

Montanist Epitaphs at Uşak

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I PRESENT here four unpublished gravestones from the museum of Uşak, on the border of Phrygia and Lydia in western Asia Minor.¹ Uşak is a modern commercial town, long noted for its carpets,² to which inscriptions and coins have found their way from several ancient sites.³ The first three inscriptions (PLATES 3–5), however, belong to a group of which the distinguishing relief has been observed only at Uşak: the representation of a cross or communion paten within a circular wreath, the whole above an altar or communion table.⁴ Photographs of two previously published monuments of this group are presented in PLATES 6 and 7, since only drawings were given by their editors, J. Keil and A. von Premerstein. The exact provenance of this group of inscriptions is unknown, but as they are carved to represent a door or doors, a form of funerary stele distinctive of Phrygia, they must derive from this region.⁵ Their style of lettering is

¹ I wish to thank Dr Hikmet Gürçay, Director of Antiquities in Turkey, for granting me permission to work in the Uşak Museum; Dr Nezih Fratlı, for calling my attention to the presence in the museum of the broken stone (PLATE 7); Mr Savaş Savcı, director of the Uşak Museum, for his hospitality and assistance; Professor Sterling Dow, for his aid and advice; Dr Thomas Drew-Bear, for criticism and references; and Professor Ihor Ševčenko, for interpreting the motif which distinguishes the first three epitaphs presented here.

² On the carpets and carpet industry of Uşak see B. Atalay, *Türk Halıcılığı ve Uşak Halıları* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 1967).

³ For inscriptions at Uşak see notably Ph. LeBas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* (Paris 1870, repr. Hildesheim 1972) nos. 713–29; S. Reinach, *REG* 3 (1890) 56–66; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I.2 (Oxford 1897) 558, 568, 612, 13, 653, 656, 657; K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (Leipzig 1898) 164; *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, ed. A. Körte (Greifswald 1902) nos. 54–57; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr Wien* 54, 1911) 133–35 and nos. 248–67; L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (Paris 1955) 251–56.

⁴ The other two members of the group (making five in all) are Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* nos. 261 and 263 (our PLATES 6 and 7): *Ἀσκληπιᾶδος Μέλτης καὶ σεαυτῷ μνήμη χάρις* (261); . . . *ἀνέτηεν μνήμη χάρις* (263). Both of these stones are now in the museum at Uşak. In their commentaries on these inscriptions Keil and von Premerstein called attention to the motif in question but were puzzled by it.

⁵ On the attribution of doorstones to Phrygia and their distribution there, see L. Robert, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 22, and *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris 1960) 281 with n.2. Keil and von Premerstein attribute to Ahat Köy (Akmonia) the two members of this group which they publish but do not say why, like Buresch before them (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.3] 162), apparently assuming that the source of doorstones at Uşak must be Ahat Köy because it is the closest identified site in

characteristic of the late second or early third century.⁶ I shall try to show that these Phrygian, pre-Constantinian, phanero-Christian monuments are Montanist, not only because of their unequivocal expression of faith but also because of their connection with another inscription previously published; and that they are the gravestones of members of the clergy able to celebrate the Eucharist.

The fourth inscription (PLATE 8) does not belong to this group but is the epitaph of one Severa, who appears to have belonged to an influential family of Temenothyrai: the provenance of her epitaph must be that city, the precise location of which has not yet been discovered but which must have been near Uşak.⁷

NUMBER 1 (PLATE 3)

White marble double doorstone broken at bottom left. The inscription is on a projecting fascia at top, and the pair of doors is in a recessed panel below this fascia. Height 1.28 m.; width 1.04 m.; thickness at top 0.42 m.; thickness at shaft 0.30 m.; letter-height 0.026 m. Above the pair of doors and on engaged pilasters between them and to right and left of them are carved stylized tendrils. In the doors are: (left door) in arched transom, spindle and distaff, above a large mirror which is in the main part of the door; below it, comb (to left) and bottle, with stopper or pourer; in the right door is carved a cross within a wreath above a table. In the transom above the right-hand door are represented two leaves, now quite worn. Between each tran-

Phrygia. This motif has never been observed there, however; see W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* VI (Manchester 1939) nos. 239–350 and pp.148–51, for the inscriptions of Akmonia. Among Keil and von Premerstein's inscriptions of unknown provenance at Uşak are three more doorstones (nos. 254–56), and there are several other doorstones (Le Bas/Waddington, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.3] nos. 714, 718, 723, 725, 727; *REG* 3 [1890] 65; *AthMitt* 25 [1900] 468; *Inscr. Bureschianae* no.55) and many doorstone fragments (Buresch, *op.cit.* 162; Le Bas/Waddington, *op.cit.* ad no.721) of unknown provenance at Uşak. For doorstones of Temenothyrai at Uşak see the following note and our no.4 below.

⁶ Thus also Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise, ad locc.*

⁷ On Temenothyrai see most recently P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien* (*Denkschr Wien* 80, 1962) 34–35 (with J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1963, no.259), and *Chiron* 2 (1972) 528 no.32 (possible localization at Aktaş, already suggested by Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* p.129). Le Bas/Waddington, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) no.727, a doorstone at Uşak, was signed by a sculptor from Temenothyrai, and Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.262, another doorstone at Uşak, attributed by those editors to Akmonia, is almost certainly attributable to Temenothyrai: see our no.4 below. For the inscriptions at Uşak which mention Temenothyrai or the Temenothyritai, see Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* p.134.

som and the surface on which the tendrils are carved is a trio of stepped plain bands.

Μαρκία Λουκίω ἀδελφ[ο]τέκνω καὶ Τατία τῇ γ[υ]-
ναικὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν

“Markia (erected this monument) to her cousin (nephew?) Loukios and his wife Tatia, in memory of them.”

The word ἀδελφότεκνον is attested only once in the lexica, viz. in the eighth-century author Hippolytus Thebanus,⁸ where it refers to Salome and John the Baptist and spells out their relationship as the children of two brothers. The word ἀδελφόπαις ‘nephew’ or ‘niece’, however, is attested from the first century B.C. through the seventh century (cf. TGL, LSJ, Preisigke *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) and is synonymous with ἀδελφίδεος (ἀδελφιδουῖς). It is not possible to determine with certainty whether in our inscription ἀδελφότεκνον already means ‘cousin’ or has its literal sense and is here another synonym of the contemporary ἀδελφόπαις ‘nephew’.

NUMBER 2 (PLATE 4)

White marble doorstone with a projecting fascia at top, on which is the inscription; the shaft is broken at left, and the upper right corner of the fascia is lost. Height 1.05 m.; width 1.01 m.; thickness of top 0.46 m.; thickness of shaft 0.34 m.; letter-height 0.035 m. The door itself (four panels and a transom) is recessed. In each of the four panels of the door is a flat boss in low relief within a diamond, also in low relief. In an arched transom above the panels is represented a cross within a narrow wreath above a table. On each side of the panels of the door is represented a pilaster with a capital; within each pilaster is carved a tendril with leaves, in low relief. In the field surrounding the transom is carved in low relief a more elaborate vine with flowers, and two leaves at the bottom of it on each side just above each of the capitals. Between the transom and the surface on which this vine is carved is a series of three stepped plain fascias.

Δειογᾶς Ἀρτεμιδώρω ἐβικκόπ[ω]
ἐκκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ μνήμης χάρι[ν]

⁸ *Hippolytus von Theben*, ed. F. Diekamp (Münster 1898) 14, 47, and the *apparatus criticus* of p.8. See Lampe's *Lexicon* s.v. ἀδελφότεκνον, ‘cousin’.

“Deiogas (erected this monument) out of church funds to the bishop Artemidoros, in memory of him.”

The name Diogas is a hypocoristic for Diogenes.⁹ The spelling *ἐβίσκοπος* occurs in another inscription of Diogas (see below p. 437).

Doubtless Diogas was the successor of Artemidoros, but not yet appointed at the time this inscription was carved because in it he bears no title. He buries his predecessor with church funds. Although the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ* is unattested, to my knowledge, I think that it means ‘from ecclesiastical money’ or, properly, ‘from the Lord’s money’. The church did finance some burials: it owned several tombs at Korykos in Cilicia.¹⁰ Our expression employs the singular, not the plural as do parallel formulas: for example, *ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, τῶν τῆς κώμης, τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσόδων, χρημάτων, ἀναλωμάτων, κτλ.* Nevertheless, the construction is an easy one and a number of substantives can be understood. I do not believe that the word is itself a substantive, *κυριακόν* ‘church’,¹¹ although the ‘Lord’s money’ referred to is obviously that administered by a specific church.

Perhaps Artemidoros was poor or had no family: Diogas himself (no.3 below), Asklepiades (Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.261), and Loukios (no.1 above) were not buried at church expense.

NUMBER 3 (PLATE 5)

White marble double doorstone broken at top right and top left. The inscription is on a projecting fascia, below which are the doors in a

⁹ On an inscription of Odessos the engraver first carved *Διογᾶς*, then erased *alpha sigma* to change the name to *Διογένης* (G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* I² [Sofia 1970] no.174 and pl. 86, discussed by L. Robert, *CRAI* 1955 p.214). For a list of occurrences of the name Diogas in Asia Minor see L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I, Les inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1936) 121 n.1; *BullÉpig* 1972, no.458. On names in *-ᾶς* see notably L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 222 with n.1; *BullÉpig* 1963, no.82. Cf. our no.3 below for another attempt to use a ‘better’ form in a formal document.

¹⁰ J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *MAMA III* (Manchester 1931) nos. 772–78: *τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. Cf. the phrase *ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν* on building inscriptions in Syria (for example W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Syria* [New York 1908] no.363; J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpig* 1953, no.214; 1963, no.278). The expression *ἐκ τῶν κυριακῶν* of IGLS II 650 is irrelevant here, meaning ‘at the expense of his masters’, as the editors note (the deceased was a slave). Cf. IGLS II 315, *ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μηρεθῆ*, where the editors’ interpretation does not seem beyond doubt.

¹¹ With *τόπος, οἶκος, οἰκητήριον* or as a neuter substantive *τὸ κυριακόν* the word refers to a church building: see Lampe, *Lexicon s.v.*

recessed panel. Height 1.10 m.; width 1.46 m.; thickness of shaft 0.36 m.; thickness of top 0.44 m.; letter-height 0.045 m. (line 1), 0.035 m. (line 2). Above the doors in the recessed panel is carved a tendril with leaves, as also on engaged pilasters to the right and left of the pair of doors. On an engaged pilaster between the doors is an open roll. In the panels are: (left) a mirror in the center of the door above a comb, which in turn is above an incised basket on the left and a small jug containing some sort of pourer or stopper on the right; in the right panel is a broad stylized wreath surrounding a cross, the whole above a table.

[^{ca} 10]ιανή έαυτῆ ζῶσα σεαυτῆ καὶ Διογᾶ ε[υμβί]-
[έπισκόπ]ω μνήμης χάριν

“...-iane while living (erected this monument) to herself and to her husband Diogas the bishop, in memory.”

From *Inscriptiones Bureschianae* no.55 it is known that there was a bishop Diogas at or near Uşak: Διογᾶς έβίσκο|πος Ἀμμίω πρεσ|βυτέρᾳ μνήμης | χάριν. I believe that the Deiogas of inscription no.2 above and the Diogas of the present inscription are this same man, and so I feel safe in restoring [έπισκόπ]ω.

The explanation of the communion paten in wreath¹² above an altar or communion table¹³ I owe to Professor I. Ševčenko, who interprets the motif to mean that the deceased was a member of the clergy authorized to celebrate the Eucharist. A relief of an altar bearing a cross, on the lid of an uninscribed sarcophagus at Takadın in Cilicia,¹⁴ may have a similar meaning. In our series, Artemidoros and probably Diogas were bishops.

Phanero-Christian monuments in Phrygia, especially western Phrygia, in the pre-Constantinian era may well be suspected of belong-

¹² Although the wreath looks like a star in Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* nos. 261 and 263, and in our no.3, it is clear from our no.2 and especially our no.1 that a wreath is intended; what looks like a star is a stylized wreath made by zigzags (cf. *MAMA V* [1937] pl.59 no.294 from Nakoleia, and *MAMA VII* [1956] pl.25 no.420 from eastern Phrygia). Victors' crowns on agonistic tables as represented on coins are also upright: cf. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma* 5 (1910) 39ff; 6 (1911) 1ff.

¹³ For representations of the Eucharist see H. Leclercq, *DACL* XIII.1 (1936) 436–61. For altar or communion table see *DACL* I.2 (1907) 3155–89; XV.2 (1953) 1951–55; G. Roux, “Une table chrétienne de Delphes,” *BCH* 97 (1973) 137–44. Our representation of the Eucharist surrounded by a wreath is unique as far as I know.

¹⁴ J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *MAMA III* (1931) p.32.

ing to a community of Montanists.¹⁵ But the inscription cited above, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae* no.55, provides a more convincing proof, for only the Montanists had female presbyters: "Among them [sc. the Montanists] bishops are women, and presbyters are women, and the rest too; there is no distinction as to sex."¹⁶ (This whole paragraph from Epiphanius concerns the important position of women in the traditions and practice of Montanism.) Ammion,¹⁷ however, did not celebrate the Eucharist, or if she did, this function is not represented on her tombstone.¹⁸

That the paten motif indicates a function, as reliefs on Phrygian doorstones usually do, and is not merely vaguely expressive of Christianity is clear from a comparison between the reliefs themselves and the texts of the epitaphs.¹⁹ In inscriptions no.1 (epitaph of Loukios and his wife Tatia), no.3 (epitaph of a woman and her husband Diogas), and Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.261 (epitaph of Asklepiades and his wife Melete; the stone is shown in our PLATE 6) feminine articles are shown in the left-hand door, and cross or communion paten in wreath above table in the right-hand door; the latter, then, refers to the activity of the man alone. In no.2, the epitaph of one person, the device in question is placed in the pediment above the (single) door, and each panel of the door contains merely a flat boss within a raised diamond. In Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.263 (our PLATE 7) there were evidently three deceased persons. It is interesting further to recall that Montanus introduced the practice of paying

¹⁵ On the Montanists and the phanero-Christian epitaphs of Phrygia, see W. M. Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism," *BRylLib* 7 (1922-1923); H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* I (1924) 703-09; W. M. Calder, "Leaves from an Anatolian Notebook," *BRylLib* 13 (1929); A. Ferrua, "Questioni di epigrafia eretica romana," *RACrist* 21 (1945) 207-21; W. M. Calder, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia," *AnatSt* 5 (1955) 27-31; H. Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain*³ (*MémAcBelg sér II* 46.1 [1964] 15-16. On the history of the Montanist movement see N. Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus* (Erlangen 1881); P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste* (Fribourg/Paris 1913); *id.*, *Les sources de l'histoire du montanisme* (Fribourg/Paris 1913); W. Scheplern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygische Kulte* (Tübingen 1929).

¹⁶ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 49.2: 'Επίσκοποι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν φύειν.

¹⁷ This feminine name is found extensively in Asia Minor: L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (1948) 90; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 62-63 s.v. "Αμμιον.

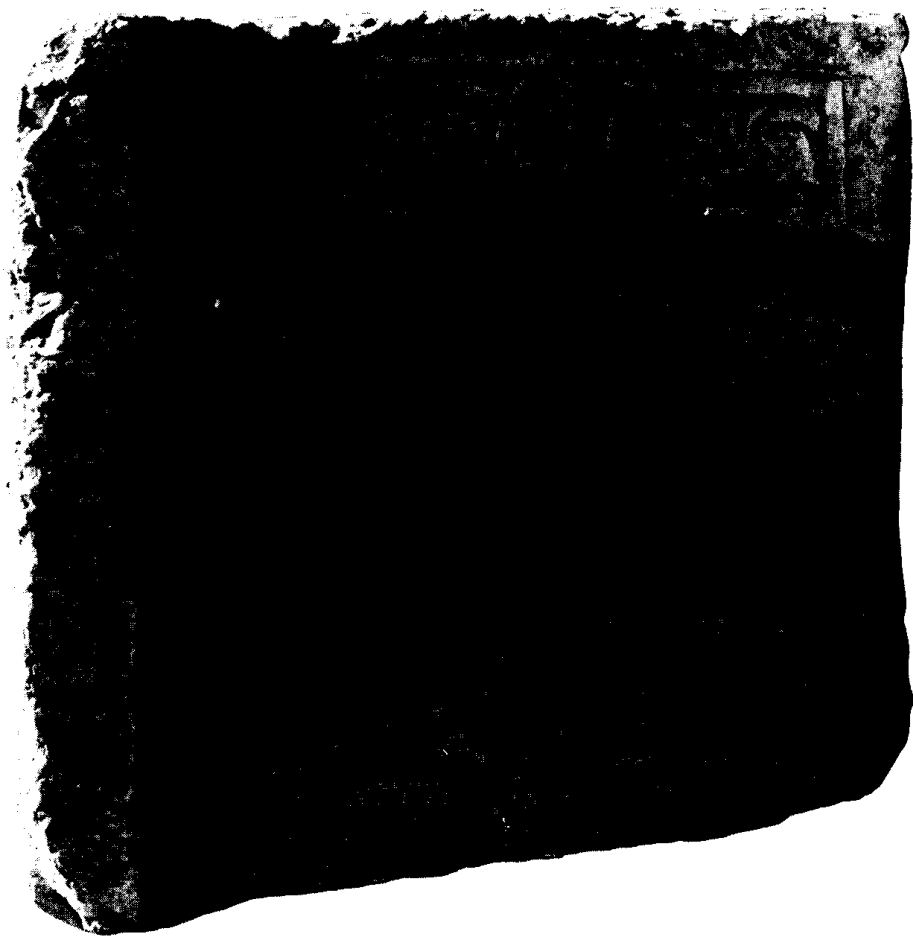
¹⁸ Since she was a woman her tombstone shows a spindle and distaff and a small box (*capsula*), perhaps (there is no illustration) similar to those illustrated in *MAMA* I (1928) 411, 420, 422-24; *MAMA* V (1937) 40-41 (with discussion), 195, 267. In all these examples the chests seem to be associated with women.

¹⁹ See no.4 below for the close correspondence between the words of Severa's epitaph and the reliefs on her tombstone.



DOORSTONE FUNERARY STELE NO. 1, UŞAK MUSEUM

PLATE 4 GIBSON

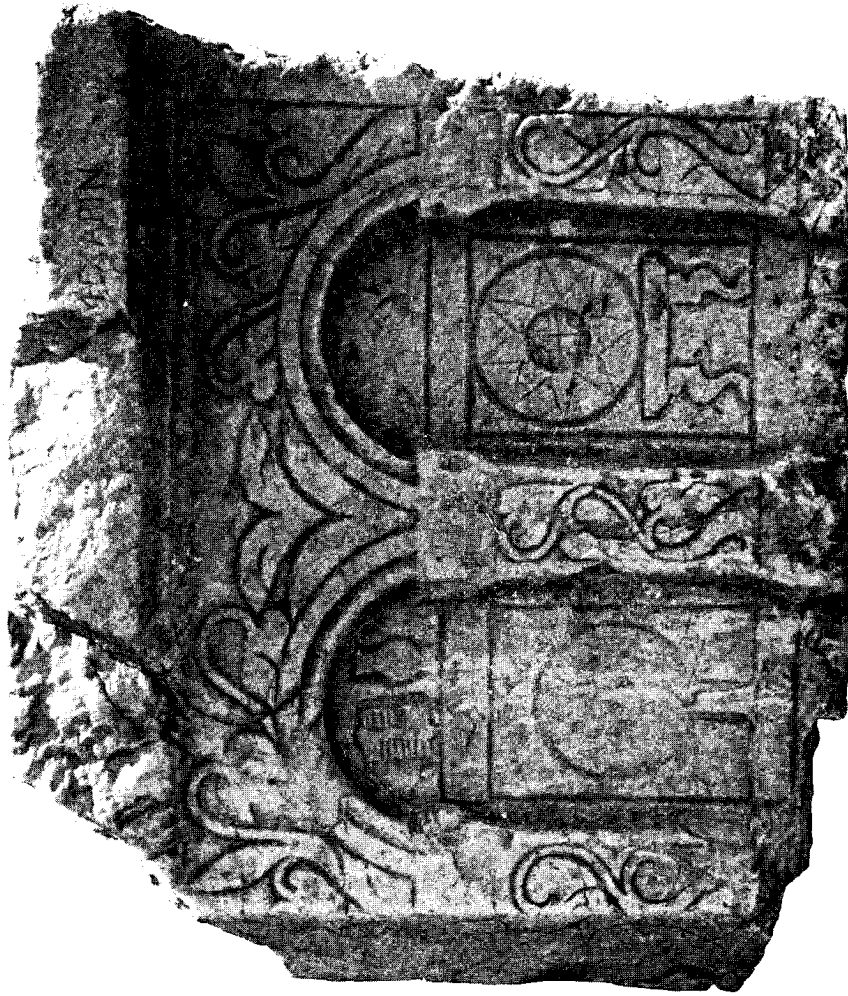


DOORSTONE FUNERARY STELE NO. 2, UŞAK MUSEUM



DOORSTONE FUNERARY STELE NO. 3, UŞAK MUSEUM

PLATE 6 GIBSON



FUNERARY STELE, KEIL AND VON PREMIERSTEIN NO. 261, UŞAK MUSEUM

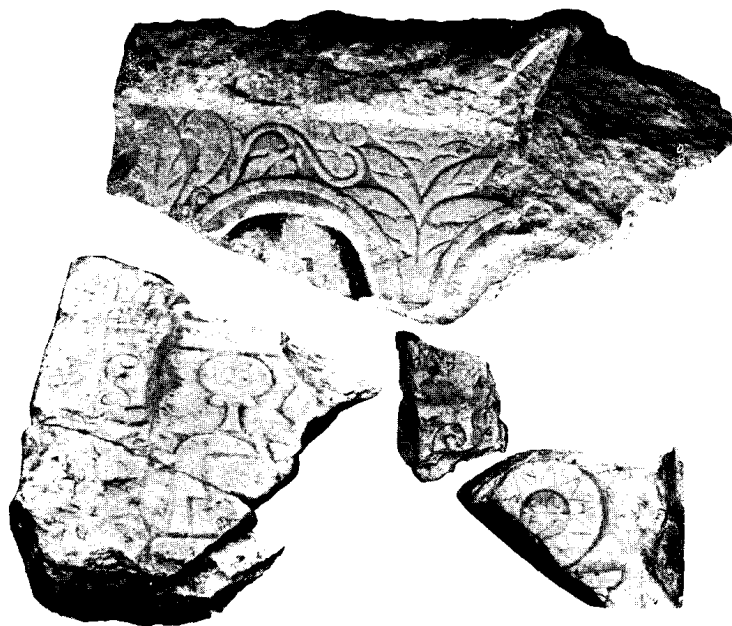


Figure 1. EXTANT FRAGMENTS

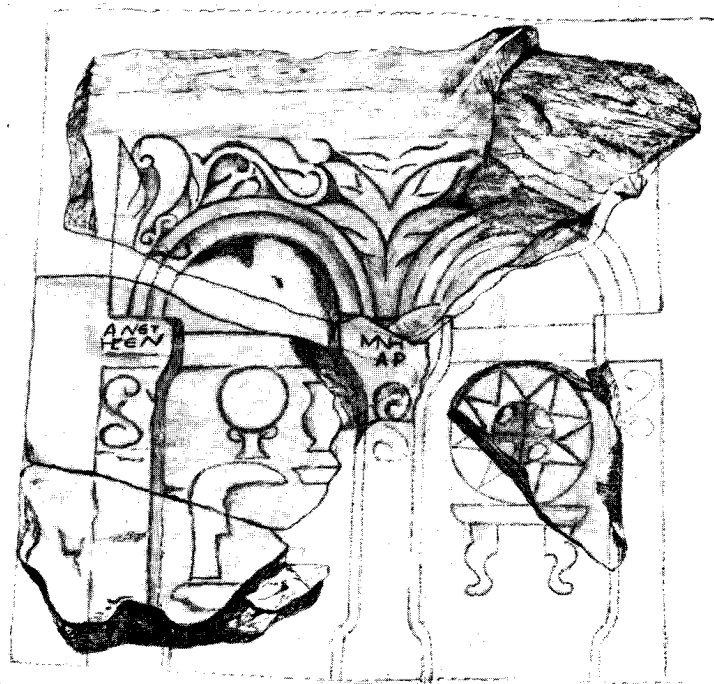
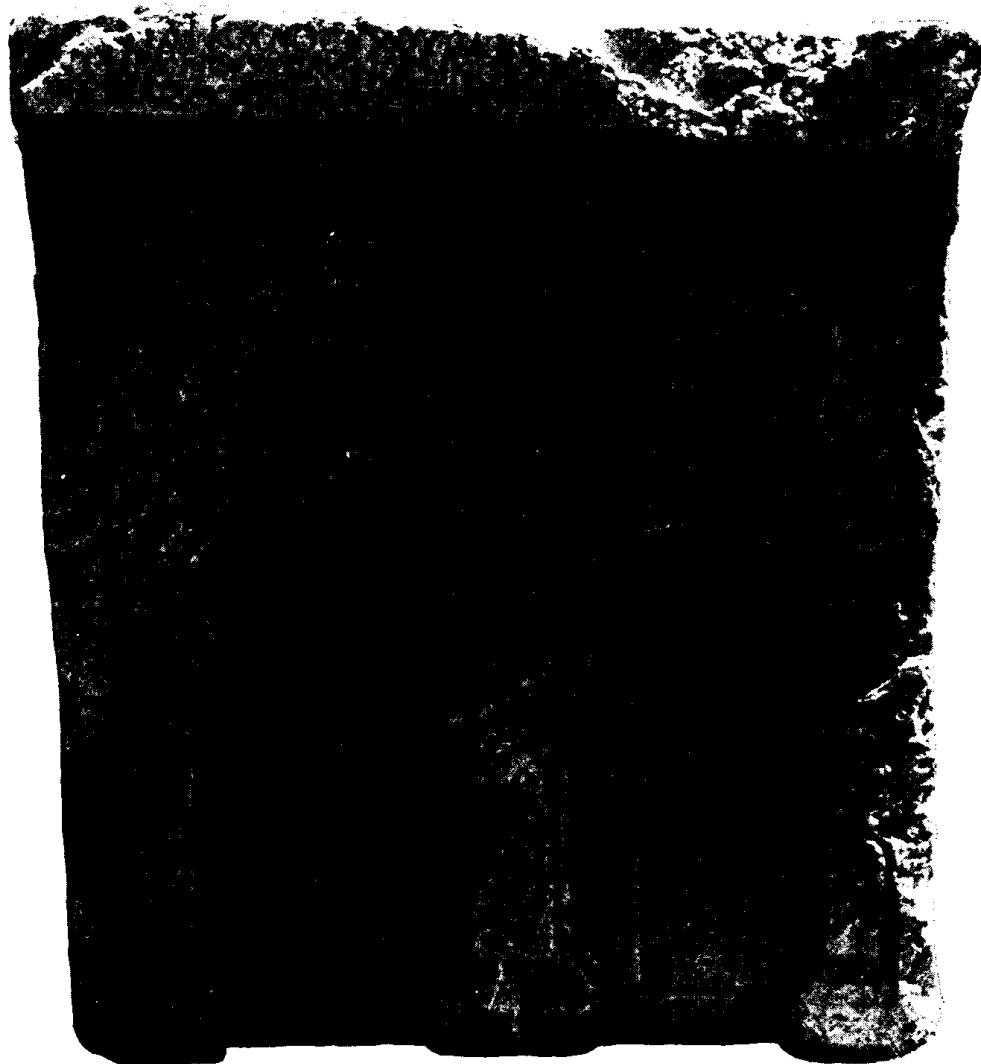


Figure 2. SKETCH OF STELE

FUNERARY STELE, KEIL AND VON PREMIERSTEIN NO. 263, UŞAK MUSEUM

PLATE 8 GIBSON



DOORSTONE FUNERARY STELE NO. 4, UŞAK MUSUEM

preachers a salary: *ὁ καλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον* (Apollonius in Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* 5.18.2). This innovation was contrary to the doctrine and custom of the Orthodox Church, whose prophets, preachers and clergy were given support in kind,²⁰ and the Montanist practice naturally gave rise to accusations of greed.²¹

The mason was confused about the word *ἑαυτῆ* and in fact wrote it twice, the first time eliminating the *upsilon*, the second time writing the second person *ἑαυτῆ*. The elimination of *upsilon* was probably caused by confusion as to the spelling because of a common pronunciation *ἑατοῦ*, *ἑατῶ*, etc.²² To rectify his error the mason improvised a V-shaped *upsilon* (not his usual form), which he fitted in by joining it to the preceding *alpha* so that the right bar of the *alpha* forms the left bar of the *upsilon*: no space was originally left for this letter on the stone. For *ἑαυτῆ* (without ligature) see another inscription in this series, Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.261; the editors note the form but find it unique and puzzling.²³ It appears that the mason, uncomfortable with the simple third-person pronoun, which had long served for the second person,²⁴ added a hypercorrect, and here incorrect, second person *ἑαυτῆ*. The coexistence of *both* forms in our inscription, referring to the same person, demonstrates the difficulty experienced by the redactor with their use.

NUMBER 4 (PLATE 8)

White marble double doorstone damaged at top left corner and more extensively at top right. The first three lines of the inscription are on a projecting fascia, and the fourth line is on the shaft of the stone above the doors; the doors are in a recessed panel. Height 1.22 m.; width 1.01 m.; thickness of top 0.42 m.; thickness of shaft 0.33 m.; letter-height 0.029 m. Between the doors and to right and left of them

²⁰ Apollonius in Euseb. *Hist.Eccl.* 5.18.4. Cf. *Didache* 11–13, 15.1–2; *Matt.* 10.9–10; I *Cor.* 9.8; I *Tim.* 3.3, 8; *Titus* 1.7, 11.

²¹ e.g., Apollonius in Euseb. *Hist.Eccl.* 5.18.2, 4–7, 9, 11.

²² A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897) §546. It is met very frequently in inscriptions.

²³ "Für den Gebrauch von *ἑαυτῶ* statt *ἑαυτῆ* vermögen wir, falls hier nicht etwa blosser Verschreibung vorliegt, keine Analogien beizubringen." Cf. the form *ἑαυτῶ* read by R. Mouterde on an inscription in Syria (J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1953, no.214).

²⁴ The third-person form *ἑαυτοῦ*, etc., had begun to replace the second person *ἑαυτοῦ*, etc., as early as the fourth century B.C.: Jannaris, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.22) §1406; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I.2 (Berlin/Leipzig 1938) p.64.

are engaged pilasters. Within the left door are displayed a mirror above a bottle (to left) and a comb (to right). The right-hand door displays an open pair of tablets and an open roll. Above both doors on the main part of the stone and on the faces of the pilasters are carved stylized tendrils with leaves. Filling the transom above each door are stylized leaves. Between each transom and the surface on which the tendrils are carved is a trio of arched, stepped, plain bands.

[Κε]ῖται κάλος ἔχουσα κρ[-----]
 [Σ]ενήρα ἥθους μὲν σεμνοῦ δι' ὃ κ[ληθεῖς']
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος πληροῦσα, πρόμ[οιρα].
 Κλήμης τῆ θυγατρὶ Σεβήρα μνήμης χάριν

“Here lies beautiful . . . Severa, of sober character, according to which [she was named]. She died at eighteen years of age, before her time. Clemens (erected this monument) to his daughter Severa, in memory of her.”

The first three lines, those on the fascia, are in hexameters, but their spatial arrangement is peculiar. The first line contains all of the first hexameter as well as part of the first foot of the second hexameter. The second and third lines begin close to the edge of the fascia, and each has space for about ten letters at the end. Either the mason intentionally arranged the lines thus to accommodate a date or a signature, or he wished in principle to inscribe each verse in a separate line.²⁵

The orthographic variant (κάλος) does not affect the meter, for this word scans as if correctly spelled. The beginning of the third hexameter was rendered unmetrical by insertion of the age of Severa in place of the metrically appropriate elements which stood in the original verse from which this was copied.

Of the word πρόμοιρος E. Griessmair remarks that it occurs very seldom in literature, although it is relatively common in epitaphs from the third century B.C. to the third Christian century and is more frequently found there than ἄωρος; he notes too that age is most often precisely expressed in the extreme situations of premature death, as

²⁵ The piece is a fine one, but even when a stone is signed it happens that the placement of the inscription is not planned in advance: cf. for example G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures / Constantinople* (Istanbul 1914) no.1077 (certainly from the region of Kütahya), and W. M. Calder, *AnatSt* 5 (1955) 31 (Kütahya Museum), both bearing the sculptor's signature.

here, and old age.²⁶ I. Kajanto points out a prosaic explanation for the frequency of age records in children's epitaphs at Rome: the parents knew the age of their own child, whereas it was often difficult for an adult to know his own exact age.²⁷ Of course the shortness of life of the deceased was moving, but equally important is the fact that his age was known exactly.

Another inscription first seen at Uşak and now in the museum there reads:²⁸

Τατιανὸς ὕ καὶ Κλήμησ ὕ [Ἴ]κοπελλιανῶ π[α]τρὶ
γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ μητρὶ Σεου ὕ ἥρα ζώσῃ μνήμησ χάριν

This must be the epitaph of Severa's paternal grandparents; she was named for her grandmother. Her grandfather, Skopellianos, bears a name well attested at Temenothyrai: *Αὐρ. Σκο[π]ελλιανὸς Ζεύξιδοσ* was a *bouleutes* of Temenothyrai²⁹ and the name is attested on coins of Temenothyrai during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.³⁰ The ultimate provenance of the above epitaph and hence of Severa must be Temenothyrai.

Severa's sober, upright character accords well with her name, and I believe that this appropriateness is pointed out by the poet in line 2 of the epitaph. A manifestation of her *ἡθὸσ σεμνόν* was her literacy, illustrated by the right-hand door of her gravestone; note that the ability to read and the ability to write are indicated separately, the former by a roll and the latter by wax tablets. Both are common motifs on gravestones in Phrygia. Severa's beauty, spoken of in the

²⁶ *Das Motiv von Mors Immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften* (Innsbruck 1966) 15–16.

²⁷ *On the Problem of the Average Duration of Life in the Roman Empire* (*AnnAcFenn* 153.2 [1968]) 13–16.

²⁸ Keil/von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* no.262, with photograph (there said to be from Ahat Köy; see *supra* n.5). The editors date the inscription to the late second or early third century on the basis of the letter forms, and the absence of Aurelii (see following note) confirms this opinion. On the prothetic *iota* in [Ἴ]κοπελλιανῶ see L. Robert, *RevPhil* 17 (1943) 113 n.8 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* I [Amsterdam 1969] 366), and J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigra* 1973, p.75.

²⁹ Inscription copied at Uşak by E. Legrand and J. Chamondard, *BCH* 17 (1893) 265 no. 49 (Ramsay, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.3] 612 no.517). The name Aurelios places the date of the inscription after A.D. 212: see most recently P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 519–30. (Two generations after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, however, the pseudopraenomen Aurelios was no longer a novelty and was often not used.)

³⁰ *BM Catalogue Phrygia* (London 1906) p.cii; the coins, *ibid.* pp. 407f, 412, *Inv. Waddington* 5320. This is probably Severa's grandfather.

first line of the epitaph, is illustrated by the objects in the left-hand door: mirror, bottle (probably for perfume; it is different from the jugs in nos. 1 and 3 above), and comb.

That the stone has two doors does not obviate its ascription to only one deceased. Tombstones were largely prefabricated. This stone seems to have been originally intended for a married couple: in fact, it is very similar in form to that of Severa's own grandparents. However, the words of the epitaph have been chosen to point out the suitability to Severa of the reliefs on both of the doors. We do not know whether the stone was deliberately chosen for her as illustrating her beauty, character and accomplishments, or no other stone being available Clemens was obliged to buy this one and, having done so, chose verses which would describe the appropriateness of both panels to Severa.

TEHRAN

August, 1975