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INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARIS AND APAMEIA-KELAINAI

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### 1. Q. Voconius Saxa at Baris

A team engaged in field-survey work in northern Pisidia has recently published a new public inscription discovered just north of the village of Kılıç, in the fertile plain to the north-east of Burdur Gölü (the ancient Lake Askania).<sup>1</sup> As has long been recognised, the inscriptions of Kılıç ought to be attributed to the ancient city of Baris, situated somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Kılıç.<sup>2</sup> The new text is published in the following form:

[- - -] . Ε  
ΟΥΣΑΞΑ . Α  
πολεως ΣΙΟ  
4 ου Παυλείνου  
δος καὶ Μάρ-  
[κου - - -]ου καὶ Λευκί-  
[ου - - -] Γαίου ἐπιμε-  
8 [- - -]ετης ἀναστα-  
[- - -]κλου δις ουεν  
*vacat*

The publication is accompanied by an excellent photograph, from which I propose the following readings and restorations:

[- - - - -] . ἐ[πὶ?]  
[Κ. Οὐκοκωνί]ου Σάξα · ἀ[ρχ]-  
[όντων τῆς] πόλεως Ἰο[υλ]-  
4 [ίου - c.5 - ]ου Παυλείνου  
[τοῦ - c.5 -]δος · καὶ Μάρ-  
[κου - c.4 -]ου · καὶ Λευκί-  
[ου - c.5 -]γαίου · ἐπιμε-  
8 [ληθέντο]ς τῆς ἀναστά-  
[σεως Πρό]κλου δις Οὐεν-  
[ούστου.]

*[... during the term of office of Q. Voconius Saxa; when the a[rchons of the] city were Iu[lius ...] Paulinus, son of [...], and Mar[cus ...], and Luci[us] ...gaius; [Pro]klos, son of Proklos, grandson of Ven[ustus] was responsible for the erection (of the statue).*

In lines 2–7, we are provided with a list of members of the archon-college at Baris, their names separated by interpuncts. An archon-college at Baris was already attested in an inscription

<sup>1</sup> G. Labarre, M. Özsaıt, N. Özsaıt and İ. Güceren, D'Askania à Aulutrene: nouvelles inscriptions et monuments de Pisidie, *Anatolia Antiqua – Eski Anadolu XIX* (2011), 113–47, at 130–3.

<sup>2</sup> H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens, Teil II* (1979), 23–8; K. Belke and N. Mersich, *TIB VII: Phrygien und Pisidien* (1990), 206 s.v. Baris.

from Κιλίς published by George Bean in 1959, a statue base for Caracalla, set up by ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν πε (vac.) – that is to say, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν πε(ρὶ τὸν δεῖνα), with the mason having neglected to inscribe the final lines on the stone.<sup>3</sup> Baris seems to have had an archon college of three, as apparently was also the case at Akmonia in Phrygia: an archon-college of four is attested in Phrygia at Brouzos, Otrous and Orkistos, and a college of five is attested at Apameia-Kelainai and Synnada.<sup>4</sup> For my restoration in lines 2–3 (ἀ[ρχόντων τῆς] πόλεως), cf. *IGR* IV 704 (Synnada), τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιησαμένων παρ' ἑαυτῶν Αὐρ. Χρυσαντίωνος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ Ζωτικοῦ Κάστορος καὶ Διονυσίου Ἀνδρέστου καὶ Ἑρμογένους Θεμίσιωνος καὶ Αὐξάνοντος Γαίου, ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως.

In line 2, the sequence -ΟΥΣΑΞΑ can only represent the Latin *cognomen* Saxa, here in the genitive case (nom. Σάξας, gen. Σάξα). The *cognomen* is a very rare one, and I suggest that we are dealing with Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus (*suff.* 146), who acted as governor (*legatus Augusti*) of the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia c. AD 143–147.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere in northern Pisidia, Saxa also appears at Komama on a statue base (in Latin) for the emperor Antoninus Pius, which states that the inscription was cut ‘by permission of Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, *legatus Augusti pro pr.*’<sup>6</sup> Evidence from Sagalassos suggests that the cities of north-western Pisidia, having been part of the Roman province of Asia from the Flavian period to the reign of Hadrian, were transferred to the province of Lycia-Pamphylia late in Hadrian’s reign.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. *Hemeseni* at Aulutrene

In the same article, Labarre and his colleagues publish a Latin funerary *bomos* from the village of İncesu, at the southernmost limit of the Dombay ovası (the ancient plain of Aulutrene, the eastern part of the territory of Apameia-Kelainai).<sup>8</sup> The inscription is there described as the ‘epitaph of Nice Salme’:

D(is) M(anibus)  
Nice Salme  
filia vixit an-  
4 nis IIII Salii f(ilius)  
frater et Aur(elius)

<sup>3</sup> G. E. Bean, Notes and inscriptions from Pisidia, Part I, *AS* 9 (1959), 67–117, at 82–3, no. 26 (*SEG* 19, 761).

<sup>4</sup> Akmonia: *SEG* 56, 1490, lines 26–30; Brouzos: *IGR* IV 681, to be republished in *MAMA* XI (<http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk>); Otrous: *IGR* IV 693; Orkistos: *MAMA* VII 304; Apameia-Kelainai: *IGR* IV 792, with P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley* (2011), 99–100; Synnada: *IGR* IV 704.

<sup>5</sup> *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 612; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977), 305, 340; B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* (1996), 65–6. Inscriptions from Lycia-Pamphylia: *SEG* 31, 1300 (Phaselis); *I.Perge* 144; *IGR* III 705 (Kyaneai); C. Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis* (2000), 165.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* III 6885 (from a copy by Ramsay); republished by B. Levick, Two Pisidian colonial families, *JRS* 48 (1958), 74–8, at 77: *inscriptio facta est [p]ermissu Q. Voconi Saxae Fidi leg. Aug. pr. pr.*

<sup>7</sup> An unpublished inscription from the upper agora at Sagalassos shows that Sagalassos, and hence presumably its western neighbour Baris, was part of the Roman province of Asia in AD 86: M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, *Sagalassos IV: Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995* (1997), 295; Waelkens, Provincial capitals and hinterland cities, in B. Brandt *et al.* (eds), *Synergia: Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzinger* (2005), II 377–86.

<sup>8</sup> Labarre *et al.* (above, n. 1), 133, no. 1. On the topography of the plain of Aulutrene, see now Thonemann (above n. 4), 57–67.

Priscus tutor  
 et Proceius  
 8 b(ene) m(erenti) posue-  
 runt.

*‘Aux dieux Mânes, Nikè Salme fille ayant vécu quatre ans, le fils de Salius (son) frère et Aurelius Priscus (son) tuteur, et Proceius, ont fait élever (le monument) à celle qui l’a bien mérité.’*

In lines 2–3, the editors appear to take *Salme* as the second name of the deceased girl Nike. However, the word *filia*, ‘daughter’, must necessarily have a genitive dependent on it. The word *Salme* therefore can only represent an indeclinable genitive: ‘Nike daughter of Salme’. In line 4, what the editors read as an *f* at the end of the line could equally well be a letter *e*, with the lower horizontal missing (the stone is chipped at the crucial point); it therefore seems likely that we have the same indeclinable name here too, i.e. *Sal*<*m*>*e* *frater*, ‘her brother Salme’. We are evidently dealing with the common Semitic name ‘Shalme’ (ŠLM’). This name was particularly common at Palmyra, where it was regularly transcribed Σαλμη or Σαλμης in Greek.<sup>9</sup> In one recently published bilingual Greek-Palmyrene inscription, the name is treated in Greek as indeclinable, with the form Σαλμη serving for both dative and genitive.<sup>10</sup> Nike and her family ought therefore to be regarded as natives of northern Mesopotamia, perhaps specifically of Palmyra.

The historical context of this inscription is illuminated by two further funerary inscriptions of the very late third or early fourth century AD from Aulutrene and the neighbouring city of Eumeneia. The first inscription, from the modern hamlet of Eldere, is a bilingual Latin-Greek funerary monument, set up by two cavalrymen, Iulius Monimus and Iulius Bassus, for a certain Iulius Mar[ei]nus, *magister Hemesenorum*.<sup>11</sup> This small unit of Emesene cavalrymen was apparently installed at Aulutrene in the early years of the new province of Phrygia-Caria as a garrison for the province. Also in the early years of the new province, a Christian family at Eumeneia (Aur. Neikeros and his wife and children) admitted to their burial plot their ‘friend’ (φίλος) Aur. Mannos, who is described as a horse-archer, *signifer*, in the *officium* of the governor of Phrygia-Caria.<sup>12</sup> The name Mannos is highly characteristic of Edessa, and it seems very likely that Aur. Mannos was a member of the same unit of *Hemeseni* as the cavalrymen at Aulutrene.

It is natural to suppose that the north-Mesopotamian family attested in the new inscription from Incesu was also associated with the Emesene garrison at Aulutrene. Indeed, the new inscription clearly attests, for the first time, the permanent settlement of north-Mesopotamian

<sup>9</sup> J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (1971), 51, 114; J.-B. Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre* (2002), 293, citing CIS 3970 (Σαλμης Μαλιχου του Βωλιαδου); cf. also M. Gawlikowski, *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre* (1970), 203–4, no. 77 (Σαλμης).

<sup>10</sup> Kh. As’ad and J.-B. Yon, *Textes et fragments grecs de Palmyre, Syria* 78 (2001), 153–62, at 154–5, no. 1 (*SEG* 51, 1986): Ἰου(λ)ίφ Αὐρηλίφ Σαλ[μη Μαλιχου] τοῦ Σαλμη Ἰαραίου.

<sup>11</sup> M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain près d’Apamée de Phrygie* (1987), 48–53, no. 8 (*AE* 1987, 943; *SEG* 37, 1103); see further M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Inscriptions militaires d’Aulutrene et d’Apamée de Phrygie*, in Y. le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l’armée romaine sous le haut-empire* (1995), 57–92, at 58–61.

<sup>12</sup> *ILS* 8881 (*IGR* IV 731, with L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (1963), 361–5: Αὐρ. Μάννος στρατιώτης ἰππεὺς σαγιττάρης δρακωνάρης ἐξ ὀφικ[ί]ου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Καστρίο[υ] Κώνσταντος. For L. Castrius Constans (*PLRE* I 219–20, s.v. Constans I), see also *MAMA* VI 94 (near Herakleia under Salbake). His governorship cannot be precisely dated: see C. Roueché, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/fasgov.html>.

soldiers and their families at Aulutrene: presumably Nike and her brother Shalme were the children of a member of this garrison of equestrian *Hemeseni*.

In lines 5–7, the editors read *Aur. Priscus tutor et Proceius*. The name \*Proceius does not exist; instead, Aur. Priscus acted as Nike’s *tutor* and ‘guardian’, *proc(urator) eius*. I propose reading the entire text as follows:

D(is) M(anibus)  
 Nice Salme  
 filia vixit an-  
 4 nis IIII. Sal<m>e  
 frater et Aur(elius)  
 Priscus tutor  
 et proc(urator) eius  
 8 b(ene) m(erenti) posue-  
 runt.

Line 4: SALIIĒ lapis.

*To the divine Manes. Nike, daughter of Shalme, lived for four years. Her brother Shalme and Aur. Priscus her tutor and guardian set this up for her, who was well-deserving.*

### 3. A funerary formula at Apameia-Kelainai

In the same article are published two funerary *stelai* from Aydoğmuş, both apparently discovered at a site (Eskiköy Yeri) around 1.5 km north of the modern village.<sup>13</sup> Both stones should be attributed to the city of Apameia-Kelainai. The first *stela* is presented in the following form:

Αὐρήλιος Τέρτιο[ς] ζῶν  
 ἐποίησα τὸ ἠρώων ἐ-  
 αυτῶ καὶ τῆ γυναι-  
 4 κὶ μοῦ Ι Ι . . ΤΙΝ καὶ το-  
 ῖς τέκ[ν]ο[ις] Ι ε ΘΕΤΕΡΟ .  
 ΟΥ [---] . ΔΕ  
 ΕΠ [---].

The published photograph permits slight corrections to the readings in line 1 (Τέρτις for Τέρτιο[ς]) and lines 2–3 (ἐμιαυτῶ for ἐλαυτῶ); in line 4, the woman’s name appears to be Μελτινή. In lines 5–6, we have a formula which was extremely common at Apameia-Kelainai in the second and third centuries AD (more than 25 examples), but which to the best of my knowledge is found nowhere else in Asia Minor: ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ [τεθήσεται/τεθῆ], ‘into which no-one else will be placed’; τὸ ἠρώων in line 2 is the antecedent of the relative pronoun ὃ. The formula is most common with τὸ ἠρώων; it is occasionally found with τὸ μνημεῖον or ἡ σορός.<sup>14</sup> The inscription pre-

<sup>13</sup> Labarre *et al.* (above, n. 1), 139–41, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>14</sup> τὸ μνημεῖον: *MAMA* VI 214; *IGR* IV 807; ἡ σορός: *MAMA* VI 191; *MDAI(A)* 21 (1896), 372. In *MAMA* VI 215, I would restore τὸ ἠρώων ... [ἰς ὃ] καὶ αὐτὴ τεθήσομαι, rather than the [ἐν ᾧ] of Ramsay and the *MAMA* editors, on the parallels of *MAMA* VI 213, τὸ ἠρώων, ἰς ὃ καὶ αὐτὴ τεθήσεται, and *MAMA* VI 220, εἰς ὃ Ἐαν[ός] αὐτὸς τεθήσετε, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς.

sumably concluded in lines 6–8 with a fine ([εἴ] τις δὲ ἐπι[τηδεύσει, θήσει εἰς τὸ ταμείον (δην.) φ'] *vel sim.*) or a curse-formula ([εἴ] τις δὲ ἐπι[τηδεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν] *vel sim.*). The entire text should be restored as follows:

4      Αὐρήλιος Τέρτις ζῶν  
          ἐποίησα τὸ ἠρώφον ἐ-  
          μαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναι-  
          κί μου Μελτίνῃ καὶ το-  
          ἰς τέκνοις, ἰς ὃ ἕτερος  
          οὐ [τεθήσεται· εἴ] τις δὲ  
          ἐπι[τηδεύσει, - - - - -]  
          - - - - -

*I, Aurelius Tertis, made the tomb while I was still living for myself and my wife Meltine and my children, into which another will not be placed; if anyone tries to do so ...*

The second inscription from Aydoğmuş is presented in the following form:

4      Αὐ(ρήλιος) Τρύφων  
          Μελτίνης τῆς  
          ἑαυτοῦ . . νε  
          κΠ μνήμης  
          χάριν

In lines 3–5, read simply [γυ]velκὶ μνήμης | χάριν: *Aur(elius) Tryphon, for his wife Meltine, in memoriam*. The hesitation between genitive and dative (τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυνεκί) is very common in late Roman Phrygia.

### Özet

Makalede, Guy Labarre ve arkadaşları tarafından *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu XIX* (2011), s. 130-3'de yayınlanan, kuzeybatı Pisidia'daki Baris ile güneydoğu Phrygia'daki Apameia-Kelainai kökenli üç yazıt düzeltilerek yeniden yayınlanmaktadır. Buna göre, Baris'de bulunan ilk yazıt, İ.S. 143-147 yılları civarında Lycia-Pamphylia eyaleti valiliği yapan Q. Vocanius Saxa Fidus ile bazı arkhonların görev yıllarına tarihlenmektedir. Yazara göre, Apameia'nın doğusundaki Aulutrene'de bulunan ikinci yazıt buradaki Hemeseni garnizonu hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Nihayet, Apameia-Kelainai'da ele geçen üçüncü yazıt restore edilmekte ve Apameia'da ilk kez rastlanan bir mezar formülü saptanmaktadır.