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Inscribed Ostotheks, Sarcophagi, and a Grave Stele from Phaselis

NİHAL TÜNER ÖNEN – BETÜL GÜREL*

Abstract

This article presents inscribed funerary monuments consisting of two ostotheks, two sarcophagi, and a grave stele discovered during investigations carried out since 2015 in the necropoleis of the ancient city of Phaselis. The ostotheks date from the Hellenistic period based upon the letters of the inscriptions. One belongs to a physician named Hermas, while the other to the daughter of Lysanias. The grave stele, of which only the lower profile and the last line of the inscription has survived, also dates to the Hellenistic period. From their inscriptions the sarcophagi belonged to a citizen of Phaselis named Epaphrodeitos and to a person named Kougas. Both were dated to the second-third centuries AD. The funerary monuments discussed here provide new data on the onomastics of the city through their epigraphic data, and allow an evaluation of the inhumation and cremation tomb types of the city. This article provides a fresh contribution to studies of the city's tomb types and funerary inscriptions about which, up to this point, very limited information is known. In the first part of the study, the inscriptions on the funerary monuments are discussed, and the locations of the inscribed monuments within the city's necropolis are evaluated. The necropoleis of Phaselis are examined concerning tomb types in the evaluation and conclusion.

Keywords: Phaselis, necropolis, sarcophagus, ostothek, grave stele, funerary inscriptions

Öz

Burada ele alınan makalede, 2015 yılından itibaren Phaselis antik kenti nekropolislerinde sürdürülen yüzey araştırmalarında tespit edilen yazıtlı iki ostothek, bir stel ve iki lahitten oluşan mezar anıtları tanıtılmaktadır. Taşıdıkları yazıtların harf karakterleri dolayısıyla Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlendirilen ostothek anıtlarından birinin Hermas adlı bir hekime; diğerinin ise Lysanias'ın kızına ait olduğu öğrenilmektedir. Sadece alt profili ve son satırındaki yazıtı korunmuş olan mezar steli de Hellenistik Dönem'e aittir. Üzerindeki yazıtlardan Epaphrodeitos adında bir Phaselis vatandaşı ile Kougas adında başka birine ait olduğu öğrenilen lahit mezarlar, MS 2-3. yüzyıllara tarihlendirilmiştir. Burada ele alınan söz konusu mezar anıtları, epigrafik verileri aracılığıyla kentin onomastik birikimine yeni veriler sunmanın yanı sıra kentin inhumasyon ve kremasyon mezar türlerine dair değerlendirmeler yapmayı mümkün kılmaktadır. Makale, konu edildiği mezar anıtları ve yazıtlar aracılığıyla, günümüze kadar hakkında oldukça sınırlı bilgiye sahip olunan kentin mezar türleri ve yazıtlarına ilişkin çalışmalara akademik bir katkı sunmayı amaçlar. Çalışmanın ilk kısmında, mezar anıtlarının üzerindeki yazıtlar ele alınacak; değerlendirme ve sonuç kısmında ise mezar türleri açısından Phaselis nekropolisleri irdeleterek, yazıtlı anıtların kent nekropolisleri içindeki konumları değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Phaselis, nekropolis, lahit, ostothek, mezar steli, mezar yazıtı

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There are three necropoleis in Phaselis, designated by their location as northeast, northwest, and west. Outside the peninsula where the settlement pattern is densest, the necropoleis spread west to northeast.¹ The studies conducted to date have documented examples of sarcophagi, vaulted tombs, osthelks, chamosoria, rock tombs, and monumental tombs. The final number has not yet been determined as studies are still ongoing. Still, due to the ongoing documentation work, it is known that there are hundreds of tombs within the necropoleis of Phaselis. The number of epitaphs from them known so far is disproportionate to the number of tombs identified. The first reason for this is that the sarcophagi were made of low-quality limestone and covered with plaster in antiquity. The inscriptions belonging to this type of tombs must have been written with paint on the plastered surface. The plaster remains found on some graves also indicate this situation. Another reason is that no excavation work has yet been performed in the necropolis areas of the city. A total of 13 epitaphs from the city have been published to date, including one grave stele dated to the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic period,² three grave steles from the Hellenistic period,³ one osthelk dated to the Hellenistic period,⁴ seven epitaphs from the Roman period inscribed on the sarcophagus,⁵ and one epitaph on a tomb altar.⁶ It is assumed that the number of early (Classical / Hellenistic) grave steles and osthelks, which are thought to have been used mainly in monumental tombs, will increase with ongoing research in the city.

1. Epitaph of Lysanias Daughter Nē..

The osthelk numbered 3KD.01 was discovered on the eastern edge of the city's northern settlement in a burial chamber with destroyed walls during studies in 2016.⁷ The osthelk is rectangular, of limestone, and broken and missing from the beginning of the ash-container. Its lid is not present. The front and sides of the osthelk are smooth while the back was left rough. On its front there is a three-line inscription. Its dimensions are 0.44 m in width, 0.31 m in length, and 0.26 m in depth. On the inscribed obverse, two rows of wiping profiles are carved in the lower part of the stone.

¹ Gürel 2016, 281.

² Adak et al. 2005, 16-17, no. 13 ([. . .]άρεος τοῦ | [Δ]αμοκράτεος).

³ TAM 2.3, 1218 (Δωρί[ων]ος | τοῦ | Νυμοφοδότου); Adak et al. 2005, 17, no. 14 (Ἐπικρατίδας | Αναξι[κρ]άτεος | Ρόδιος) and 17-18, no. 15 ([Μ]ενέδαμος | [Τ]μακλείδα).

⁴ Tüner-Önen 2015a, 32-33, no. 5 (Ναΐδος | τᾶς | Ἀθανίωνος | γυναικός).

⁵ TAM 2.3, 1211 (Ἀὐρ[ήλιος] Τροκόνδας τὴν | σορὸν ἑαυτῶ· [ἐὰν δέ] | τις ἔτε[ρος] ἐνταφῆ, ἐκ[]τεῖς<ε>[ι ὁ θάψας τῶ
ἰε]ρ<ω>τά[τῳ ταμείῳ] | φ'); 1212 (Ἀὐρ[ήλιος] Μόλη<ς> Τροκόν[δου] | τὸν τύμβον κατεσ[κεύασεν] | ἐατῶ και τῆ γεν[ομένη
γυναικ]ῆ μου Ἀφφαροῦτ<ι κ>[αἰ τῆ νῦν] | οὔση μοι γυ[γυ] <να>κῆ Ἀφφ[ανῆ] | κ]αἰ τῶ ἀδελφῶ μου Ἀὐρ[ήλιω] - - |
και ᾧ ἂν ἐνγράφος συ[ν]χωρή[σῳ· ἄλλ]ῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξῶ[ν] ἔσται, | ἧ] ὁ ἐνηκεύσας [τ]εῖ[σει] προστε[ι]μου ἱερ[ᾶ - -]); 1216
(--- | κηδεύθηεν δ[ὲ] ἐν τῷ ὑπο[?]σορ<ίῳ> τὰ Ἐκα[..... και?] | τὰ Ἀμφ[ι - - - θρεπτά]); Blackman 1981, 148-49, no. 8
(Ἀριστίωνος | τοῦ | Κανόπου); Tüner-Önen 2008, 355-56, no. 45 (Ἡρόφιλος ἈΝ..Ο. ΟΑΣ | ΔΕΜΕ κατέσ[κευασ]
α τὸ ἀ[ν]γ[ε]ῖον | μ[οι] και γυναικῆ μου [κ]αἰ τέ<κ>ν[ῳ] | Ἡροφίλω και γυναικῆ [τ]οῦ Ἡροφίλου Ἰόλη και τοῖς τέ[κ]νοις |
Ἀμμία και Ἡροφίλη [ἄ]λλῳ | δὲ οὐδ[ὲ]νί . εἰ δὲ τις [ἄ]λλος | ἐνηκεύθει ἀποτείσει | [τῆ] γλ[υ]φ[ικ]ῆ πατριδὶ πρὸς | τε[ί]μο
ν Ζ' πεντακόσια); 358-59, no. 48 (Ἐλπίδη[φόρος] . . Ε. . . Ο. . . ΗΛΗ | ποσι [. . .c.8 Ὀλυμπη[ν]ός [κα]τεσ[κευ]α[σεν] [τ]
ὁ ἀν[γ]εῖον [- - - -] τε [. . .5-6 . .] | μνηστὴ ἑαυτῶ και [γυναικῆ και τέκνω Εὐ]τ[υχ]ανῶ ΛΕΛ[. . .c.5 . .]σ[- - - - -
Ὀλυμπη[ν]ῆ και τέ[κ]νοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μό[νο]ις | ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα ἐ[τε]ρ[ο]σ[υ] οἰξεί[ν] ἐξ[ῆ]ο[υ]σίαν κηδεύσαι [τ]ι[ν]α, - - - - -
- - - - | ἐά[ν] δὲ [τ]ι[ς] εὐ[ρε]θει[ν] τ[ι]να τ[ι]θῶν, ἀποδ[ώ]σει ἱε[ρ]ῳ[τάτῳ] φίσκῳ | σ[. . .]σ[ια]; 359-60, no. 49 (Σομνη
. . Ν[- - - - -] | Εὐτυχῆς . . Δ[- - - - -] | ΤΑΥΤΑΙ . ΝΑΙ . ΔΕΜΗΝ . Λ[- - - - -] | ΔΔΕΙΜ . Ν . . Υ . και τέκνοις [καὶ
ἐγγό-]νοις κα[ὶ] ἈΣΜ . ΝΑ . Λ . ΙΑΙΝΗΜΕΝ οὐδ[ὲ]τέροιο ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἐνηκεύσαι τινα ἢ ἀποδώσει τῶ[ι] [ἰ]ε[ρ]ῳ[τάτῳ]
φί[σκῳ] [ι] ,α).

⁶ TAM 2.3, 1217 (Ναῖς Φρόκλου | ἀνέστησεν ἀνδρ[ῆ] | Ἀυξάνοτι (sic.) μνή[μης] χάριν).

⁷ Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2017, 186.

Letter height: 0.02 m (O: 0.025, Θ: 0.03 m)

Date: Hellenistic period according to the dialect and lettering.

Νη[....]ς
τᾶς Λυσανία
θυγατρός

Lysanias daughter Nel. . J's (grave)



L. 1: The name expected in *femininum genetivus casus* in the first line should contain at least six, but not more than eight letters. It is very likely that the second letter of the name, whose first letter is clearly pronounced, is eta (η) because the lower part of two adjacent straight lines is clearly visible. In this case, names like Νησιάς (gen.: Νησιάδος), Νηληίς (gen.: Νηληϊδος), Νηρείς (gen.: Νηρείδος), Νηλώ (gen.: Νηλοῦς)... etc. can be suggested.

L. 2: The inscription was written in the Doric dialect.⁸ For the first time, the name Lysanias is documented in the city. The name in question is usually conjugated in Lycia as Λυσανίας, ου, while in continental Greece and the islands it is conjugated as Λυσανίας, α.⁹ The second usage is also seen in Phaselis.

2. Epitaph of the Physician Hermas

This ostothek (?) numbered 3KD.O17 was discovered during the investigations in the north-eastern necropolis in 2019. It was identified as spolium inside the remains of a temenos wall during research carried out on the sarcophagus with hyposorion number 3KD.L15. It is located in a place rich in tomb types and density of the northeastern necropolis, where different tomb types such as sarcophagus, vaulted chamber tomb, and ostothek can be seen together. The wall was built with rubblestones and mortar, and extended to the west of the tomb. In the masonry, the ostothek's body (numbered 3KD.O17) was employed as spolium. It measures 0.28 m wide and 0.18 m high; however, the other parts of the block built against the wall with the inscription facing forward cannot be seen. As a result, it is uncertain whether it was an ostothek. Still, the inscription's content and the presence of an inscribed ostothek used as a spolium on the wall of a tomb in the same area led to its classification as an ostothek. The letters were partially damaged because they were covered with mortar during the masonry work.

Letter height: 0.016-0.020 m

Date: Hellenistic period according to the lettering (ΞΜ).

Ἑρμ[ᾶς] υἱός
[Ἐμ]βρομίου
ιατρὸς χαῖρε.

Physician Hermas, son of Embromios, Farewell!



⁸ For the displacement of α' with η in the Doric dialect, see Buck 1955, 21 and 37. Phaselis was a Doric colony and therefore the Doric dialect is seen; see Adak 2007, 41-42.

⁹ Λυσανίας, for ου cf. TAM 2.2, 592, 2.3, 862, 938, see also LGPN 5B, 266; Λυσανίας, for α cf. Blinkenberg 1941, 705; IG 12.1, 197; SEG 39, 783c; see also LGPN 1, 292.

Hermas was the first recorded physician of Phaselis. To date, 17 inscriptions recording physician's names have been published from the cities of Lycia and Pamphylia, documenting a total of 15 physicians. In Lycia one inscription each is known from Oinoanda, Kadyanda, Lydai, Aperlai, and Khôma; two from Tlos and Xanthos; three from Rhodiapolis; and four from Sidyma.¹⁰ In Pamphylia, only one physician from Perge is epigraphical documented.¹¹ These inscriptions, with the exception of that from Perge of the physician Asklepiades of Perge dated to the second century BC, all date from the Roman Imperial period. The earliest inscriptions in Lycia are associated with the physician Tib. Claudius Epagathos from Sidyma and date from the reign of Emperor Claudius.¹² Surprisingly, no epigraphic trace of a physician has been found dating before the middle of the first century AD in Lycia. Inscriptions of physicians are more common in the Hellenistic cities in Caria and Ionia. In the majority of honorary inscriptions from this period, the physicians functioned as *ιατροὶ δημόσιοι* (= public physicians).¹³ Usually, *ιατρός* refers to a private physician; *ιατρός δημόσιος* or *ἀρχίατρος* to a public physician. Therefore, it can be assumed that Hermas was a private physician.

Whether the physician Hermas mentioned in Phaselis was from Phaselis or not is not stated specifically, but the name of his father Ἐμβρόμιος is so far attested only in Arykanda.¹⁴ This name may be connected with the names Εμβρομιος and Εμβρομιος, a local nomenclature documented in Phaselis and especially in eastern Lycian cities.¹⁵ The inscription on an altar found at Mnara near Phaselis is the only example of this name (Εμβρομιος) from the Hellenistic period in this region.¹⁶ For this reason, Hermas must also be someone who is rooted in this region.

A votive inscription recovered from the city shows that the god Apollo Iatros was worshiped in Phaselis in the fourth century BC.¹⁷ Since the fifth century BC, with the spread of the cult of Asclepius, the said god, whose worship decreased and disappeared over time, was intensively worshipped in Milesian colonies on the western and northern coasts of the Black Sea. The name of the god in the votive inscription recovered from Phaselis is given in the Doric dialect, like in the epitaph of Hermas (in Ionian dialect, *Ietros* = Ἴητρος). The god in question, whose origin is associated with Ionia or Thrace and the Scythians,¹⁸ is compared by Aristophanes in *The Birds* to doctors who are paid like civil servants: "Apollo can heal them because he is a doctor and is paid for it."¹⁹ It is unknown whether the god, also described as a "prophet,"²⁰ was worshiped in Phaselis as a healer or as a prophetic god. The inscription of Hermas could indicate that the healing aspect of the god prevailed in the city.

¹⁰ Oinoanda (Holleaux 1886, 216, no. 1); Kadyanda (*TAM* 2.2, 663); Lydai (*TAM* 2.1, 147); Aperlai (*IGRR* 693); Khôma (Samama 2003, 396, no. 288); Tlos (*TAM* 2.2, 590 and 595); Xanthos (*TAM* 2.1, 339 and 369); Rhodiapolis (*TAM* 2.3, 906 and 910; *SEG* 56, 1777); Sidyma (*TAM* 2.1, 178, 184, 221 and 224); cf. Samama 2003, 387-99, nos. 276-90 and 439, no. 341; cf. Rémy and Delrieux 2007, 264-66.

¹¹ Perge (Şahin 1999, 14-16, no. 12).

¹² *TAM* 2.1, 178 and 184.

¹³ Massar 2001; 2005, 29.

¹⁴ Şahin 1994, 138-39, no. 177.

¹⁵ For these names see Zgusta 1964, 161-62, § 332-1 and 2. For those documented in Phaselis see also Tüner-Önen 2015b, 50; Gürel et al. 2019, 420.

¹⁶ Şahin 2014, 300.

¹⁷ Adak et al. 2005, 4-5, no. 2.

¹⁸ For assumptions about Ionic origin, see Ehrhardt 1989; On Thracian and Scythian origin, see Ustinova 2009, 245-87.

¹⁹ Ar. *Av.* 584: εἶθ' ὃ γ' Ἀπόλλων ἱατρός γ' ὦν ἰάσθω μισθοφορεῖ δέ.

²⁰ For the definition of God as both a "doctor" and a skilled "physician," see Ar., *Plut.* 8-12.

3. Grave Stele

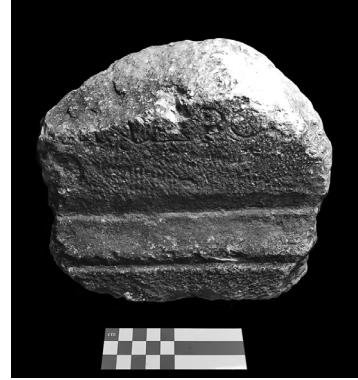
It was discovered as a surface find near the temple tomb in the Northern Necropolis in 2019. The upper part of the limestone stele profiled from below is broken, and only one line of the inscription is preserved.

Dimensions: Height: 0.18 m; width: 0.19 m; depth: 0.10 m; letter height: 0.025 m

Date: Hellenistic period (because of form and size of the stele).

It is not easy to estimate the height of the stele, as it has been transversely broken in the middle. However, based on the width and depth dimensions, it is possible to estimate a maximum height of 0.40-0.50 m.

Therefore, the inscription on the stele should at most be 2-3 lines long. However, it should be remembered that there may also be a shorter and single-line inscription. In the case of a single-line inscription on the stele, a name in the *nominativus* or *genetivus casus* with a maximum of six letters can be considered. Both usages are found on grave stelae of the Hellenistic period. It may be completed as [Ἄ]γδρο[ς] / [Ἄ]γδρο[υ] based on the letters read on the stone. If the inscription on the stele extended over more than one line, the father's name of the grave owner is expected in the last line. For this reason, the name here can only be completed in *genetivus casus*. Since with this name, which should correspond to the father's name, a name can be considered that continues from the top line. Many names ending in -άνδρου can be suggested: Ἀρίστανδρος/Κλέανδρος/Ἀλέξανδρος/Μένανδρος ...etc.²¹



.. ΝΔΡΟ.

4. Epitaph of Epaphrodeitos and Dositheia

The sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L29, discovered during investigations in the Northeast Necropolis in 2019, is located on the eastern edge of the Northern Settlement. It is on the highest elevation compared to other tombs discovered so far. This area has a sloping topography. Possibly the sarcophagus fell on its front during an earthquake, and the lid slipped three meters in front of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus and its saddle roof lid are preserved intact. During the cleaning and arrangement works carried out in the area, the body of the sarcophagus was raised from where it was, and the 14-line inscription on the obverse was recovered. The tomb is made of limestone, and the surface has been ruined due to the erosion of the stone's structure. The inscription is difficult to read due to decay and fragmentation on the surface of the tabula. It was determined that the inscription on the tabula extends onto the tabula frame on the right side.²²

The sarcophagus was situated in a northeast-southwest direction as indicated by the cutting into the bedrock directly behind its findspot. To maintain the height of the bedrock, a wall was created from rubblestones in some areas. The sarcophagus measures 1.03 m in width, 2.24 m in length, and 1.10 m in height. The internal depth is 0.66 m, and the cushion arrangement is not visible. The lid in saddle roof form is 1.07 m wide, 2.29 m long, and 0.56 m high. The lid,

²¹ For the nomenclatures of the Classical and Hellenistic periods documented in Phaselis, see Tüner-Önen 2015b, 40-43.

²² Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2019, 453-54.

solid and upside down, has two consoles on the long sides and one console on each narrow side. These consoles have been left unprocessed.

Table dimensions: Height: 0.75 m; width: 1.05-0.62 m; letter height: 0.04 m

Date: Second-third centuries AD



- Ἐπαφρόδειτος Ἀπολ-
λωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμῶνος
Φασηλείτης [κα]ὶ Δωσιθέα
4 Ἀρισταινέτας τὸ μν[η]-
μεῖον ἑαυτοῖς κατεσκεύ-
ασαν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦς εἰς αὐ-
τὸ τεθῆναι καὶ Μόλην τὸν
8 ἡλευθερώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
Ἐπαφροδείτου καὶ ἂν τεινα
ποιήσω, ἀλλῶ δὲ μηδενὶ
ἐξεῖναι ταφῆναι ἐν τουτῷ
12 τῷ μνημεῖ[ω], εἰάν τις τολ-
μήσῃ θ[άψαι] ὄφει[λέσ]ει ἱε-
ρὰ Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι * , α[φ'].

Epaphrodeitos of Phaselis, son of Apollonios, son of Hermon, and Dosithea, daughter of Aristaineta, built this tomb for themselves under the condition that they (i.e. Epaphroditos and Dosithea) be buried in it and Moles, who was freed by Epaphrodeitos, and whoever I will indicate, to be put into it. No someone else shall be allowed to bury in this tomb; if anyone dares, he will pay to the Athena Polias a thousand [five hundred] denarii.

L. 1-2: The name Epaphrodeitos is mentioned for the first time in Phaselis and its territory. It is frequently documented in cities in Southwest Anatolia and Lycia.²³ The name of the father Apollonios is also a first from the city, but it is a name common both in the area and in the region.²⁴ Although the name of the grandfather Hermon is widely documented in the cities of Caria and Western Lycia, it is recorded for the first time in the city and its territory.²⁵ It is noteworthy that the names of all three generations are *theophoric*.

L. 3-4: The name of Δωσιθέα is also documented here for the first time in the city. Although the masculine form of this name Δωσίθεος is frequently recorded in the Lycian region, the feminine form is less frequently used.²⁶ Dosithea has created a matrilineal order by taking her mother's

²³ Cf. *LGNP* 5B, 137-38.

²⁴ Cf. Tüner-Önen 2015b, 46; *LGNP* 5B, 41-47.

²⁵ *LGNP* 5B, 154-55.

²⁶ Cf. *LGNP* 5B, 127. The masculine form of the aforementioned name was mostly used in the Hellenistic period, especially by Jews; see *CPJ* 1, 19.

name instead of her father's, in addition to her own. With this aspect, the inscription is the first inscription so far showing a matrilineal order in Phaselis. In the passage in which he gives information about the Lycians, Herodotus mentions that the most notable tradition among the Lycians was that they took their names from their mothers and not from their fathers.²⁷ Herodotus also said when a Lycian man was asked about his ancestry, he named his mother's name after his name and then listed his maternal ancestry. This passage from Herodotus has caused much controversy in modern research.²⁸ Here, of course, the term "matrilineal" should not be confused with the term "matriarchy." The situation in Lycia to which Herodotus refers does not indicate a form of social organization in which power resides with women. In addition, there is no definite data on a specific type of inheritance in which ownership is passed down through the female line. Only in some inscriptions from the Roman period are there records referring to maternal descent.²⁹ Dosithea's maternal name Ἀρισταινέτα is first documented in Phaselis. The cognate masculine form Ἀρισταίνετος, on the other hand, is documented on two Hellenistic-period coins.³⁰ At the same time, a local historian who lived in the Hellenistic-Roman period and is recorded to have written a book entitled *On Phaselis* (περὶ Φασήλιδα) carries the same name.³¹

L. 4-5: That the tomb was built by its owners is indicated by the expression τὸ μνημεῖον. The origin of this word, which means "monument, memorial, memorial, etc." is based on the verbs "remember" (= μνάομαι) and "recall" (μυμήσκω). It is also used in the sense of "grave" because it preserves after death the memory of the people who died.³² This word, which can be applied to both monumental and simple tombs, most likely relates not only to the sarcophagus in which the burial took place but also to the location of the sarcophagus. So far, the words τὸ ἀγγεῖον have been recorded on two sarcophagi in the urban necropolis, τὸ σορόν on a sarcophagus, and τὸ τύμβον on a tomb monument. However, the type could not be precisely determined, as E. Kalinka recorded it as a rectangular block of marble.³³ On the other hand, it shows that the term ἡ σωματοθήκη (= sarcophagus) is extensively used on the sarcophagi of the territory.³⁴ It is hard to see the difference between these names, each carved on the sarcophagus. It can be only said that all the sarcophagi found in territory of the city are very richly decorated compared to those in the necropoleis of Phaselis.

L. 5-9: Between these lines, the grave owners recorded who will be buried in the grave. First, they emphasized only themselves, then noted the name of Moles whom Epaphrodeitos freed. They left open the case of people they could add to these. The name of Moles is documented for nine people in the city and its area.³⁵ Moles is the first freedman to be laid by his master in his tomb at Phaselis. Four other freedmen are known to honor their lord Moles on an earlier honorary inscription.³⁶ τεινα = τινα.³⁷

²⁷ Hdt. 1, 173.

²⁸ See Pembroke 1965.

²⁹ TAM 2.1, 53, 223, 2.2, 438, 442, 453, 601, 605, 611, 629, 693, 2.3, 802, 855, 872, 886. For known examples from Olympos, the neighboring city of Phaselis, see TAM 2.3, 952, 955, 965, 984, 1000, 1028, 1042, 1049, 1053, 1058, 1083, 1113, 1121, 1122, 1130, 1148, 1151, 1162; also cf. Pembroke 1965, 221.

³⁰ Heipp-Tamer 1993, 134, nos. 93-94, table 5; 158, no. 357, table 28.

³¹ Steph. Byz., s.v. Γέλα.

³² LSJ⁹, 1139, s.v. μνημεῖον.

³³ τὸ ἀγγεῖον: Tüner-Önen 2008, 355-56, no. 45 and 358, no. 48; τὸ σορόν: TAM 2.1, 211; τὸ τύμβον: TAM 2.3, 1212.

³⁴ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 32, no. 48 (Kocaköy); SEG 51, 1829 (Yarbaşçandır); SEG 6, 735 (Zindanyakası); Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 349, no. 1 (Yaylakuzdere), 353, no. 2a (Beşiktaş mevki), 357, no. 3a (Kurtepe); Çelik et al. 2018, 191 (Hisarçandır); SEG 52, 1412 (Armutçuk) and 1413 (Fillara).

³⁵ Tüner-Önen 2015b, 57-58; Çelik et al. 2018, 191.

³⁶ TAM 2.3, 1210: Μόλητα | Κολαλήμεος τοῦ Ἐν|βρόμου, Φασηλίτην, | [Τ]ροκόνδας καὶ Δει|[μ]ετρία καὶ Σύρος | καὶ Τρέβημις οἱ ὑ|πὸ αὐτοῦ ἐλευθε|ρωθέντες, καθῶς | διέθετο.

³⁷ On using the diphthong ei instead of the letter iota, see Gignac 1976, 190, 249.

L. 10-14: The prohibition statement starts from the tenth line. The temple treasury of the goddess Athena Polias was depicted as a punishment vault. Although it is known that Athena Polias, the chief goddess of the city, was respected in Phaselis from the fifth century BC to the Roman Imperial period, had a temple, and agons were arranged in her name, a temple treasury is documented here for the first time.³⁸ During the 2018 territory work, a record of the goddess' treasury was discovered on a sarcophagus at Palamutlar.³⁹ It is noteworthy that this burial penalty is higher than the other penalties recorded in the city.⁴⁰

5. The Tomb of Kougas

In the sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L23, discovered in 2019 in the Northern Necropolis, the remains of a podium, a sarcophagus, and a hipped-roofed lid were documented. It is one of the few examples of a tomb documented in the city's necropoleis together with a podium sarcophagus and a lid. The tomb faces the sea and was built of limestone. The podium block has a slightly concave slope from the base and projects outward at the top, ending with a 0.07 m flat, molded profile. The sarcophagus and lid were probably detached from each other during an earthquake. The inscribed front of the sarcophagus was knocked over while it leaned against the earthen fill to the south, and the lid was turned upside down. Since the sarcophagus was tilted over the opening where the lid was closed, the remains of the lower podium step can be seen inside the sarcophagus. The long side of its rear is broken in half and missing. Most of the lid is under the earth fill; the parts that can be seen along its length are preserved in a monolithic form. On the front of the sarcophagus is an inscribed tabula ansata. Because the inscribed surface is on the ground, it is difficult to take an estampage and read it. Only a three-line inscription was recorded in the tabula ansata carved on the front of the tomb, which is quite large. Probably the lower part was left vacant.

Podium: 0.40 m high and 0.60 m deep. The length is unknown due to the break. The sarcophagus measures 1.13 m in width, 2.46 m in length, and 1.25 m in height. Its internal depth is 0.85 m. The lid is 2.50 m long; other dimensions could not be taken due to the earth filling.

Dimensions: Height: 0.43 m (tabula); width: 1.25-0.79 m (tabula); letter height: 0.045-0.05 m

Date: Third century AD (from the lettering)

Κουγας Ασα δῖς

τὸ μνημε[ῖ]ο[v]

κατέστη[σε].

vac.

Kougas, the son of Asas the second, built this tomb.

³⁸ For detailed information about the worship of Athena Polias in Phaselis, see Tüner-Önen and Yılmaz 2015. Vaults have been documented previously in urban necropoleis: *ιερώτατον ταμείον* (*TAM* 2.3, 1211), *ιερώτατος φύσκος* (Tüner-Önen 2008, 358-60, nos. 48-49) and *γλυκυτάτης πατρὶς* (Tüner-Önen 2008, 355-56, no. 45); cf. Avcu 2014, 24, 28, 32.

³⁹ The recipient institutions (treasuries) of fines authorized in the territory to date were recorded as: *Ζεὺς Σολυμεύς* (*SEG* 51, 1829), *Φασηλιτῶν πόλις* (*SEG* 6, 735), *Φασηλιτῶν δήμος* (Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 357, no. 3a) and *τὸ ἱερὸν ταμείον* (Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 353, no. 2a).

⁴⁰ The amount of the fines recorded in the city so far was: 500 (*TAM* 2.3, 1211 and Tüner-Önen 2008, 355-56, no. 45) and 1000 (Tüner-Önen 2008, 359, no. 49) denarii. In its territory: 500 (Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 353, no. 2a), 2500 (*SEG* 6, 1829 and Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 349, no. 1) and 5000 (Tüner-Önen et al. 2017, 357, no. 3a) and 5500 (*SEG* 6, 735) denarii.



The tomb owner Kougas is already known from both the city and the area.⁴¹ To date, Ασσας, the names of his father and grandfather, have not been documented anywhere other than at Trebenna and Onobara.⁴² The tomb of Kougas was also identified as τὸ μνημεῖον. The inscription does not contain any information about another who should be buried in the tomb other than Kougas. Such a practice is found in another inscription carved on a sarcophagus at Phaselis, although there the name of the tomb owner was written in *genetivus casus*.⁴³

Evaluation and Conclusion

The ostothek tombs 3KD.01 and 3KD.O17 and the inscribed grave stele discussed in this article are dated to the Hellenistic period based on their form features and lettering. The presence of ostotheks suggests that cremation burials occurred in Phaselis throughout the Hellenistic period. The burial of the ashes and bone remains of the deceased in stone ostotheks is a burial tradition that continued in Hellenistic and Roman times.⁴⁴ It is not yet known when the inhabitants of Phaselis began to use cremation. However, the city, located at the intersection of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, is seen close to Pamphylia and Pisidia insofar as the preference for cremation is concerned.⁴⁵ Although sarcophagi were produced intensively in the region of Pamphylia from the second century AD, it is known that the use of the ostothek continued.⁴⁶ In the region of Pisidia, there are a large number of ostotheks.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the Lycian region shows that the region known for its many cemeteries and variety of tombs is not rich in ostotheks.⁴⁸ In addition to the use of the ostothek in Asia Minor, that Phaselis was a port city

⁴¹ Tüner-Önen 2015b, 55.

⁴² *LGN* 5B, 71.

⁴³ Blackman 1981, 148-49, no. 8.

⁴⁴ Asgari 1965, 392. Koch divides the Asia Minor ostotheks into local groups, with examples showing different trunk forms, depictions, or decorations. For more information on ostothek workshops in Asia Minor and ostothek tombs grouped by local elements, see Koch 2010, 29-34.

⁴⁵ Gürel 2022.

⁴⁶ For detailed information about the ostotheks in Pamphylia and Rough Cilicia, see Korkut 2006. For detailed information about ostotheks, see also Korkut 2013. Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, Pamphylia, note that especially in the mountainous settlements in the Taurus Mountains the use of the ostothek continued until the end of the Roman Imperial period, as well as the sarcophagus; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:204.

⁴⁷ Pisidian ostotheks are characteristic of this region, especially with their decorative program consisting of shields and other weapons, eagles, and standing figures. For detailed information see Koch 2010, 31-32, figs. 49-51.

⁴⁸ Asgari states that almost no examples of ostotheks were found in Lycia, a very important center of funerary art; see Asgari 1965, 382, 388; On the subject, see also Çelgin 1990, 456-507, 521. Koch notes the Lycian region is not included in the Asia Minor ostothek groups; for other regions see Koch 2010, 29-34.

and played an active role in Mediterranean trade also influenced the socio-cultural structure of the city and thus the variety of tomb types and burial elements. The tomb inscriptions on the ostotheks are shorter than the inscriptions on the sarcophagi and have survived to the present day as epigraphic data that contains only information about the identity of the person who owns the tomb. Because neither ostothek is in situ, no information on their location within the necropolis or placement on the land or in the tomb structure was obtained.

From a typological point of view, the sarcophagi of Phaselis were made in the form of a plain sarcophagus with lid. They do not seem to have adopted the sarcophagus form of any particular region, especially Lycia⁴⁹ and Pamphylia,⁵⁰ since it is located in the border region. This feature, characteristic of the typology of the sarcophagi in the city's necropolis, leads to a representation of the works that can be evaluated epigraphically and iconographically with a few examples. The number of sarcophagi with reliefs or inscriptions is very few. However, it appears that lids with saddle roof are preferred in sarcophagi with inscriptions. People who preferred the saddle-roof sarcophagus, also known as the Lycian type, had their inscriptions engraved on the front of the sarcophagus in accordance with the traditional tomb representation. In addition to the sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L29, which was examined in this study, there is an inscription on a saddle-roof sarcophagus, which was found before.⁵¹ The sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L23, on the other hand, has a hipped roof and differs from general sarcophagus typology in the necropolis because of its lid shape and dimensions. The forms of tomb structures are regarded as symbols in necropoleis as indicators of the people's cultural and economic characteristics.⁵² A different social status can explain this in society. When sarcophagus production was intense, the second and third century AD is considered the time when Phaselis was also prosperous, and its necropoleis reached their greatest expansion possibly with the growing population. Historical process can be used to trace the city's shrinking infrastructure after this period.⁵³ Two examples of saddle-roofed and hipped-roofed sarcophagi from Phaselis date to centuries second and third from their inscriptions, when sarcophagi were most frequently made. Accordingly, the sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L23 is dated to the third century AD, and the sarcophagus numbered 3KD.L29 to the second-third century AD. Since these tombs were completely exposed, no archaeological material or human bone remains were found in them.

⁴⁹ For detailed information about the Lycian sarcophagi, see İdil 1998, 8-9; Koch 2001, 254-56; Özer 2016, 422-33.

⁵⁰ For detailed information about Pamphylian sarcophagi, see Turak 2011, 63-244.

⁵¹ Tüner-Önen 2008, 358-59, 293-94; Blackman 1981, 149-50, no. 9, table 73; *SEG* 31, 1304.

⁵² Toynbee 1971, 73.

⁵³ Tüner-Önen 2008, 181-84.

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