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Funerary Stelae from Phrygia

Frigya'dan Mezar Stelleri

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Abstract: This article presents nine Roman Imperial period funerary stelae from Phrygia, currently preserved in the İzmir Archaeological Museum, alongside an additional piece in the Appendix from the Kütahya Museum. Originating from Kadoi and the Altıntaş (Soa) region, all of the stelae are dated to the 2nd or 3rd century CE and the first quarter of the 4th century CE. These monuments provide valuable insights into the local epigraphic culture, iconography, and social structures of rural Phrygia. The stelae feature characteristic regional relief motifs, onomastic data, and formulaic expressions, including local curse formulas. Five of the stelae are introduced to scholarship for the first time, while four previously published pieces are re-evaluated with revised readings, corrected transcriptions, and updated photographic documentation.

Keywords: Funerary Inscriptions, Funerary Curse Formula, Kadoi, Soa, Soldier, Gothic Casualty

Öz: Bu makale, Phrygia bölgesinden gelen ve günümüzde İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde korunan Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait dokuz mezar stelini ve Ek kısmında Kütahya Müzesi'nden bir başka eseri sunmaktadır. Kadoi ve Altıntaş (Soa) kökenli stellerin tamamı MS 2. veya 3. yüzyıla ya da MS 4. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlenmektedir. Bu anıtlar, kırsal Phrygia'nın yerel epigrafik kültürü, ikonografisi ve sosyal yapıları hakkında değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Steller; bölgeye özgü karakteristik kabartma motifleri, onomastik veriler ve yerel beddua formülleri de dâhil olmak üzere formüller ifadeler içermektedir. Stellerden beşi ilk kez bilim dünyasına tanıtılırken, daha önce yayımlanmış dört eser ise gözden geçirilmiş okumalar, düzeltilmiş transkripsiyonlar ve güncellenmiş görsel belgeleme ile yeniden değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mezar Yazıtları, Mezar Laneti Formülü, Kadoi, Soa, Asker, Got Akını Kurbanı

Introduction

A group of nine Roman Imperial period funerary stelae currently preserved in the collection of the İzmir Archaeological Museum constitutes a noteworthy assemblage. The Phrygian stelae preserved in the museum were acquired over an extended period ranging from the 1920s to the 2010s through various channels, including the transfer of historical school collections, official confiscations, donations, and regional surveys. While a fragment in our study (no. 8) entered the museum via the historical collection of the Evangelical School of Smyrna¹, the remaining

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This study was conducted with the official permission of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Türkiye, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, Department of Museums, dated 09.04.2026 and numbered E-76252222-155.01-8203366. We would like to express our gratitude to the officials of the Ministry of Culture and to the authorities of the İzmir Archaeological Museum for granting us permission to study these artefacts. We are also grateful to Mr Avni Sağlam for his valuable assistance. The photographs in this article, with the exception of figures 5e-g and 8b-c, were taken by İbrahim Arcagök. We would like to express our gratitude to the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and constructive suggestions.

¹ On the early archaeological activities in Smyrna, the documentation work conducted by Josef Keil in the Evangelical School collection (such as his records in Skizzenbuch I.Smyrna VII), and the administrative processes regarding the transfer of antiquities (which directly concerns cat. no. 8 in this study) see Fontrier

monuments were brought to the collection at various dates between 1927 and 2012.

In this study, we present a total of nine funerary stelae, one of which (no. 1) originates from the region of Kütahya/Eski Gediz (ancient Kadoi²), while the remaining eight (nos. 2-9) derive from the region of Altıntaş in Kütahya (the ancient settlement of Soa), which was renowned in antiquity for its marble quarries and stone workshops³. The inscriptions on the first seven stelae are preserved. Two stelae (nos. 8-9) survive only in a fragmentary condition, and their inscriptions are consequently lost; however, the inscription of stele no. 8 was recorded in earlier literature before its disappearance. Stelae nos. 3-9 in this article were analysed in a doctoral dissertation completed in 2025 by İ. Arcagök, one of the authors of this study⁴. Although some of these artefacts (nos. 4, 6, 7, 8) have been previously published, we present them the scholarly community with fresh readings and emendations; the remaining pieces are published here for the first time. In addition to the nine stelae in the collection of the İzmir Archaeological Museum, another funerary stele from Phrygia, preserved in the Kütahya Museum (originating from Üçhöyük/Altıntaş), is presented in the Appendix of this article. Although this monument was previously included in a local publication, its inscription was presented merely in minuscule format without an epigraphic commentary, accompanied by only two inadequate photographs, and consequently has not been recorded in major epigraphic reference tools such as *SEG*, *BE*, or *AE*. This piece is included to complement the material group from the same region, to provide a revised text, and to make the monument properly accessible to scholarship through new detailed photographs.

The stelae under investigation constitute characteristic examples of local stonemasonry, featuring pediments, figure fields framed on both sides by pilasters (some of which are arched) and figures dressed in chiton and himation, reflecting the typical funerary monument tradition of Phrygia. The relief representations on the stelae reflect the linear and schematic stylistic preferences of local Phrygian stonemasons, regional hair fashions, and details of local dress and boots. Furthermore, the writing tablets (diptychs), pencases, papyrus scrolls, craters, and reliefs of oxen pulling a plough depicted alongside the figures, as well as the spindle and distaff motifs held by female figures, provide crucial clues regarding the social status, occupations, literacy, and gender roles of the deceased. In addition, the owner of funerary stele no. 5 is identified as

1884-1885, 1-14; Radet 1907, 376-380; Kourouniotes 1921-1922, 3-5; 1925, especially 392-393 and 395; Cadoux 1938, 272 fn. 4; Petzl 1974a, 117; 1974b, 285; *I.Smyrna* I, VIII note 10; Pfuhl - Möbius, *Ostgr. Grabreliefs*, 534 no. 2222; Tsouli & Paschalidis 2025, 302-305, 319-324. For the subsequent accession pathways of the remaining stelae (nos. 1-7, 9) through local donations, museum acquisitions, and confiscations between 1927 and 2012, cf. Aziz 1932; 1933; Koch 1990; Lochman 2003; Arcagök 2025.

² For Kadoi in general, see Belke & Mersich 1990, 285; *MAMA* X, xviii.

³ For the marble quarries in Altıntaş, see Waelkens 1979, *passim*; Lochman 1990b, 459 note 42, 44: it is reported that the marble supply for the stelae in the Upper Tembris valley was provided from the Çakırsaz and Altıntaş quarries. It is stated that the workshops were clustered around these quarries. See also Waelkens, *Türsteine*, 88-89; Lochman 1990a, 453-457; Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions*, 180; Lochman 2003, 99-107, especially 61-62; Takmer 2018, 423-425; Mitchell 2023, 198, 218, 241; Arcagök 2025, 29-40. For Altıntaş/Soa in general, see Belke & Mersich 1990, 385-386; *Steinepigramme* III, 224; Takmer 2018, 429; Arcagök 2025, 12-19; Arcagök 2026, 6. For the publication of two new and previously unpublished funerary stelae of Kütahya origin located in the Uşak Museum, see Taştēmür, Küçükcan & Dinç 2025, 245 cat. no. 8 (inv. no.: 31.2.97) and 248 cat. no. 11 (inv. no.: 5.11.95).

⁴ M. Waelkens intended to publish the figured Altıntaş stelae collectively (*Türsteine*, 90 n. 168), but this project was never realized. Stelae nos. 3-9 in the present study were catalogued and analyzed in the unpublished doctoral dissertation Arcagök 2025, which provides a comprehensive typological and stylistic survey of Altıntaş funerary monuments.

a soldier on the basis of the representation on the monument (figs. 5a-d); the authors of this article propose, drawing on a comparable stele containing information in its inscription (see fig. 5e), that this individual lost his life while attempting to resist Gothic raids into the region and defend his homeland.

While uncommon female names (Tykhes, Photis, Trophimes, Stratonikes) documented in the onomastic structure of the inscriptions provide new contributions to the regional onomastic map, the funerary curses containing religious sanctions against envious hands (encountered on two stelae (nos. 6-7) and in the inscription in the appendix) demonstrate typical applications of the North Phrygian epigraphic tradition and local punitive formulas.

1. Funerary Stele of Tatianos

Marble stele; Inv. No.: 3582; Findspot: unknown, but on stylistic grounds, it originates from Kadoi (Eski Gediz/Kütahya). Brought to the museum in 1956; H.: 91 cm; W.: 41 cm; Th.: 7 cm; LH.: 1-2 cm.

Publication: To the best of our knowledge, the stele and its inscription are unpublished.

With its rectangular form tapering slightly towards the top and its architectural frame, the stele presents one of the most sophisticated and characteristic examples of the Northwestern Phrygian local stonemasonry tradition of the Roman Imperial period. The upper part of the stele features a pediment filled with a stylized ivy or acanthus with symmetrical volutes, topped by a palmette motif at the very apex. Half-palmettes are located on both lower corners of the pediment. The interior of the pediment is arched. The pediment is supported by two lateral small columns, whose shafts are decorated with a typical herringbone motif characteristic of the local Kadoi style. The capitals of the small columns are basket-shaped with schematic floral decoration. Immediately below the pediment, a thin architrave band decorated with a bead-and-reel pattern extends across. Within the deep niche bounded by the columns stands a frontally depicted adult male figure (Tatianos). The hair design of the figure is a typical reflection of the regional fashion of the Antonine period: it is executed in schematic, large, and round curls/locks surrounding the head like a halo. His face is shown with a beard. Tatianos wears a tunic with dense, vertical folds, and over it a himation that wraps around the body and drapes down from the left shoulder. The right hand emerges from the fold of the garment and is placed on the chest, with the fingers executed quite large, open, and pointing to the left. The left hand, located at the lower part of the body, holds the folded edge of the cloak. In his left hand, between the thumb and index finger, he holds a small object (a *diptychon*?). While a schematic zigzag pattern draws attention at the lower border of the tunic, the local boots frequently encountered on regional stelae are present on the figure's feet. In the space above each shoulder of the figure, a profile bird motif facing each other is executed. Schematic secondary motifs are placed in the spaces on both sides of the figure's feet: beside the right foot (lower left from the viewer's perspective), a stonemason's tool indicating his profession is engraved, and beside the left foot, a vine-pruning knife (*falx vinitoria*) is carved.



Fig. 1a



Fig. 1b



Fig. 1c

ἔτους σνβ' μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἡ' Δανα-

2 ε *sic* πατήρ κὲ Ἀπολλ<ᾱ>ς ἀδελφὸς κὲ Φωτῖς

μήτηρ κὲ Δαμᾶς υἱὸς κὲ Τυχῆς ἡ γυν-

4 ἡ Τατιανῶ γλυκυτάτῳ μνήμης χάριν.

In the year 252, on the 8th of the month of Sebastos; his father Damas, his brother Apollas, his mother Photis, his son Damas, and his spouse Tykhes (made this funerary monument) for sweetest Tatianos, in memory.

⁵ Lochman 1991b, 57-62 and 66-69; 1991a, 22-24; Lochman 2003, 104-105; 188-190.

⁶ Lochman 1991b, 57-60.

⁷ The style of the male figure is very similar to the male figures on the following stelae, particularly regarding the execution of the hair; the stelae likely originate from the hands of the same stonemason and from the same workshop, see Koch 1990, 117 Fig. 2 (in terms of hair type); Wujewski 1991, Fig. 26; Lochman 1991b, pl. 18; Zingg 2013, 187; Taştēmür, Küçükcan & Dinç 2025, 240 cat. no. 3.

L. 1: ἔτους ονβ'. Corresponding to the years 167/168 CE according to the Sullan Era. The Sullan era was used in the city of Kadoi⁸.

μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ η'. For the month Sebastos, see Thonemann 2015, 127 note 25: For the month Sebastos elsewhere in the Roman province of Asia, cf. *I.Smyrna* 709; *MAMA* IX 293 (Aizanoi); *IGR* IV 536 (Maimule).

LI. 1-2: ΔΑΝΑΕ. A major error resulting from the carelessness of the stonemason is present in the onomastic structure of the inscription. The sequence ΔΑΝΑ/Ε located at the end of the first line and the beginning of the second line points to a mason's error, despite the clearly legible letter nu. The stonemason mistakenly incised a nu instead of a mu and an epsilon instead of the letter sigma that should have been at the end of the name. When the context and family ties (the emphasis on the father) are taken into consideration, the intended name is clearly Damas (Δαμᾶς). The deceased Tatianos gave his own son his father's name, Damas (a common intra-family tradition in Phrygian onomastics) as is confirmed in the third line (κὲ Δαμᾶς υἱός).

Ἀπολλ<ᾶ>ς. The second alpha in the name appears to have been omitted on the stone.

L. 2: Φωτίς. The female names encountered in the inscription provide highly original data in terms of the regional onomastic map: the name Photis (Φωτίς), documented as the mother's name, is generally not a very common name, though it has previously been recorded once in Akmoneia and once in the region of East Phrygia (*LGPN* VC, 446 s.v.); cf. also *LGPN* VA, 460 s.v. for Ephesos and Saittai.

L. 3: Τυχής. The name of the spouse, Tykhes, is a form encountered quite rarely in the epigraphical records. This name has previously been documented only twice within the borders of Phrygia, specifically in the city of Temenothyrai (*LGPN* VC, 432 s.v. 2). The nominative form Τυχής represents an analogical remodelling of the feminine name Τύχη. As Brixhe has shown, the addition of final -ς does not reflect Anatolian linguistic interference but rather an internal development of Imperial Greek, whereby feminine names in -η were remodelled after productive feminine paradigms in -ής/-ήδος and -άς/-άδος (Brixhe 1987, 76-77 § 3.1.4.6). Cf. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, 215; *I.Phrygia Christians*, 14; Merkelbach 1975, 214. See also nos. 3 Τροφίμης and 4 Στρατονίκης in this article.

Dating: 167/168 CE (the year 252 according to the Sullan Era).

2. Funerary Stele of Herakleides

Marble stele; Inv. No.: 17007; Findspot: according to the inventory register, the stele was found in Kahramanlar/İzmir. The stele was donated to the museum in 1993, but the stone is of Phrygian origin; indeed, the names (Apphias, Appes) and the hair style of the figure bear an entirely Phrygian character; H.: 90 cm; W.: 54 cm; Th.: 10 cm; LH.: 2-2.5 cm.

Publication: To the best of our knowledge, the stele and its inscription remain unpublished.

The stele is well preserved, with some yellowing and blackening on its surface in places. Complete with no missing parts, the stele is made of vertically cut rectangular marble, and its pediment is executed in a flat manner. The thin vertical frames on the right and left are decorated with an interlocking tress motif. The figure field is divided in the middle by a horizontally framed band. This band is decorated with a spiral line, the left half of which turns to the left and the right half to the right. A male bust is carved inside the niche opened in the

⁸ On this matter, see Leschhorn 1993, 250-254; see also Lochman 1991a, 22-24; 2003, 74; 220.

upper half of the stele. The bust, clad in a chiton and a himation, is depicted with its right hand resting on the chest. The bust has a rounded face and is bearded.

The hair is arranged in two layers and terminates in pointed locks on the forehead. Each curl is subdivided into rigid, plastically rendered segments. The bust features pronounced brow ridges and large, protruding eyes. Beneath the hair, the ears are rendered small and positioned at eye level. The outer upper part of the arched niche in which the bust is placed is decorated with a linear spiral vegetal motif.

Immediately below the band located in the centre of the figural field are writing implements. From left to right, these consist of a partially unrolled scroll, a pen case (*kalamotheke*) carved in relief, an additional closed scroll (or document roll), and, at the far right, a writing tablet (*diptychon*) rendered in relief. Occupying the empty space extending from the lower part of these objects to the base of the stele is a seven-line inscription.



Fig. 2a



Fig. 2b-c

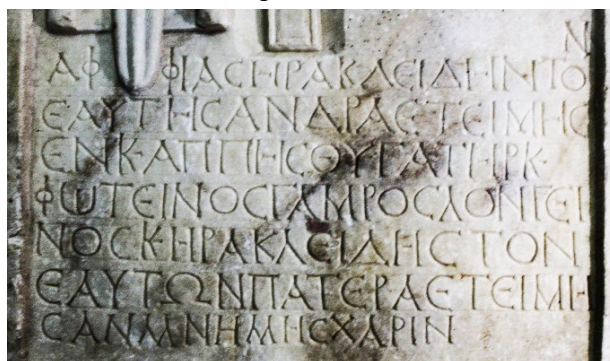


Fig. 2d

- ν
 Αφφιας Ἡρακλείδην τὸ-
 2 ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα ἐτείμησ-
 εν κὲ Ἀππης θυγάτηρ κὲ vac
 4 Φωτεῖνος γαμβρός, Λονγεῖ-
 νος κὲ Ἡρακλείδης τὸν
 6 ἐαυτῶν πατέρα ἐτείμη-
 σαν μνήμης χάριν.

Apphias honoured her husband Herakleides, and (their) daughter Appes and son-in-law Photinos (honoured him); Longinus and Herakleides also honoured their father, in memory.

L. 1: The nu of τόν is inscribed above the line.

L. 4: Φωτεινός = Φωτῖνος. The name is attested in the region of Phrygia; see *LGPN* VC, 446, s.v. γαμπρός = γαμβρός. The spelling γαμπρός as it appears on the stone probably reflects the contemporary pronunciation of the word rather than the omission of the letter β. For this specific case of /mbr/ > /mr/, see Lejeune 1972, 154-155 § 153. Similar examples omitting β in γαμβρός are also attested elsewhere in Phrygia and Lykaonia; see e.g. *MAMA* I, no. 186; *MAMA* IV, no. 96; *SEG* 40, 1230.

Close parallels for the portrait on the stele can be found among a group of funerary stelae originating from Altıntaş⁹. These similarities are evident in the broad, rounded facial structure, the large rendering of the eyes, the elongated and thickened neck, and the treatment of the hair with deep drill work. These parallels, together with the style of the figures, indicate that the funerary stele of Herakleides was most likely produced in an Altıntaş workshop.

Dating: probably in the second half or towards the end of the 3rd century CE.

3. Funerary Stele of a Family

White marble stele; Inv. No.: 15617; findspot: recorded in the inventory register as İzmir. However, it originates from Altıntaş (Kütahya). It entered the museum collection in 1989 as a donation. H.: 87 cm; W.: 46 cm; Th.: 5 cm; LH.: 1-1.5 cm.

Publication: As far as can be ascertained, the stele and its inscription have not yet been published. This stele has also been included in Arcagök's doctoral dissertation, see Arcagök 2025, 159-160, Cat. No. TÜN 44 (Fig. 51).

The stele is moderately well preserved. It is broken horizontally between the two pilaster capitals and diagonally from the right side. The lower right corner is missing, and the right part of the lower inscription is lost. The lower left corner and the capital of the left pilaster have broken off together with the inscription. The surface is covered with a thin layer of limestone. The stele has a triangular pediment and is of a single-storey form. A palmette relief is placed at the apex and at the corners of the pediment. The figural field is framed by two pilasters decorated with reliefs of grape clusters and vine leaves. Between the upper parts of the pilaster capitals and the corner palmettes, an ancient Greek inscription is placed on both sides. Within the arched figural field, a male figure on the left and a female figure on the right are shown standing frontally. Both are dressed in a chiton and himation. The man's garment reaches below the knee, while the woman's extends to the ankles. The man wears closed boots. Both figures raise their right hand to the chest in a gesture of greeting; in their left hands, the man holds a whip, while the woman holds



Fig. 3a

⁹ Arcagök 2025, 76-77. For similar stelae, see 179-180, Cat. no.: TÜN 57 (Fig. 64); 257-259, Cat. no.: KÜN 9 (Fig. 113 a, b, c); 292-294, Cat. no.: KKN 5 (Fig. 134 a, b, c, d); 302-303, Cat. no.: KDN 1 (Fig. 139 a, b); 387-389, Cat. no.: KT 21 (Fig. 196); 389-391, Cat. no.: KT 22 (Fig. 197).

a distaff and spindle. The male figure is bearded and moustached, with curled hair combed forward and ending in spiral tips. The female figure is unveiled and wears a headband; she also has a necklace around her neck. Her hair is parted in the middle, cut short at the nape of the neck. At the lower part of the stele there is a three-line inscription.

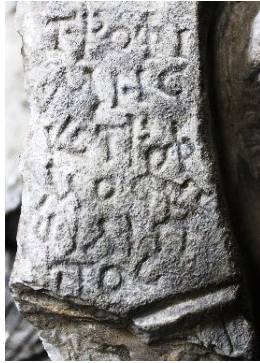


Fig. 3b



Fig. 3c: Detail from Fig. 3b



Fig. 3d

	Τροφι-	πατ-
2	μῆς	10 ρὶ κέ
	κέ Τρόφι-	μητ-
4	μος κέ	12 ρ<ι> ΤΑ[.]Δ
	Φίλιπ-	ΤΟ[.]
6	πος vac	vac
	[---]ΠΙ	14 Αφια [.]?
8	[---]?	{φια}
16	κέ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἰσθήλ[ην ? ---- ἀν]-	
	υψιῶ κέ Μένανδρος ΠΕ[-----]	
18	μνήμης χάριν.	

Trophimes, Trophimos, and Philippos for their father ---- and their mother Aphia ----; and his brothers ----, (his/her) nephew ----, and Menandros (erected) the stele in memory.



Fig. 3e



Fig. 3f

Ll. 1-2: Τροφίμης. This rather rarely attested female name occurs only in five places in Phrygia (Aizanoi, Akmonia, Dorylaion, Tiberiopolis, and the Upper Tembris Valley); cf. *LGPN* VC, 427, s.v. For female names ending in -ης, see above no. 1.

Ll. 7-8: In these lines, the name of the father of Trophimes, Trophimos and Philippos was probably recorded. The stone is broken at this point. The existence of the seventh line is certain, since an iota is clearly preserved at the end of the line. Of the preceding letter, only a vertical stroke

remains; this letter was most probably a pi. It is not clear whether there was an eighth line beneath the seventh. If the patronymic ended with pi in the dative case, the name may not have continued onto a lower line. However, in our view, the name continued on a lower line, i.e. on a possible eighth line, as is also the case in the inscription to the right of the female figure's neck.

Ll. 12-15: In these lines, the name of the mother of Trophimes, Trophimos and Philippos was recorded. However, due to the break in the relevant section of the inscription, only the name Αφια can be read with certainty. Their mother probably had a second name as well. The letters φια following Aphia are most likely erroneous.

Ll. 16-17: These lines are difficult to interpret due to the break in the inscription. However, the names of the deceased father's brothers were probably also recorded in this section. Since ἀδελφοί is mentioned, there must have been more than one brother; however, only Μένανδρος appears in the nominative form in line 17. This sibling could also be Menandros. In addition, the term "nephew" appears, seemingly without a clear contextual connection. These family members must be the ones who had this funerary stele erected.

ἀνυψιῶ = ἀνεψιῶ. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 274, 2) ε > υ; and MAMA X, 98 no. 308: ἀνυψιῶ.

Dating: 280-290 CE.

4. Funerary Stele of Sosas and his wife Aurelia Appes

White marble stele; Inv. No.: 27632; findspot: the stele was discovered in 1973 at Altıntaş (Kütahya) by T. Drew-Bear. The inventory records 2012 as the date of accession to the museum, although the circumstances of its acquisition are not specified. H.: 86 cm; W.: 43 cm; Th.: 4 cm; LH.: 1-2 cm.

Publication: Lochman 2003, 271 (this stele belongs to Lochman's group of Champaign stelae), no. II 226, Pl. 15, Fig. 55; *SEG* 53, 1558 (neither Lochman nor *SEG* indicates that the stele is today in the İzmir Museum); Cf. Arcagök 2025, 127-129, Cat. No. TÜN 25 (Fig. 32).

The funerary stele is preserved in a moderate state of preservation. Apart from small losses at the lower right and left corners, it has no missing parts. The faces of the figures are damaged in the figural field. The surface of the funerary stele is covered with a thin layer of limestone. The funerary stele has a triangular pediment and is of a single-storey form. The apex and corners of the pediment are decorated with palmette ornamentation; two lines of ancient Greek inscription are written on the lower part of the central palmette. The figural field is framed by two pilasters decorated with reliefs of grape clusters and vine leaves. The bases of the pilasters are highlighted with three bands, while their capitals are marked with lines consisting of contiguous V-shapes. Between the pilaster capitals and the corner palmettes, inscriptions are placed on both the right and left sides.



Fig. 4a

The upper part of the figural field is rendered in an arched form. Within the field, a male figure on the left and a female figure on the right are depicted standing frontally. Both are dressed in a chiton and himation; the folds of the garments are emphasised with linear contours. The man's garment reaches to the kneecap, while the woman's extends to her feet. The man wears closed shoes. Both figures hold their right hand in a greeting position on the chest. In their left hands, the man's is empty, while the woman holds a distaff and spindle. The woman wears a chain necklace around her neck. The faces of the figures are similar to one another and have almond-shaped eyes. The upper part of the man's hair is damaged; the preserved sections are rendered with disordered lines running from back to front. The woman is unveiled; her hair is rendered with fine lines running from front to back, ending short and blunt at the nape of the neck. At the lower part of the stele there are three lines of inscription, and at the very bottom there are traces of a dowel hole.



Fig. 4b



Fig. 4c

[Αὐρ.? Σ]τρατονίκης πατρὶ
2 Σωσᾶ {ς} μνήμης χάριν.



Fig. 4d

Αὐρ. Απ-
4 πης
Σωσά-
6 νδρο-
υ ἀν-
8 δρι Σ-
ωσᾶ



Fig. 4e

10 κέ α[ὐτ]-
ἦ ζῶ[σ]-
12 α κέ [τ]-
ἀ τέ-
14 κνα
αὐτ-
16 ῶν



Fig. 4f

Αππης κὲ Φιλοπάτωρ πατρὶ κὲ
 18 [μ]ητ<ρ>ὶ κὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης β' πατρ^{ων}[ι]
 μνήμ vac ης χάριν.

(Aurelia?) Stratonikes (erected this stela) for her father Sosas, in memory.

Aur(elia) Appes, daughter of Sosandros (erected this stela) for her husband Sosas and for herself, while she was alive, and her own children Appes and Philopator (dedicated the stela) for their father and mother; and Asklepiades, son of Asklepiades, for his patron, in memory.

L. 1: Σ[τ]ρατονίκης. While the female name Stratonike is common in Asia Minor, the form Stratonikes is rare¹⁰. For female names ending in -ης, see here no. 1. Before Stratonikes, there appears to be space on the stone for the abbreviation Αὐρ., even though that part is broken.

L. 2: Σωσᾶ {ς}. In Lochman's edition, only the final alpha and sigma of the name are recorded, while the preceding letters are indicated as lost. However, our examination of the stone reveals that the preceding letters, although faint, can still be discerned. The presence of the final sigma in the name (given that the name must be in the dative case in accordance with the syntactic context) should be regarded as a stonecutter's error (lapsus). Accordingly, the name of Sosas, to whom the monument is dedicated, must originally have stood here.

The editors of *SEG*, however, argue that, due to the preserved -ας ending, the form cannot represent a dative name and propose that the expression functions as an attributive element dependent on the formula μνήμης χάριν. Yet this interpretation is insufficient to account for the overall composition of the inscription and the family relationships. If, as T. Corsten (in *SEG* 53, 1558) suggests, the father's name does not appear in the initial lines, the question remains why Stratonikes is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription entirely independently of her other siblings. As is known, the names of Sosas' other children, Appes and Philopator, appear only in line 17. Stratonikes' separate positioning may indicate that she was not the daughter of Aurelia Appes, but rather a daughter from another marriage of Sosas, and that her name is recorded separately due to this intra-familial status.

LI. 17-18: At the end of line 17, an omega is visible. The stonecutter appears to have omitted the omega in the word πατρωνι at the end of the following line and subsequently, in order to correct this error, inserted the letter into the empty space in the upper line. The final letter at the end of line 18 appears to be a nu (N). Accordingly, it may be assumed that the final iota of πατρωνι has been lost due to a break at the right edge of the stone.

The individual named in the inscription, Asklepiades son of Asklepiades (Ἀσκληπιάδης β'), is explicitly associated with the term "patron" (πατρων[ι]). In ancient legal and epigraphic terminology, this term does not denote a slave addressing his master, but rather expresses the legal and social bond of a freedman (libertus) to his former owner (patronus). It is therefore clear that Asklepiades was not a slave, but most likely a freedman formerly owned by the family,

¹⁰ For a few examples, see *LGPV* VC, 398 s.v. (Komana-Hierapolis); *LGPV* VA, 412 s.v. (Thyateira/Lydia).

who contributed to this monument as an expression of respect and loyalty towards his former patron. As noted by N. Pelcer-Vujačić in her study of slaves and freedpersons in the regions of Phrygia and Lydia, such legal and social bonds of loyalty (*obsequium/patrocinium*) frequently appear in funerary inscriptions, where freedmen either mention their patrons or contribute to joint family monuments¹¹.

The hair of the male figure on the stele is rendered in a spiral style. According to Arcagök (2025, 70-71), in the funerary stelae produced in the workshops of Altıntaş, the earlier fashion of straight hair in male figures disappears from the mid-3rd century CE onwards and is replaced by spiral coiffures. Accordingly, funerary stelae featuring male figures with spiral hairstyles, including this one, should be dated approximately to 260-280 CE.

Dating: 260-280 CE.

5. Funerary Stele of Diodotos

White marble stele; Inv. No.: 3583; findspot: unknown. However, it originates from Altıntaş/Kütahya. It entered the museum in 1956. H.: 99 cm; W.: 50.5 cm; Th.: 5 cm; LH.: not measured. Publication: As far as can be ascertained, the stele and its inscription have not been published¹². This stele has also been included in Arcagök's doctoral dissertation, see Arcagök 2025, 109-110, Cat. No. TÜN 15 (Fig. 22).

The stele is well-preserved. Apart from a small chip on the outer edge of the palmette in the left-hand corner and the area of the inscription below it, there are no missing parts. The surface shows signs of wear, deformation and inactive cracks. The stele has a triangular pediment and is single-storeyed. The apex and corners of the pediment feature incised palmette decoration. The pictorial area is framed by two pilasters with relief carvings of grape clusters and vine leaves. The bases of these pilasters are emphasised by three bands each, whilst the capitals are highlighted by lines formed by adjoining V-shapes. On both sides, between the pilaster capitals and the corner palmettes, there are Greek inscriptions.

In the arched area, a male figure dressed in military attire is depicted standing frontally. The chest and hem of his armoured garment are emphasised by vertical lines, whilst the abdominal area is highlighted by horizontal lines. A belt with a round buckle is visible across the abdomen. Both hands hang down; in his right hand he holds a dagger, whilst in his left he holds a shield¹³ and a sword, the tip of which extends behind his neck. On the shield, there are circles rendered with two lines each on the outer edge and in the centre, with a single circle in the centre and garland decoration between them. He wears armoured greaves on the lower part of his legs and closed shoes on his feet. The figure's hair is curled from back to front; the ends of the strands on the left side of the head spiral to the left, whilst those on the right side spiral to the right. He has almond-shaped eyes and a small mouth. In the centre of the plinth, two oxen —their heads depicted in full face and their bodies in profile— are pulling the plough to the right, their heads joined by a yoke. The stele terminates at the very bottom with a partially preserved tenon.

¹¹ Pelcer-Vujačić 2019, 14-15 and 20-21.

¹² This photograph of the stele, taken in the museum and uploaded to the internet without permission, can be viewed at the following address: <https://www.shutterstock.com/tr/editorial/image-editorial/diodotos-child-oxen-ploughing-below-funerary-stele-5850741gw>.

¹³ For the shield motifs on similar stelae, see Drew-Bear et al. 2007, 284-285 inv. no. 7510; Akyürek Şahin & Uzunoğlu 2021, 351-352 no. 14 fig. 35; Dinç & Findık 2021, 247 Cat. no. 8, 254 fig. 11a-b.



Fig. 5a



Fig. 5b



Fig. 5c-d

[Αύ]ρ. Ζή-
 2 [ν]ων κέ
 [Τ]ατία-
 4 νής Διοδότω
 τέκνω
 6 γλυκυ-
 τάτω
 8 μνή-
 μης
 10 χάρι-
 ν.

*Aur(elius) Zenon and Tatianes (made this tomb)
 for their sweetest child Diodotos, in memory.*

LI. 3-4: Τατιανής. For this female name, which is frequently attested in Phrygia, see *LGPN VC*, p. 411 s.v.

R. A. Tybout published a detailed study of a Phrygian stele (here Fig. 5e) and its inscription, which appeared in a New York auction catalogue¹⁴. This stele was subsequently discussed by T. Lochman¹⁵. According to the calendar year as corrected by Lochman, the inscription of the funerary stele reads as follows: ἔτο[υς] | τα' | Α - - - | κέ - - - | - - - | Τατιαν|ῶ κέ Ἀμ|μιάντ|η κέ Τρ|οφίμ|ω | τοῖς ἐν βαρβάροις τεθγ[ῶσι - - c. 8 - - -] | μνήμης χάριν.

In the year 301. So-and-so - - - (made this tomb) for Tatianos, Ammiantes and Trophimos, who died among the barbarians, in memory.

Tybout read the date inscription as τλ[.]' = 33[.] (thus suggesting it could be between the years 330 and 339) and assigned the given date to the period between 245 and 255 CE according to the Sullan era. Lochman (p. 74), however, stated that the numeral following the tau in the inscription is clearly read as an alpha rather than a lambda, and emphasized that these numerals, which yield the year 301, should be dated to 270-271 CE according to the Actian era “by virtue of the style of the stele”. Presenting a unique case in terms of its epigraphic content, this funerary stele appears to have been erected for Tatianos, his wife Ammiantes, and their son Trophimos. The significance of the stele lies in the phrase indicating that the deaths of Tatianos and his family occurred “τοῖς ἐν βαρβάροις (among the barbarians [= in the lands of the barbarians])”. This expression is unparalleled among the inscriptions of other similar funerary stelae from Phrygia. Tybout observes (p. 37): *Evidently the relatives erecting the stele were deeply impressed by the family's sad fate. They could not even give a proper funeral to Tatianos, Ammiantes and Trophimos, since they did not dispose of their bodies: since the three died abroad, their grave in Phrygia must have been a cenotaph.* According to Tybout, these βάρβαροι, in whose midst this Phrygian couple and their son lost their lives, were the “Goths”, and this grave was a cenotaph.

The male figure depicted on this stele (Fig. 5e) (the current whereabouts of which are unknown, having been sold at auction) and the male figure on the stele we publish here under

¹⁴ Tybout 1992, 35-41 Pl. 2 (= Sotheby's Antiquities and Islamic Art [Auction Catalogue New York 29.11.1989], no. 137). However, the inscription had been previously recorded in *SEG* 39, 1379. See also *BE* 1994, 556 and Petzl 1999, 98 fn. 15.

¹⁵ Lochman 2003, 73 fn. 90 and 74-75 fn. 102; 271-272 no. II 229; cf. Mitchell 2023, 218-219 fn. 447, 223 fn. 461.

number 5, namely Diodotos, are rendered in an almost identical manner. Both hold a shield in their left hand and a dagger in their right, with an object resting against their shoulder. Based on the depiction and equipment of the figure on the stele, R. A. Tybout argued that rather than being a fully equipped official Roman soldier, he was a civilian from the local population who had donned these weapons to defend his settlement against barbarian Gothic raids and was subsequently captured (1992, 41). T. Lochman also concurs that these aforementioned “Barbarians” were indeed the Goths¹⁶.



Fig. 5e. Tybout 1992, pl. 2; *SEG* 39, 1379; Lochman 2003, 271-272 no. II 229



Fig. 5f. Lochman 2003, 272 no. II 230 pl. 16, fig. 56; (*SEG* 53, 1559); Masségli 2013, 108-112 fig. 5.6; Arcagök 2025, 138-139, Cat. No. TÜN 32, (Fig. 39)



Fig. 5g. Lochman 2003, 272 no. II 231 pl. 16, fig. 57; (*SEG* 53, 1560); Masségli 2013, 108-112 fig. 5.7; Arcagök 2025, 324-325, Cat. No. BBN 2, (Fig. 154)

The military depiction on the stele published by Tybout also appears on other similar stelae,

¹⁶ Lochman 2003, 74: Bei diesen “Barbaren” kann es sich nämlich nur um die Goten handeln, die in den sechziger Jahren des 3. Jhs. nachweislich mehrere Male nordwestkleinasiatische Gebiete heimsuchten! Cf. Mitchell 1993, 235-236 and fn. 60; Hostein 2017, 47-48 fn. 37; Karakuş 2023, 148-149 with fig. 1. As noted above, Tybout, since the numerals for the year in the inscription were incomplete, dated the inscription in his view to the reign of Emperor Gallus (251-253 CE) and consequently argued that the Gothic invasions began earlier than previously assumed. As pointed out by J. and L. Robert (Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 1948, 118-122) and İ. Kaygusuz (1984, 61-62), he notes that the Goths definitively entered the Hermos Valley in 262 CE, and thus maintains that this soldier’s family was captured during the invasion in question and taken into slavery, with a posthumous cenotaph being erected in their honour in their homeland. For the most classic and comprehensive study bringing together the Gothic raids in Asia Minor chronologically and documentarily, see Salamon 1971, *passim*. Furthermore, for the most recent general book on the Gothic raids, see Mitthof, Martin & Grusková 2020, *passim*; this edited volume arose from an international conference organized after new fragments discovered in a Greek palimpsest in the Austrian National Library, evaluated as belonging to Dexippus’ lost work *Scythica* (*Scythica Vindobonensia*), transformed research in the field, and it addresses Gothic and other Germanic raids with a primary focus on the 3rd century CE from different disciplinary perspectives. The raids targeting Asia Minor do not form a central topic of discussion in the volume but are addressed only within relevant contexts.

which have been compiled by T. Lochman. Within a group designated by Lochman as the “Champaign-Stelen” (2003, 271-273 nos. 225-241, cf. p. 72 fn. 82), there are two stelae that bear military depictions: see 272 no. II 230 and no. II 231 (see here figs. 5f and 5g). The stele published by Tybout (fig. 5e) is also included in this group: 271-272 no. II 229. Lochman believes that all of these men, who were soldiers, undertook protective duties in their own homelands during the Gothic raids in the 260s. Indeed, he presents the cenotaph of Tatianos, who lost his life in Gothic captivity, as evidence supporting this view¹⁷. Diodotos may likewise have died as a young man while resisting Gothic raids in the region. We include our stele in Lochman’s “Champaign-Stelen” group in terms of both style and content. Thus, the number of known stelae coming from the same region and bearing a similar military depiction has risen to four (five, if the İznik fragment mentioned in fn. 22 is included).

Lochman states that the soldiers on the stelae do not wear a cuirass, but merely a long-sleeved chiton with a broad belt peculiar to the region and a highly stylized *sagum* (cloak)¹⁸.

Surprisingly, we observe that R. A. Tybout and T. Lochman failed to recognize the sword resting on the left shoulder of the soldiers in Figs. 5e and 5f¹⁹. Diodotos, the soldier on the stele we publish here, carries the exact same sword. This curved blade may represent a weapon characteristic of the Phrygian region²⁰. For this depiction, Tybout remarks that it is “a stylized fold” of Tatianos’ chiton, see 1992, 35 fn. 2. Lochman, on the other hand, describes this depiction as a stylized *sagum* (here fn. 18). G. Petzl has also expressed an opinion on this matter, suggesting that this object could be a pruning knife used by farmers in Turkey even today (see Pl. 12 in the article)²¹ this tool is called a “takra” in Turkish.

According to G. Petzl, this equipment may have been intended to emphasize both his military and agricultural proficiency. Lochman, however, seems to have misunderstood Petzl’s point what was meant by Petzl, who knew the rural areas of Turkey very well from his frequent visits. While Petzl was referring to the object resting on Tatianos’ left shoulder, Lochman assumed he was speaking of the dagger (or short sword) held in Tatianos’ right hand; consequently, deeming

¹⁷ Lochman 2003, 77: Von diesem konventionellen Darstellungsschema unterscheiden sich einzig die Soldaten auf einer Gruppe von Stelen der Champaign-Gruppe zwischen 260 und 280 n. Chr. (Nr. II 229-231 Abb. 56f.) Vermutlich haben alle diese Männer in den sechziger Jahren während der Gotenüberfälle in ihren jeweiligen Heimatorten Schutzdienst geleistet, wie das Kenotaph des Tatianos (Nr. II 229), der in der gotischen Gefangenschaft umgekommen ist, nahelegt.

¹⁸ Lochman 2003, 77: Diese Soldaten tragen keinen Brustpanzer, sondern lediglich eine leichtere Variante bestehend aus einem Ärmelchiton mit breitem Gurt (in ihrer Breite eine Eigenheit unseres Gebietes), einem Sagum (das offenbar, wie die höchst stilisierte Stoffbahn andeuten will, über die linke Schulter nach hinten geworfen ist), - - - An Nr. II 231 (Abb. 57) fehlen Sagum und Schild. On the uniforms of soldiers in the Phrygian region, see Masségli 2013, 108-112.

¹⁹ However, Masségli noticed that the object resting on the left shoulder was a weapon, see 2013, 109: The figure in the now headless soldier stele from Işıklar (Fig. 5.6) holds the shaft of a spear in his right hand, and a shield (a prime example of the flexibility of scale in Phrygian reliefs) in his left. Also in his left hand, and resting on his chest and shoulder, is what appears to be a curved blade or scabbard with a decoratively bevelled edge.

²⁰ A drawing of the sword was prepared by İ. Arcagök, cf. Fig. 5h.

²¹ Petzl 1999, 98 fn. 15: Auf diesem Relief wird der wohl bei einem Goten-Überfall umgekommene Tatianos in leichter Bewaffnung gezeigt. In der Rechten hält er einen Dolch, vor ihm hängt ein kleiner Rundschild. Der über seine linke Schulter aufragende Gegenstand scheint mir ein Winzermesser zu sein wie sie ähnlich auch heute noch in der Türkei verwendet werden (s. das auf einem Markt aufgenommene Photo Taf. 12); Tatianos hält es mit seiner Linken. Mit dieser Ausstattung dürfte auf seine militärische sowohl als auch bäuerliche Tüchtigkeit hingewiesen werden, - - - Tybout suspects that “a stylized fold” of his chiton is visible over Tatianos’ left shoulder.

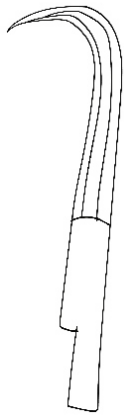


Fig. 5h. Arcagök
2025, 47-48
drawing 16

Petzl's interpretation incorrect, Lochman stated that the soldier was holding a *pugio* (a Roman military dagger) in his right hand. Although the weapon resembles a *tahra*, it does not fit into the standard concept of weapons wielded by a soldier, and Petzl's view is likewise incorrect in this regard. In conclusion, the funerary stele of Diodotos belongs to the same group as these similar stelae²². Like the soldiers depicted on the comparable stelae, Diodotos may have died while defending his homeland during the Gothic raids afflicting the region, presumably within almost the same period. Since those who buried Diodotos were his mother and father, and no mention is made of a wife in the inscription, he was probably still unmarried at the time of his death.

The front part of Diodotos' hair is rendered in a spiral fashion. According to İ. Arcagök's findings in his doctoral thesis, portraits with these types of facial features produced in the Altıntaş workshops begin to appear from around 240 CE onwards and continue without change until 280 CE²³. While male portraits remain exactly the same, a minor variation occurs in the hairstyle around 260 CE. Previously, hair fell straight down onto the forehead, whereas in the 260s CE, the ends of the hair are rendered in spirals turned to the right and left. Consequently, among these portraits, those with straight hair are dated to 240-260 CE, and those with spiral rendering are dated to 260-280 CE. In female portraits, however, the facial depictions between 240 and 280 CE show no variation whatsoever. Dating: It may be dated to ca. 270-271 CE (owing to the fact that the figure of the soldier Diodotos is almost identical to the soldier figure on the stele published in Tybout's article, which bears an inscription belonging to 270-271 CE according to the Actian era).

6. Funerary Stele of Hermes and His Family

White marble stele; Inv. No.: 248; Provenance: Unknown, but it likely originates from Altıntaş/Kütahya. It entered the museum in 1927; H.: 147 cm; W.: 75 cm; Th.: 14 cm; LH.: 1 cm.

Publication: Aziz 1933, 84 (with photograph); Koch 1990, 124, no. 14; 126, Fig. 20. See also Arcagök 2025, 254-256 no. KÜN 7 (Fig. 111).

The inscription of the stele is published here for the first time.

This two-piece funerary stele is moderately preserved, displaying signs of abrasion and discolouration. Decorated with palmettes and vine branches along its outer edges, the monument features a pedimental and double-registered form; it is also adorned with reliefs depicting a comb, a pouch, and a spindle and distaff. Within the niche of the pediment are the busts of a man and a woman, both clad in a chiton and himation, with their right hands resting upon their chests. The portraits of the bearded man and the veiled woman exhibit similar stylistic characteristics. The ancient Greek inscription, beginning beneath the niche, continues along the frame. In the lower relief field, which is flanked by pilasters decorated with vine branches, stands a male figure holding a whip in his left hand, accompanied by a writing tablet; his portrait shares the same facial features as the busts. At the very bottom, the composition is completed by a depiction of two oxen drawing a plough with a yoke.

²² After the preparation of this article, İ. Arcagök identified another Phrygian-origin stele fragment in the İzniç Museum belonging to this group. Despite its small size, the remaining weapon reliefs and style confirmed this attribution. This fragment will soon be published alongside another, see Arcagök (forthcoming), no. 2.

²³ Arcagök 2025, 70-71.



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b



Fig. 6c

- Αὐρ. *vac*
 2 Τρόφ[ι]-
 μος κὲ
 4 [. . .]ΙΛΛ-
 [. . .]Ἑρμῆ υἱ-
 6 ὦ κὲ ἐαυ-
 τοῖς ζῶ-
 8 [ν]τες μνήμης χάριν. τίς ἂν προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν β-
 αρύφθονον, οὕτως ἄωροις περιπέσοιτο συνφοραῖς.



Fig. 6d

*Aur(elius) Trophimos and [- - -] (erected this stele) for their son
 Hermes, and for themselves while still living, in memory. If anyone lays a hand with heavy envy
 (upon this tomb), may he fall victim to untimely misfortunes!*



Fig. 6e

Ll. 4-5: The name of the deceased Hermes' mother, which should occupy these lines, is illegible due to a *lacuna*. However, a female name such as Kyrilla/Kyrille must have originally stood here.

Ll. 8-9: The curse formula is a type frequently encountered in the Kütahya region and is particularly characteristic of Northern Phrygia²⁴.

Dating: It may be dated to 283-284 CE (according to Arcagök, owing to the fact that the ends of the hair in the male portraits are rendered in spirals turned to the right, and the eyes of all three figures are depicted as shifting beneath the upper eyelid and slightly tilted to the right. These features correspond to the portrait characteristics of the Roman Emperor Numerian, see Arcagök 2025, 73-74).

7. Funerary Stele of Ammia

White marble stele fragment; Inv. No.: 247; The inventory register records "Milas", but even if the stele was found in Muğla/Milas, it likely originates from Altıntaş/Kütahya. It entered the museum in 1929; H.: 105 cm; W.: 61 cm; Th.: 26 cm; LH.: 2 cm.

Publication: Aziz 1932, 84; 1933, 84 (In both of Aziz's publications, no inscription is given; there is only a photograph, and only the stele is mentioned.); Peek, *GVI*, no. 1375a. E II.1-2 (only the curse formula); Gibson 1978, 17 (There is no inscription text.); Waelkens, *Türsteine*, 92 fn. 184 lev. 32 (No inscription is given, only the stele is mentioned); Koch 1990, 126 no. 2; 129 fig. 26 (There is no inscription text); Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, 141-142 no. 203 and fn. 20 (While the curse part of the inscription is given in the main text, the remainder is provided in note 20); Montenegro Rúa 2018, 10-11 fig. 5. Cf. Arcagök 2025, 99-101 Cat. No.: TÜN 9 (Fig. 16).

Moderately preserved, this pedimental and single-registered funerary stele retains the appearance of a temple façade despite a break at its apex and surface abrasions. The corners of the pediment are decorated with palmettes and spiral floral motifs, and the relief field is flanked by two thick pilasters with capitals featuring a three-leaf design. The inscriptions are located along the frame above the pilaster capitals, on the shaft of the left pilaster, and across two lines at the very bottom of the stele. In the relief field, a veiled female figure, clad in an ankle-length chiton and himation, is depicted standing frontally upon a rectangular platform. Her right hand rests upon her chest, whilst her left hand holds a spindle and distaff. Notable details of the figure include a headband adorned with rings, a necklace with an ivy-leaf pendant, and drapery folds terminating with tassels at one end. The stele terminates with a plain plinth at the very bottom.

²⁴ For a discussion and examples on this subject, see Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, 117-147; 282-292; Staab 2018, 144-149, especially 146-147. See also Floridi 2013, 64 n. 31; Kelp 2015, 83; Uzunoğlu 2019, 378-379 no. 1: "Ὅς ἂν ποσίοσει [χεῖρα τ]ὴν βαρύφθονον οὐ | τως ἄωρ[οις περιπέσοιτο σ]υνφόραις. For another funerary curse, see no. 7 herein.



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b



Fig. 7c

Ἀσκληῖς Σωκράτου Ἀμμειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύνβιο[ν ἐτεί]μησεν μνή-
 2 μης χάρι-
 ν.

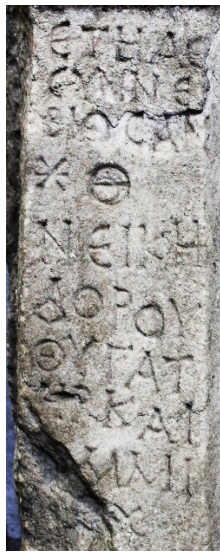


Fig. 7d

4 ἔτη λε'
 συν{ν}ε-
 6 βίωσαν
 Χ Θ
 8 Νεικη-
 φόρου
 10 θυγάτ-
 ηρ καὶ
 12 [Α]μμι-
 [α]ς.

Askles, son of Sokrates, honoured his own wife Ammia, in memory.

They lived together for 35 years.

9 thousand? denarii.

Daughter of Nikephoros and Ammia.

If anyone lays a hand with heavy envy (upon this tomb), may he fall victim in the same way to untimely misfortunes!

14 [τις] ἂν ποσοῖσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον
 οὕτως ἰσχύει περὶ πέσοιτο συνφοραῖς.



Fig. 7e

L. 1: ἡαυτοῦ = ἑαυτοῦ.

L. 7: The denarius sign (Χ) and the adjacent numeral theta in this line present a highly unusual usage. If this sign indicates a penalty fine to be paid due to a sepulchral violation, it would be meaningless for the adjacent letter theta to have a numerical value of merely nine. Therefore, it would be more accurate to understand this numeral as ,θ, representing “9000”. This exceptionally high figure can be considered plausible within the context of the third-century economic crisis. It is quite uncommon for penalty amounts to be given in denarii in the funerary inscriptions of rural Phrygia. The epigraphic habit of the region is generally established upon divine punishment (curses) rather than monetary fines.

Ll. 8-13: The names appearing in the inscription are most likely those of the deceased woman Ammia's parents, namely Nikephoros and Ammia. Thus, the deceased woman's mother also bore the name Ammia. For an example of a mother and daughter bearing the same name, see Thonemann 2022, 27: --- καὶ | Φλ. Σωφρόνη Σωφρό|νην τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγα|τέρα ---.

Ll. 14-15: For another funerary curse featuring the same phrasing, see no. 6.

Dating: Early 3rd century CE.

8. Funerary Stele of Lucius

Marble stela fragment; Inv. No.: 851; Provenance: Unknown, but it likely originates from Kütahya/Altıntaş. The inventory register notes that it came to the museum in 1924 “from the Evangelikos School of İzmir” (Lochman 2003, 75 fn. 109: *Daß die Stele nach İzmir gelangt ist, stützt diese Annahme gleichfalls, da dieses Gebiet vor der Entstehung des Museums von Uşak zum erweiterten Einzugsgebiet des dortigen Museums zählte.*); H.: 50 cm; W.: 44 cm; Th.: 5.5-6 cm; LH.: 1.3-1.6 cm (Pfuhl - Möbius, *Ostgr. Grabreliefs*, 534 provided the dimensions for the

complete stele as follows: 94.5:44:6).

Publication: Fontrier 1884-1885, 2 no. 196 = Pfuhl - Möbius, *Ostgr. Grabreliefs*, 534 no. 2222 fig. 117 = *I.Smyrna I*, 432 pl. 29 (photograph is indistinct); Lochman 1990a, 495 fn. 22; 2003, 73 fn. 88; 75 fn. 104-108 and 266 no. II 164; Arcagök 2025, 337-338 Cat. No.: BBB 8 (Fig. 165). Cf. Cadoux 1938, 272 fn. 4.



Fig. 8a

The artifact consists of a small piece belonging to the pedimental section of a stele. The upper part of the pediment is broken, leaving a relief palmette depiction on its left corner. Within a horseshoe-shaped niche, of which only the left half is preserved in the pediment, is a frontal male bust. The bust is clad in a chiton and himation. The drapery folds are rendered with linear lines. The upper part of the bust is damaged. The face is bearded, with the details of the beard emphasized by triangular notches. The ears are shown protruding from beneath the figure's hair. Based on the hair preserved on the sides, it appears to have been rendered in a voluminous fashion. The profile at the lower part of the relief field is decorated

with an egg-and-dart motif. On the profile beneath the egg-and-dart motif, the remnants of the first one or two letters of the inscription can be discerned.

Although this artifact remains in the İzmir Museum as merely this fragment, the rest of the monument was fortunately recorded at one time by means of a drawing made by J. Keil (see Fig. 8b). However, as can be inferred from the drawing, the stele was already broken and in two pieces when Keil executed his illustration. The plinth of the stele appears to have been broken and missing according to the drawing. Nevertheless, since Keil did not illustrate the section of the bust in the pediment from the neck upwards, it is impossible to deduce from that drawing how the uppermost part of the pediment was originally depicted.

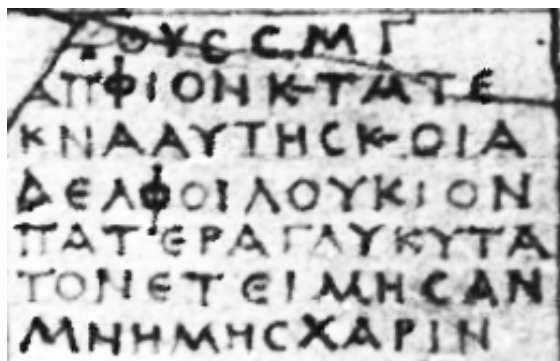


Fig. 8c. Detail from Fig. 8b

[Ε]τους σμγ'
 2 Απφιον κὲ τὰ τέ-
 κνα αὐτῆς κὲ οἱ ἄ-
 4 δελφοὶ Λούκιον
 πατέρα γλυκύτα-
 6 τον ἐτείμησαν
 μνήμης χάριν.

In the year 243.
 Apphion, along
 with her
 children and
 brothers,
 honoured their
 sweetest father
 Lucius, in
 memory.



Fig. 8b. A drawing showing the former state of the stele to which this fragment belonged: Pfuhl - Möbius, *Ostgr. Grabreliefs*, 534 fig. 117 (Pfuhl and Möbius incorporated this drawing of the stele from J. Keil's "Skizzenbuch Smyrna VII 399" verbatim into their book). On Keil's drawings, see fn. 1 herein

Dating: "In the year 243". According to the Sullan era (following Cadoux), this corresponds to 158/159 CE, whereas according to the Actian era (following Pfuhl & Möbius) it equates to 212/213 CE. T. Lochman (2003) finds E. Pfuhl & H. Möbius justified in their dating of this stele and, providing his reasoning, argues that the Actian era is the one employed here, see there p. 75 along with fn. 107.

9. Fragment of a Funerary Stele

White marble stele fragment; Inv. No.: 6351; Provenance: Unknown, but it likely originates from Kütahya/Altıntaş. It entered the museum in 1968 by means of confiscation; H.: 66 cm; W.: 56 cm; Th.: 11.5 cm.

Publication: To the best of our knowledge, the artifact is unpublished. This stele has also been included in Arcagök's doctoral dissertation, see Arcagök 2025, 320-321 Cat. No.: BÜB 6 (Fig. 151).

The artifact consists merely of the pediment of a funerary stele and the fragment belonging to the figured niche situated upon it. There is a break on the surface of the frame beneath the niche. The stele is rendered with a low-pitched triangular pediment. It remains unknown, however, whether the body of the stele was executed as a doorstone or a figured type. Relief palmettes are present at the apex as well as the right and left corners of the pediment. The spaces between the palmettes are decorated with spiral floral reliefs. Within a horseshoe-shaped, semicircular niche at the centre of the pediment is a frontal female bust. The bust is clad in a chiton and himation. The right hand rests upon the chest outside the cloak. The figure wears a veil over her head, and her hair, visible beneath the veil, is parted in the middle and runs backward in a linear fashion. She wears a headband across her hair. Circular motifs are present upon the headband. The ears are rendered in a prominent, protruding fashion. The eyes are positioned close to each other, with the pupils emphasized. Beneath the niche is an inclined profile. The surface of this profile is decorated from end to end with relief palmettes. The inscription of the stele is lost.



Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b

Dating: Around 325 CE (according to Arcagök, due to the execution of the figure's pupils in a manner similar to the portraits of Constantine I).

Appendix

The Funerary Stele of the Sisters Tatia and Nanas, Their Brother Khrestion, and Their Maternal Grandmother Tatia

In addition to the article, a stele discovered in the village of Üçhöyük within the district of Altıntaş, and currently preserved in the Kütahya Museum, is presented below with new photographs; although previously published, its inclusion here aims to convey its iconographic and epigraphic details to a wider readership.

White marble stele; Current Location: Kütahya Museum Directorate; Inv. No.: -; Provenance: Altıntaş District, Üçhöyük Village; H.: 159 cm; W.: 69 cm; Th.: 12 cm; LH.: unrecorded.

Publication: Türktüzün, Ünan & Çeri 2016, 146-148 fn. 4-5 and 160 Photos 4-5. Cf. Arcagök 2025, 366-368, Cat. No.: KT 9 (Fig. 184). This inscription does not appear to be recorded in *SEG*, *BE* or *AE*.

The pedimental funerary stele is completely preserved. The upper section is reserved for the figured relief field, whilst the lower section is dedicated to the door zone. At the apex of the triangular pediment is a palmette decoration, with a spiral floral relief running along its right and left edges. On the right and left corners of the triangular pediment are figures situated within two naiskoi that are executed almost as exact copies of one another. The corners of the triangular pediments of these naiskoi are rendered as protruding outwards, decorated with palmettes, and each features a depiction of a patera in its interior. Inside the left naiskos is a young boy, and inside the right naiskos is a young girl. The child figures are clad in a chiton and himation. The young girl is veiled. The garment of the young boy terminates diagonally from the right foot towards the left foot, whereas that of the young girl descends down to her feet. Their right hands rest upon their chests outside their cloaks. Both hold a four-leafed flower by its stem in their lowered left hands. At the centre of the main pediment, a frontal female bust is positioned within a horseshoe-shaped, semicircular niche. She is likewise clad in a chiton and himation. The drapery lines of her garments are rendered in a linear fashion. Her right hand rests upon her chest outside her cloak. The woman is depicted as veiled, with the front section of her hair visible. Her hair is parted in the middle. The uppermost section of the hair runs outwards to

the sides in fine lines, whilst the other section above the ear runs backward in fine lines. The woman is rendered with prominent, protruding ears. Her eyes are large, with the pupils explicitly emphasized. A necklace is visible below the lower part of her neck. Beneath the figured relief field of the upper section is a profile bearing a two-line inscription. Below this inscribed profile lies an inclined moulding, which is decorated from end to end with palmettes. Beneath this section is a flat band containing another two-line inscription, after which the door zone begins. The uppermost part of the door zone is adorned with an astragal (bead-and-reel) motif. On the outermost right and left edges of the section enclosing the door zone are thin borders decorated with an incised lozenge pattern. The outer frame of the door zone, except for its lower edge, is decorated on its three sides with a running vine relief terminating in ivy leaves. The deeply recessed door is divided into four rectangular panels, with the lower ones being taller. The upper left panel features a comb aligned towards the bottom; the upper right panel contains a circular keyhole mechanism; the lower left panel displays a kalathos surmounted by a bird facing right; and the lower right panel is adorned with a relief of a spindle and distaff. The inscription continues across three lines upon the plinth of the stele. The monument terminates in a tall tenon.



Fig. Appendix 1



Fig. Appendix 2



Fig. Appendix 3-4



Fig. Appendix 5a



Fig. Appendix 6a



Fig. Appendix 7a



Fig. Appendix 5b



Fig. Appendix 6b



Fig. Appendix 7b



Fig. Appendix 5c

- Ἀρτεμᾶς<ς> καὶ Νανᾶς Τατιά καὶ Νανᾶ καὶ Χρηστίωνι τέκνοις
 2 ἄωροις μνήμης χάριν καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης μήτρως ἀνυφιά[ς]
 ἐτείμησ<ε>ν καὶ Ἀρτεμᾶς καὶ Νανᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης Τατιά
 4 μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν·
 ὃς ἂν <τ>ούτῳ μνήματι {τι} κακῶς ποῖσει ἢ θαλά-
 6 μη ταύτῃ, κατηραμένος ἦτω· ὥς ταῦτα ἄωρα,
 οὕτως ἄωροις περ<ι>πέσοιτο συνφοραῖς.

Artemas and Nanas (made this tomb) for their children Tatia, Nanas and Khrestion who died before their time, and their maternal uncle Asklepiades honoured his nieces, and Artemas, Nanas and Asklepiades (made this tomb) for their mother Tatia, in memory. Whosoever shall bring harm against this tomb or this sepulchral chamber, let them be accursed; just as these (children) died before their time, may they likewise encounter untimely disasters.

L. 1: On the stone, it appears as APTEMAE (Fig. Appendix 5a-b).

L. 2: ἀνυφιά[ς] = ἀνεψιάς (Fig. Appendix 5a and 5c). For the interchange of epsilon and upsilon, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 274: 2) ε > υ. The letter phi appears to be written erroneously in place of psi. For an example written with a phi instead of a psi, see SEG 34, 1397: - - - ἀνεφιῶ καὶ ἐαυτῶ ζῶν (from Lycaonia), where an engraver's error must also be in question. Cf. no. 3 above: ἀν]υψιῶ.

It is not clear why Asklepiades only honoured his nieces. Perhaps the word was intended to encompass all three nieces and nephews together.

L. 3: On the stone, it appears as ETEIMHΣΣN (Fig. Appendix 6a-b).

L. 5: ιούτῳ = τούτῳ (Fig. Appendix 7a).

LI. 5-6: θαλάμη. The word meaning "sepulchral chamber" is also encountered in the following epigrams: *MAMA X*, nos. 60 and 76; Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, 129 no. 177; SEG 55, 1360 (cf. SEG 70, 774). According to the excavation report, scattered skeletal remains were found at the

location where this stele was discovered, and the tomb was unfortunately destroyed, see Türktüzün, Ünan & Çeri 2016, 146-147 fn. 3 and 160 Photo: 3.

Ll. 5-7: For parallels of this formula, see *MAMA X*, no. 2; Lochman 2003, 274 no. II 253 (dated by Lochman to 180/190 CE). See also Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, nos. 175, 177, 193, 218.

The simultaneous mention of the names of the three children implies that they died together, an occurrence that is highly unusual. This suggests a sudden death, likely resulting from an epidemic or an accident. In her comprehensive study compiling epigrams that reflect untimely child deaths in antiquity (*paides aoroi*), A.-M. Vêrilhac identifies acute and contagious epidemics affecting entire households as the most prevalent cause of sudden and multiple child fatalities. Vêrilhac's analysis of a funerary monument from Kinna in Galatia (Balâ/Ankara) (erected by an unfortunate family who lost three children within short intervals) demonstrates that such multiple child losses were directly linked to a regional wave of epidemic; see Vêrilhac, *Paides aoroi*, Vol. I, 49-51 no. 27 = *Steinepigramme III*, 134-135 no. 15/01/01. Furthermore, citing an epigram from Mytilene, Vêrilhac refers to young siblings (Theogenes and Tryphera) who died in rapid succession, emphasizing that their deaths were also probably due to an epidemic; see *Paides aoroi*, Vol. I, 159-161 no. 104 and Vol. II, 116. Consequently, the children of Artemas and Nanas may likewise have perished due to a relentless epidemic that swept through the Phrygian countryside.

In the subsequent lines of the inscription clearly the children's maternal uncle, Asklepiades was included in the commemoration. At a later stage, Tatia, the shared mother of the mother Nanas and the uncle Asklepiades (the children's maternal grandmother) also passed away and was interred in the same burial chamber (*thalame*). A fatal epidemic entering the household may have simultaneously claimed the lives of the children, while also causing the elderly members of the family, as in the case of the grandmother Tatia, to share the same tragic fate shortly thereafter. The funerary curse at the end of the inscription, which is based on the principle of talio specific to the Phrygian region, states, "just as these buried ones departed untimely, so may he encounter untimely disasters". This expression epigraphically seals the profound trauma caused by this collective catastrophe endured by the family. Because multiple individuals were interred within this tomb, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the figures depicted upon the stele represent the deceased.

Date: 280-290 CE.

Personal Names

Αμμεια / Αμμια 7	Αφφιας 2	Νανας <i>Appendix</i>	Τροφιμής 3
Ἀπολλᾶς 1	Δαμᾶς 1	Νεικηφόρος 7	Τρόφιμος 3, 6
Αππης 2, 4	Διόδοτος 5	Στρατονίκης 4	Τυχής 1
Απφιον 8	Ἑρμῆς 6	Σωκράτης 7	Φίλιππος 3
Ἀρτεμᾶς <i>Appendix</i>	Ζήνων 5	Σώσανδρος 4	Φιλοπάτωρ 4
Ἀσκληπιάδης 4, <i>Appendix</i>	Ἡρακλείδης 2	Σωσᾶς 4	Φωτεῖνος 2
Ἀσκληῆς 7	Λονγεῖνος 2	Τατια <i>Appendix</i>	Φωτίς 1
Αὐρ. 4, 5, 6	Λούκιος 8	Τατιανής 5	Χρηστίων <i>Appendix</i>
Αφια 3	Μένανδρος 3	Τατιανός 1	

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