007 11.40, 13.130, 13.135, 13.153 or *MAMA VIII* 587 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.40).

L. 2 Epigonos can be restored due to cross-references in lines 4, 7–8, 10–11 and 14–15. All the names of Epigonos' ancestors have been attested in Aphrodisias. Epigonos was hitherto unknown. His father's and grandfather's name seem to be homonymous, due to the restoration of τρίς.¹²

L. 4 The future form of κηδευθήσονται indicates that Epigonos and Aurelia Flavia Antonia Zenonis were still alive when they ordered the sarcophagus and commissioned the inscription to be engraved. The wording that Epigonos alone decides on the burial place clearly shows that the regulations primarily refer to members of his inner circle or family, and less to strangers.¹³

L. 5 The use of several *gentilicia* is characteristic for Aphrodisias. Aurelia Flavia Antonia Zenonis derives from a family that received Roman citizenship already during the first century AD as may be inferred by the *gentilicium* Flavia. Her *gentilicium* Antonia might stem from a previous marriage in her family to a member of one who bore this name. *Gentilicia*, however, could also often be adopted as an expression of loyalty to the reigning emperor.¹⁴ Her triple *gentilicia* indicate that Aurelia Flavia Antonia Zenonis must be a relative of the already known Aurelia Flavia Antonia Elpis. People with the same combination of *gentilicia* probably belong to

¹² E.g. *I Aph* 2007 11.11. 12.646 or 13.109.

¹³ See Ögüç, *Sarcophagus Production* (s. n. 1) 174–180 on the future-form. It appears in numerous other epitaphs from Aphrodisias, e.g.: ταφήσονται: *SEG LIV* 1056. 1060. *I Aph* 2007 13.111. 13.109. *MAMA VIII* 541 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.19). 544 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1106). 550 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.31). 551 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.56). 556a (= *I Aph* 2007 12.525). 559 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.524). 566 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.206). 576 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.112). 588 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.615). ταφήσεται: *I Aph* 2007 13.506. 13.108. *MAMA VIII* 542 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.413). 548 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.411). 559 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.524). ἐνταφήσεται: *SEG LIV* 1061. *MAMA VIII* 576 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.112). 577 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.526). ἐνταφήσονται: *MAMA VIII* 557 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.917). 565 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.156). 567 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1204). 577 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.526). *LBW* 1646 (= *I Aph* 2007 15.205). κηδευθήσεται: *I Aph* 2007 13.702. 13.121. 14.11. 13.145. 13.150. 13.154. 2.309. Smith, Chaniotis, *Eleven new sarcophagi*, no. 2. 6. 9 (s. n. 5). *MAMA VIII* 547 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.34). 554 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1107). 555 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.154). 556b (= *I Aph* 2007 12.320). 557 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.917). 571 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.104). 575 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.59). 579 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1016). 581 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.41). *CIG* 2830 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.508). 2835a–b (= *I Aph* 2007 12.32). 2836b (= *I Aph* 2007 12.19). 2843 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.29). κηδευθήσονται: *SEG LXII* 810. κηδευθήσονται: *I Aph* 2007 12.1113. 13.3. 13.143. 13.110. 13.201. 13.156. *SEG LIV* 1057. *MAMA VIII* 544 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1106). 545 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1108). 554 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.1107). 560 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.631). 565 (= *I Aph* 2007 13.156). 568 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.38). 575 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.59). 576 (= *I Aph* 2007. 13.112). *CIG* 2839 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.107). *LBW* 1641 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.12). Cf. also L. Robert, *D'Aphrodisias à la Lycaonie. Compte rendu du volume VIII des Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Hellenica 13), Paris 1965, 195. Rupp, *Verbote und Strafzahlungen* (s. n. 8) 144 emphasises the reference of the regulations to the family and personal sphere of the grave owner.

¹⁴ See B. Holtheide, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia*, Freiburg 1983, 121–122 as well as K. Buraselis, *ΘΕΙΑ ΔΩΡΕΑ. Das göttlich-kaiserliche Geschenk. Studien zur Politik der Severer und zur Constitutio Antoniniana* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Kommission für Antike Rechtsgeschichte. Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 18), Vienna 2007, 98 n. 11. On the name Antonius cf. furthermore I. Bourzinakou, *Die Prosopographie von Aphrodisias*, unpublished dissertation, Heidelberg 2012, 27.

the same family. The combination of Aurelius Flavius is attested for eight persons, Flavius Antonius for seven.¹⁵

L. 8–9 The form of the prohibition of removal or tomb robbery in the text differs slightly from other formulaic interdictions on Aphrodisian epitaphs. Most common is a nominative construction with ἕξει ἐξουσίαν and an infinitive (ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἕξει ἐξουσίαν ἐνθάπαι τινα ἢ ἐκθάπαι). This text, by contrast, pulls the ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς to the previous phrase and constructs a new conditional sentence. Moreover, the closing imprecation only invokes two crimes (ἀσεβῆς καὶ τυμβωρύχος). Usually, a third (ἐπάρατος) is added.¹⁶

L. 13 Like other epitaphs from Aphrodisias, the formulaic text provides information about its original funerary context. The sarcophagi usually seem to have been displayed in the open air on top of a platform or base structure, sometimes with tomb chambers or burial niches below. Accordingly, the text mentions εἰσόσται (niches) and a πλάτας (platform), where further people could be buried. In this connection, the order of burials seems to have followed a certain priority with sepulchre in the sarcophagus being assigned the highest rank, as it was reserved for the owner of the grave and his closest family members, while the platform or the niches could also be granted to more external people.¹⁷

¹⁵ For the use of several *gentilicia* in Aphrodisias cf. Bourtzinakou, *Die Prosopographie* (s. n. 14) 27. For Aurelia Flavia Antonia Elpis see *I Aph* 2007 11.217. The names of the Aurelii Flavii and the Flavii Antonii are given in Bourtzinakou, *Die Prosopographie* (s. n. 14) 373–374. *Ibid.* 39 Bourtzinakou suggests that the Flavii Antonii all belong to the same family.

¹⁶ See only J. Strubbe, *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ. Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor. A Catalogue* (IK 52), Bonn 1997, 71–92 on the typical imprecation forms of Aphrodisias. Cf. furthermore Robert D’Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie (s. n. 13) 206 and Rupp, *Verbote und Strafzahlungen* (s. n. 8) esp. 149–152. On the *crimina* of ἀσεβεία and τυμβωρυχία cf. K. Wernicke, *Asebeia*, RE 2, 2 (1896) 1529–1531, E. Gerner, *Tymborychia*, RE 7/A, 2 (1948) 1735–1745, and generally W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig 1900, 37–43 as well as I. Pfaff, *Sepulcralmulden*, RE 2/A, 2 (1923) 1622–1625. Divine justice is discussed in A. Chaniotis, *Von Ehre, Schande und kleinen Verbrechen unter Nachbarn: Konfliktbewältigung und Götterjustiz in Gemeinden des antiken Anatolien*, in: F. R. Pfetsch (ed.), *Konflikt* (Heidelberger Jahrbücher 48), Heidelberg 2004, 233–254 and A. Chaniotis, *Under the watchful eye of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, in: S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (YCS 31), Cambridge 2004, 1–43. See furthermore the studies of K. Harter-Uibopuu, V. Scheibelreiter, *Sepulcralmulden im griechisch-römischen Kleinasien*, in: *Forum Archaeologiae* 57/XII (2010) (<http://farch.net>). K. Harter-Uibopuu, *Tote soll man ruhen lassen ... Verbote und Strafen zur Sicherung von Gräbern am Beispiel von Ephesos*, in: J. Fischer (ed.), *Der Beitrag Kleinasien zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike* (ETAM 87), Vienna 2014, 157–180 and K. Harter-Uibopuu, K. Wiedergut, “Kein anderer soll hier bestattet werden” – *Grabschutz im kaiserzeitlichen Milet*, in: G. Thür (ed.), *Tagungsakten des Symposiums „Grabrituale und Jenseitsvorstellungen“ des Zentrums für Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Origines 3), Vienna 2014, 147–171, esp. 158–160.

¹⁷ On the disposition of the sarcophagi cf. Turnbow, *Display of sarcophagi* (s. n. 1) 158–159 and Turnbow, *Roman Sarcophagi* (s. n. 1) 320–321, where she also draws a sketch of the individual parts of the tomb complex and explains the vocabulary. In this regard see also J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l’Asie mineure* (Travaux du Centre d’archéologie méditerranéenne de l’Académie polonaise des sciences 5), Warsaw 1968, 16, 34, 79–80, 104–107, 130, J. Kubińska, *Les tombeaux d’Aphrodisias d’après les inscriptions*, *Études et Travaux* 4 (1970) 114–118, Reynolds, Roueché, *Inscriptions* (s. n. 7) 148, Chaniotis, *Inscriptions* (s. n. 8) 353, and Rupp, *Frauen und Sarkophage* (s. n. 8) 226–227.

L. 15 The heirs of a grave owner were also allowed to be buried in the respective tombs. In this case, the text refers to heirs who are appointed by the will of Epigonos and successors who cannot yet be specified in terms of inheritance law.¹⁸

L. 16–19 The deposition of a copy of the inscription's text in the registry office is frequently mentioned in the epitaphs of Aphrodisias. It is usually formulaic and begins with a reference to the epitaph in the Genitive. It refers to the copy without an article and gives a date by the office of stephanephoros, a term which is not abbreviated. Τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον is the normal term for the archive in Aphrodisias.¹⁹

L. 18–19 An exact dating on the basis of the stephanephorate is difficult. Not only has no list of this eponymous priestly office been found so far, but there was also the habit of having already deceased persons hold posthumous stephanephorates.²⁰ A Τίτος Φλάβιος Χαίρεας is attested in Aphrodisias.²¹ The *praenomen* and *gentilicium* indicate that he or his ancestors were granted Roman citizenship in the first century AD under the Flavian dynasty. A third, fifth, and sixth posthumous stephanephorate are already attested.²² *I Aph* 2007 15.313 mentions his fifth stephanephorate. The nomenclature of two Marci Aurelii might point to a date in the third century AD.²³ However, all the other evidence can be rather dated to the second than the third century

¹⁸ Chaniotis, *New Inscriptions* (s. n. 8) 404 n. 127 also lists references of heirs that were excluded from burials in certain tombs. On the difference between the terms διάδοχος and κληρονόμος see J. B. Torres, *Διάδοχος. Algunas precisiones lingüísticas*, in: V. Alonso Troncoso (ed.), *Διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας. La figura del sucesor en la realeza helenística* (Gerión-Anejos 9), Madrid 2005, 18–19. In contrast, H. Kreller, *Διάδοχος und κληρονόμος*, in: W. Otto, L. Wenger (edd.), *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19. Heft), Munich 1934, 233–242 still considered the two forms to be synonymous. On the law of succession cf. also F. Longchamps de Bérier, *Law of Succession. Roman Legal Framework and Comparative Law Perspective*, Warsaw 2011, and see Robert, *D'Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie* (s. n. 13) 197 on the term κληρονόμος in Aphrodisias.

¹⁹ K. Wiedergut, *Auf Amtswegen. Studien zu den kaiserzeitlichen Polis-Archiven der Provinzen Asia und Lycia et Pamphylia*, unpublished dissertation, Vienna 2020, 35 and 51. C. P. Jones, R. R. R. Smith, *Two Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias*, AA (1994) 468–470. Chaniotis, *New Inscriptions* (s. n. 8) 403 n. 121 provides further references. See also Robert, *D'Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie* (s. n. 13) 197.

²⁰ See Reynolds, Roueché, *Inscriptions* (s. n. 7) 151 for the *post mortem* concession of the stephanephorate. Cf. also Jones, Smith, *Two Inscribed Monuments* (s. n. 19) 470. Robert, *D'Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie* (s. n. 13) 207. Wiedergut, *Auf Amtswegen* (s. n. 19) 43–44 and in general R. Vagts, *Aphrodisias in Karien. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Stadt, ihre künstlerische und literarische Bedeutung, ihre Verfassung und Verwaltung in römischer Kaiserzeit*, Borna-Leipzig 1920, 37–38.

²¹ Cf. Bourtzinakou, *Die Prosopographie* (s. n. 14), no. 2322 and also no. 2319 with Holtheide, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik* (s. n. 14) 73–74, who discusses the *praenomen* Τι.

²² The third stephanephorate is mentioned by *I Aph* 2007 11.19 (2.–3. c. AD) and *I Aph* 2007 13.103 (2. c. AD). For the nomenclature of the second inscription see also *MAMA* VIII 556b (= *I Aph* 2007 12.320) (2. c. AD) and 559 (= *I Aph* 2007 12.524) (2.–3. c. AD). *MAMA* VIII 466 (= *I Aph* 2007 11.409) (2. c. AD) is a posthumous honorary inscription. An unpublished inscription also mentions the sixth stephanephorate of Τίτος Φλάβιος Χαίρεας. Against Bourtzinakou, *Die Prosopographie* (s. n. 14) no. 2322, 4 this inscription should also be dated rather to the second century AD. Cf. also the unpublished *I Aph* 2007 66.151.

²³ Bourtzinakou *Die Prosopographie* (s. n. 14) no. 2322, 3 dates *I Aph* 2007 15.313 after 212 AD.

AD, as it also applies to I*Aph* 2007 13.103 and MAMA VII 466 (= I*Aph* 2007 11.409) according to the lettering and nomenclature. A similar date to the second rather than to the third century AD also applies to I*Aph* 2007 13.103 and MAMA VIII 466 (= I*Aph* 2007 11.409) according to the lettering and nomenclature.

L. 19 Aphrodisias used the Macedonian month names. However, during the imperial period two other forms of naming the months were also in use: the months were either named after members of the imperial family or were numbered consecutively. All three forms coexisted during the principate.²⁴

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²⁴ Chaniotis, *New Inscriptions* (s. n. 8) 412–413. Jones, Smith, *Two Inscribed Monuments* (s. n. 19) 471–472. Cf. also L. Robert, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias*, in: AC 35 (1966) 390–391 and Vagts, *Aphrodisias* (s. n. 20) 38–39. The month Πάνημος is attested for Aphrodisias in I*Aph* 2007 11.19. 1.123. 13.101. On the Macedonian calendar in general see C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 2. Reihe Band 98), Heidelberg 1997, 262–265 with further references.



Fig. 1: Distribution of tombs and sarcophagi around Aphrodisias

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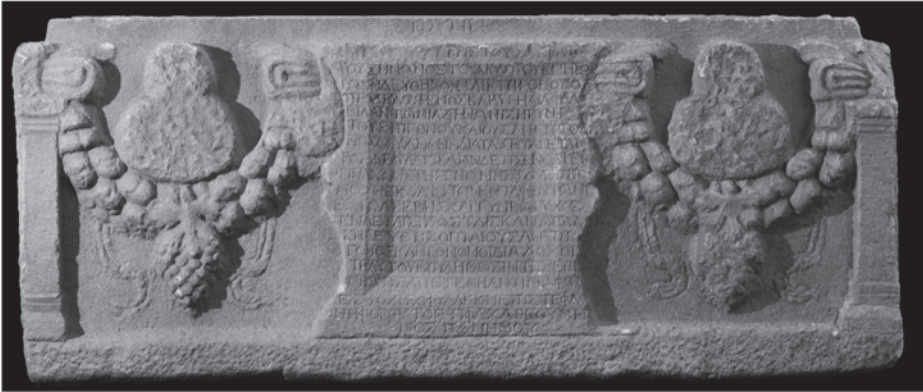


Fig. 2: Front of the sarcophagus S-846
(photo: Aphrodisias Excavations, Ian Cartwright)



Fig. 3: Right side of the sarcophagus S-846
(photo: Aphrodisias Excavations, Ian Cartwright)

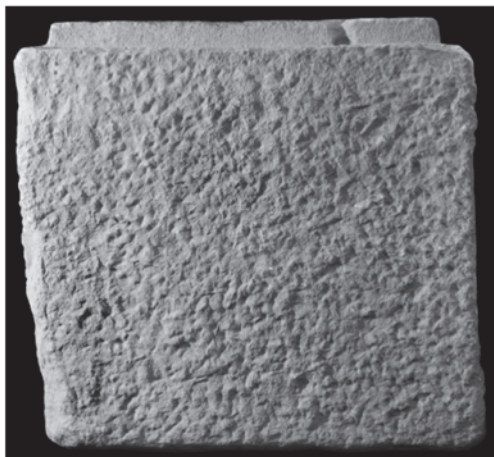


Fig. 4: Left side of the sarcophagus S-846
(photo: Aphrodisias Excavations, Ian Cartwright)

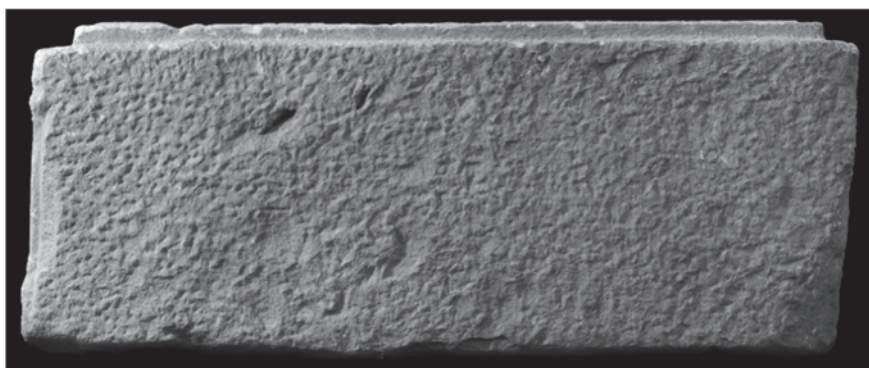


Fig. 5: Back of the sarcophagus S-846
(photo: Aphrodisias Excavations, Ian Cartwright)



Fig. 6: Inscription field of S-846
(photo: Aphrodisias Excavations, Ian Cartwright)

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