## MARIJANA RICL – HASAN MALAY

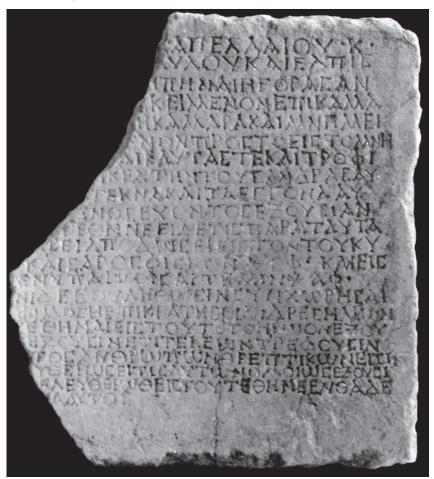
## Ανθρωποι θρεπτικοί in a New Inscription from Hypaipa

aus: Epigraphica Anatolica 38 (2005) 45–52

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## ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΘΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ IN A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM HYPAIPA

Right part of a marble block, said to be found "somewhere around Ödemiş". It is now in the collection of Dr. K. Uğurbil (İzmir)¹. Dimensions of the stone: 56 x 52 x 15; letters 2 cm high.



["Ετους ...΄, μη(νὸς)] 'Απελλαίου κ΄·
[.......] αυλου καὶ 'Ελπὶς
[...... 'Υπα] ιπηναὶ ἠγόρασαν
[..... ἐπ] ικείμενον ἐπὶ καμά5 [ρα .....] η καμάρα καὶ μνημεῖ[ον .....] ενον πρὸς τὸ εἰς τὸ μνη[μεῖον τεθῆν] αι ἑαυτάς τε καὶ Τρόφι[μον καὶ 'Επ] ικράτην τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐ[τῶν καὶ τὰ] τέκνα καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐ10 [τῶν, μηδ] ενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν
[.....] τεθ⟨ῆ⟩νε· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτά

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We would like to thank Dr. K. Uğurbil for his permission to publish this inscription.

[τι ποιή]σει, ἀποδώσει εἰς τὸν κυ[ρίου] Καίσαρος φίσκον \* ,βφ΄ καὶ εἰς
[τὴν] ἐν Ὑπαίποις Ἄρτεμιν \* ,αφ΄.

15 [μηδε]νὶ δὲ βουληθῶ⟨σ⟩ιν συνχωρῆσαι
[Τρό]φιμος ἢ Ἐπικράτης οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμῶν
[ἐπι]τεθῆναι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον ἐξου[σίαν] ἕξουσιν ἔτι τεκέων τρέφουσιν
[ἐν]τὸς ἀνθρώπων θρεπτικῶν εἴ τιν΄.

20 [ἐλευ]θερώσει τις αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ἐξουσί[αν ὁ] ἐλευθερωθεὶς τοῦ τεθῆνε ἐνθάδε
[τὰ τέκ]να αὐτοῦ.

Line 1: The date would have been based on the Pharsalian era<sup>2</sup>. The lettering points to the second century AD, and the lines 12–13 to the rule of a sole Emperor.

Line 2: Π]αύλου, Πρ]αύλου, Αὔλου are all possible. The two women who purchased the funerary complex were probably friends or relatives rather than sisters, since their respective patronyms are recorded.

Lines 4–6: These lines contain a description of the funerary complex purchased by the two ladies for their families. It consisted of at least three separate elements: 1. [.......] standing on top of a *kamara*; 2. the *kamara* itself; 3. a *mnemeion*. Later in the text, in line 17, the whole complex is referred to as  $\tau \circ \hat{\nu} \circ \tau \circ \hat{\nu} \circ \hat{$ 

Line 4: It is not absolutely clear how the three elements of the funerary complex were related to each other and how they were used by the owners. As far as the term *kamara* is concerned, it is common knowledge that it usually designates a (vaulted) funerary chamber constructed to receive one or more sarcophagi. Since the first preserved letter in line 4 is an *iota*, and one has therefore to supply the participle ἐπ]ικείμενον, it follows from this that the structure mentioned at the beginning of the line stood on top of a *kamara*. This may not be quite what one expects, but it is not without parallels. For example, an inscription from Patara (*TAM* II 438) says: τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων σὸν τῆ καμάρα καὶ τῷ ἀ[νωγ]είφ οἴκφ καὶ τῷ περιβόλφ. As J. Kubińska noted "*kamara est ici une chambre souterraine et sur elle, du niveau du sol, était construite la seconde partie du tombeau*". Likewise, a *thorakeion* or a sarcophagus can be described as being on top of a *kamara*. In the new text from Hypaipa some eight letters are lost before the participle ἐπικείμενος. Basing ourselves on the available space and on the above-adduced inscription from Patara, we propose to supply [τὸν οἶκον ἐπ]ικείμενον. The term οἶκος (*cella*) in the funerary architecture is discussed by Kubińska (pp. 113–4). Its use can be identical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For its usage in the Cayster valley see W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären. Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros (Historia Einzelschriften* Bd. 81), 1993, 293 and 503–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Warszawa 1968, 94–6; P. Boned, in: *Actas del VIII Congreso Español de Estudios clásicos*, Madrid 1994, 65–70 (non vidimus; cf. SEG 44, 925bis).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> IK 23,1 (Smyrna) 229 (θωρακεῖον). The phrase ἡ ὑποκάτω καμάρα appears in an inscription found in the vicinity of Urganlı northwest of Sardis (J. Keil – A. v. Premerstein, Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 53,2, 1908, p. 15 no. 24) and in a more developed form at Alexandreia Troas (M. Ricl, Tekmeria 5, 2000, 129–31 = SEG 50, 1197: ἡ ὑπο]κάτω ὑποκειμένη μέση καμάρα).

to that of a kamara – either to receive sarcophagi or to be used as a platform for them. Another, in our opinion less likely solution, is to supply [τὸν βωμὸν ἐπ]ικείμενον and understand the term βωμός as designating a platform for sarcophagi (pp. 75–8).

Line 5: Since the οἶκος/βωμός and the καμάρα were built on top of each other, we propose to supply [ρq σὺν καὶ τ] η καμάρα. Elpis and her friend/relative had large families and needed a substantial funerary complex for their final resting places: both the *oikos/bomos* and the *kamara* below it could have contained/supported any number of *sarcophagi*.

Line 6: The third element of the newly-attested funerary complex from Hypaipa was a mnemeion. This general term can stand for a tomb, sarcophagus, or any funerary monument, except at Aphrodisias, where it always denotes "un piédestal, un soubassement sur lequel étaient posés des sarcophages ou au moins le sarcophage principal" (p. 18). In our case, we think it does not have a general but a more specific meaning. It seems to designate another part of the funerary complex, distinct from the oikos/bomos and the kamara. It is hard to go beyond that – we can only speculate on whether it was another funerary chamber, a specific structure like a small temenos or simply a sarcophagus. The participle ending in Jevov probably explains its position within the complex, and since there is space for about eight letters after ov, we can supply either [ov προσκείμ]ενον or [ov παρακείμ]ενον.

Lines 6–7: It seems that the *mnemeion* mentioned in these lines as the place of burial of both families is not identical with the *mnemeion* featuring in lines 5–6, but with the *heroon* in line 17. In other words, this time the term *mnemeion* probably designates the whole funerary complex and not a specific part of it. There are no details as to where exactly each family was going to be interred; similar details appear in two inscriptions from Hypaipa regulating burial in tombs owned by individuals who were not blood relatives.<sup>5</sup>

Lines 7–8: Unlike their wives, the husbands have neither patronymics nor ethnics. This could be a sign of their low status. In any case, they seem to be in a subordinate position: their wives have purchased the funerary complex by themselves and they explicitly forbid them to allow other burials in the complex (lines 15–17). Generally speaking, they seem to have played no part in the whole procedure. Had they been foreigners lacking the right to purchase land in Hypaipa, they would probably have recorded their ethnics in the document.

Line 11: About six letters are missing at the beginning of this line. The following word  $\tau\epsilon\theta\langle\hat{\eta}\rangle$ ve is clear on the photograph of the stone (TEΘNNE). It looks as if the stone-cutter tried to correct his mistake and change the first N into an H. We supply  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ . Another possibility would be to supply  $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\nu$ .

Line 14: Part of the fine for the violation of the tomb is to be paid to (Persian) Artemis in Hypaipa. Anahita's sanctuary in Hypaipa, whose foundation date remains unknown (some time before Alexander),<sup>8</sup> exhibits the same blend of Persian, Lydian and Greek cultural influences noticable in this cult elswhere in Asia Minor.<sup>9</sup> Led by hereditary priests (μάγοι/ἱερεῖς διὰ γένους) with an ἀρχίμαγος at their head,<sup>10</sup> her devotees worshipped the goddess as 'Αναΐτις, 'Αναΐτις

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> IK 17,2 (Ephesos) 3834 and 3850.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ΤΑΜ V 2, 1409: οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἐνθάδε τ(ε)θῆναι.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  Cf. IK 23,1 (Smyrna) 199, Il. 5–7: μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἑτέρου τεθῆναι εἰς αὐτό (sc. τὸ μνημεῖον).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> According to J. Keil (RE 26, 1927, col. 2179, s. v. Lydia), the cult was established in the fifth century BC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> S. Reinach was the first to collect all the inscriptions, coins and literary sources about Hypaipa in his article published in *Rev. arch*. III sér. 3, 6, 1885, 146–64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> IK 17,2 (Ephesos) 3817 A, 3820, 3825.

"Αρτεμις and Περσική "Αρτεμις.<sup>11</sup> The annual (?) games called τὰ 'Αρτεμίσια attracted athletes, musicians and tragic poets. The civic coinage shows the goddess standing in her temple fully attired; on her head is a high head-dress with a veil of figure-length proportions, and she maintains a stiff pose with outstretched arms.<sup>12</sup> There is only one other instance of a fine payable to Artemis in Hypaipa.<sup>13</sup>

Lines 15–22: This is the final clause of the document drawn up by Elpis and her friend/cousin. It regulates admittance of non-kin individuals into the funerary complex (called τὸ ἡρῷον in line 17). As already noted, their husbands are forbidden to allow other burials in the tomb. The wording [μηδε]νὶ δὲ βουληθῶ⟨σ⟩ιν συνχωρῆσαι [Τρό]φιμος ἢ Ἐπικράτης οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμῶν [ἐπι]τεθῆναι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον is unusual in its use of the aorist subjunctive in the imperative sense. One could also supply [ἐν]τεθῆναι.

Lines 17–19: These lines bring perhaps the most interesting novelty. They contain the clause giving the right of burial in the funerary complex to a non-kin group referred to as ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί. The wording is very confused and not easily understood: ἐξου[σίαν] ἕξουσιν ἕτι τεκέων τρέφουσι [ἐν]τὸς ἀνθρώπων θρεπτικῶν εἴ τιν' [ἐλευ]θερώσει τις αὐτῶν. Following closely on the prohibitative clause relating to the owners' husbands, almost as an afterthought, one last group is given the right to be interred in the family tomb. In this elliptic phrase the infinitive συνχωρῆσαι should be understood as depending on the phrase ἐξουσίαν ἕξουσίν, but who the subject of the clause is remains unclear – probably the wives and the husbands together. We venture to translate "they (sc. the owners/the wives/the husbands) will have the right (to allow burial) to the nurturers of (our) children [among] ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί if one of them is set free by them (sc. the owners/the wives/the hubands)". Not only is the wording muddled, but the stone-cutter also made at least one mistake. At the end of line 19, instead of inscribing τιν' he carved τι and afterwards added a ν on the raised border surrounding the inscription-field.

One result emerges from all this beyond all doubt, namely, that the future freedmen of the house presently entrusted with the nurturing of their masters' children will have a right to be interred in the *heroon*. These nurturers are designated as τεκέων τρέφοντες (τεκέων τρέφουσιν in the dative case depending on the infinitive συνχωρῆσαι). For unknown reasons (unless we take this to be another stone-cutter's mistake) Elpis and her friend preferred the poetic form τεκέων to the common τέκνων. For their children's upbringers they likewise use the present participle τρέφοντες that had evolved into a noun, instead of the past participle θρέψαντες usually found in inscriptions. We can explain this by the fact that the process of nurturing was an on-going one, while in most of the cases recorded in inscriptions the relationship nurtured/nurturer was terminated by the death of one of the parties involved or by the child reaching maturity.

The large group of about 260 inscriptions from the Greek world commemorating foster-parents and nurturers (oi  $\theta \rho \epsilon \psi \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \zeta$ ) can be divided into two groups. The first is made up of free and

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  The exact find-spot of the inscription featuring Persian Artemis [IK 17,2 (Ephesos) 3840 A = SEG 31, 998] is not known.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen*, Geneva/Leipzig 1897, 77–83, tab. IV; Head, 59–64, tab. XII; *SNG Deutschland. Sammlung von Aulock*, Taf. 95; R. Fleischer, *Artemis Ephesia und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien (EPRO 35)*, Leiden 1973, 185–7. Cf. also M. P. de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn 1999 (*Asia Minor Studien 36*), 73–6 and 145–8 (catalogue of inscriptions); M. Ricl, *Živa Antika 52*, 2002 [2004], 210–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *IK* 17,2 (Ephesos) 3840 A = *SEG* 31, 998.

slave up-bringers whose relationship with their nurslings is that of masters, <sup>14</sup> patrons, <sup>15</sup> fosterparents<sup>16</sup> and possibly adoptive parents.<sup>17</sup> The other group consists of nurses and educators, mostly of servile<sup>18</sup> or libertine<sup>19</sup> status, rarely free(born) and not related to the family of the nursling.<sup>20</sup> As far as the second group is concerned, our impressions of Greek nurses (both male and female) as mostly family slaves or ex-slaves of their nurslings' families, is supported by researches on nurses in Rome.<sup>21</sup> Their use points to an exploitative element in the life of the nurse occasioned by the birth of her own child or children.<sup>22</sup> We know of only three cases of nurslings of recognizably servile background entrusted to the care of a nurse and/or nurturer,<sup>23</sup> but there could be more examples difficult to identify. For instance, in north-east Lydia we find several inscriptions mentioning seven, eight, or in one case even thirty-four people reared by the same couple or individual.<sup>24</sup> A couple who nurtured eight θρεπτοί were slaves of one Antistius Priscus.<sup>25</sup> Is it reasonable to assume that a native or a slave family in this part of the Roman Empire could own seven, eight, let alone thirty-four slaves? Perhaps, but we would like to suggest the possibility that what we have here are couples and individuals who specialized in bringing up and training other people's (or their masters') slaves or exposed and rescued children.<sup>26</sup> This possibility seems supported by the appearance of two Phrygian male tutors styled  $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$ :<sup>27</sup> the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> E.g.: FD III 6, nos. 15, 43, 124; C. Dunant, BCH 75, 1951, 311–2 no. 3 = SEG 12, 255; Ph. M. Petsas – M. B. Hatzopoulos – L. Gounaropoulou – P. Paschidis, Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtones de Leukopétra (Macédoine) [Μελετήματα 28], Athens 2000, nos. 19, 81, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> E.g.: *IG* X 2,1, 504; *IK* 22,1 (Stratonikeia) 1219; B. İplikçioğlu – A. V. Çelgin – G. Çelgin, in: *IX. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 1991, 191–2 = *SEG* 41, 1367; *MAMA* VIII 436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 3,1,3969; IK 31 (Klaudiupolis) 160 (natural father is also the foster-father).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> IK 18 (Kyzikos und Umgebung) 160; MAMA IX 270.

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  E.g.: IG V 1, 608; N. Müller, MDAI(R) 1886, 52 s. = J.-P. Frey, CIJ vol. I, Roma 1936, App. 3, 17: τοῦ δὲ θρέψαντος ἦν κύριος; G. Petzl, EA 15, 1990, 60 no. 17 = SEG 40, 1067; IK 18 (Kyzikos und Umgebung) 207; TAM IV 1, 134: the *nutritor* perished together with his two nurslings in an earthquake; IK 31 (Klaudiupolis) 103; MAMA VII 60; MAMA IX 98; IK 17,1 (Ephesos) 3084–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> E.g.: IG VII 2181; Chr. Naour, ZPE 44, 1981, 33 no. 14 = SEG 31, 1018: πατρικὸς ἀπελεύθερος is ἴδιος θρέψας; J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor, in: Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 3, 1884/5 [Boston 1888], 417: ὁ θρέψας τὸν νεώτερον τοῦ πάτρωνος υἱόν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> E.g.: C. B. Kritzas, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 30, 1990, 10 no. 3 = SEG 41, 732; IK 40,1 (Prusa ad Olympum) 1056.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> S. Treggiari, *Am. Journ. Anc. Hist.* 1, 1976, 87–9, 96; K. R. Bradley, *Historical Reflections/Réflections historiques* 12, 1985, 485–523; id., in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome. New Perspectives*, London/Sydney 1986, 201–29; S. R. Joshel, *Signs* 12, 1986, 3–22; S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, London/Sydney 1988, 141–67; M. Corbier, *Annales HSS* 54/6, 1999, 1274–84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. K. R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire*. A Study in Social Control (Collection Latomus vol. 185), Bruxelles 1984, 72–3; Joshel, op. cit. 5–6.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  G. Petzl, EA 15, 1990, 57–8 no. 13 = SEG 40, 1044; IK 18 (Kyzikos und Umgebung) 207 and P. Herrmann – H. Malay, New Documents from Lydia (in print), no. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> TAM V 1, 764, 782, 786; E. Varinlioğlu, EA 15, 1990, 88 no. 39 = SEG 40, 1093; H. Malay, Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis, Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 279, ETAM 23, Wien 1999, 146 no. 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> TAM V 1, 782.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> In Dig. 32.1.99 we find a mention of a slave born in the city and sent to the countryside to be reared there (eum, qui natus est ex ancilla urbana et missus in uillam nutriendus). Cf. S. Dixon, AULLA XXII (Papers and Synopses from the 22nd Congress of the Australasian Universities' Language and Literature Association), Canberra 1984, 16; ead., The Roman Family, Baltimore/London 1992, 128; K. R. Bradley, Historical Reflections/Réflections historiques 12, 1985, 491–4; 512–4; id., in B. Rawson (ed.), op. cit. 207–11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> MAMA VII 170; MAMA VIII 357.

word is synonymous with τροφεύς ("breeder, nurturer, tutor"), and the wording of both texts suggests that it is a professional description of one who is responsible for young children in a household, and a social term of relation.<sup>28</sup> In cases of slaves nurtured away from their master's house, the use of a wet-nurse and childminders was simply one part of the slave-breeding process. Inscriptions give evidence only of affectionate relationship – if nurses and educators had a disciplinary role to play, this has not left any traces in the epitaphs.

To come back to the new inscription – the phrase ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί in line 19 seems to be a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. In our opinion, it is equivalent to θρέψαντες, τροφεῖς, nutritores, in other words, nurses, breeders, educators and tutors of children, both male and female. Although the adjective θρεπτικός is not elsewhere attested in this sense,<sup>29</sup> it is perfectly understandable: the ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί in question were slaves of the tomb's owners employed as tutors of children, probably not only their masters' children but also their house-born or bought slaves. Thanks to their close relations with Elpis and the rest of the family, the ones who nurtured their masters' children could expect an early manumission and the privilege of being buried in the family tomb. If the two families who purchased the funerary complex owned slaves who were, we could almost say, professionally trained nurses, it follows that they were reasonably well-off and also that they could have profitably employed their ἄνθρωποι θρεπτικοί for nursing other people's children and slaves. Cases of slave-women hired by their masters to nurse other people's children and slaves are occasionally found in papyri.<sup>30</sup> One of us is currently studying the whole issue of θρεπτοί and related categories in the Greek world and Lydia and Phrygia in particular.<sup>31</sup>

Lines 20–22 complete the preceding clause by adding that the manumitted ἄνθρωπος θρεπτικός will be allowed to bury his children in the same tomb.

Finally, we give the complete reading and translation of this new interesting inscription from Hypaipa:

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["Ετους ...΄, μη(νὸς)] 'Απελλαίου κ΄·
[.......]αυλου καὶ 'Ελπὶς
[...... 'Υπα]ιπηναὶ ἠγόρασαν
[τὸν οἶκον ἐπ]ικείμενον ἐπὶ καμά-
[ρα σὺν καὶ τ]ῆ καμάρα καὶ μνημεῖ-
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Latin equivalent is *tata* (S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, London/Sydney 1988, 146–9; H. Sigismund Nielsen, *Classica et Medievalia* 40, 1989, 191–6). In *CIL* VI 21279a we meet a freedman who had been a *nutritor* both of his *patrona*'s children and her *alumni*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> We are aware of only one inscription from Ephesus [*IK* 16, 2223 a 1 (sarcophagus; reign of Marcus and Verus or Marcus and Commodus)]: on the sarcophagus, erased: [---] ἢ γράμμα ἐκκόψαι, δώσει τῷ Σεβ(αστῶν) θρεπτικῷ κτλ. containing the phrase τὸ Σεβ(αστῶν) θρεπτικόν which could stand for *alimentatio Augusta*. The exact meaning of the name of an association(?) – ἡ τῶν θρεμματικῶν ἐργασία in Hierapolis (W. Judeich, *IHierapolis* no. 227 b) and possibly in Laodikeia on the Lykos [*MAMA* VI 11 = *IK* 49,1 (Laodikeia on the Lykos) 59] – is disputed (a charity for the foundlings, a professional association of θρεπτοί apprentices or an association of cattle-owners?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf. *CPapGr* I 4, 10, 12, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> One study, "Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί and Related Categories in the Greek World: The Case of Phrygia in the Roman Period" has recently been published in a collection of studies entitled Nεοελληνικὴ κληρονομία στούς Σέρβους τ. Α΄, Belgrade 2005, 145–166, and two other ones ("Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί in Narrative and Documentary Sources" presented at the 2003 conference organised by the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem, and "Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί and Related Categories in the Greek World: The Case of Lydia in the Roman Period") are currently in print.

[ον παρακείμ]ενον πρὸς τὸ εἰς τὸ μνη-[μεῖον τεθῆν]αι ἑαυτάς τε καὶ Τρόφι-[μον καὶ Ἐπ]ικράτην τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐ-[τῶν καὶ τὰ] τέκνα καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐ-10 [τῶν, μηδ]ενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν [ἐνθάδε] τεθ⟨ῆ⟩νε· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτά [τι ποιή]σει, ἀποδώσει είς τὸν κυ-[ρίου] Καίσαρος φίσκον \* ,βφ΄ καὶ εἰς [τὴν] ἐν Ὑπαίποις "Αρτεμιν \* ,αφ' 15 [μηδε]νὶ δὲ βουληθῶ(σ)ιν συνχωρῆσαι [Τρό]φιμος ἢ Ἐπικράτης οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμῶν [έπι]τεθηναι είς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον έξου-[σίαν] έξουσιν έτι τεκέων τρέφουσιν [ἐν]τὸς ἀνθρώπων θρεπτικῶν εἴ τιν' 20 [έλευ]θερώσει τις αὐτῶν ὁμοίως έξουσί-[αν δ] έλευθερωθείς τοῦ τεθῆνε ἐνθάδε [τὰ τέκ]να αὐτοῦ.

"In the year ..., on the  $20^{th}$  day of the month of Apellaios: [ (daughter of) ]aulos and Elpis [(daughter of) , citizens of Hypa]ipa, purchased [an oikos/bomos lying on] top of a kama[ra, together with th]e kamara, and a mnemei[on lying nearby], so that the two of them [are buried] in the mnemeion and Trophi[mos and Epi]krates their husbands [and their] children and grand-children, no] one (else) having the right to be buried [here]: if anyone [does anything] contrary to this, he will pay into the lord Caesar's fiscus 2,500 denarii and to the Artemis in Hypaipa 1,500. Let our husbands Trophimos and Epikrates allow no one else to be buried in this heroon [after us]; they (sc. the owners/the wives/the husbands) will have the right (to allow burial) to the nurturers of (our) children [among] ανθρωποι θρεπτικοί, if one of them is set free by them (sc. the owners/the wives/the husbands); likewise, the manumitted one (will have) the right for his children to be buried here."

## Özet

Makalede, Ödemiş civarında bulunduğu söylenen ve şimdi Dr. K. Uğurbil (İzmir) Koleksiyonu'nda korunmakta olan bir mezar yazıtı incelenmektedir. İ.S. 2. yüzyıla tarihlenmesi mümkün olan bu yazıtta, arkadaş ya da akraba olan iki kadının (Hypaipa'da?) satın aldığı bir anıtsal mezar yapısının (heroon) kullanımına ilişkin koşullar yer almaktadır. Yazıtın en ilginç kısmı, anthropoi threptikoi olarak adlandırılan ve mezar sahipleri ile herhangi bir kan bağı bulunmayan bir gruptan söz edilmesidir. Belli ki bunlar, bu ailenin çocukların eğiten ve köle statüsünde bulunan kimselerdi.

Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir: "... yılının Apellaios ayının 20. günü: Hypaipa vatandaşlarından, ...-aulos'un kızı ... ile filancanın kızı Elpis bu mezar yapısını altındaki platform (*kamara*) ve yanındaki mekanla (*mnemeion*) ile birlikte satın aldılar. Bu mekana yalnızca kendileri ve kocaları Trophimos ile Epikrates ve onların çocukları ve torunları gömülecektir. Başka hiçbir kimsenin buraya gömülmeye hakkı yoktur. Buna uymayan kişi, Efendimiz İmparator'un hazinesine 2.500, Hypaipa'daki Artemis tapınağına ise 1.500 Dinar ceza ödeyecektir. Bizim ölümümüzden sonra

kocalarımız bu mezara bir başkasının gömülmesine izin vermeyeceklerdir. Mezar sahipleri, kendi çocuklarına bakan beslemelerden (*anthropoi threptikoi*) herhangi birini azat ettiği takdirde, bu azatlıya ve onun çocuklarına buraya gömülme izni verilecektir".

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