

## A New Inscribed Assos Sarcophagus from Alexandria Troas and the *Collegium* of Shipwrights

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In October 2017, the inscribed sarcophagus discussed below was transferred to the former Çanakkale Archaeological Museum from the garden of a house in Kemallı, a village close to the ancient site of Alexandria Troas, where it was used for a long time as a water trough.<sup>1</sup> This is not an unusual find from Kemallı. Several other inscribed artefacts, mostly funerary inscriptions, that had been moved from Alexandria Troas to the village are documented in the epigraphic corpus of the ancient city of Alexandria Troas.<sup>2</sup>

The inscribed sarcophagus is a typical half-fabricated example from Assos, the production of which began in the late second century AD (Figs. 1-3).<sup>3</sup> Made of andesite, the most characteristic features that embellish Assos sarcophagi are a large panel positioned at the centre of the façade as well as two thin, smooth garlands with hanging pendants on either side of it. The façade is limited to a roughly outlined *bucranium* on the left and right sides. A disk adorns the semi-circular space above the garlands. The short sides of the sarcophagus are occupied by a garland with a pendant, and, above it, a disk is depicted. The long back side of the sarcophagus has the same decorative order as the façade, with the exception of the central panel. Similar examples are not uncommon. One long side of the sarcophagus bears the decoration designated as “Form I” by Ward-Perkins in his drawings, while “Form II” adorns the other side, as it does on the sarcophagus introduced in this paper.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the standard form of *tabula ansata* on Assos sarcophagi, which can be classified as a diverse group, the unusual form of these central panels on

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<sup>1</sup> On the short sides of our sarcophagus, there are holes which have most likely been punctured in the recent past to drain water from the vessel. An image of the back of this sarcophagus was previously been published in Arslan 2018 (515, fig. 21).

We would like to thank the Directorate of the new Çanakkale Troia Museum for their kind permission to publish this inscribed sarcophagus, Osman Çapalov for sharing his photos of the sarcophagus with us, and Christopher S. Lightfoot for reading the manuscript of this paper and sharing his views with us. Also, our thanks go to the anonymous peer-reviewers for their helpful additions and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> For list of funerary inscriptions found at Kemallı, see Özhan – Yaman 2019, 114 fn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On the reputation of Assos sarcophagi, also known as *lapis sarcophagus*, see Plin. *nat.* 2.97 (211); 36.27 (131). On the Assos sarcophagus, generally, see Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 515-519; Koch 1993, 171-173; Freydank 2000, 77-90; Arslan 2018.

<sup>4</sup> For drawings of these “forms”, see Dodge – Ward-Perkins 1992, 141 fig. 133.

Assos sarcophagi is intriguing. From a functional point of view, it is reasonable to describe this panel as a *tabula*.<sup>5</sup> The large plain surface sometimes bears an inscription, but inscribed instances are small in number.<sup>6</sup> When examined in terms of the shape of the panel, on the other hand, it can be suggested that the panel of “Form I” is a schematic representation of a funerary altar in a round or rectangular shape. Placed on the upper left and right sides of the flat-topped shaft, outwardly bulging components to which a garland is attached give the impression that it was the silhouetted profile of *bucrania*, while protrusions joined to the lower body form the base moulding (Fig. 2). Again, a funerary altar seems to have served as the model in the outline design of the panel of the “Form II”. Unlike the former one, in this instance the *bucrania* were replaced by two short projecting quadrangles which probably represent a simple upper cornice (Fig. 1). It may be that the purpose of such symbolic representation on Assos sarcophagi refers back to an earlier practice indicating the use of a funerary altar together with the sarcophagus at Assos. Excavations in the western necropolis of the city by a team of Turkish and German archaeologists between 1989 and 1994 revealed that a grave stone (*grabstein*) inscribed with the name of the deceased was placed above a sarcophagus. This was a funerary practice observed from the mid-fifth century BC to the first half of the second century BC.<sup>7</sup> J. Freydank argues that the smooth top surface of these blocks may have been used for offerings to the deceased in addition to its main function of marking the location of the sarcophagus by bearing the name of the deceased.<sup>8</sup>

It is difficult to trace whether there was a similar practice in Roman times because of the lack of a comprehensive study of Roman funerary practices in the Assos necropolis. Nevertheless, a few finds from the necropolis suggest that there may have been a connection between sarcophagus and funerary altar in the Roman imperial period at Assos.<sup>9</sup> One example, considering the shape of the stone, is a cubic block decorated with *geisipodes*, possibly dating to the first century AD, bearing a posthumous honorary inscription for Heliophon, son of Zopyros, which would have served as a sarcophagus marker as well as funerary altar.<sup>10</sup> Again in Assos, a few examples where a funerary altar was erected along with a sarcophagus were discovered during the first excavations conducted by J. T. Clarke and F. H. Bacon on behalf of the Archaeological Institute of

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<sup>5</sup> For works defining this panel as a *tabula* or *tabula ansata*, see Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 518; Koch 1993, 172; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 285-288 nos. As 1-7 with plates 96-99; Nigdelis 2015, 227-229, no. 6, plate 46; Arslan 2018, 492; Özhan 2018, 52-53 nos. 4, 5.

<sup>6</sup> To our knowledge, instances with inscriptions that are coeval with the sarcophagus itself on the schematic funerary altars of Assos sarcophagi are as follows: Nikopolis: Papangeli 1984, 44-51 (cf. Dodge – Ward-Perkins 1992, 58 fig. 48; Zachos 2015, 160); Ravenna: Dodge – Ward-Perkins 1992, 142-143, fig. 47 and 109; Thessaloniki: Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 285-288 nos. As 3-7 with plates 98-99; Nigdelis 2015, 227-229, no. 6, plate 46. We know of only two inscribed instances from Assos, see Özhan 2018, 52-53 nos. 4-5. However, the inscriptions on the schematic altars from Assos apparently belong to a later date, i.e. Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period. They may have been engraved during secondary use of the sarcophagi.

<sup>7</sup> Freydank 2000, 127-137 with several references to earlier excavation reports.

<sup>8</sup> Freydank 2000, 136.

<sup>9</sup> Referring to Naour 1980, 119 (non vidimus), Coulton (2005, 132) states that the practice of erecting a funerary altar beside a sarcophagus can be found in Tyriaion and Balboura.

<sup>10</sup> Özhan 2017 (BE 2018 368).

America. Their report indicates that altars bearing an altar representation with two snakes feeding on it were commonly used in the necropolis in this period.<sup>11</sup> One of these rectangular altars depicting snakes was apparently associated with a garland sarcophagus placed on a high monumental platform. Found lying on the pavement, this funerary altar was once positioned on the lower level of the platform in order to be visible in the centre of the garland sarcophagus.<sup>12</sup> The excavators pointed out that this altar was attached to the platform at a later date. Even so, the case may be that perhaps a new authorized burial was made in the sarcophagus at a later date and this funerary altar was erected in the name of the deceased. Another rectangular funerary altar decorated with snakes associated with a group of sarcophagi was found in the western necropolis, placed on the podium of a vaulted chamber that housed three sarcophagi.<sup>13</sup> This practice may have been abandoned for some reason, perhaps owing to its expense or the lack of space to erect more monumental elements, especially funerary altars, in the western necropolis, and a new hybrid style may have arisen in the late second century AD in which schematic altar forms were engraved on the sarcophagus itself. In this case, the symbolic altar on the sarcophagus was completely nonfunctional and solely honoured the memory of the deceased while imitating an earlier funerary practice at Assos.<sup>14</sup>

Interestingly, outside its main production centre, the Assos sarcophagus has rarely been found in other cities of the Troad or its immediate region.<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding its scarcity in the Troad, several are known from coastal cities in different parts of the Greco-Roman world; for example, in the eastern Mediterranean at Thessaloniki in Macedonia, Alexandria in Egypt and Tyre in Syria, as well as Ravenna in Italy.<sup>16</sup> The wide distribution of Assos sarcophagi in trade with overseas territories could be due to demand as a result of its peculiar reputation as consuming the flesh of the body buried in it.<sup>17</sup> Another possible explanation is its cost, which may have been relatively lower than other known products on the market. This could have made it more affordable and accordingly, more attractive to the purchaser.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Clarke et al. 1902, 261, 289.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke et al. 1902, 260-261 no. 16 with figs. 1-2; 263 figs. 1-2, 271 fig. 1, 265, 267 (drawings).

<sup>13</sup> Clarke et al. 1902, 282-287 with figures and 271 with fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> On the symbolic use of altars, see Coulton 2005, 129-130.

<sup>15</sup> A sarcophagus lid made of Assos (?) stone found at Nara Burnu (Abydos) is in Çanakkale Troia Museum (Inventory No: 7498). For other sarcophagi of Assos stone, see Tenedos: Tavukçu et al. 2004, 69, fig. 4 from Tenedos (without decoration); Kumkale: Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 517; Imbros: Ruhl 2018, 221-225 F 155-F 160; Bakırköy near Gelibolu: Koçel-Erdem 2015, 446, fig. 3, who erroneously identified the sarcophagus as a product of Proconnesos.

<sup>16</sup> For a map showing the distribution of Assos sarcophagi, see Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 517 fig. 21. See also Dodge – Ward-Perkins 1992, 60 and 141-143 fig. 50; Koch 1993, 172; Arslan 2018, 498. For archaeometric studies on Assos sarcophagi, see Lazzarini 1994; Lazzarini – Visona 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Dodge – Ward-Perkins 1992, 35, 80, 119.

<sup>18</sup> Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010, 155.



lon and a small surviving part of the left stroke of its V shape at the top are visible. The following letter should be a *rho*, but it was badly damaged and there is no specific mark on the stone indicating that it is a *rho*. The lowest verticals of an *eta* and following this letter the inclining strokes of a *lambda* are all visible, but faint. Only a small part of the *iota* can be seen. The verticals of an *omega* with its inwardly slanting strokes are in comparatively good condition. As well as the collocation of two individuals bearing the same double *nomina*, taking into account the frequency of the phrase καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου in sarcophagus inscriptions from Alexandria Troas, we prefer to use [ - - - καὶ τοῖς τέκν]οις μου as the restoration in the transcription. At the end of this line, a *cognomen* in the dative follows the *nomina* but it is difficult to propose a name to restore it since in this part of the inscription only two separately standing letters can be seen, i.e., respectively, a *lambda* or an *alpha* and a *delta*, otherwise it is illegible. || 2 ΑΥΡΛΙΩ *lapis* || 3 When compared with other *ny* letters e.g. in the second line, the form of the initial and the last *ny* in the word NEKPON are unusual. It is likely that the mason erroneously engraved both *ny* as *my* then converted them into *ny* by elongating the oblique stroke (Figure 5) || 3-4 ΙΕΡΟΓΑΤΩ *lapis* || 4 ΝΔΥΠΗΓΩΝ *lapis*. Note that the form of the initial ligatured *ny* is not conventional as it has a vertical right stroke slightly leaning to the right. The ligature of *ny* with *ny* is uncommon, e.g. see the example in I.Leukopetra 30 with a photograph on p. 297. *Alpha* following *ny* was erroneously engraved as *delta*.

Translation: “[ - - - and] for my children Sulpicius Aurelius [*cognomen*] and Sulpicius Aur<e>lius Smintheus. If anyone opens (the sarcophagus) and places another body (in it), he will give 500 denarii to the most sacred collegium of shipwrights.”

Probably partially engraved on the rim of the missing lid, the beginning of the inscription should have borne a formulaic sentence including the name of the owner of the sarcophagus as well as a verb indicating its erection.<sup>20</sup>

Bearing a double *nomina* is a case that could occur on several occasions. For example, a slave would receive the *nomen* of two patrons after manumission or an adopted individual would append the *nomen* of the adoptive person to his own *nomen*, or, as is frequently attested, a maternal *nomen* could collocate with the paternal one.<sup>21</sup> Another explanation that fits our example is that Aurelius may have been incorporated into the nomenclature as a second *nomen* with the declaration of *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212.<sup>22</sup> The lack of parental nomenclatures in the inscription, however, does not allow us to state more than possibilities in our case. This is the first epigraphic record of the *nomen* Sulpicius in Alexandria Troas and no other individual bearing this *nomen* is known in the Troad. From immediate surroundings, one Σολπίκιος is found on a very fragmentary inscription from the island of Imbros, listing *mystai eusebeis*.<sup>23</sup> In this instance, however, it is not clear whether it was used as a personal name or *nomen gentilicium*. In

<sup>20</sup> To designate erecting a sarcophagus, τίθημι is the most common verb used in the sarcophagus inscriptions of Alexandria Troas, see I.Alexandria Troas 83, 84, 85, 94, 97, 98, 101, 102, 109, 111A, 129; cf. Riel 2000, 130.

<sup>21</sup> Salomies 1992, 61-63.

<sup>22</sup> Salomies 1992, 62.

<sup>23</sup> IG XII 8, 89. Cf. Cargill 1995, 395 no. 1165; Ruhl 2018, 235 F 186. For Σολπίκιος (Solpicius) instead of Σουλπίκιος (Sulpicius), cf. Solin – Salomies 1994, 173.

the neighbouring region of Mysia at Kyzikos, we encounter the name Lucius Sulpicius Apelles in an inscription recording prytanis-lists, dated to the reign of Hadrian.<sup>24</sup> In Mysia, again, an alleged restoration of the *nomen* Sulpicius appears in a bilingual honorary inscription from Miletoupolis for Asper, son of Publicius, after the restoration of Domaszewski who, considering the rarity of the *cognomen* Asper, associated this Asper with a certain Sulpicius Asper, who was one of the participants in the conspiracy against Nero.<sup>25</sup> However, this addition has not been accepted generally.<sup>26</sup> Apart from above examples, this *nomen* is attested in the epigraphic inventory of various cities in Asia Minor, especially in the region of Ionia.<sup>27</sup>

Used as a *cognomen* of Sulpicius Aurelius in our inscription, Smintheus was the epithet of Apollo who was worshipped at Smintheion, an important oracle in the Troad that was attached to Alexandria Troas in the Hellenistic period.<sup>28</sup> Another Smintheus documented in a very fragmentary inscription from Smintheion must have been used as a *cognomen* as well.<sup>29</sup> It seems that with the influence of the cult, Smintheus became a popular name in the Troad and its vicinity.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, this name and its related derivatives are not restricted to this geography. The earliest example of Smintheus is known in the account of Enalos the Aeolian, told by Myrsilos of Lesbos, who fell in love with the daughter of Smintheus, one of the settlers on Lesbos, accompanying Euchelaos.<sup>31</sup> In Lesbos again, a round altar of the Roman Imperial period which was discovered at Pyrgi near Mytilene records a dedication to Dionysos by an individual named Smintheus (Σμινθεύς).<sup>32</sup> Another Smintheus bearing the *nomen* Aurelius is found in an Ephebic catalogue from Attica, dated to between AD 237/8 and 243/4.<sup>33</sup> Further epigraphically attested derivatives are Σμινθία at Kyzikos in Mysia, Σμίνθιος (?) at Mylasa in Caria, and Σμίνθις at Meg-

<sup>24</sup> Mordtmann 1881, 43 no. 2 (cf. IMT no. 1461).

<sup>25</sup> AE 1907 181; Domaszewski 1908, 7 (AE 1908 130); ILS III 9108; I.Miletoupolis 26; Kearsley 2001, 82 no. 111.

<sup>26</sup> For example, see I.Miletoupolis 26, the editor of which found it more acceptable to associate this Asper with that mentioned in I.Miletoupolis 25, who was honoured by the *demos* and the council of the ancient city of Miletoupolis.

<sup>27</sup> Ionia: I.Ephesos 1489, 1616; Knibbe 1981-1982, 147 no. 164; Engelmann – Knibbe 1989, 27 line 103; I.Smyrna 600, 705 (Σολπικίος), 731, 732; Milet VI 2 635; Bithynia: I.Apameia und Pylai 41; Caria: I.Knidus 77, 89, 90 467 (?); I.Stratonikeia 705; Reynolds 1982, 47; Galatia: Avcu 2016, 116-117 nos. 1-3; Lycia: IGR III 500 col. III ll. 6-7, 8, 10, 12; Lydia: Malay 1999, 146 (Σουλφίκιος) (SEG 49 1684); I.Sardis 45 (?); TAM V 1 653; Phrygia: MAMA IV 143.

<sup>28</sup> On the incorporation of the ancient city of Hamaxitos as well as the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus into the territory of Alexandria Troas, see Bresson 2007, esp. 156. On the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus, in general, see Cook 1973, 228-231; Özgünel 2012 and 2015.

<sup>29</sup> Özgünel – Kaplan 2009, 425 (SEG 59 1415).

<sup>30</sup> Sittig 1911, 47.

<sup>31</sup> FGrH 477 F 14 (cf. LGPN I s.v.).

<sup>32</sup> IG XII 2, 124 (cf. LGPN I s.v.).

<sup>33</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 2239 line 242 (cf. LGPN II s.v.).

ale polis in Arcadia, on Thasos and at Lindos on Rhodes where, also, according to Strabo (XIII.1.48), a place called Sminthia exists.<sup>34</sup>

Ναυπηγός (*naupegus* in Latinized form) refers to a shipwright.<sup>35</sup> In Asia Minor, the principal medium by which shipwrights found the opportunity to make themselves visible to the public was funerary inscriptions. A Hellenistic epitaph in Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the original find-place of which is unknown but probably originated from Byzantion, records the memory of a shipwright named Philippos, son of Zopyros.<sup>36</sup> In addition, a fragmentary epitaph at Miletos attests to an anonymous shipwright.<sup>37</sup> Two shipwrights named Ioannes and Pankratos, are known from a sarcophagus inscription at Korykos in Cilicia.<sup>38</sup> Another shipwright from Korykos was Konon.<sup>39</sup> One prominent instance of a *naupegos* is attested in a Latin inscription from Ephesos, dating to the Roman Imperial period, which informs us about Flavius Apollinarius, who was not just an ordinary *naupegus* but an expert at caulking in the *classis Syriaca*, i.e. *naupegus aupiciarius* (= *oppiciarius*).<sup>40</sup> Additionally, examples of *naupegoi* are also known in other parts of the Greco-Roman world. For example, in an epitaph from Pantikapaion belonging to the early imperial period, we encounter a *naupegos* named Sisas.<sup>41</sup> From the island of Cos, an attestation to *naupegos* comes from a fragmentary inscription dated to the third century AD, by which we are informed that a nonmilitary fleet and shipwrights (*naupegoi*) were the responsibility of an anonymous man bearing the title *monarchos* (μοναρχήσας).<sup>42</sup> The possibility that the shipwrights working on the island of Cos may have constituted a professional association is implied by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof.<sup>43</sup> Another example of *naupegos* is found in the edict of Diocletian issued in AD 301, in which the daily wage of *naupegos* was determined according to their branch: 60 *denarii* for *naupegos* working on seagoing vessels and 50 *denarii* for *naupegos* working on river vessels.<sup>44</sup> Unlike all these instances listed above, however, the Alexandria Troas inscription is the first epigraphic evidence of a professional association of shipwrights in Alexandria Troas and Asia Minor in general. The Latin counterpart of τὸ κολλήγιον τῶν ναυπηγῶν is *corpus fabrum navalium*, the presence of which is epigraphically found at important harbour cities, as in the case of Portus, Ostia, Pisae, Arelate and Ravenna in the Roman west.<sup>45</sup> Of these, especially the inscriptions concerning the associations of shipwrights at Ostia and Portus, i.e. *cor-*

<sup>34</sup> Σμινθία: Lolling 1884, 28 no. 1 (cf. IMT no. 1833) (cf. LGPN VA s.v.); Σμίνθιος: I.Mylasa 475 (cf. LGPN VA s.v.); Σμίνθις: LGPN I and IIIA s.v.

<sup>35</sup> On the term ναυπηγός, see e.g. Blümner 1879, 317; Vélissaropoulos 1980, 65-67; LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. Also, see I.Byzantion 378, which is very informative.

<sup>36</sup> I.Byzantion 378.

<sup>37</sup> Milet VI 2 660.

<sup>38</sup> MAMA III 502.

<sup>39</sup> MAMA III 535.

<sup>40</sup> I.Ephesos 668.

<sup>41</sup> CIRB 513.

<sup>42</sup> Paton – Hicks 1891, 129. Cf. Bosnakis – Halloff 2008, 240-241 (SEG 58 864).

<sup>43</sup> Bosnakis – Halloff 2008, 241 fn. 52.

<sup>44</sup> IG VII 3064 col. II 18 and 20.

<sup>45</sup> Liebenam 1890, 97-98.

*pus fabrum navalium Ostiensium* and *corpus fabrum navalium Portensium*, provide us with sufficient information about these associations.<sup>46</sup>

D. Rohde highlights the fact that the active role of the *corpus fabrum navalium* at Ostia in the economy of the harbour city undeniably rendered the association conspicuous in society.<sup>47</sup> Although we are not informed about the reputation of the association of shipwrights attested in the harbour cities mentioned above, it is manifest that these associations would have been significantly involved in the local economy. It is likely that the size of their contribution was partly related to the density of maritime traffic using the harbour. S. Feuser argues that the harbour of Alexandria Troas, although medium-sized and not as large as the harbours of Ephesus and Portus, was a notable stop for vessels travelling between the Aegean and Black Sea and *vice versa*, but especially for those who were hindered from sailing by the prevailing northerly wind.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, the heavy traffic in the harbour may have brought potential customers to the *collegium* which, as well as fulfilling the requirements of local ship construction, would also have served visiting ships in need of repair.<sup>49</sup> C. Bayburtluoğlu points out that the harbour of Alexandria Troas offered enough space for the shelter of ships and also for their construction.<sup>50</sup> However, there is no archaeological evidence actually pointing to the presence of a shipyard at Alexandria Troas.<sup>51</sup> Despite this deficiency, the narrative of the miracle performed by Bishop Silvanus, told by Socrates Scholasticus, confirms that in the early fifth century AD cargo ships big enough to transport large granite columns were built on the coast of the ancient city of Alexandria Troas (ἐν τῷ τῆς Τρωάδος αἰγιαλῷ).<sup>52</sup> The current inscription now provides strong evidence for the presence of a shipyard in or nearby the city in the third century AD. The inscription indicates that the shipwrights at Alexandria Troas labelled their *collegium* with the superlative ἱερώτατος (the most sacred). As is epigraphically attested, in Asia Minor, several associations from different fields bore the epithet ἱερώτατος or σεμνότατος, which was the expression of the association's prestige in society.<sup>53</sup> Apart from the *collegium* of shipwrights, no other

<sup>46</sup> Waltzing 1896, 77-78. On the association at Ostia, see Rohde 2012, 138-144, who gives a full list of the relevant inscriptions of the *corpus fabrum navalium Ostiensium* and *corpus fabrum navalium Portensium* on p. 138 fn. 340.

<sup>47</sup> Rohde 2012, 139.

<sup>48</sup> Feuser 2009, 128-129; Feuser 2011, 271.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Rohde 2012, 138.

<sup>50</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 1976, 39 s.v. Alexandria Troas.

<sup>51</sup> In his brief writing on shipyards, Vitruvius (V.12.7) advises that the façade of shipyards should not be constructed facing south in order to prevent rot and damage from various pests.

<sup>52</sup> Sokr. VII.37. Cf. I.Alexandria Troas p. 234-235. The timber for shipbuilding and components needing repair may have been obtained from the heavily-forested slopes of Mount Ida nearby, which was the main timber supplier for the region from early times; cf. Ellis-Evans 2019, 79-81.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 16; Harland 2014, 440. For the associations bearing these epithets, see e.g. I.Kyzikos 211: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν γναφέων; I.Kyzikos 260: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν ἀλιέων; I.Kyzikos 291: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν σακκωφόρων λυμενείτων; I.Ephesos 943: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν νεοποίων καὶ χρυσοφόρων; I.Ephesos 1075: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν Κουρήτων ἱεροκηρύκων; I.Ephesos 1577a: τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τοῦ μισθωτηρίου; Knibbe et al. 1984, 121-122 (Ephesos) (SEG 1103): τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν νεοποίων κτλ.; Milet VI 2 939: τὸ σεμνότατον συνέδριον



known professional association at Alexandria Troas used this epithet, implying that the *collegium* of shipwrights had a superior reputation in the city in the third century AD. This was probably as a result of services rendered to foreign trading vessels anchoring in the harbour rather than meeting local demands and, accordingly, its significant involvement in the local economy.

It is not surprising, in fact, to see the occurrence of a Greek rendering of the Latin *collegium* in an inscription from a Roman colony, in our case *Colonia Augusta Troadensis*, or Romanized area.<sup>54</sup> The loan of the term *collegium* in Greek is occasionally found in the inscriptions of Asia Minor.<sup>55</sup>

The anonymous owner of the sarcophagus in question in this paper may have been associated with the *collegium* of shipwrights, presumably as a *naupegos* himself.<sup>56</sup> Designating an association or, in some cases, more than one association as the recipient of a fine in the event of violation of a grave or sarcophagus was a very common practice in Asia Minor. As attested in our inscription, the case is no different in Alexandria Troas. In the ancient city of Alexandria Troas, by means of sarcophagus inscriptions from the site, we also know that the guild of porters in the *emporion*, the guild of harbour-porters (?) and the club of coppersmiths (?) were mentioned as fine-receivers.<sup>57</sup> In all these cases, the association was the sole authority granted to receive a monetary fine by the owner of the sarcophagus, except for the instance in I.Alexandria Troas 153

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τῶν λινοῦργῶν; Milet VI 3 1368: τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ σεμνότατον συνέργιον [ - - - - 16-17 - - - σακκοφ?]όρων Ἐρμαῖστῶν; I.Hierapolis 40: ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν; I.Hierapolis 41, 42: ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν πορφυραβάφων; I.Kibyra 63: ἡ σεμνοτάτη συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυσσέων etc.

<sup>54</sup> See Poland 1909, 155; Mason 1974, 5, 61. For the dominant Latin character of Alexandria Troas, see I.Alexandria Troas p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Clerc 1885, 127-128 Face B (cf. Nysa 2) (Nysa); I.Ephesos 4117 (Ephesos); TAM V 1 71 (Thermae Theseos); Bosch 1967, 188 no. 149 (Galatia); Laminger-Pascher 1992, 73 no. 69 (Lycaonia); *Studia Pontica* III 29 (Therma Phazimoniton). For instances from Macedonia, see SEG 39 597 (Kassandraia); Robinson 1938, 61 no. 15 (Kassandraia); SEG 47 954 (Stobi).

<sup>56</sup> In general, sarcophagus inscriptions in Asia Minor bearing a fine which was to be paid to professional association(s) are silent about the profession of the owner of the sarcophagus and the affiliation between the owner and the designated association. The only relevant instance from Asia Minor we were able to find is I.Ephesos 2212 in which both the profession of the grave's owner was recorded and a pertinent association was designated as the fine receiver. The owner of the sarcophagus was Marcus Antonius Hermeias who was a silversmith (*argyrokopos*) and a temple-warden (*neopoios*). He indicated a fine of 1000 *denarii* to be paid to the silversmiths at Ephesos (τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀργυροκόποις) in the case of violation of his sarcophagus. Moreover, he entrusted the care of his grave to the same *synedrion*. In another funerary inscription from Ephesos (I.Ephesos 3216), although there is no mention of a designated fine receiver, we are informed that the owner of the sarcophagus Pompeius Euprosdektos, who was a grain-measurer (*pro-metres*), relied upon the grain-measurers at Ephesos to control the fulfillment of the responsibilities for the commemoration rituals. On the funeral activities of professional associations, in general, see van Nijf 1997, 31-69, esp. 55-60; Dittmann-Schöne 2001, esp. 85-91.

<sup>57</sup> The guild of porters in the *emporion*: I.Alexandria Troas 151, 152; the guild of harbour-porters: I.Alexandria Troas 153 (The find-place of this inscription is Alexandria Troas or Smyrna); The club of coppersmiths: I.Alexandria Troas 122 = I.Ilion 171 (cf. Harland 2014, 76. The find-place of this inscription is problematic; it may belong to Ilion or Alexandria Troas.).

where the *polis* of Alexandria Troas was named along with the guild of harbour-porters. As for the amount of the fine, 500 *denarii* were a relatively small sum compared to other funerary fines recorded on sarcophagus inscriptions at Alexandria Troas. For example, in two inscriptions associated with the guild of porters in the *emporion*, 2500 *denarii* were designated as the funerary fine, while in I.Alexandria Troas 122, the potential offender was obliged to pay 1500 *denarii* to the club of coppersmiths.<sup>58</sup> Another funerary fine from Alexandria Troas more similar to the one mentioned in our inscription comes from a sarcophagus inscription in which 250 *denarii* would have to be paid to the guild of harbour porters and 1500 *denarii* to the *polis* of Alexandria Troas. In general, 500 *denarii* were apparently one of the most frequently-mentioned fines in the sarcophagus inscriptions of Asia Minor; and in most cases, the designated recipient was the *fiscus*, *tameion*, *polis* or *demos*.

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| BE                      | Bulletin Épigraphique in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> .  |
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<sup>58</sup> According to the restoration of Cook (1973, 67 fn. 3), the amount of the fine payable to the club of coppersmiths was 2500 *denarii* but according to I.Ilion 171 it was 500 *denarii*. We prefer to use the text in I.Alexandria Troas 122 in which the amount is 1500 *denarii*.

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### Aleksandreia Troas'tan Yazıtlı Yeni Bir Assos Lahdi ve Tersane İşçileri Derneği

#### Öz

Makalede yakın zamanda Aleksandreia Troas yakınlarındaki Kemallı Köyü'nde bulunmuş yazıtlı bir Assos lahdi tanıtılmaktadır. Yazarlar, Assos lahitlerinin her iki uzun yüzünde bulunan ve şekilleri itibariyle dikkat uyandıran geniş orta panelin aslında dikdörtgen veya silindirik gömü sunaklarının lahitler üzerine işlenmiş şematik bir tasviri olabileceğini ileri sürmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak, mezar sunaklarının lahit üzerine betimlenmesinin Assos nekropolisinde lahitlerle birlikte bir gömü sunağı dikme geleneğinin yeni bir melez biçimi olabileceği varsayılmaktadır. Roma İmparatorluğu'nun batısında birkaç önemli liman şehrinde faaliyet gösterdiği bilinen tersane işçileri derneğinin Aleksandria Troas ve Asia Minor'daki varlığı, MS 3. yüzyıla tarihlenen bu yazıtla ilk defa epigrafik olarak belgelenmektedir. Derneği tanımlamak için kullanılan  $\text{ἐρωτάτος}$  epitheti bu derneğin kentte belli bir prestije sahip olduklarını düşündürmektedir. Lahdi hazırlatan kişinin bu dernekle bir bağlantısının olması muhtemeldir. Belki, o da bir tersane işçisiydi. Yazıtın tercümesi şöyledir: “[ - - - ve ] evlatlarım *Sulpicius Aurelius* [cognomen] ve *Sulpicius Aurelius Smintheus* için [ - - - ] eğer biri (lahdi) açarsa ve (içerisine) başka bir ceset koyarsa son derece kutsal tersane işçileri derneğine 500 denar verecek”.

*Anahtar Sözcükler:* Aleksandreia Troas, Assos lahdi, *tabula*, mezar sunağı, lahit yazıtı, dernek, *collegium*, tersane işçisi, *nauepegos*.

### A New Inscribed Assos Sarcophagus from Alexandria Troas and The *Collegium* of Shipwrights

#### Abstract

This paper presents a new inscribed Assos-type sarcophagus found recently in Kemallı, a village located a few kilometres east of the ancient city of Alexandria Troas. A characteristic feature of the general decoration of Assos-type sarcophagi is the attention-grabbing shape of the sizeable central panel positioned on each of the long sides of the sarcophagus. It is proposed that these large central panels may have been schematic representations of rectangular or round funerary altars. Accordingly, the depiction of the funerary altar on the sarcophagus is considered to be a new hybrid style of the practice in the necropolis of Assos of erecting a funerary altar along with the sarcophagus. With this sarcophagus inscription dating to the third century AD, the presence of a professional association of shipwrights, which is known to have existed in a number of important harbour cities in the western part of the Roman Empire, is attested for the first time in Alexandria Troas and Asia Minor in general. The epithet  $\text{ἐρωτάτος}$  labelling the *collegium* suggests that the association may have had a privileged position in the ancient city. The anonymous owner of the sarcophagus may have been associated with the *collegium* of shipwrights at Alexandria Troas and, presumably, he was a shipwright.

*Keywords:* Alexandria Troas, Assos sarcophagus, *tabula*, funerary altar, sarcophagus inscription, association, *collegium*, shipwright, *nauepegos*.





Fig. 1) *Inscribed front of the sarcophagus.*



Fig. 2) *Back of the sarcophagus.*

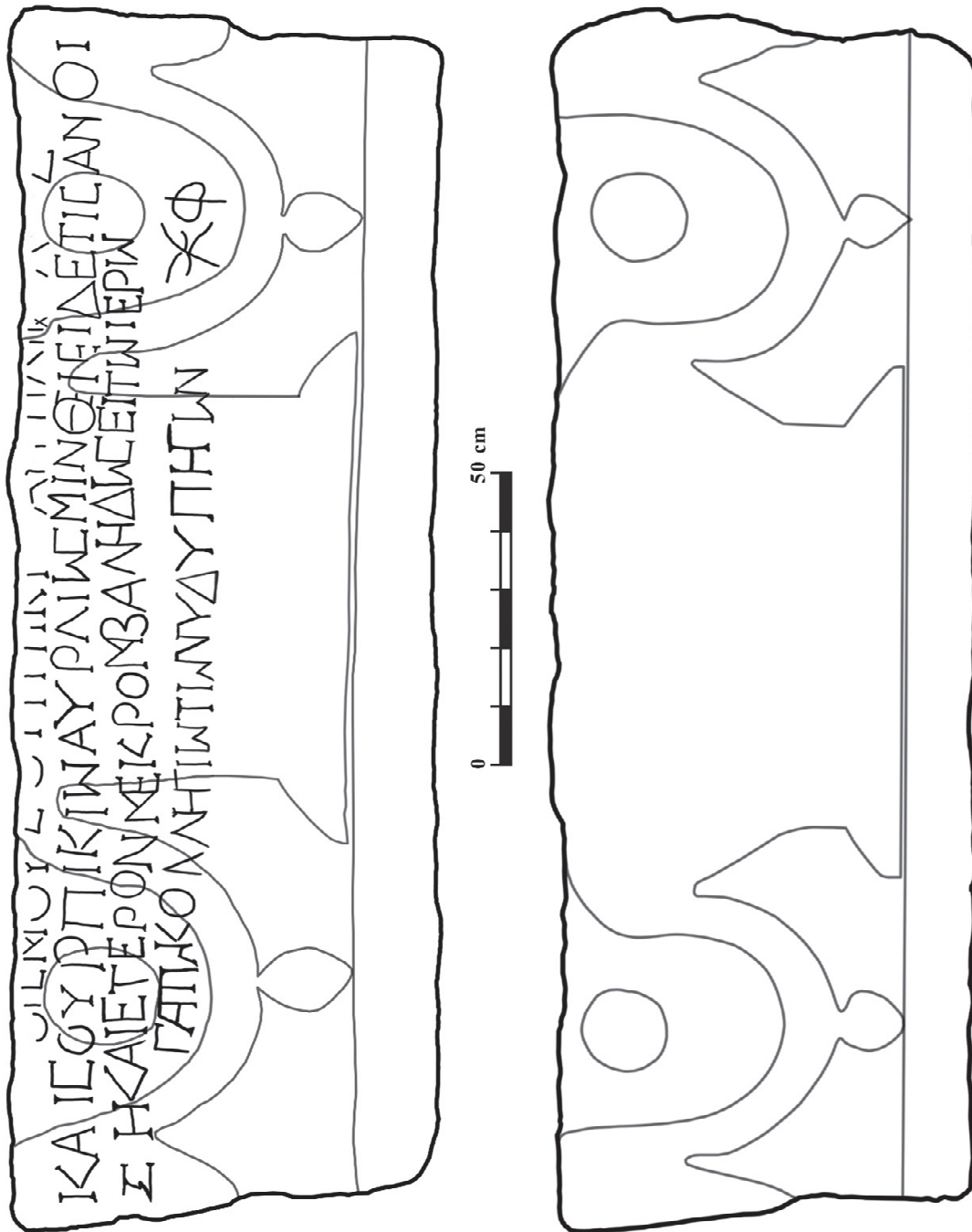


Fig. 3) Drawings of the front and back of the sarcophagus.

