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## Three Notes on Lydian Saittai

**Abstract:** The author offers three short notes on the history and epigraphy of Saittai in Lydia. It is proposed, first, to identify a small community in the conventus of Sardeis, attested in the Flavian conventus-list from Ephesos, with the village of \*Morei (dative) known from inscriptions. The author then collects the evidence for individuals bearing the gentilician Octavius at Saittai, and suggests that they may descend from an attested Italian immigrant to Lydia of the 60s BC. Finally, it is proposed that two epitaphs from second-century Saittai should be considered as twin tombstones for the same individual, Dionysios son of Epaphrodeitos.

**Keywords:** Lydia; Saittai; Moreitai; epigraphy; prosopography; epitaphs.

## 1. A Village on the Territory of Saittai

The Flavian *conventus*-list from Ephesos published by Christian Habicht in 1975 includes a striking number of otherwise unattested small communities in the *conventus* of Sardeis: the Λακιμηνοί, Μουρήνιοι, Οὔθημηνοί, and others.<sup>1</sup> Among these obscure groups are the Μο[. .]ῖται, listed immediately after another unknown community, the Μο[. .]δονεῖς.<sup>2</sup> In precisely which part of Lydia these two peoples were situated is not clear: they are listed between the cities of Saittai and Philadelpheia, suggesting that they ought to be sought somewhere in eastern Lydia.<sup>3</sup>

So far as I know, the only scholars to have attempted to identify the Lydian Μο[. .]ῖται were Jeanne and Louis Robert.<sup>4</sup> In 1977, in the *Bulletin épigraphique*, the Roberts pointed out that this community might also have been mentioned in the Milan fragment of Cicero's *pro Flacco* (59 BC). In the relevant passage, Cicero denigrates Flaccus' accusers from Asia by singling out two risibly insignificant communities who have raised complaints against Flaccus and whose representatives are present in Rome. According to L. Fruechtel's 1933 Teubner edition of the *pro Flacco* (the last independent critical edition of the text), the relevant passage in the Milan palimpsest reads *quid mol[...]*je et loren*i de L. Flacco existiment audiemus*, "we shall now hear what the *mol[...]*je* and the *loren*i think about L. Flaccus".*

In earlier editions, including Clark's Oxford Classical Text (1909) and Fruechtel's Teubner (1933), the transmitted *loren*i was usually emended, either to *Lorymeni* (Heinrich) or *Dorylenses* (Mommsen). In fact, as has long been recognised, the transmitted text is correct: the Λορηνοί are a small but well-attested community, now securely located in the vicinity of Eğrit/Korubaşı, 15km downstream of Gördes (ancient Iulia Gordos) in the Kum Çayı valley.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I.Ephesos 13 col. I, lines 1–28. Habicht 1975, 67 (detailed commentary, 71–77) counts no fewer than nine hitherto unattested communities in the *conventus* of Sardeis alone. For the Ἰουλείς οἱ (τ)άχειον λεγόμενοι Μαιβωζανοί (I.Ephesos 12 col. I, lines 9–10), see Robert 1987, 329–335; for the Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται (I.Ephesos 12 col. I, line 13), see Thonemann 2011.

<sup>2</sup> I.Ephesos 13 col. I, lines 17–19.

<sup>3</sup> Habicht 1975, 74–75 (cautious).

<sup>4</sup> BE 1977, 450 (p. 408).

<sup>5</sup> For the location of Lora, see Herrmann and Malay 2007, 41, no. 24 (SEG 57, 1176). Mentioned by Pliny, NH

In his *editio princeps* of the Milan fragment, Angelo Mai corrected the transmitted *mol[...]e* to <T>*mol[ita]e*. The Roberts rejected Mai's correction, and instead preferred to identify the community mentioned by Cicero with the Lydian community of the Mo[. .]ῖται known from the Ephesian *conventus*-list: "Nous ne doutons pas que ce texte [the *conventus*-list] et le manuscrit de Cicéron ne complètent presque entièrement l'un par l'autre: *Mol.tae* et Moλ.ται; il ne manqué qu'une lettre et qui est une voyelle: *Molitae*? On comprend mieux encore le mépris de Cicéron pour les accusations de ces deux cites prises parmi les plus obscures."<sup>6</sup>

This is an ingenious suggestion; it was accepted by Clive Foss in his major study of the Lydian city of Tmolos.<sup>7</sup> However, it is, I think, unlikely to be correct. The Roberts appear not to have taken account of the fact that representatives from the town of Tmolos appear on two other occasions in the *pro Flacco* (Flacc. 8, 45), rendering Mai's restoration of <T>*mol[ita]e* in the Milan fragment all but certain.

I should like to suggest an alternative identification of the Mo[. .]ῖται mentioned in the Ephesian *conventus*-list. In 2007, Peter Herrmann and Hasan Malay published two honorific inscriptions from the modern villages of Kalburcu (precise provenance not certain) and Selmanhacılar (the ancient Tamasis), on the right bank of the middle Hermos, between the İlke Çayı and Selendi Çayı rivers, a region which is probably to be attributed (at least in the high Imperial period) to the large territory of Saittai.<sup>8</sup> The earlier of these two inscriptions (Kalburcu), precisely dated to 45/4 BC, was set up by οἱ ἐν Μορει κάτοικοι in honour of their own co-villager (τὸν ἑαυτῶν κάτοικον) Zenon son of Hermokrates.<sup>9</sup> The later text (Selmanhacılar), probably of the late first century BC or early first century AD, was set up by οἱ κατ[οικοῦντ]ε[ς] ἐν Μορει ΚΑΙΣΑΡ[. . c. 4–5 . .] in honour of an asiarch by the name of Tiberius [?Iulius] Damas.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the toponym Μορει is also to be restored in a third honorific inscription of the late Republican or early Imperial period from this same region (Encekler), set up by οἱ ἐ[ν] . . c. 5 . .] κατοικοῦντε[ς].<sup>11</sup>

5.111 (*Loreni*, between Kadoi and Philadelpheia). They are present in the Flavian *conventus*-list (I.Ephesos 13 col. I, lines 7–8: Λορηναῖοι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Φλαουιοπολεῖται), with an incorrect form of the ethnic (Habicht 1975, 73). The *dēmos* of the Lorenoi passed six *post mortem* honorific decrees, four of them in conjunction with neighbouring *poleis*, between 45 BC and AD 37: TAM V 1, 775 (45 BC); SEG 57, 1176 (AD 5); TAM V 1, 702 (AD 37, with Iulia Gordos); AE 2012, 1478 (early first century AD, with Iulia Gordos); TAM V 1, 703 (uncertain date, with Iulia Gordos); TAM V 2, 1095 (uncertain date, with Thyateira). In the late Republican and early Imperial periods, Lora seems to have been an autonomous *dēmos* without *polis*-status (Schuler 1998, 41–5); it may (but need not) have been linked to Gordos and/or Thyateira in a *sympoliteia* through some of this period. The place seems to have been granted *polis*-status by Vespasian. Testimonia and discussion in TAM V 1, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the Roberts were reliant on Habicht's original reading of the ethnic as Mo[. .]ῖται, corrected in I.Ephesos to Mo[. .]ῖται.

<sup>7</sup> Foss 1982, 178 n. 1. The small city of Tmolos (ethnic Τμωλεῖται), situated at Gökkaya, west of Sardeis, is mysteriously absent from the Flavian *conventus*-list (Habicht 1975, 77), but is otherwise well-attested in the early Imperial period (Tac. Ann. 2.47, with CIL 10.1624, Puteoli; ὁ δῆμος ὁ Τμωλειτῶν in I.Ephesos 241, c. AD 80). The town struck bronze coinage from the reign of Hadrian onwards (RPC III 2387–2389).

<sup>8</sup> The region between the İlke Çayı and Selendi Çayı rivers was attributed to the territory of Saittai by Peter Herrmann (TAM V 1, pp. 29 and 49–50), and to the territory of Silandos by Christian Naour (Naour 1981, 41–42; Naour 1983, 120; accepted by Herrmann and Malay 2007, p. 95). In fact, most of this region must have formed part of the large territory of Saittai in the high Imperial period, since we now know that the village of Tamasis, firmly located at Selmanhacılar (TAM V 1, 156), belonged to Saittai (Kolb 1990; SEG 40, 1063, no. 11).

<sup>9</sup> Herrmann and Malay 2007, pp. 95–96, no. 67 (SEG 57, 1219).

<sup>10</sup> Herrmann and Malay 2007, p. 96, no. 68 (SEG 57, 1220). It is not clear whether this inscription was set up by two villages acting in concert, οἱ κατ[οικοῦντ]ε[ς] ἐν Μορει καὶ Σαρ[. . c. 4–5 . .] (thus Herrmann and Malay), or whether the *katoikia* was by this point known as Μορεικαισαρ[εία] (dat.; thus S. Follet, AE 2007, 1358).

<sup>11</sup> TAM V 1, 166 (Encekler): the restoration οἱ ἐ[ν] Μορει] κατοικοῦντε[ς] fits the lacuna precisely.

I therefore propose to identify the late Republican/early Imperial *katoikia* of Μορεῖ (dat.; the nominative form is not known) with the community of the Μο[.]ῖται in the Flavian *conventus*-list, whose ethnic ought thus to be restored as Μο[ρε]ῖται. This gives a pleasing geographic logic, since the Μο[ρε]ῖται and their neighbours the Μο[.]ῖδοι are listed immediately after Saittai in the Ephesian *conventus*-list. I assume that the *Moreitai* were an autonomous *dēmos* without *polis*-status in the Flavian period, and were later incorporated into the territory of the *polis* of Saittai. We do not know exactly when Saittai received *polis*-status: the earliest firm evidence comes from the civic coinage of Saittai, which begins during the reign of Hadrian (see further below).<sup>12</sup>

## 2. An Italian Family at Saittai?

The earliest known coinage of the city of Saittai dates to the reign of Hadrian. The first datable issues of the city are two bronze issues of different denominations bearing portraits on the obverse of Hadrian and Sabina respectively, with reverse types depicting the goddess Roma (Hadrian) and Dionysos (Sabina).<sup>13</sup> The larger denomination (with portrait of Hadrian) was signed by the *archōn* Cl(audius) Machairion. Machairion is an exceptionally rare name, which seems otherwise only to be attested at nearby Maionia, in an inscription probably dating to the early first century AD.<sup>14</sup>

The mint-magistrate Claudius Machairion was also responsible for a pseudo-autonomous bronze issue, of an intermediate denomination between the issues with portraits of Hadrian and Sabina; these coins bear a bust of Zeus Patrios on the obverse, and a depiction of the most important local deity of Saittai, Meis Axiottenos, on the reverse.<sup>15</sup> This issue has traditionally been assigned to the Antonine period, and hence was not included in RPC III; however, it clearly ought to be associated with the two issues struck by Machairion under Hadrian.

The pseudo-autonomous bronze issue struck by Machairion is obverse-die-linked with another pseudo-autonomous issue of Saittai (with the same reverse type of Meis Axiottenos), this time signed by the *archōn* Octa(vius) Cimber.<sup>16</sup> A further two issues struck by Octavius Cimber are known, both pseudo-autonomous (Athena/Meis, Athena/Herakles).<sup>17</sup> Thanks to this die-link, all three of Cimber's issues (apparently all of the same denomination) can also be confidently assigned to the Hadrianic period.

This new attribution of the coins of the *archōn* Octavius Cimber to the Hadrianic period enables us to draw a possible prosopographic link with an epitaph from Saittai.<sup>18</sup> In AD 120/1, early in the reign of

<sup>12</sup> The earliest known public document of Saittai is TAM V 1, 705 (Gordos: posthumous honorific decree of ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαιτηνῶν, AD 57/8), but it is not certain that Saittai already possessed *polis*-status by this point.

<sup>13</sup> RPC III 2543 (only one specimen listed, 14.11g); 2544 (seven specimens, average weight 3.86g).

<sup>14</sup> TAM V 1, 544. C. Iulius Machairion, son of Machairion, *archiereus* and *stephanēphoros*, is one of the earliest individuals known to us from north-east Lydia to have gained Roman citizenship: for other C. Iulii in the middle Hermos region at this period, cf. C. Iulius C.f. Rufus (SEG 49, 1597, summer 36 BC [?]; honorific inscription set up by ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ζευγῶνος, near Maionia); C. Iulius C.f. Theodotos (TAM V 1, 688: *grammateus* of the *dēmos* at Gordos, second quarter of first century AD). The “Machairion” of Sparta (or Mantinea) who was said to have killed Epameinondas at the battle of Mantinea in 362 BC (Paus. 8.11.5) is probably a nickname (Plut. Ages. 35.1).

<sup>15</sup> RPC IV 1403 (five specimens, average weight 8.85g). For the cult of Meis Axiottenos at Saittai, see now Riel 2016.

<sup>16</sup> RPC IV 1404 (Zeus Patrios/Mēn: two specimens, average weight 10.24g).

<sup>17</sup> RPC IV 8487 (Athena/Mēn: two specimens, average weight 10.64g; illustrated by Riel 2016, 166 Fig. 7) and RPC IV 2816 (Athena/Herakles: one specimen, 10.55g).

<sup>18</sup> Bakır-Barthel and Müller 1979, 170–171 proposed to identify the mint-magistrate Octavius Cimber with the grandson of the Cimber (apparently not a Roman citizen) mentioned in TAM V 1, 112a (İcikler, AD 173/4), Αἰνεῖαν Κίμβροῦ ὄν; they therefore wished to date the coinage of Octavius Cimber to the 230s–240s AD, which is quite impossible. For the form Κίμβρος (= Lat. *Cimber*), Robert 1963, 228–230. Other Cimberi in Lydia: Filges 2006, 336–337, no. 28 (Blaundos, early first century AD), *M. Lollius Cimber* and family; Michel, Recueil 643 II 31

Hadrian, a certain Cimber erected a tombstone at Saittai (in company with his wife Agrippina) for his eleven-year-old *threptos* Synodos.<sup>19</sup> It is true that the Cimber named on this tombstone is not given the gentilician “Octavius”. However, there are some slight independent reasons for supposing that he might have been a member of the *gens Octavia*, or at least a member of the upper crust at Saittai. The tombstone for Synodos is of an unusually lavish character by the standards of tombstones from the middle Hermos region, with a fine relief depiction of the deceased in a recessed panel; the stone is particularly impressive by comparison with other tombstones for *threptoi*, which are typically relatively modest monuments.<sup>20</sup> The *stēlē* for Synodos is extremely similar in dimensions and style to another lavish tombstone from Saittai of exactly the same period (AD 108/9), erected by a certain Glauke for her husband, L. Octavius Glyptos.<sup>21</sup> It therefore seems at least possible that the Cimber attested as the sponsor of the tombstone of AD 120/1 is identical to the Hadrianic mint-magistrate Octavius Cimber, though it is hard to say why he might have chosen to omit his gentilician from his *threptos*’ tombstone.

We so far have two clearly attested Octavii at Saittai: L. Octavius Glyptos, who died in AD 108/9, and Octavius Cimber, whose *floruit* can now be placed under Hadrian. Four further Saittan Octavii are known to me:

1. Octavius Polykleitos (probably a freedman), commemorated by the Saittan association of *lanarii* (τὸ ὁμότεχνον τῶν λαναρίων) in AD 145/6.<sup>22</sup>
2. L. Octavius Pollio, owner of a slave by the name of Philetairos, who was commemorated by the Saittan association of builders (ἡ σύνδοδος τῶν τεκτόνων) in AD 165/6; it is likely enough that Pollio was directly or indirectly involved in the building trade.<sup>23</sup>
3. Octavia Ael(ia) Artemidora, who set up a tombstone for her foster-father (τὸν ἴδιον θρέψαντα) in AD 167/8.<sup>24</sup>
4. Oct(avius) Artemidoros, *prōtos archōn* and citizen of Philadelpheia, who struck several issues of bronze coins at Saittai under Commodus.<sup>25</sup>

As Bakır-Barthel and Müller already noted, it is likely enough that the Octavii of Saittai were originally Italian immigrants, as suggested by the names *Pollio* and *Cimber*.<sup>26</sup> I believe that this supposition can be strengthened. The two Saittan Octavii whose *praenomina* are known both carried the *praenomen* Lucius (L. Octavius Glyptos and L. Octavius Pollio). Octavii are reasonably well attested elsewhere in Lydia and western Asia Minor more generally, but L. Octavii are distinctly rare.<sup>27</sup> Apart from Saittai, the only

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(Stratonikeia on the Kaikos, first century BC), Κίμβρος Κίμβρου.

<sup>19</sup> TAM V 1, 103 (Ícikler): Κίμβρος καὶ Ἀγριππεῖνα. On *threptoi* and their commemoration in this region, see Riel 2009.

<sup>20</sup> In AD 199/200, a Saittan couple commemorated their 23-year-old *threptos* with a fairly modest *stēlē* (TAM V 1, 168a [SEG 28, 921]); three years later, in AD 202/3, the husband was commemorated with a far more lavish monument (SEG 39, 1280). Compare also TAM V 1, 475a (AD 234/5, for a *threptē*), and SEG 35, 1160 (AD 214/5, the same couple, for their son). But other lavish monuments for youthful *threptoi* are known: e.g. SEG 38, 1231 = SEG 38, 1921 (AD 214/5, for a 12-year-old *tethrammenē*).

<sup>21</sup> TAM V 1, 101 (Ícikler).

<sup>22</sup> TAM V 1, 85 (Ícikler).

<sup>23</sup> SEG 29, 1186 (Ícikler), with Bakır-Barthel and Müller 1979, 167–171.

<sup>24</sup> SEG 31, 1029 (probably Ícikler).

<sup>25</sup> Herrmann, TAM V 1, p.30; references in Bakır-Barthel and Müller 1979, 169 n.28.

<sup>26</sup> Bakır-Barthel and Müller 1979, 168. The concentration of Octavii at Saittai was already noted by Robert, OMS I 424 n.86.

<sup>27</sup> In Lydia: C. Octavius C.f. *Cornelia* (Blaundos: Filges 2006, 323–326, nos. 3–4, 6: under Vespasian); C. Octavius (Thyateira: TAM V 2, 1120); Octavius Artemidoros (Thyateira: coinage under Valerian and Gallienus, TAM V 2, p. 312).

other places in western Asia Minor that seem to have produced evidence for L. Octavii are Ephesos (four individuals), Herakleia under Salbake, and Hierokaisareia in Lydia.<sup>28</sup>

It is tempting to suppose that the L. Octavii of Saittai were ultimately descended from an Italian immigrant L. Octavius (or one of his freedmen) who had settled in Lydia at some date prior to the reign of Trajan. And there is, in fact, a highly plausible candidate. In one of Cicero's earliest extant letters to his brother Quintus, dating to autumn 59 BC, he discusses the case of a large private estate on the territory of Apollonis in northern Lydia, formerly owned by an Italian immigrant by the name of L. Octavius Naso.<sup>29</sup> There are other cases where we can be reasonably certain that landowners of the high Imperial period in inland Asia Minor were descendants (or freedmen) of Italian immigrants of the late Republican period: the best-known case is that of the Phrygian Sestullii, descendants of an Italian money-lending family active at Akmonia in the 60s BC.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Two Saittan epitaphs

We possess a distinctive group of sixty tombstones from the middle Hermos valley, erected for deceased individuals by corporate bodies – typically trade-guilds – to which the deceased belonged.<sup>31</sup> These “corporate” epitaphs take the same physical form as other tombstones from the middle Hermos region (tapered pedimental *stelai*, usually with a wreath above the inscription, either incised or in low relief), and have a highly standardized textual structure: (a) date of death (Year, Month, Day); (b) “honorific” formula with the name of the corporate body in the nominative, the verb ἐτέμνησεν, and the name of the deceased in the accusative; (c) the deceased's age at death. Virtually all surviving epitaphs of this type seem to derive from the city of Saittai and its immediate vicinity: two “corporate” epitaphs with alleged provenances from towns to the west and south-west of Saittai (Gordos, Satala) are probably *pierres errantes*.<sup>32</sup> These Saittan “corporate” epitaphs were erected over a period of a little less than a century, with the earliest text dating to AD 142/3, and the latest to AD 238/9.

In 1962, Peter Herrmann published a “corporate” epitaph of this type from the village of İcikler, just to the north of the site of Saittai, which reads as follows:<sup>33</sup>

	ἔτ(ους) σνβ', μη(νός) Περει-	Year 252 (=AD 167/8), 19
2	τίου θί', οί περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον	Peritios, the Dionysiak <i>podarioi</i> (honoured)
4	[πο]δάριοι Διονυ- [σ - - - - -]	Diony[sios?, son of - - -] [- - - - -]

<sup>28</sup> Ephesos: L. Octavius Macer (I.Ephesos 20 A32, AD 54–59); L. Octavius Rufus (I.Ephesos 20 A57, AD 54–59); L. Octavius Metrodorianos (LGPN V.A, s.v. Μητροδωριανός (2), mid-second century AD); L. Octavius Tryphon (I.Ephesos 1061.9, second century AD). Herakleia under Salbake: L. Octavius Bassos (LGPN V.B, s.v. Βάσσος (4), AD 142–185). Hierokaisareia: Octavia L.f. Venusta (TAM V 2, 1252: reign of Claudius).

<sup>29</sup> Cic. ad Q. fr. I.2 (SB 2), 10–11. For another Italian landowner at Apollonis in the same period, see Cic. Flacc. 51 and 70–80 (C. Appuleius Decianus). On Italian landownership in the Greek East in the late Republic, see now Eberle and LeQuéré (forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> Phrygian Sestullii: Cic. Flacc. 35 (cf. 84–89); Mitchell 1979; Badian 1980; Drew-Bear 1980, 179–82; Mitchell 1993, I 158; MAMA XI 142, with commentary. For another probable example of settled Italian landowners in Lydia, compare the Fufii of Philadelpheia: Christol and Drew-Bear 1995, with TAM V 3, 1692, 1695, 1768.

<sup>31</sup> For incomplete collections of this material, see Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 194–204 (trade-associations only); Harland 2014, 193–196. A full catalogue will be included in my forthcoming monograph on *Kinship and Society in Roman Lydia*.

<sup>32</sup> SEG 40, 1045 (alleged provenance Gordos); SEG 49, 1683 (alleged provenance Satala). But in defence of the latter provenance, note the existence of a trade-association very close to Satala, at the modern village of Yeşilova (TAM V 3, 1519, a *synbiōsis* of “carpet-fullers”, *psilagnaphoi*).

<sup>33</sup> Herrmann 1962, 16–17, no. 12; TAM V 1, 91.

Only the first five letters of the deceased's name are preserved (Διονυ-), but the name can confidently be restored as the ubiquitous Διονύ[σιον], since other theophoric names in Διονυσ- are virtually unknown in the middle Hermos region.<sup>34</sup> The character of the 'Dionysiac *podarioi*' is somewhat unclear, but they seem most likely to be percussionists who accompanied mime-performances.<sup>35</sup>

In 1982, Christian Naour published a further corporate epitaph, also from İcikler, which reads as follows:<sup>36</sup>

	ἔτους σνβ', μη(νός) Περει-	Year 252 (=AD 167/8), 19
2	τίου ιθ', Διονύσιο-	Peritios, the <i>plateia</i>
	ν Ἐπαφροδείτου	honoured Dionysios,
4	ἐτείμησεν ἡ πλατε-	son of Epaphrodeitos,
	ἰα ζή(σαντα) ἔτ(η) κε'.	who lived for 25 years.

The term *plateia* ("street, avenue") is attested in five further "corporate" epitaphs from Saittai, always with the name of a trade-association attached (cobblers, linen-workers); this is the only example of a tombstone erected by a *plateia* whose character is not further specified.<sup>37</sup> The term seems to have been used at Saittai to refer to a trade-association centred around a particular neighbourhood of the town.

The chief interest of these two epitaphs lies in the fact that the date at the head of both texts is identical: 19 Peritios, Year 252 of the Sullan era (AD 167/8). Of course, this could be no more than a coincidence. We have some 594 epitaphs from the middle Hermos region dated by year, month, and day, and it is statistically not surprising that a few pairs of individuals should have happened to die on the same day (even leaving aside the possibility of accidents or natural disasters that killed several people at once).<sup>38</sup> Indeed, I know of two other examples of pairs of epitaphs from the middle Hermos region which carry the same date: two epitaphs from Saittai, both erected on 3 Audnaios, AD 209/10 (one for a three-year-old boy, the other for a sixteen-year-old member of the guild of linen-workers), and two epitaphs erected at Silandos and at Hamit (west of Gordos), both erected on 26 Gorpiaios, AD 193/4.<sup>39</sup>

Nonetheless, the correspondence of date in our two epitaphs (both from the village of İcikler) is at least striking, and is rendered even more so by the near-certainty that in both epitaphs the deceased bore the same name, Διονύσιος. I would therefore like to suggest that these two epitaphs may in fact commemorate one and the same individual, Dionysios son of Epaphrodeitos, who died at the age of 25. This would, of course, be extremely unusual, and I know of no other precisely parallel case from any part of

<sup>34</sup> LGPN V.A lists 50 examples of the name Διονύσιος from the middle Hermos region, including six from Saittai, and only single examples of the names Διονυσᾶς (Silandos: SEG 31, 1049) and Διονυσιόδωρος (Maionia: TAM V 1, 517).

<sup>35</sup> Another association of *podarioi* at Saittai is attested in TAM V 1, 92 (168/9: ἡ σύνοδος τῶν νέων ποδαρίων); for the character of these associations, see Herrmann 1962, 16–17; BE 1963, 234; Petzl 2005, 29–30. Other musical associations at Saittai: SEG 49, 1683 (Satala, AD 170/1, ἡ σύνοδος τῶν μουσικῶν); SEG 55, 1311 (uncertain provenance, AD 238/9, ὁ θίασος τῶν μουσικῶν).

<sup>36</sup> Naour 1983, 134, no. 19 (SEG 33, 1018).

<sup>37</sup> ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων: TAM V 1, 79 (İcikler, AD 152/3); TAM V 1, 80 (Çayköy, AD 153/4); TAM V 1, 146 (Üşümiş, AD 166/7); TAM V 1, 81 (İcikler, AD 173/4). ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν λεινουργῶν: SEG 31, 1026 (uncertain provenance, AD 162/3). On the term πλατεῖα, see Robert 1937, 532–8; Naour 1983, 134; Zimmermann 2002, 34–37; Pont 2013, 130–138; Harland 2014: 159–166 (trade-guilds associated with particular streets).

<sup>38</sup> Number of dated epitaphs: Thonemann 2015, 132. As I shall argue in detail elsewhere, it is certain that the dates on tombstones from the middle Hermos region record the date of death, rather than (e.g.) the date at which the tombstone was erected: cf. e.g. TAM V 1, 289 (Kula), ἔτους τα', μη(νός) Ἀπελλαίου Ἀσκληπιάδης τελευτᾶ ἡγ', ἔτων ις' (Asklepiades dies on 13 Apellaios, aged 16). Cf. Robert 1948, 102.

<sup>39</sup> 3 Audnaios, AD 209/10: TAM V 1, 135 and SEG 49, 1670. 26 Gorpiaios, AD 193/4: TAM V 1, 64 (Silandos) and TAM V 1, 798 (Hamit).

the Greek-speaking world.

Within Roman Lydia, the closest analogy that I know of – and it is not a very close analogy – derives from Sardeis, where a certain Apollophanes constructed a familial tomb for his deceased wife Antonia, for himself, and for other individuals specified in his will. The chief funerary inscription was inscribed on the front face of the tomb itself (probably a monumental sarcophagus): “Apollophanes son of Apollophanes, of the tribe Asias, constructed the memorial (τὸ μνημῖον κατεσκεύασεν) while still living for himself and for his deceased wife Antonia, daughter of Diognetos,” etc. Alongside this tomb-structure, Apollophanes also set up a pedimental *stēlē* depicting his wife in low relief, with the simple inscription “Apollophanes son of Apollophanes, of the tribe Asias, honoured her (ἐτέιμησεν)”. But this case is of course very different from the putative two tombstones of Dionysios of Saittai, since the two “epitaphs” of Antonia are of such different form and function.<sup>40</sup>

If the two epitaphs discussed here do indeed pertain to the same individual, then the explanation may perhaps lie in their character as “corporate” rather than private, familial epitaphs. The Saittan epitaphs set up by trade-associations and other corporate groups almost certainly reflect the existence of co-operative burial-clubs at Saittai.<sup>41</sup> Burial-clubs connected with trade-associations are attested elsewhere in Roman Asia Minor, notably in the (very laconic) regulations of a burial-club of flax-workers at Smyrna.<sup>42</sup> Poorer men at Saittai, who were not confident that their family would be able to afford a funerary *stēlē*, subscribed to a burial-club linked to their trade-guild or other voluntary association, in order to be certain that they would receive proper burial. Unlike elsewhere in the Roman world, it appears that members of these Saittan burial-clubs were not buried in collective tombs (such as the *columbaria* of the city of Rome), but were interred individually, each with their own distinct, quasi-honorific grave *stēlē*, in good Lydian fashion. It is at least conceivable that Dionysios of Saittai belonged to two such associations, a neighbourhood trade-association of some kind (the *plateia* of SEG 33, 1018) and a guild of Dionysiac *podarioi* (TAM V 1, 91), and hence his tomb was marked with two separate funerary *stēlai*, one erected at the expense of each association. But in the absence of clear parallels, this can be no more than speculation.

#### Abbreviated Literature

AE	Année épigraphique.
Badian 1980	E. Badian, A fundus at Fundi, <i>AJPh</i> 101, 1980, 470–482.
Bakır-Barthel – Müller 1979	S. Bakır-Barthel – H. Müller, <i>Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittai</i> (II), <i>ZPE</i> 36, 1979, 163–194.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, annually in <i>REG</i> .
Christol – Drew-Bear 1995	M. Christol – Th. Drew-Bear, Une famille d’Italiens en Lydie, <i>ADerg</i> 3, 1995, 117–132.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Dittmann-Schöne 2001	I. Dittmann-Schöne, <i>Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien</i> , Regensburg 2001.
Drew-Bear 1980	Th. Drew-Bear, <i>Recherches épigraphiques et philologiques</i> , <i>REA</i> 82, 1980, 155–182.
Eberle – LeQuéré	L. Eberle – É. LeQuéré, <i>Landed Traders, Trading Agriculturalists? Land in the Economy of the Italian Diaspora in the Greek East</i> , <i>JRS</i> forthcoming.
Filges 2006	A. Filges, <i>Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet</i> , Tübingen 2006.
Foss 1982	C. Foss, <i>A neighbour of Sardis: the city of Tmolus and its successors</i> , <i>Clas-</i>

<sup>40</sup> Herrmann 1959, 7–8; SEG 19, 713 and 714; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–1979, I 428 (second or third century AD).

<sup>41</sup> van Nijf 1997, 31–69; on Saittai in particular, Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 83–85.

<sup>42</sup> I.Smyrna 218; Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 164.

- sical Antiquity 1/2, 1982, 178–205; reprinted in *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot, 1990), X.
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- LGPN A *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.
- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*.
- Michel, Recueil Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels 1900.
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- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
- TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris.
- Thonemann 2011 P. Thonemann, Eumenes II and Apollonioucharax, *Gephyra* 8, 2011, 19–30.
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### Özet

#### Lydia Kenti Saittai Üzerine Üç Not

Yazar, Lydia'daki Saittai kentinin tarihi ve epigrafisi hakkında üç not sunmaktadır. İlk olarak, Flavius dönemi Ephesos conventus listesinde belgelenen Sardeis conventus'undaki küçük bir topluluğun, yazıtlarda \*Morei (dativus halinde) olarak geçen bir köy ile özdeşleştirilmesi önerilmektedir. Yazar daha sonra Saittai'da Octavius soy ismi taşıyan şahısların geçtiği belgeleri toplamakta ve onların İ.Ö. 60'lı yıllarda Lidya'ya göç ettiği bilinen İtalyan bir ailenin soyundan geldiğini önermektedir. Son olarak makalede Saittai'da ikinci yüzyıla tarihli iki mezar yazıtının aynı kişi, yani Epaphrodeitos oğlu Dionysios için dikilmiş ikiz mezar taşları olarak düşünülmesi gerektiği önerilmektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Lydia; Saittai; Moreitai; Epigrafi; Prosopografi; Mezar Yazıtları.