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SOME FUNERARY RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO TLOS, LYCIA

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The following group of funerary sculptures and inscriptions is held in a private collection belonging to Dr. Öğuz Kocagil, of Fethiye, Muğla, Turkey.1 All the pieces published here are attributed according to the information of Dr. Kocagil to the area of Tlos. A recently published Hellenistic inscription recording provisions to found a perpetual funerary cult, SEG 58: 1640, which has been approximately dated to the mid-second century BC and given a full exegesis by Parker,2 also comes from the Kocagil collection; the editio princeps by Köse, Tekoğu³ gives it the inventory no. 285 as registered by Fethiye Museum. That inscription is notable among other things for evidence of epichoric and Greek names belonging together in a Hellenistic kinship group, in particular, the names Symmasis, Hermaphilos, Hermolykos, which bears an obvious resemblance to the names found in the stones published here. That inscription is attributed on other internal criteria with high probability to Tlos, with Xanthos as a weaker possibility.4

1. Ω 039. Four-sides moulded white limestone altar, top broken; the front decorated with two-figured relief on a ledge, having draped male in three-quarter view, left, and frontal draped female, right, joining right hands or holding a damaged square object between them, damaged heads looking at each other; on both left and right sides in very low relief a wreath tied with a bow below, showing bay leaves (left) and ivy leaves (right side); on the otherwise plain back a crude graffito showing a cross with hooked arms within a sketchy arched, pilastered, naikos. Inscription of four lines on the field below relief, and a fifth line on the foot moulding (socle with recessed reveal, ovolo, fillet, cyma recta, fillet). Figs. 1–5.

Ht. 0.61, w. 0.345, th. 0.32. Ht. of moulding 0.12. Cross: ht. 13.5 cm., w. 8.0 cm. Ht. of naikos around cross 13.5 cm., w. 15.5 cm.

Letter-h. 1.2–1.5 cm. (est.). Alpha with broken crossbar, epsilon squared, omicron small, pi with equal-length right vertical hasta, sigma four-barred with horizontal top and bottom hastae, omega arcuated with out-turned feet, all hastae lightly apicated, verticals tending to incline slightly to the left.

[Ν]οννα Φιλίππου ἐπὶ τῷ ἑατῆς ἀνδρὶ Συμμασει[α]ν[ι]ν
[δ]ε τ[ις] ἀδίκηση τὸν βωμὸν, ἀμ[ι][ρ]-

4 το[λ]ός ἐστω θεῶν καὶ ἱρώων σε[ι]

[μ]ήτε βίοι μήτε τέκνων οὐξησο[ις εὖ]

1 I should like to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Kocagil for affording access and granting the publication rights to these inscriptions to Dr. G. Staab and myself when we were able to visit in 2012 and 2013. I am most grateful to Dr. Staab for his collaboration and comments.
2 R. Parker, A Funerary Foundation from Hellenistic Lycia, Chiron 40 (2010) 103–121.
4 Parker, 103–104.
Fig. 1. No. 1, front

Fig. 2. No. 1, left and front

Fig. 3. No. 1, right

Fig. 4. No. 1, rear graffito
“[N]anna daughter of Philippos, (erected it) over her husband Symmasis son of Dapsemm/os (or -/as), hero; and if anyone shall harm the altar, let him be sinning against gods and heroes, and let him have increase [neither of livelihood] nor children.”

Date: Late Hellenistic, 2nd/1st cent. BC (letter-forms, orthography, ἁμαρτωλός + gen., preponderance of epichoric names). The graffito on the back is early Byzantine. For parallels to the design of a cross in an arched and pilastered frame compare re-used 2nd cent. AD pagan sarcophagi in Northern Italy, in which figural sculptures framed in an architectonic scheme of arcading have been entirely removed and replaced with a large cross in the centre of each frame. The re-use is dated to the turn of the 5th/6th cent. AD and the late 6th cent.5

Line 1: [N]αννα is the obvious supplement, there being room for only one or two letters missing at the beginning, and the mason evidently being inclined to start lettering right at the left edge of the stone. This woman’s name was extremely common in Asia Minor, as a lallname which occurs in several variant forms. The form Νανα is commoner than Νεννα outside Lycia, and the Ionic form Ναννη is commoner than it within Lycia; but Ναννα occurs at Patara, Antiphellos, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, and Tyberissos, as well as another three examples at Tlos (TAM II.2.611, LGPN V.B);6 see Zgusta7 § 1013.1, 1013.15, 1013.16. On ἕατης for ἕαυτης, see Threatte.8 Examples in Attic inscriptions begin with a few dated between 100 BC and 50 BC, and have most clustered between 50 BC and AD 30; the early part of this time-frame overlaps with the rest of the dating evidence for our altar. Her father’s name, Φίλιππος, is one of the more popular Greek names, widely distributed across the Greek world by the Hellenistic period; but rarely met with in Lycia at that date. Schweyer lists six examples only, concentrated upon the cities in the neighbourhood of Kyaneai and Myra.9

6 Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (Oxford 1987–) vol. V.B.
ἐπί in this funerary context means “on” the grave of the deceased, cf. Fraser.10

Line 2: Rare epichoric Lycian names Συμμασις and Δάψεμος -/ας (the nominative case-ending is uncertain); Symmasis is also attested at Tlos in TAM II.2.604 and now SEG 58: 1640 (see above), and at Myra (Petersen, von Luschan11 35 no. 54, Schweyer 124, 253), all Hellenistic; see Zgusta § 1482. Dapsemm/ος, -/ας is hitherto known only at Pinara from a single example which is written in the Lycian alphabet, see Zgusta § 262, transcribed as Ddapsmма, on the stepped base of a Lycian sarcophagus with a pointed-arched gable lid (TAM I.11 with photograph), which is presumed Classical (Schweyer 98) according to the dating criterion that the inscription is written in the Lycian alphabet (Schweyer 95). There are no other attestations to either name, to judge by Cau.12 Compare, however, SEG 40: 1274 Δαψυμιον the father of Ναννη (Kyaneai, early Imperial), which looks like a variant of Dapsemm/ος, -/ας.

Line 3–4: curse by gods and heroes, with ἁμαρτωλός + gen. also at Arsada, ca. 100 BC, Bean13 43 no. 3; for ἁμαρτωλός + gen. more generally, compare SEG 58: 1640 C8–10, ἁμαρτωλός ἦστο Ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, “let him be sinning against Helios and the other gods”; ἁμαρτωλός-curses are typically Lycian, see further Wörrle.14 Later inscriptions, especially imperial funerary curses, normally have ἁμαρτωλός + dat., which is also found earlier, as at Rhodiapolis (TAM II.923); but the alternative syntax with the gen. does not seem to be used later.

Line 5: The letters of the continuation of the curse against tomb-violators are preserved in the middle of the moulding only, where τέκνω ΑΞΗΣ is fairly certain. The verbal root αὐξ-, “grow”, apart from having reference to the literal “growth” of children, the obvious meaning in this context – for which compare IG XII Suppl. 134 (Mytilene, Imperial) on a base for a votive statue erected by a paidonomos or “supervisor of education”, ὑπέρ τῶν παιδιῶν πάντω|ν αὐξήσιός τε καὶ ὑγιήας, “a prayer for the growth and health of all the boys” – may also connote metaphorical and economic “increase”. This sense may also be intended for the curse, as something which the gods, responsible for all such goods, are imprecated to withhold from the accursed; see Parker15 on εὔξησεν in SEG 58: 1640, θύσουσι ... Ἡλίῳ, ὃς εὔξησεν | Συμμασιν καὶ Μαμμαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, “they will sacrifice ... to Helios, who raised up (i.e., gave increase to) Symmasis and Mamma his wife”, where he observes that all the connotations of αὔξησις – physical, financial, social – may well be present in Symmasis’ expression of gratitude to Helios, who must have had had an established cult at Tlos. Arguably, a like mixture of connotations may be heard on a Hellenistic sarcophagus at Arykanda, where the inscribed curse talks of preventing the accursed tomb-violator from having benefit of children, as well as the produce of

10 P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monuments (Oxford 1977) 51.
11 E. Petersen, F. von Luschan, Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis II (Vienna 1889).
hence μητε γη ἐνέγκαι αὐτῷ μήτε δένδρη καρπῶν | μήτε παιδίων ὄνησις εἶν, καὶ ἁμαρτολός ἔστω εἰς τούς θεοὺς | πάντας καὶ πάσας, “let neither earth nor trees bear fruit for him nor let there be benefit of children, and let him be sinning against all the gods and goddesses”, also collected in Strubbe\(^{17}\) 244 no. 369. The letter-forms of the Arykanda inscription with alpha having a straight crossbar, and pi having a short right hasta, as well as the unique epigraphic names, support a middle Hellenistic date. That sarcophagus assists too if we reconstruct the lacunose curse in our inscription after its model. Thus παιδίων ὄνησις εἶν in the Arykanda text suggest that the genitive τέκνων in ours is governed by ΑΥΞΗΣ[ as an abstract noun with εἰη. Hence αὔξησις[, meaning economic “increase, benefit” as well as “growth”, and the [μήτε ... μήτε ... phraseology implying another preceding genitive, of which the most suitable word in the proposed context is βίου, “living, livelihood, substance”; for which compare CIG 3915 = Strubbe 192 no. 285 (Hierapolis in Phrygia, Imperial): καὶ μήτε τέκνων [μήτε[ε] βίου] ὄνησις εἴη, “and let him have benefit neither of children nor of livelihood/property”.

With this supplement in mind, traces of the omicron and upsilon can be read on the lower moulding (Fig. 5). It was roughly estimated in front of the stone that the left lacuna was 6 or 7 letters’ space before what is now read as upsilon, and so this supplement makes a good fit with [μήτε . ]. Y. The final lacuna after sigma was estimated to be 6 letters’ space, where αὔξησις[είη] would fit comfortably. The result is a zeugma like that with ὄνησις in CIG 3915, with αὔξησις applying both to βίου and τέκνων, in which the sense of the verbal noun meaning “increase, growth” seems to range between growing richer in terms of the possession and product of one’s property and having the benefit of the growth and health of one’s children. Compare another funerary curse in CIG 2664 = Strubbe 65 no. 76 (Halikarnassos), μηδὲ τέκνων ὄνησις εἴη | μηδὲ βίου κράτησις, “(let him have) neither benefit of children nor possession of livelihood”, where βίου has connotations of real property in the context of κράτησις meaning “possession”; cf. LSJ s.v.v. All three abstract nouns, αὔξησις, ὄνησις, and κράτησις, in reference to land, produce, children and family, evoked most desired goods having physical, financial, and social connotations, which made them the focus of curses designed to extirpate the life and lineage of the accursed tomb-violator.

Despite its relatively poor condition, the relief reveals some artistic ambition, so that the left (male) figure is in three-quarter view, with his right side standing prouder from the field than his left, and his left foot slightly retracted. The more heavily draped right (female) figure is shown with her body shown frontally, but with her head in three-quarter view. Both the heads, though smashed, appear to have been turned towards each other. The square object held between the right hands of the pair, if that is what it was, may have been intended for a writing-tablet or scroll. The figures were presumably intended to depict the deceased Symmasis and his widow, Nanna. Similar East Greek relics of a man and woman facing each other show such figures in what has been deemed a “parting scene”, but in which the dexionis is perhaps better interpreted as a gesture marking a married couple,\(^{19}\) as may be seen for instance in a number of examples collected by Pfuhl, Möbius.\(^{19}\) They are generally dated to the late Hellenistic period, with the island and peraia of Rhodes featuring as a possible route for the influence of such Greek ideas on Lycian

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\(^{17}\) J. Strubbe (ed.), APAI EPIPTYMBIOI: Imprecations against desecrators of the grave in the Greek epitaphs of Asia Minor. A catalogue, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 52 (Bonn 1997).


funerary sculpture, although they are not characteristically Rhodian forms; see Fraser for similar funerary reliefs of Rhodian provenance, both those figured in a sunk field, and those on a ledge.20

2. Ω 046. White limestone stele, broken above, with two-figured relief in a sunk field, framed as a pilastered, originally pedimented naiskos, having draped male (left) and veiled and draped female (right), shown frontally, joining right hands, their faces damaged. Inscription of five lines on the shaft below relief; foot moulding damaged left side, never completed front, preserved right side (socle, cyma recta, taenia), and tenon below. Figs. 6–7.

Ht. 0.50, w. 0.35, th. 0.13. Ht. of lower moulding 0.10. W. of tenon below moulding 0.35. Ht. of naiskos 24.0 cm., w. 16.0 cm. Ht. of figures 0.22.

Letter-ht. 1.3–1.5 cm., int. sp. 0.5 cm. Alpha with broken crossbar, epsilon squared, omicron full-sized, pi with equal legs, sigma four-barred with horizontal top and bottom hastae, omega arcuated with out-turned feet, many apexes outsized or forked.

῾Ερμάφιλος Ἀρμαϊος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Παρθενίῳ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἁμαρτωλὸς τω θεοῖς νακ. το νακ. vac. το νακ. vac.

“Hermaphilos son of Armais (erected it) over his sister Parthenion; and if anyone shall harm the stele, let him be sinning against gods.”

Date: Late Hellenistic; 1st cent. BC (letter-forms, names).

Line 1: Ἀρμαϊος is gen. of the epichoric name Ἀρμαιος; cf. TAM II.550.18 (Tlos, end of 1st cent. BC), 615.3f. (Tlos, 1st/2nd cent. AD).

Line 4: The final nu is omitted in error. On ἀμαρτωλός-curses, see under no. 1 above.

The Greek names Ἐρμάφιλος and Πορθένιον are found distributed widely across the Greek world, if rare names.21 Both names occur at Limyra in the imperial period, see Wörrel.22 Ἐρμάφιλος is also found at Xanthos in the 1st cent. BC (TAM II.373), at Pinara about the same

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20 Fraser, 33–34, fig. 92 (a–c) 93 (c).
21 52 instances of Ἐρμάφιλος and 15 of Πορθένιον in LGPN I, II, III.A, III.B, IV, V.A, V.B.
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period (TAM II.536), and among the donors to the temple of Leto at the Letoon in the territory of Xanthos, in the second century BC (SEG 44.1219 A23 and B10). By contrast, Armais is attested only at Tlos, see Zgusta § 97-12 and LGPN V.B (five instances). It is a member of a large class of theophoric Lycian names in honour of Arma- – goddess of the moon.23 The class is plausibly related to Greek Erm-/Herm-names in Lycia whose extraordinary popularity is not explained primarily by worship of the god Hermes. Thus Armais’ son Hermaphilos could well have been named after Arma- too.24

The sculpture is considerably less skilled than no. 1 above, with no attempt at movement or other interaction between the frontal, static, figures except the joining of right hands which derives from more sophisticated funerary sculpture showing such a gesture of intimacy. The delineation of the drapery is notably tentative, and the figure on the left is only identifiable as a man by the slightly higher hemline, the bare legs, and the absence of the veil. The failure to complete the lower moulding in front demonstrates that this was never a highly finished product, yet the elaborate inscription places it well above the lowest class of stone funerary monument. The figures were presumably intended to depict Hermaphilos and his sister Parthenion.

3. Ω 040. Three-sides moulded white limestone stele, broken above, with three-figured relief in a sunk field, framed as a pilastered, perhaps originally pedimented naikos, having draped standing woman (left), boy (centre) and man (right). Fig. 8.

Ht. 0.63; w. 0.415; th. 0.16. Foot moulding ht. 0.11. Relief field w. 28.5 cm. Left figure ht. 26 cm. Frame w. 2.5 cm.

Though poorly preserved, the styling of the drapery shown hanging in folds was evidently a main feature of the sculptural group, which appears to be that of a small family, the boy being dressed like the man, only substantially shorter. A long flat object carved under the boy’s right hand may merely depict the vertical edge of a heavy cloak hanging from his shoulder. The frontal poses may have been unambitious, yet the more realistic quality of the detailing appears to have been better than that of no. 1 above. Enough remains of the upper limbs to show that the arms were in different positions, too, lending animation to the scene, even if we


cannot reconstruct the exact gestures. For other East Greek reliefs of frontally posed families with children standing between or beside their parents, see Pfuhl, Möbius 179–182, nos. 632–642.

Date: the broad similarity of styling to no. 1 above, and the type of frame resembling no. 2 above, point to a late Hellenistic date.

There is no inscription on what remains of the stele.

4. Ω 756. Round white limestone altar moulded above and below with attic above, with relief in a shallow arched sunk field on the shaft, of standing frontal draped, veiled female (head damaged), her hands folded across her stomach, and inscription of six lines below, the last on the foot moulding. Top has dowel hole in centre, and is broken behind. Figs. 9–10.

Ht. 0.615, diam. 0.275. Ht. of cap moulding 0.05, attic (shaft of) 0.05, moulding above relief 0.06, shaft 0.34, foot moulding 0.10.
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Ht. of arched field 0.19, w. 0.11. Ht. of relief 0.185, w. 0.07.
Letter-h. 2.0–2.5 cm. Alpha with broken crossbar, epsilon squared, omicron full sized, sigma four-barred with horizontal top and bottom hastae, omega arcuated with in-turned volutes over horizontal feet; boldly incised and apicated throughout.

ἵασων β’ τοῦ
Ἕρμολύκου
Νάννη Ἀπολω-
νίου τὴν σύμ-
βον μνήμης
να. χάριν να. vac.

“Iason son of Iason son of Hermolykos, for Nann/e (or -/a), daughter of Apollonios, his spouse, in memory.”

Date: Imperial, first/second century AD (letter-forms).

Lines 3–4: The ungrammatical shift from dat. to acc. was quite natural in spoken Greek koine. It marks the gradual decline of the dative case in the Imperial period, until it no longer existed, as seen for example in modern Greek. See further Brixhe.26

By the date of this piece, which should belong in the early to middle Imperial period, all the attested names were ubiquitous in Lycia. Iason’s family might be linked to Tlos through TAM II.638, where Hermolykos and Iason are found among related members of a family recorded on a Hellenistic tomb. Alternatively, both names occur for father and son on a second century BC donors’ list at the Letoon in the territory of Xanthos (SEG 44: 1219 A19 and B8). From the Imperial period, on the other hand, TAM II.889 has Aur. Hermolykos son of Iason at Akalisos. In fact, Iason was early favoured in many cities and continued to be very frequent in the Imperial period. Schweyer collects fifteen examples of Iason from across Lycia, all of Hellenistic date, plus one case of the feminine Iasonis. It was the most popular herophoric name in Lycia, followed by Tlepolemos.27 Colvin points to a similar-sounding epichoric name Ιασσος,28 and suggests that popular etymology derived Ἰάσων from ἴαομαι, “heal”, so that it may rather be a theophoric name in honour of a god of healing connected with local Apollo cults.29

On Hermolykos, see Schweyer 149; among Hellenistic examples are TAM II.119 (Telmessos/Karmylessos), II.377 (Xanthos), II.692 (Cadyanda), II.638 (Tlos), Petersen, von Luschan 50 no. 88 (Simena), and SEG 44: 1219 A19 and B8 which records Hermolykos son of Iason among donors to the temple of Leto at the Letoon in the second century BC, in the absence of other indications perhaps referring to citizens of Xanthos. The name continued to be popular in Lycia in the Imperial period. Schweyer suggests that Hermolykos, like Hermonax, is derived from the river Her-

27 Schweyer, 163; cf. LGPN V.B, total of 158 instances of Ἰάσων in Lycia.
28 Zgusta § 449.
29 Colvin, 59; see also W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (Braunschweig 1884) s.v.
mos, in Lydia, on which see further Masson. The second element, -lykos, on this analogy, could be the river Lykos, which flowed past the city of Thyateira to join the Hermos, although there are other Lykos rivers that could be candidates, such as the tributary of the Maeander that flowed past Laodicea ad Lycum. One should not, however, exclude the possibility that Hermolykos was favoured in Lycia by a popular etymology along the same lines as the broad class of Erm-/Herm-names discussed under no. 2 above. Indeed, this very rare Greek name’s popularity in Lycia seems to require a more local explanation.

On Nann/e, -/a, see under no. 1 above. Her father, Apollonios, had the most popular theophoric name in Lycia, which was home to the influential Apolline triad cult at the Letoon in the territory of Xanthos. Schweyer cites nineteen examples plus one of the feminine form, Apollonis, all accounted Hellenistic.

The relief clearly was intended to depict the deceased.

Özet

Bu makalede, Fethiye’de, Dr. Oğuz Kocagil Koleksiyonu’nda korunan ve Lykia’da Tlos (Fethiye/Yaka Köyü) kenti civarında bulunmuş oldukları belirtilen bir grup yazı ve kabartmalar incelenmektedir. Bu buluntular bize bazı Lykialı ve Grek kişi adları, mezar lanetlemeleri ve geç Hellenistik ve imparatorluk dönemiindeki Doğu Yunan mezar tasvirlerine ilişkin gelenekler üzerine bilgiler vermektedir.

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32 Schweyer, 158.