

A NEW SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION FROM ALEXANDREIA TROAS

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Abstract: This paper aims to introduce a new sarcophagus inscription which was used as a spolia of the garden wall of a house in the town of Ezine in Çanakkale Province. Providing information about the tomb architecture of Alexandria Troas in the Roman Imperial period, the inscription constitutes the first clear epigraphic evidence in the city about the practice of erecting a sarcophagus on the top surface of a *kamara*. Archaeological example of these monumental tombs has not documented in the city. However, analogous practice is well known from the necropolis of Phrygian Hierapolis. The inscription also shows that the sarcophagus was placed on a ‘stepped pedestal’ called *ekbasmosis*, a rare term recorded in inscriptions. With this inscription, the term *tymborychia* which is common in the funerary inscriptions with fine-clause, especially in Caria and Pisidia, firstly appears in Alexandria Troas.

ALEKSANDREİA TROAS'TAN YENİ BİR LAHİT YAZITI

Anahtar Kelimeler: Troas • Aleksandreia Troas • Lahit Yazıtı • Kamara • Ekbasmosis • Tymborychia

Özet: Bu makalede Çanakkale'nin Ezine ilçesinde bir evin bahçe duvarında devşirme malzeme olarak kullanılmış olan bir lahit parçası üzerindeki yeni bir yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Aleksandreia Troas'taki Roma dönemi mezar mimarisi hakkında bilgi sunan bu yazıt aracılığıyla kentte *kamara* olarak adlandırılan tonoz tavanlı mezar yapılarının üzerine lahit yerleştirildiğini öğrenmekteyiz. Aleksandreia Troas'ta bu türde mezarların varlığı arkeolojik olarak doğrulanmasa da lahdin bu şekilde yerleştirildiği mezar yapıları Phrygia Hierapolis'inde belgelenmiştir. Ayrıca lahdin yazıtlarda nadir olarak geçen ve “basamaklı platform” olarak tercüme edilen *ekbasmosis* üzerine yerleştirildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Asia Minor'da özellikle Karia ve Pisidia bölgelerinde ceza formülü içeren mezar yazıtlarında sıklıkla karşılaşılan *tymborychia* kavramı bu yazıt ile Aleksandreia Troas'ta ilk defa kayıt altına alınmaktadır.

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such as husband, wife, children etc. Furthermore, apart from the *kamara* and the *ekbasmosis*, the act of erecting this sarcophagus should have been declared in the preceding missing clause. This is also implied by the wording of the clause in the first line; that is, the appearance of the word ἡ σορός in the phrase ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν σορὸν καμάρᾳ and the collocation of δέ and καί following κατασκεύασα. Thanks to two sarcophagus inscriptions from Alexandria Troas, we know about analogous practices where some citizens of the city erected (τίθημι) a sarcophagus together with building (κατασκευάζω) a *mnemeion*³. Another parallel fragmentary inscription from Alexandria Troas published by M. Riel is more illuminating, testifying to the use of the semi-restored clause ἔθηκα [τὴν σορὸν] in association with the term *kamara* in the same context⁴. Thus, it is quite reasonable to restore the beginning of our text [- - ἔθηκα τὴν σορὸν, κα]τεσκεύασα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν σορὸν καμάρᾳ κτλ.

The term *kamara* means vaulted tomb chamber, the epigraphic attestation of which is widespread in Ionia, Lydia, and Lycia, and is occasionally attested in other regions⁵. Funerary inscriptions containing the term *kamara* from Asia Minor inform us about various burial practices connected with the *kamara* as well as its association with other funerary components. In our inscription, the phrase ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν

σορὸν καμάρᾳ indicates that the sarcophagus was positioned on the top of the *kamara*. As mentioned above, the term *kamara* has previously been attested in Alexandria Troas in a fragmentary sarcophagus inscription, in which M. Riel preferred to restore the beginning of the second line ἔθηκα |² [τὴν σορὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπ]οκάτω ὑποκειμένη μέσῃ καμάρᾳ, without omitting the σύν option instead of ἐν, i.e. ἔθηκα |² [τὴν σορὸν σὺν τῇ ὑπ]οκάτω ὑποκειμένη μέσῃ καμάρᾳ⁶. Each of the restorations offers a different translation and, accordingly, a different interpretation, as M. Riel points out. According to the restoration with the ἐν preposition, the sarcophagus should have been placed in the *kamara* and, thus, the inscribed block must have stood above the *kamara*. In the case of replacing ἐν with σύν, then the sarcophagus would have stood on the *kamara* and the inscribed block would have belonged to the sarcophagus itself. By means of the inscription in question in this paper, which presents the first clear epigraphic evidence of such burial architecture at Alexandria

³ I.Alexandria Troas no. 83. ll. 1-2: “τὸ μνημεῖον κατασκεύ[ε]υασα καὶ τὴν] |² σορὸν ἔθηκα; I.Alexandria Troas no. 98 ll. 2-3: “ἔθηκα τὴν σορὸν, κατασκευά[σας] |³ τὸ μνημεῖον] for which M. Riel offers alternative restorations [τὸ ἡρῶον] or [τὴν καμάρᾳ] instead of [τὸ μνημεῖον]. In the funerary context, τίθημι for the act of placing a sarcophagus

was a common verb in Alexandria Troas, cf. I.Alexandria Troas nos. 83, 84, 85, 94, 97, 98, 101, 102, 107, 109, 111A, 129; cf. Riel 2000, 130.

⁴ Riel 2000, 129 no. 2.

⁵ Kubinska 1968, 94-99.

⁶ Riel 2000, 130.

Troas, here M. Riel's σύν restoration option now seems more acceptable than the other.

Ἐκβάσμως means a 'stepped pedestal' on which, specifically, a funerary altar (*bomos*) or sarcophagus stands⁷. It is a rare term only recorded at Pergamon and Eleia in Mysia, at Apollonis in Lydia, and at an unknown city in Lycaonia⁸. Additionally, the synonymous term *ekbasmidosis* is epigraphically known at Ephesos⁹. Of these, the instances from Pergamon, Apollonis, and Ephesos attest to the use of this term in association with a *bomos*, in which the two terms always appear in sequence, such as τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκβάσμωςιν, σὺν τῆι ἐκβασμειδώσει τὸν βωμὸν, and τὴν ἐκβάσμωςιν σὺν τῷ ἐπικειμένῳ βωμῷ. In the Alexandria Troas inscription, however, *ekbasmosis* apparently is not used with the term *bomos*. Even though the phrase καὶ τῆι ἐκβασμώσει at the beginning of the second line tempts one to restore it with τῷ βωμῷ after the restored σύν at the end of the first line, there is no extra space for six letters at the end of the first line. Rather than being a conjunction, καὶ should function as an adverb in this position. Then, *ekbasmosis* in the current inscription is related to the sarcophagus, as is attested

at Eleia and in Lycaonia. The Lycaonian instance suggests that the *ekbasmosis* was not always merely a component but sometimes used as a burial place, which could contain multiple remains inside. J. Kubinska points out that this term was a synonym of *bathrikon* recorded at Phrygian Hierapolis and Aphrodisias¹⁰.

Although the presence of this type of tomb at Alexandria Troas is attested epigraphically, it has not been archaeologically documented at the site thus far. On the other hand, barrel-vaulted tomb chambers are known in many cities of Asia Minor, such as Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Arykanda, Anemurium, Elaiussa Sebaste, Korykos, and Olba¹¹. The general tendency of researchers working on tomb architecture is to identify this type of structure as a vaulted-chamber rather than using the term *kamara*, unless it has been recorded in the inscriptions of the relevant city. In his study concerning the necropoleis of Eleusis Sebaste and Korykos in Cilicia, referring to the epigraphic findings of the city, A. Machatschek used the term *kamara* for the tombs he classified as "grabhäuser"¹². Again, in a recent study on the necropoleis and tombs of Phrygian Hierapolis, only a few tombs at the site which consist of a sarcophagus placed on a barrel-vaulted chamber with a stepped

⁷ Kubinska 1968, 92; Drew-Bear 1972, 70. See also Herrmann – Malay, New Documents 25 no. 9, compiling all previous bibliography on the term *ekbasmosis*.

⁸ Pergamon: IGR IV no. 514; Eleia: Hauvette-Besnault – Pottier 1880, 381 no. 8; Apollonis: Herrmann – Malay, New Documents 25 no. 9; Lycaonia: Schwertheim 2003, 91 no. 7.

⁹ I.Ephesos no. 1627; cf. Kubinska 1968, 92; Drew-Bear 1972, 70.

¹⁰ Kubinska 1968, 91-92, pl. 15; cf. Ronchetta 2018, 60-62, pl. 57 and 101. On the *bathrikon* at Aphrodisias, see also Ögüş 2018, 8.

¹¹ For the vaulted chambers at Phrygian Hierapolis, see Ronchetta 2018; at Laodikeia, see Şimşek et al. 2011; at Arykanda, see Özbek 2005; at Anemurium, see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971; at Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos, see Machatschek 1967; at Olba, see Akçay 2018. For Asia Minor generally, see Cormack 2004.

¹² Machatschek 1967, 74 n. 328.

platform, were firmly classified as *kamara*¹³. Undoubtedly, the main purpose of using a sarcophagus was public visibility, although they frequently are discovered inside tombs or tomb chambers. Hence, the sarcophagi in the necropoleis were often placed in a position visible to everyone. Accordingly, sarcophagi in Asia Minor were given a monumental appearance by positioning them on high platforms, such as on the *hyposorion* in Lycia¹⁴, on flat roofed tomb chambers called *bomoi*¹⁵ at Phrygian Hierapolis, on an altar (*bomos*) in Bithynia¹⁶, on a high pedestal with an *arcosolium*, on a stepped platform at Termessos¹⁷, and on a platform with a *loculus* at Tyre¹⁸. However, the archaeological evidence for this type of monumental tomb having an architectural design, as given in the inscription under discussion in this paper, can only be found at Phrygian Hierapolis¹⁹.

An epigraphic example that offers guidance on how burial allocation may have been decided upon in erecting such structures, with a *kamara* and a sarcophagus on the top of it, is found at Troketta in Lydia²⁰. According to the inscription, Metrophanes, who built the tomb and a

sarcophagus for himself and his wife Aphion allowed only his heir Mosschion (*sic*), his freedmen and his wife's freedmen, and their descendants to be buried in the *kamara* lying under the sarcophagus which was reserved only for the owners of the tomb, namely Metrophanes and Aphion. Again, a sarcophagus inscription from Termessos in Lykia informs us of a similar practice as in Troketta; the sarcophagus belonged only to the couple and their children, while descendants were allowed to be buried in the ὑποκαμάριον²¹. With the attestation of several funerary inscriptions, it is well known that this burial practice was widespread in Lycia where the upper area of the tomb was used to bury the privileged family members while the others, such as distant relatives, slaves, *treptoi*, and freedmen were given the right to occupy a burial spot in the *hyposorion*²². Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider that the abovementioned burial practice was performed in the same way in all these types of tomb structures.

Apart from βάλλω, the verb ἐγκατατίθημι, signifying unauthorized burial of bodies and bones, frequently ap-

¹³ Ronchetta 2018, 57-58.

¹⁴ İdil 1998, 8; for *hyposorion*, see Kubinska 1968, 81-84.

¹⁵ Ronchetta 2018, 52-57.

¹⁶ Graef 1892, 82-86, Pl. 5; Coulton 2005, 139, fig. 13-14. For *bomoi* carrying sarcophagi, in general, see Coulton 2005, 139-142.

¹⁷ Çelgin 1990, 177-176.

¹⁸ de Jong 2010, Figs. 8-9.

¹⁹ See Ronchetta 2018, 57-58 and 186-191, Fig. 93. Waelkens (1980, 9) considers that tomb structures bearing a sarcophagus on their top surface may have been derivatives of the *hyposorioi* in Lycia.

²⁰ Keil – Premerstein 1908, 15 no. 24: “Μητροφάνης Ἀφίῳ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν σορὸν. χρήσεται δὲ ὁ κληρονόμος μου Μοσχίῳν

καὶ οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι οἱ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς μου τῇ ὑποκάτω καμάρα καὶ τοῖς ἐ(γ)γόνοις αὐτῶν κτλ.”. Cf. Kubinska 1968, 99.

²¹ TAM II no. 45a: “[ἐστ]ιν τὸ ἀ[ν]γειον Διο[φ]άντου τοῦ Ἐ[ρ]μοκ[ρ]άτου Τε[λ]μησ[σέ]ος καὶ Ἀ[μ]μίας τῆς [συνβ]ίου [καὶ] τῶν τέκνων. Καὶ [τ]ὸν ἔκγονον Ἐρ[μ]όλυκον Ἐρμολύ[κου] τοῦ Ἀγα[θη]μέρου καὶ Ζωσίμη[ν] Ἀρ[?]φόκρατο[υ] Τε[λ]μησσεῖ[ς] ἐπι[τ]ρέ[πο]μεν κηδεύθην[α]ι ἰς τοῦτο τὸ ὑποκαμάριον. Cf. Riel 2000, 130 n. 22.

²² Bryce 1986, 119.

pears in the fine-clause of funerary inscriptions at Alexandria Troas²³. Nevertheless, βάλλω was more commonly used²⁴.

In the case of violation of the sarcophagus and the *kamara*, one of the recipients of the monetary fine designated by the owner was ἡ λαμπροτάτη Τρωαδέων πόλις²⁵. Prior to this find, no other epigraphic documentation from Alexandria Troas was known that attested to the use of the title λαμπροτάτη (*the most splendid*) for the city. Moreover, it seems that, except for Alexandria Troas, none of the Troadic cities received such honorary titles in the Roman Imperial period. To the contrary, it is epigraphically documented that cities bearing the title λαμπρά and λαμπροτάτη were quite numerous in other regions of Asia Minor, as in the case of Ephesos, Miletos, Smyrna, Iasos, Aphrodisias, and Nysa. N.P. Milner points out that these titles generally appear in inscriptions dated after AD 200 and having the titles played a significant role in the rivalry between competing cities in some regions²⁶. It may be noted that the title λαμπροτάτη has generally been recorded

in public inscriptions, predominantly honorary ones. So far as we find, another example attesting to the use of this title in funeral context comes from the ancient city of Kios in Bithynia²⁷. But this is not the only instance from the city; a restored λαμπροτάτη which accompanies the word *polis* in a very fragmentary inscription recording the dedication of an imperial statue indicates that this title took place in the public inscriptions of the city as well²⁸. Since the title was previously unattested in the public inscriptions of Alexandria Troas, it is questionable whether it was officially used by the city itself. Although Alexandria Troas was a Roman colony, namely Colonia Augusta Troadensis, however, it is referred to simply as πόλις in our inscription, a case which is not exceptional here because appears thus in the funerary inscriptions containing a fine-clause of the city²⁹. The other recipient of the fine was the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*, which is designated by the term τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον in the inscription³⁰.

This is the first occurrence of the term τυμβωρυχία (grave robbery) in a sarcophagus inscription at Alexandria

²³ I.Alexandria Troas nos. 129, 154, 155, 159.

²⁴ I.Alexandria Troas nos. 92, 93, 94, 99, 102, 111A, 122, 156.

²⁵ For the ethnic Τρωαδεύς, see I.Alexandria Troas 4; Riel 2000, 129.

²⁶ Milner 2015, 190. On this title, see also Pippidi 1969, 243-245, 249.

²⁷ I.Kios 100.

²⁸ I.Kios 12.

²⁹ Cf. I.Alexandria Troas 12. See also Haake 2011, 151.

³⁰ Cf. I.Alexandria Troas no. 129. On τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον, see Creaghan 1951, 103; Millar 1963, 29; Robert 1970, 137 n. 4; Mason 1974, 91. I.Alexandria Troas 92 also records the term *fiscus* inscribed in Greek, i.e. φύσκος. As an interesting example, in order to specify the *fiscus*, we also encounter the phrase

τὸ ταμεῖον τὸ δῆμου Ρωμαίων in a fragmentary sarcophagus inscription (I.Alexandria Troas no. 158), dated to the third century AD in Alexandria Troas. For the inscriptions recording the term ταμεῖον in Alexandria Troas, see I.Alexandria Troas nos. 93, 94, 96, 97. Other known funerary fine recipients at Alexandria Troas are ἡ κρατίστη βουλῆ (I.Alexandria Troas no. 98), ἡ συμβίωσις τῶν χαλκίων (I.Alexandria Troas no. 122, the find-spot of which is problematic, Alexandria Troas or Pion), τὸ ἱερὸν γυμνάσιον (I.Alexandria Troas no. 125), τὸ φορτήγιον τοῦ ἐμπορίου (I.Alexandria Troas nos. 151, 152), τὸ φορτήγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος (I.Alexandria Troas no. 153. Note that the origin of

Troas, as well as in the Troad in general. Apart from a monetary fine, incorporating a supplementary measure against potential violators by adding a clause to the inscription subjecting them to the accusation of *τυμβωρυχία* frequently appears in funerary inscriptions imposing a fine in Asia Minor, especially in Caria, and Pisidia³¹. Parallel inscriptions from various sites demonstrate that legal regulations against *tymborychia* were in force in the cities and, thus, spoilers may have been exposed to juridical prosecution³².

Figure List:

Figure 1: The inscribed block (Photo by the authors).

Figure 2: Condition of the stone in the early 2000s (Photo by M. Tombul).

this inscription is uncertain; it may be from Smyrna or Alexandria Troas).

³¹ On *tymborychia*, generally, see Gerner 1941. See also Creaghan 1951, 116.

³² Gerner 1941, 237-243; Creaghan 1951, 116. Cf. Strubbe 1991, 48 n. 9.

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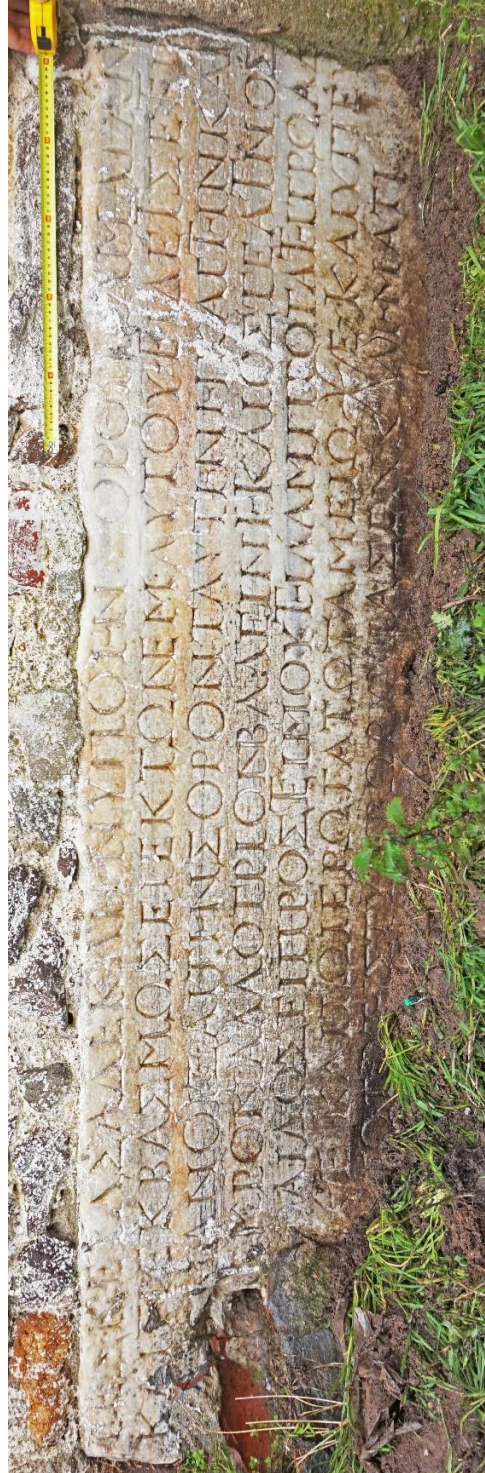


Figure 1

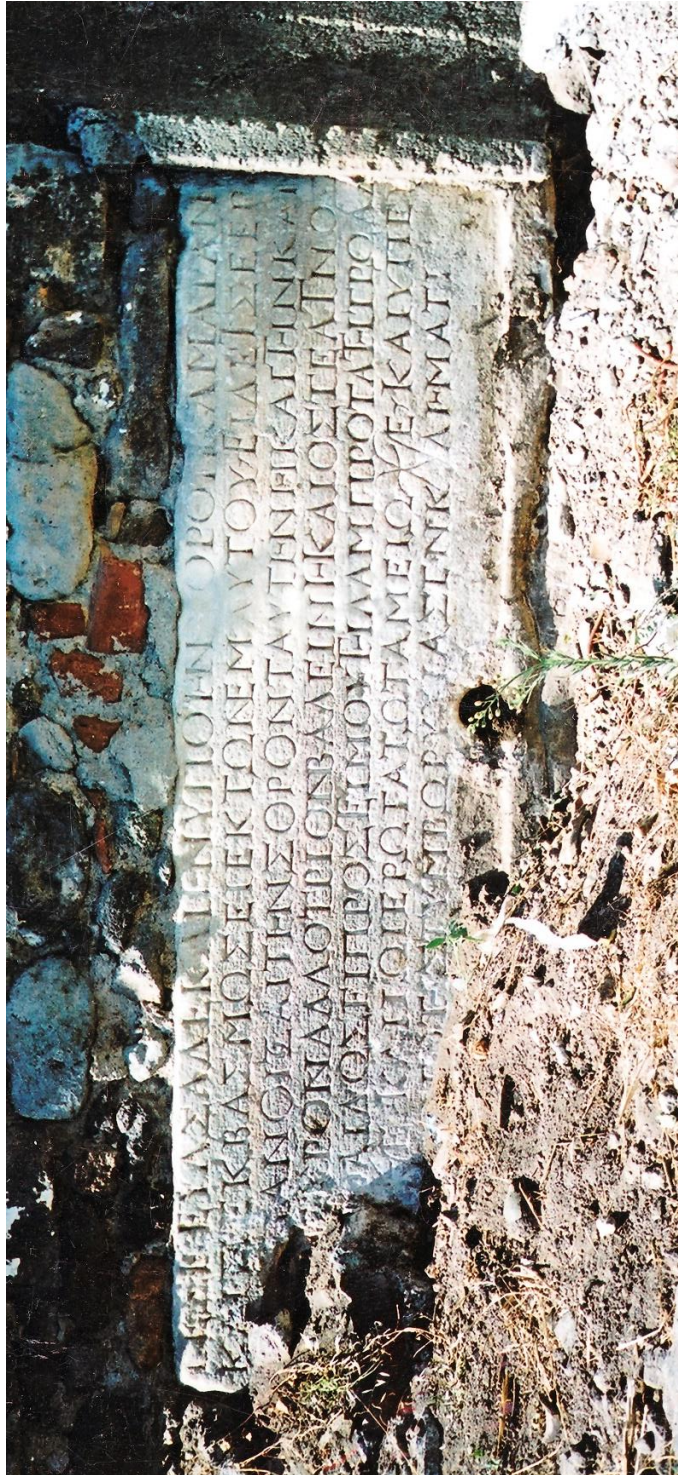


Figure 2