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The Annals and Lost Golden Statue of the Hittite King Hattusili I

Trevor R. BRYCE*

*It is an honour to dedicate this article to Prof. Johannes Nollé,
in recognition of his many distinguished contributions to the
study of ancient Asia Minor*

In the second half of the 17th century BC, Hatti, kingdom of the Hittites, began emerging as a major international power during the reign and as a result of the aggressive military operations of the Hittite king Hattusili I (c. 1650-1620).¹ Our main source of information about these is a document which records the king's campaigns, supposedly over a period of five consecutive years and thus designated as the king's Annals.²

Following on from the campaigns of his predecessor (and grandfather?), the first Hittite king called Labarna, who had extended his sway over much of the eastern half of the Anatolian peninsula, Hattusili conducted campaigns in the northern parts of his kingdom, against the cities of Sanahuitta and Zalpa. Located to the northeast of the Hittite capital Hattusa, Sanahuitta had rebelled against Labarna, and its inhabitants had set up an independent regime in the city.³ Hattusili subsequently led his troops against the city, but failed to capture it on his first attempt and had to content himself with plundering and ravaging the countryside around it. He did, however, succeed in capturing and sacking the city of Zalpa, which probably lay on the Marassantiya river (mod. Kızıl Irmak, Classical Halys) not far from its entrance into the Black Sea.

These ventures occupied the 'first year' of the king's Annals. The 'second year' saw the beginning of Hatti's rise to international status when Hattusili led his troops across the Taurus on what was supposedly the first of probably many expeditions into northern Syria. At this time, much of the region was subject to the kingdom of Yamhad, sometimes referred to by the name of its capital Aleppo (Hittite Halab/p). But no mention is made of Yamhad/Aleppo in Hattusili's campaign, and to judge from the Annals, the king seems to have confined himself to plundering and destroying the city of Alalah on the Orontes river, and several other cities west of the Euphrates and north of Carchemish. Almost certainly, all the conquered territories were allied or subject to Yamhad.

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¹ My dating of the reigns of Hittite kings is very approximate and based on the so-called Middle Chronology; see Bryce 2005, 375-82.

² CTH 4. Transl. by G. Beckman in Chavalas 2006, 219-22. For an overall account of the reigns of Labarna and Hattusili, see Bryce 2005, 61-95.

³ CTH 6 (the so-called Testament of Hattusili I) §20. Transl. by Beckman in Hallo – Younger 2003, vol. II, 81, Goedegebuure in Chavalas 2006, 226.

Then in his ‘third year’, Hattusili led an expedition into the Arzawan lands, a conglomerate of territories located in the western half of the peninsula.⁴ The Annals devote just one sentence to this campaign, simply recording that Hattusili ‘went to the land of Arzawa and took away its cattle and sheep’. In his absence, Hurrian forces from the east invaded his homeland, and all the king’s subject-territories rebelled against him, leaving only the capital loyal and intact. News of this must have prompted Hattusili’s hasty return from the west, to restore his control over his kingdom and reconquer the rebel states. But no reference is made in the Annals to campaigns of reconquest, beyond the recapture of the city of Nenassa without resistance (it was probably located just below the southern bend of the Marassantiya), and Hattusili’s subsequent conquest of two other rebel lands, Ulma and Sallahsuwa.

The ‘fourth year’ of the Annals records Hattusili’s final capture and destruction after a five months’ siege of Sanahuitta, which had retained its independence since the reign of his grandfather, and campaigns of conquest of a number of other lands and cities, which apparently remained unsubdued after Hattusili had crushed the general uprising recorded in the previous year.

With his control fully restored over his subject-lands in Anatolia, Hattusili was ready to embark on another campaign into Syria. This is recorded in the ‘fifth’ and ‘final’ year of his Annals, and contains the most detailed account of all his campaigns. A long list of conquests is recorded, as one city and land after another fell to the king’s forces, and details are given of the extensive plunder taken from the conquered and sacked cities, for transport back to the homeland. In the course of his conquests, the king crossed the Euphrates river, a military feat which he claims was accomplished by only one man before him, the legendary Akkadian king Sargon who had, centuries earlier, crossed the river from the other direction.

Surprisingly, comprehensive and devastating though this ‘Year 5’ campaign allegedly was, not a single reference is made to the major power in the region at this time, the kingdom of Yamhad/Aleppo. Nor is there any reference to the kingdom in Hattusili’s earlier Syrian campaign. Why is it so conspicuous by its absence from Hattusili’s Syrian campaigns? Did it play no part at all in defending its allies and subjects in the region? In any case, why did Hattusili *apparently* make no direct attack on the kingdom, or at least on its capital Aleppo during his alleged Syrian rampage? A fresh consideration of the actual nature of the text containing the king’s Annals may provide some answers to these questions.

It is generally agreed that after the withdrawal of the Assyrian colonies around the middle of the 18th century, writing was reintroduced into Anatolia by scribes brought back to Hattusa by Hattusili in the aftermath of his Syrian operations. These scribes wrote in the Babylonian version of the Akkadian language, which they impressed on tablets using the cuneiform script. Perhaps initially under the tutoring of such foreign scribes, the Hittite language (called Nešite by those who wrote and spoke it) was gradually adopted as the language of bureaucratic communications and records within the Hittite world. Akkadian was still used, however, as the lingua franca of the period, for documents such as international correspondence and treaties with foreign kings. Opinion has varied among scholars about how rapidly writing in the Hittite language developed after the introduction of the cuneiform script into the Hittite administrative system. Theo van den Hout’s proposal is, in my opinion, the most plausible: Akkadian remained the language of official communication in the kingdom for a century or more after Hattusili’s campaigns, and that it was only in the 15th century that the shift to

⁴ See Bryce 2012, 74-5.

regularly recording official documents in Hittite was made, as scribes became more adept at writing the language.⁵ This would mean that the first version of the Annals, assuming it was composed in Hattusili's own lifetime, was written solely in Akkadian, and that at some later time, perhaps no earlier than the mid or late 15th century, a Hittite version of it was also prepared during one of the recopying processes, alongside the Akkadian copy. Henceforth, both versions of the document, or what remained of it, were preserved in a bilingual text down to the last decades of the empire.

Like most other Hittite documents, the Annals have survived only in a late 13th century copy, the last in a line of copies made over several centuries. There are generally only minor variations between the Hittite and Akkadian versions of the text. Consistent with van den Hout's proposals, I have suggested that the document was first composed in Akkadian and later translated into Hittite – *contra* the suggestions that both versions were composed at the same time or that the Akkadian version was translated from an original Hittite one.

That brings us to the matter of the writing surface or surfaces used for recording the original inscription. During its account of 'Year 5' of the campaign, the Hittite version of the Annals states: 'I made this golden statue of myself and set it up near My Lady, the Sun Goddess of Arinna. And I plated the wall with silver from top to bottom.'⁶ This most likely means that Hattusili commemorated his campaigns by having them recorded on or in the surrounds of a golden statue, which was erected in a holy place, perhaps a sanctuary of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, chief female deity of the Hittite land. The sanctuary may have been located in the Hittite capital or possibly in the goddess' nearby cult-centre at Arinna (Alaca Höyük?). Here it was to serve as an inspiration for the king's successors and any other subjects of the king allowed access to the hallowed precinct where it was housed.

We have a number of instances of statues and stelae, both actual and attested, inscribed with the deeds or autobiographies of ancient Near Eastern kings. Notable among these is the statue of Idrimi, the 15th century king of Alalah, now in the British Museum.⁷ Across the front of it is inscribed a 104-line autobiography of the king. So too we have the autobiography of the Neo-Babylonian queen Adad-guppi, mother of King Nabonidus (6th century B.C.). This is inscribed on two stelae found in Harran.⁸ Recently, two more (almost) identical stelae were discovered near İskenderun in southeastern Turkey, the so-called ARSUZ inscriptions.⁹ Dating to the late 10th century BC, the stelae bore Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions commissioned by a Neo-Hittite king called Suppiluliuma, ruler of Walistin (Assyrian Patin) in northwestern Syria and proclaiming victory over the land Hiyawa, located in the region of Classical Cilicia. The stelae were abandoned, for one reason or another, *en route* to their final destination; they were probably intended to be set up on the eastern and western boundaries of the conquered land. To these surviving monuments we may add attestations of inscribed statues and stelae which Neo-Assyrian kings claimed to have erected in or before cities and lands they conquered.¹⁰

⁵ See van den Hout 2009a, 2009b.

⁶ CTH 4 §17. Beckman notes that the Akkadian version simply reads 'a golden statue'.

⁷ For details and a translation, see Greenstein 1995, 2423-8.

⁸ Transl. by A. L. Oppenheim, in Pritchard 1969, 560-2.

⁹ Dinçol et al. 2015.

¹⁰ For examples, see Bryce 2016, 77.

To return to the Hittite world. Many Hittite kings probably had their exploits recorded and preserved on monuments of one kind or another; some may have been on public display, others accessible only to a select few. Apart from Hattusili's monument, however, there is only one attestation of an inscribed statue of a Hittite king. On a clay tablet dating to the reign of the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma II, we are told that a statue was set up by the king's father Tudhaliya IV to commemorate his conquest of the land of Alasiya (Cyprus).¹¹ In this instance, the inscription was not an annalistic record of the whole or part of Tudhaliya's reign, but apparently commemorated only this one event within it. Prowess on the field of battle was an important component of royal ideology, and no doubt like many of his predecessors Tudhaliya did commission for posterity a comprehensive record of his military achievements. But no such record has survived, even in fragmentary form.

With the main exceptions of (a) Suppiluliuma II's hieroglyphic inscription carved on the Nişantaş (Nişantepe) monument in Hattusa (so worn that only a few words of it are identifiable, and it may in any case refer only to a specific episode, or episodes, in Suppiluliuma's career), (b) the hieroglyphic inscription of the same king in Chamber 2 of the Südburg monument in Hattusa, which records military operations Suppiluliuma conducted in southern Anatolia,¹² and (c) the Yalburt hieroglyphic inscription, which records a military campaign by Tudhaliya IV against the Lukka Lands in the south-west of the peninsula,¹³ the remnants we have of the military careers of Hatti's kings are preserved only on clay tablets. But these tablets are purely archival records, available for consultation by scribes and other officials as the need arose. Almost certainly, prime exemplars of all these documents were presented in a more distinguished format – and located in more distinguished settings than the shelves of palace or temple archives.

This brings us back to Hattusili's Annals, and the matter of the king's golden statue. Taken at face value, the Annals span just five years of the king's reign, as we have noted. But there is little doubt that Hattusili reigned a good deal longer, for perhaps as many as thirty years. If so, then the Annals cover only a small part of his reign. Alternatively, what we have may simply be all that survives of a much longer document. This possibility is suggested by the remnant of a Colophon surviving in the Hittite version of the text, which Beckman restores and reads thus: '[First] tablet, [incomplete(?)], of the many deeds of Hattusili'.¹⁴

That raises the question of what degree of correspondence there was between the inscription supposedly carved on the statue and the one recorded on clay tablets – assuming that the first version of the Annals dates back to Hattusili's reign. If in their complete form, the Annals covered the whole of Hattusili's reign, it seems most unlikely that an inscription on the statue could have contained more than a summary of the chief events of the reign, or indeed covered more than a specific period or event within it. A text inscribed on a statue or stele could be quite extensive, as demonstrated by the Idrimi and Adad-guppi inscriptions. But a single statue or stele would almost certainly have been unable to accommodate a full account of a king's military career, especially if his reign was a long and active one, as Hattusili's very likely was.

¹¹ CTH 121. See Bryce 2005, 321-3, for discussion and references.

¹² Hawkins 1995, 21-65.

¹³ Poetto 1993, Hawkins 1995, 66-85.

¹⁴ Beckman 2006, 222.

It is possible, of course, that the Annals in their official form were inscribed not on the statue itself, but on the walls of the sanctuary which housed the statue. These would presumably have allowed space not simply for what survives of the Annals, but for a detailed, comprehensive account of Hattusili's military career. Generally speaking, I think it not unlikely that most if not all Hittite kings had their achievements carved on statues or stelae which were set up in public venues or in other settings appropriate for their display. But in most if not all cases, these monumental inscriptions probably recorded no more than one or more episodes of special note of a king's reign, or a summary of the reign as a whole.

In that event, did the clay tablet records provide the *only* full account of a king's reign, or at least his military exploits?

I have suggested that the walls of a special place honouring the king, perhaps a sanctuary dedicated to his memory after his death, may have been used to provide a full record of his military achievements. Another (not mutually exclusive) possibility is suggested by the Colophon of the Seventh Tablet of the so-called 'Manly Deeds of Suppiluliuma'. This is the biography of Suppiluliuma I (c. 1350-1322) composed by his son and second successor Mursili II.¹⁵ The Colophon indicates that the text is 'incomplete and not yet made into a bronze tablet'.¹⁶ From this we can infer that a first draft of the Deeds was written on clay, which served as the basis for a final version to be inscribed on metal tablets.

What is attested for the Deeds of Suppiluliuma may well have applied to other royal biographies and sets of royal Annals, including those of Hattusili I. Full accounts of kings' reigns, or at least their military careers, may have been drafted firstly on clay tablets, then copied onto more durable metal tablets, especially bronze, which became their chief versions. These, I suggest, were kept in special locations, perhaps ancillary chambers of royal tombs, or sanctuaries dedicated to the kings's patron deities, and recited on special occasions – perhaps when cult ceremonies were performed in a deceased king's honour, or during coronation ceremonies of his successors. Copies of the prime exemplars were made on clay tablets, which were kept in the state archives whence they could be quickly retrieved whenever information from them was required.

In this context it is worth noting that the two chief versions of the 'Eternal Peace' treaty drawn up between the Hittite king Muwattalli II and the pharaoh Ramesses II (1259) were inscribed on silver tablets.¹⁷ And the bronze tablet unearthed in 1986 near the Sphinx Gate in Hattusa, a treaty between the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV and his cousin Kurunt(iy)a, subject-ruler of Tarhuntassa in southern Anatolia, provides a tangible example of the use of metal for such documents.¹⁸ If metal was used for important documents such as these, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the chief records of the

¹⁵ Ed. and transl. by Güterbock 1956.

¹⁶ Güterbock 1956, 97.

¹⁷ Information provided by a fragmentary Akkadian version found in the tablet archives of Hattusa, and an Egyptian version inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amun (Karnak) and the Ramesseum (more fragmentary) in Egypt. For translations of both versions, see Pritchard 1969, 199-203 (Egyptian version by J. A. Wilson, Akkadian by A. Goetze). The Akkadian version has more recently been transl. by Beckman 1999, 96-100. For the most recent discussion of the two versions, see Jackson 2018.

¹⁸ Otten 1988, also transl. by Beckman 1999, 114-24.

careers of at least the most distinguished Hittite kings were also kept on metal tablets, as apparently Suppiluliuma's 'Deeds' were.

Hattusili's Annals is one of a number of bilingual documents, with both Hittite and Akkadian versions. Another, also dated to Hattusili's reign, is the king's so-called Testament,¹⁹ in which the ailing monarch rejects his nephew as his royal heir designate and appoints his grandson Mursili (I) to succeed him. Both the Annals and the Testament survive only in late 13th century copies.

Let us consider now the matter of the Annals' reliability as a historical source of information for Hattusili's reign. There are a number of curious features of the surviving text that warrant comment. I shall refer to four in particular.

Firstly, as we have noted, the Annals for the 'second' and 'fifth' years record campaigns of conquest which Hattusili conducted in northern Syria – from Alalah, which served as a port city for the kingdom of Yamhad/Aleppo at the northern bend of the Orontes river, to cities in the Euphrates region, including Hahha (Hahhum) on the upper Euphrates. Yet in neither of these campaigns is any reference made to the kingdom of Yamhad/Aleppo itself, whose subject- and allied states Hattusili had attacked and destroyed. At face value, Yamhad offered no resistance to Hattusili during either campaign – and the second one is recorded in particular detail – nor did Hattusili apparently make any attack on Aleppo itself. References to Yamhad/Aleppo are conspicuous by their absence in the Annals.²⁰ Yet there can be no doubt that the ultimate object of Hattusili's Syrian ventures was to destroy the kingdom, which he failed to do. Indeed, he may have been killed, or fatally wounded, in one final attack on Yamhad's capital, if we can so judge from a fragmentary text referring to his successor Mursili. This text records that 'Mursili set out against Aleppo to avenge his father's blood. Hattusili had assigned Aleppo to his son (to deal with). And to him the king of Aleppo made atonement.'²¹ Mursili did in fact succeed, where his predecessor had failed, in capturing and destroying Aleppo, an accomplishment cast in the form of an act of revenge, quite possibly for the death of his 'father' (strictly his grandfather).

Secondly, in his 'second' Syrian campaign, Hattusili highlights his achievement in leading his troops across the Euphrates, thus emulating, and even outdoing, a similar achievement by the Akkadian Sargon, as we have noted. Yet we now know that Hattusili went beyond merely plundering and destroying cities in the Euphrates region. The relatively recently discovered letter (written in Akkadian) from Hattusili to Tunip-Teshub (Tuniya), ruler of the small kingdom of Tikunani in northern Mesopotamia,²² indicates that Hattusili regarded Tuniya as his subordinate. This implies that for a time he exercised some form of authority over part of northern Mesopotamia. If so, then the omission of this achievement from the Annals is surprising, since it surely overshadows the mere crossing of the Euphrates and the conquest of towns in the river region. On the other hand, it's possible that the Annals originally did contain a record of operations conducted by Hattusili beyond the Euphrates, and at least the temporary imposition of his authority over the region where he campaigned. But the existing tablet virtually ends with his conquests on the Euphrates, and a later part of the Annals which

¹⁹ Transl. by Beckman in Hallo – Younger 2003, vol. 2, 79-81, Goedegebuure in Chavalas 2006, 222-8.

²⁰ Apart from a reference to a statue of the Storm God, Lord of Aleppo, among the spoils of conquest of the 'fifth' year.

²¹ CTH 11A, 10-15.

²² Published by Salvini 1984. Discussed by Bryce 2005, 78-80.

might have recorded Hattusili's operations beyond the Euphrates has not survived – an implication that might be drawn from Beckman's reading and restoration of the Hittite version's Colophon.

My third comment concerns the record of events for Hattusili's 'third year'. We are informed that in this year (a) Hattusili went to Arzawa and brought back from it cattle and sheep; (b) the Hurrians invaded his homeland, and all his subject-lands rebelled leaving only Hattusa itself intact; (c) the king set out to attack the city of Nenassa (located just south of the Marassantiya river), presumably after driving the Hurrians from his land and restoring his authority over the other rebel states; (d) he then conducted campaigns against other hostile territories, Ulma and Sallahsuwa, before he returned to Hattusa, taking with him the spoils of conquest of these cities. All this allegedly happened within the space of a single campaigning season.

Let's consider the logistics of this. Generally, Hittite campaigns lasted from spring to early-mid autumn, though the campaigning season might sometimes be extended several more weeks, and very occasionally a Hittite expeditionary force might spend two consecutive years away from home, as Mursili II did on his first Arzawan campaign.²³ But the severe winters on the Anatolian plateau which frequently resulted in Hattusa and other homeland areas being completely snowed in, were a major limiting factor on how long a Hittite army could spend each year on the campaign trail, especially if it took them far from home.

The year's account begins with an apparent livestock-rustling expedition by Hattusili to Arzawa. While the capture and transportation of cattle and sheep as part of the spoils of conquest were a regular feature of Hittite campaigns abroad, these were merely the aftermath of the campaigns themselves. We are not told how far Hattusili penetrated into Arzawan territory on this occasion, but given that the main Arzawa group lay in the far west of the Anatolian peninsula, a considerable part of a campaigning season must have been spent in getting to the region or regions which were the main objects of the campaign, and then getting back home at the earliest possible opportunity. Hittite texts provide extremely sparse information about the routes travelled by Hittite expeditionary forces, and almost no information about the rate of the army's march or the number of days taken to reach its destination. We can, however, extrapolate some useful information from campaign data recorded by Greek and Roman authors for later campaigns in the Anatolian region.

Of particular value is Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which provides a detailed account of Cyrus the Younger's expedition in 401 BC, in his abortive attempt to seize the Persian throne. Beginning in Sardis, in western Anatolia, Cyrus got as far as Cunaxa, a town on the Euphrates, before he was defeated and killed in battle by his brother Artaxerxes II. Xenophon, one of the Greek mercenaries hired by Cyrus, provides precise details of the expedition's route, including the distances travelled on each day's march. The first part of the route, from Sardis to Iconium (modern Konya),²⁴ must have passed through much the same region traversed by many westward-bound Hittite armies. The journey between these cities, which involved a number of deviations from the most direct route, included

²³ Ten-Year Annals of Mursili for his third and fourth years, transl. by Beal 2003, 85-6.

²⁴ Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1,2,3-19.

twenty-one *marching* days,²⁵ averaging about twenty-one miles per day (converting Xenophon's Persian parasangs to miles on a 1:3+ ratio). Overall, this part of Cyrus' route covered about half the distance a Hittite army would have travelled to the west from its heartland.

On the assumption that an army's rate of march varied little over the centuries (though Alexander's troops sometimes covered more than forty miles per day), Hittite armies needed at least thirty-five *marching* days to travel from Hattusa to the furthestmost parts of Arzawan territory, like Apasa (Classical Ephesos?) on the Aegean coast. Allowing for a number of deviations from the most direct route, for various logistical and strategic reasons, and adding in non-marching days for restocking supplies and for other factors affecting campaign progress, we can estimate an absolute minimum of seventy days for a Hittite army to reach a far western objective. At least double that number for the return journey, and add extra days for the battles themselves, the sacking of conquered cities, and the conveyance of livestock, deportees and other plunder back to the homeland. That amounts to virtually a whole campaign season for fully-fledged Hittite western campaigns. Of course, we do not know how far Hattusili penetrated Arzawan territory on the campaign recorded in his Annals. But even if this campaign did not take him to the furthestmost limits of Arzawan territory, it must have involved a major military operation, of which the bringing back of cattle and sheep was merely the tail end, keeping the king long enough away from his homeland for a Hurrian invasion of it and widespread uprisings by rebellious subjects. Then on his return, the process of winning back his homeland from the Hurrian occupation forces (a process not mentioned at all in the Annals) and reconquering his rebel states must in itself have required a sustained military effort, and a substantial amount of time – after he had already spent many weeks, probably several months at least, on his Arzawan venture. It would have been impossible to achieve all this in a single campaigning season.

My fourth comment concerns the reference to the king's golden statue. As I've noted, this statue was very likely set up in an appropriate location in the capital, perhaps in a sanctuary of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, or in the nearby city of Arinna dedicated to the goddess. Alternatively, the statue may have been erected in a place set aside for the king's ancestor-cult after his death. Wherever its location, there may well have been an inscription carved on or near it commemorating Hattusili's military exploits. What is extremely odd is the insertion of a reference to the statue in the midst of an account of the king's second Syrian campaign. It is out of place here. One would have expected it to appear in a Colophon at the very end of the document in its complete form. And indeed, that's where it may originally have been located.

These four comments lead me to believe that part, probably most, of the original text of the Annals had already been lost in Hittite times, very likely destroyed, along with many other documents including the inscriptions carved on monuments (together with the monuments themselves), in one or more destruction episodes. While accidental outbreaks of fire must have been a constant hazard in Hattusa and other mudbrick-and-timber cities, enemy attack certainly cannot be ruled out, as a major cause of such episodes.

There are a number of possible contexts in which the destruction of a substantial part of Hattusili's Annals might have occurred. Let me suggest one possibility. From a later document, commonly referred to as the 'Concentric Invasions' text, we learn that Hattusa was destroyed in the late 15th or

²⁵ The actual number of days spent on the journey was considerably greater, due to frequent and lengthy stops at various cities along the way.

early 14th century during incursions into the homeland and Hatti's peripheral territories, by enemy forces moving upon it from many directions.²⁶ While some documents were no doubt retrieved from the city by the then king Tudhaliya III who evacuated the city before its destruction and set up a temporary headquarters and base of operations to the east of the invaded areas, others like Hattusili's Annals may have been largely destroyed, and the king's golden statue melted down or carried off when the city was torched.

However, a number of clay-copy fragments of the inscription survived by being baked in the fires which destroyed the tablet-archive rooms, even if the greater part of the inscription was lost. This is exactly the situation we have today with the retrieval of many accidentally baked tablets and tablet-fragments unearthed in the Hittite capital. I suggest that Hittite scribes later tried to put together a sequence of events from the scraps of information found on the Annals' remaining fragments, in their efforts to recreate all they could of the document. What they did was to make a reasonably coherent compilation of the surviving pieces, compressing the episodes these pieces recorded into a period of five years. But in so doing, they lumped together events that may in fact have taken place years apart.

If this hypothesis is valid, then up to the time when the records of the Annals suffered significant destruction, and we have no clear idea of when this was, the composition was probably written in only one language – Akkadian. Subsequently, the remaining fragments of the document were pieced together in an attempt to provide a continuous account of Hattusili's achievements, though a much distorted and incomplete one. But by then, perhaps, Hittite had become the kingdom's official language, and when the reconstituted Akkadian text was made, a Hittite version was composed to go with it. This, I suggest, was the origin of the bilingual document which we have today.

My suggestion is, of course, highly speculative, and other scholars might well have quite different views about the document. One of the reviewers of this article has suggested that the 'composition was not concerned with describing Hattusili's military campaigns or their historical/political context, but rather with providing a detailed description of the booty acquired from said campaigns which were then dedicated mainly to the Sun Goddess of Arinna.' The reviewer further suggests that the composition was intended primarily as a dedicatory inscription to accompany the booty and the gold statue dedicated to the goddess, and that in this light, we may even suggest that the tablet was [complete].

This possibility cannot be ruled out. But the document's primary focus is clearly on the king's military activities and the victories he won, as demonstrated by the booty he brought back and often dedicated to one or other of the kingdom's deities. That is to say, the plunder listed in the aftermath of his campaigns is an appendage to them, not the main reason for recording them. The document clearly belongs within the context of the records of Hittite military campaigns and the listing of booty brought home from them. The reviewer's suggestion also leaves unexplained the various anomalies in the document, to which I have referred above, such as the impossibility of assigning all the events described in 'Year 3' of the document to a single campaigning season.

²⁶ The text, *CTH* 88, dates to the reign of Hattusili III (mid-13th century). For the most recent discussion of it (with translation) see Stavi 2015, 38-43, 60-5.

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Hitit Kralı I. Hattusili'nin Yıllıkları ve Kayıp Altın Heykeli

Özet

Hitit başkenti Hattusa'daki kazılarda bulunan kil tabletler sözde eski Hitit kralı I. Hattusili'nin (yak. 1650-1620) askeri başarısının beş yılını kaydetmektedir. Genel olarak Hattusili'nin 'Yıllıkları' olarak bilinen bu belge (kralın) gümüş kaplamayla çevrili altın bir heykeline değinmektedir. Bu kaplamalar muhtemelen krala adanmış bir kutsal alanın bir kısmını oluşturmaktaydı. Burada, heykelin kendisinin, kaplamalarının veya her ikisinin de üzerinde olasılıkla yıllıkların ana versiyonu yazılmıştır. Günümüzde ikisi de kayıptır ve elimizde sadece kil tabletin yıllıklar hakkında anlatımı –ya da ondan arta kalanlar– vardır. Bu anlatımda yer alan büyük uyumsuzluklar ve bazı önemli eksikler bunu belgeleyen kil tabletlerin sadece kralın hükümdarlık döneminin çoğunu veya hepsini kapsayan çok daha büyük bir kompozisyonun fragmanları olduğunu belirtmektedir. Heykel ve içinde bulunduğu tapınağın (?) Hitit Dönemi'nde bir yangınla, kazara veya düşman tarafından tahrip edilmesinden sonra bu fragmanlar yıllıklardan kalan tek şeydir. Hititli kâtiplerin belgeyi yapabildikleri kadar yeniden yaratma çabaları ile sonradan yıllıklardan geride kalan fragmanlarda bulunan bölük pörçük bilgilerden olayların dizilişini birleştirmeye çalıştıkları bu makalede ileriye sürülmektedir. Onların yaptığı kalan parçaların makul şekilde uyumlu bir toparlamasını yaparak belgeledikleri bölümleri beş yıllık bir döneme sıkıştırmaktı. Ama bunu yaparak Hattusili'nin başarılarının aralıksız bir anlatımını –her ne kadar karmakarışık ve büyük eksikleri olan bir anlatım olsa da– sağlama girişiminde bulunarak aralarında yıllar olan olayları birleştirmişlerdi.

Anahtar Sözcükler: I. Hattusili; Yıllıklar (I. Hattusili); heykel (I. Hattusili); Hattusa; Arzawa; Yamhad/Halep; Akadca.

The Annals and Lost Golden Statue of the Hittite King Hattusili I

Abstract

Clay tablets excavated from the Hittite capital Hattusa supposedly record five years of the military exploits of the early Hittite king Hattusili I (c. 1650-1620). The document, commonly known as Hattusili's 'Annals', refers to a golden statue (of the king) housed in silver-plated surrounds. These surrounds probably formed part of a sanctuary dedicated to the king. Here what was probably the chief version of the Annals was recorded, on the statue itself, on its surrounds, or both. Both are now lost,

and we are left with only the clay tablet account of the Annals – or what survives of it. Major inconsistencies in this account and a number of significant omissions from it, suggest that the clay tablets which record it were merely fragments of a much larger composition covering most or all the king's reign. These fragments were all that remained of the Annals when the statue and the sanctuary(?) which housed it were destroyed by fire in Hittite times, whether accidentally or by enemy action. I suggest that Hittite scribes later tried to put together a sequence of events from the scraps of information found on the Annals' remaining fragments, in their efforts to recreate all they could of the document. What they did was to make a reasonably coherent compilation of the surviving pieces, compressing the episodes they recorded into a period of five years. But in so doing, they put together events that may have taken place years apart, in an attempt to provide a continuous account of Hattusili's achievements, though a much distorted one with major omissions.

Keywords: Hattusili I; Annals (Hattusili I); statue (Hattusili I); Hattusa; Arzawa; Yamhad/Aleppo; Akkadian.

Anmerkungen zum Namen der Karer

Diether SCHÜRR*

Seit die hethitischen (und altassyrischen) Quellen für die Geographie Anatoliens erschlossen wurden, gibt es viele Versuche, in ihnen aufscheinende Namen mit später bezeugten Namen aufgrund einer mehr oder weniger großen Lautähnlichkeit gleichzusetzen, und solche Assoziationen haben oft ein bemerkenswert zähes Leben – es sei hier nur an die Tafel mit ILIOS / WILUSA erinnert, die heute den Besucher des Ruinenhügels von Hisarlık gleich nach einem Nachbau des hölzernen Pferdes empfängt, als ob diese verwegene Namengleichung ein Faktum wäre¹. Ein weniger prominentes Beispiel dafür ist die Verbindung der Karer mit zwei bronzezeitlichen Ländernamen, die sogar Ignasi Adiego in seinem Handbuch zur karischen Sprache (2007) eingangs aufgreift: Die Gleichsetzung von „classical Caria with the land of Karkiya/Karkisa mentioned in Hittite sources“ sei „eminently suitable from a purely linguistic point of view (*kark*^o in Karkisa, Karkiya is practically identical to the Old Persian word for ‚Carian‘, *kṛka-*)“. Das geht unmittelbar auf Carruba 2000 zurück, der eine der überlieferten Varianten des Karernamens herausgriff, um damit die Ländernamen zu erklären. Allerdings wurden hethitische Ländernamen nicht von Völker- oder Stammesnamen gebildet – die es im Hethitischen gar nicht gibt. Und K-R-K ist eine Lautfolge, die man in vielen Namen und Wörtern wiederfinden kann, beispielsweise im Namen der syrischen Stadt *Karkamiš*, die auch „in Hittite sources“ belegt ist. Es gibt keinen Grund, warum zwei² der vielen in den Keilschrifturkunden von Hattusa belegten Namen von ‚Ländern‘ (oft kleinen Gebieten) ausgerechnet mit der altpersischen Form des Karernamens zusammenhängen sollten, für die ein zweites *k* charakteristisch ist. Bereits Masson 1975, 413f. referierte die Bemühungen, diese Ländernamen irgendwie mit dem Karernamen zu verbinden, mit dem Fazit, es handle sich um „une accumulation d’hypothèses“.

Nun zeigt die mittelhethitische, ältere Schreibung *Ka-ra-ki-ša*, daß der zweite Tektal /g/ war (Simon 2015, 799), und Oreshko (im Druck) geht sogar so weit, aus der ägyptischen Schreibung *K-3-r3-k-j-š3* auf eine Aussprache /ɣarayiša/ zu schließen³ (sicher schon im Hinblick auf eine Verbindung mit den Gergithes in der Troas). Dieser Schluß ist allerdings fraglich: Zum einen, weil das ägyptische Zeichen auch für die Wiedergabe von semitischem /q/ verwendet wurde, zum anderen, weil im Hethitischen und auch in anderen anatolischen Sprachen nur /k/ im Anlaut zulässig war. Man sollte also /karagiša/ oder sogar /kragiša/ neben /k(a)rgiša/ und /k(a)rgiya/ annehmen. In jedem Fall ist aber, wie das nun auch Simon und Oreshko annehmen, die Verbindung mit dem altpersischen

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¹ Zu verdanken ist sie Kretschmer 1924, der freilich das Land Wilusa noch nicht geographisch mit Homers Stadt Ilios verbinden wollte.

² „Nothing forces us to assume their identity“ (Simon 2015, 802 Anm. 62). Für Hinweise und Literatur danke ich Stefan Brenne, Claudia Ciancaglini, Cary Martin, Johannes Nollé, Zsolt Simon und Günter Vittmann sehr herzlich.

³ Die ägyptische Schreibung zeigt auch, daß der Landesname tatsächlich /š/ hatte, das luwisch sein könnte, siehe Rieken 2010 zum hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen *sà*.

Karernamen nicht einmal lautlich einwandfrei, da man ja ${}^*K^a-r^a-g^a$ - erwarten sollte (vergleich *dar-ga-* ‚lang‘).

Die altpersische Form $K^a-r^a-k^a$ - des Karernamens dürfte eher /kṛka-/ als /karka-/ zu lesen sein, weil die elamische Entsprechung *Kurkap* und die babylonische *Kirkāja* lautet (Simon 2015, 797).⁴ Dazu kommen aramäisch der Plural *KRKY'* sowie *KRK* für Karien (Zadok 2005, 81). Daß letzteres in der lykisch-griechisch-aramäischen Trilingue vom Letoon bezeugt ist, soll nach Oreshko (im Druck) eine Übernahme „directly from the vernacular of neighbouring Caria“ nahelegen. Aber dieser Name war ebenso wie *KRKY'* sicher nicht nur hier in Gebrauch, und der aramäische Part der Trilingue spiegelt zumindest nicht nur einen regionalen Sprachgebrauch wieder. So erscheint für das Ethnikon der karischen Stadt Kaunos *KBYDŠY* statt des in Kaunos selbst belegten *Kbdūn-*, mit einem Suffix -ŠY, das auch in *'PŠŠY* = lydisch *Ipsimšiš* ‚ephesisch‘ in Sardes belegt ist, für Artemis *'RTMWŠ*, das auf lydisch *Artimus* zurückgeht, und für Apollon hat die Trilingue *ḤŠTRPTY*, das auf ein medisches ${}^*xšaθra-pati$ zurückgeht, etwa ‚Reichsherr‘⁵. Es spricht damit auch nichts gegen die Annahme, daß die elamische, babylonische und aramäische Namenform auf die altpersische zurückgeht, zumal babylonisch und aramäisch auch andere Namenformen belegt sind.

So haben wir babylonisch auch *Karsāja* („a loan of the ethnic name that was in use in Egypt, with the specific connotation of ‚Egyptianized‘ Carians“, vermutet Waerzeggers 2006, 4) und *Karsā* für das Land, und die früheste babylonische Bezeichnung ist *Ban(n)išāja*, ab 592/1 v. Chr. (Zadok 2005, 80). Dazu kommen phönikisch *HKRS* „der Karer“ und der Plural *HKRSYM* (Ray 1998, 134 und Vittmann 2001, 51 Anm. 59 sowie 2003, 64 mit Anm. 87), aramäisch *QRSY* in Arad und biblisch wohl *QYRS* (Zadok 2005, 81). In Ägypten selbst gibt es erst sehr späte Belege: demotisch *n3 Krs.w* (132 n. Chr.) wohl für das Karerviertel in Memphis (Papyrus British Museum 10384, Zeile 9, siehe Martin 2009, 116 und 129), in hieroglyphischen Völkerlisten der Kaiserzeit *Krs* (Esna) bzw. *Grs* (Kom Ombo). Daneben erscheinen in Kom Ombo auch die Karomemphitai als *Grmnfi* (siehe Abb.71 bei Vittmann 2003, 157: oben links *Hatti*, dann *Grmnfi* und ganz rechts *Grs*).

Die mit einigem Abstand ältesten Belege bietet aber die Ilias mit *Kāpeç* (Pl.) und *Káειρα* für eine Karerin. Wie (und ob) alle diese unterschiedlichen Namenformen unter einen Hut zu bringen sind, ist eine zumindest nicht befriedigend gelöste Frage. Simon 2015, 796ff. nimmt an, daß 1. *kars - die karische, mit dem karisch-lykischen Ethnikonsuffix -s- gebildete Form war, 2. die griechische Namenform durch Schwund des s mit Ersatzdehnung zu erklären ist und 3. die altpersische Namenform mit dem altpersischen Suffix -ka- statt -s- gebildet wurde. Oreshko (im Druck) nimmt dagegen 1. an, „that the Carian form of the ethnonym was something like ${}^*Kark̂(a)$ or ${}^*Kark̂i(a)$, which could be alternatively adopted as *Kars(a)* or *Kark(a)*“, und 2., der griechische Nominativ *Káp* sei „an entirely regular development from *Kars , which does not need any further comments“.

All das soll hier nicht weiter erörtert, sondern nur darauf aufmerksam gemacht werden, daß es für die altpersische Namenform eine schon antike und eigentlich wohlbekannte Erklärung gibt, die seltsamerweise bei den Lösungsversuchen und auch bei den Versuchen, den Karernamen mit den Ländernamen *Karkiša* und *Karkiya* zu verbinden, gar nicht berücksichtigt wurde. Plutarchs Biogra-

⁴ ‚Karien‘ ist altpersisch *K(a)rkā-*.

⁵ Dupont-Sommer 1979, 145 und 155.

phie des Artaxerxes II. überliefert eine bemerkenswerte Information, die an den Tod des Bruders Kyros, der rebelliert hatte, in Kunaxa (401 v. Chr.) geknüpft ist⁶:

„Kyros fiel, wie einige sagen, vom König getroffen, aber nach anderen von einem Karer, den der König für diese Tat damit belohnte, daß er auf den Feldzügen stets einen goldenen Hahn auf seinem Speer vorneweg tragen durfte. Denn die Perser nennen die Karer Hähne wegen der Kämme [λόφοι], mit denen sie ihre Helme verzieren“ (Artaxerxes X 3)⁷.

Es handelte sich bei dieser Benennung wohl um einen Spottnamen, den der goldene Hahn, den der Karer als Auszeichnung erhalten haben soll, ins Positive wenden würde. Eine ähnliche Verspottung bezeugt etwa die Geschichte von Alboin und Thurisind in der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus (I 24), wo den Langobarden wegen ihrer Wickelgamaschen vorgehalten wird: *fetilae sunt equae, quas similatis*. Da wird die Herabsetzung durch den Tiervergleich auch noch mit der durch das weibliche Geschlecht gekoppelt. Daß Helmkämme für die Karer tatsächlich charakteristisch waren, bestätigt Herodot, der behauptet, dass sie von den Karern erfunden worden seien (I 171). Und Herodot bemerkt I 174:

„Nun wurden die Karer von Harpagos zu Knechten gemacht, ohne daß sie sich durch irgendeine Tat auszeichneten“.

Das könnte ein Grund für Verachtung gewesen sein. Plutarchs Information ist ernstzunehmen:



Abb. 1. Anatolischer Gockel.

Tatsächlich ist ein entsprechendes iranisches Wort *karka- „well attested: Av. *kahrkatāt*- ‘cock’, MoP *kark*, Oss. *kark*, Pašto *čərg*, etc. The corresponding zero-grade **kṛka*- ‘hen’ appears in MoP *kurk* ‘laying hen’, vergleiche auch altindisch *kṛkavāku*- ‘Hahn’, wörtlich *kṛka*- sagend‘ (de Vaan 2000, 284). Und Claudia Ciancaglini hat mich darauf hingewiesen, daß die Verbindung mit dem Karernamen in dem für die altpersischen Inschriften nun maßgeblichen Wörterbuch zu finden ist, nämlich bei Schmitt 2014, 203, der im „Namensanklang an iran. **kārka*- ‘Hahn’ (= jav. *kahrka*-)“ den „tatsächlichen Grund“ der Bezeichnung als Hähne sehen will. Schmitt bucht da *Kṛka*- als ‚Karer‘ und bemerkt „auch *Karka*- ist möglich“.

Eine Parallele zu dem Tiernamen bietet wiederum Herodot I 110 mit dem offenbar auch herabsetzenden Frauennamen *Spaka*, den er zutreffend als das medische Wort für ‚Hündin‘ erklärt. Dem entsprechend ist ‚Hahn‘ altpersisch auch als Personennamen belegt, in der elamischen Schreibung *Kur-ka₄* – siehe Tavernier 2007, 232, 4.2.983, wo **kṛka*- angesetzt und als Bedeutung ‚the cock‘ angegeben ist. Mit den gleichen Zeichen wurde elamisch auch ‚Caria‘ geschrieben (Tavernier 2007, 94,

⁶ Plutarch folgt da dem Dinon von Kolophon, einem Historiker des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., dessen Kampfschilderung nach Binder 2008, 197 und 199 die Xenophons ausgestaltet. S. 200 bemerkt Binder: „Über den besonderen Helmschmuck der Karer und ihren Namen bei den Persern ist über dieses Dinon-Fragment hinaus nichts bekannt.“

⁷ Während in den „Vögeln“ des Aristophanes der Hahn mit dem Perserkönig verglichen wird: „Wie der Großkönig selbst stolziert er auch jetzt noch umher und trägt dabei auf dem Kopf die Mütze [Kyrbasia DS] als einziger Vogel aufrecht“ (v. 486f.).

3.2.10). Belegt sind als Personennamen außerdem auch Ableitungen wie **kṛkiča-* ‚Hähnchen‘ in den elamischen Schreibungen *Kar-ki-iz-za* und *Kar-kaz-za* (Tavernier 2007, 232, 4.2.984, „most likely“ die gleiche Person bezeichnend)⁸.

Es ist also klar, daß der altpersische Karername tatsächlich ‚Hähne‘ bedeutet. Er dürfte zwar nicht nur von den Helmkämmen, sondern auch von dem Karernamen inspiriert sein, den die Perser vorgefunden hatten. Aber es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß dieser bereits **K(a)rk-* lautete, weil die Helmkämme ja schon allein ein sehr plausibles Benennungsmotiv bilden. Das *-ka-* dürften also in der Tat erst die Perser hinzugefügt haben, aber nicht als Suffix, sondern um aus den Karern auch sprachlich die Gockel zu machen, die sie in ihnen sahen. Eine Verbindung mit den bronzezeitlichen Ländernamen Karkiša und Karkiya wird damit noch unwahrscheinlicher, als sie ohnehin ist.

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Karyahların İsimlerine Dair Notlar

Özet

Karyahlar için kullanılmış olan Eski Pers ismi Kṛka'nın Hitit kaynaklarında bahsedilen Kar(a)kiša ve Karkiya ülkeleri ile hiçbir ilgisi yoktur. Eski Persçe olan *kṛka "horoz" anlamına gelmektedir. Karyahlar miğferlerinde bulunan sorguçtan dolayı (Plutarkhos), ama belki de farklı dillerde belgelenen ve -ka- kısmı olmayan benzer isimleri dolayısıyla böyle adlandırılmaktaydı.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Karkiša; Karkiya; Karyahlar; Eski Persçe; Plutarkhos; takma adlar.

Remarks on the name of the Carians

Abstract

Kṛka-, the Old Persian name for the Carians, has nothing to do with *Kar(a)kiša* and *Karkiya*, countries mentioned in Hittite sources. The meaning of Old Persian **kṛka-* is 'rooster', and the Carians were called so because of the crest on their helmets (Plutarch), but probably also because of their similar name, attested without *-ka-* in other languages.

Keywords: Karkiša; Karkiya; Carians; Old Persian; Plutarch; nicknames.

Δημήτριος...ἀργυροκόπος ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος
Die Silbertempel des Demetrios und die „Kistophoren“ des Claudius I
(Ein Vorschlag)

Stefan KARWIESE*

Jene Stelle in der *Apostelgeschichte*, da Paulus es im Theater von Ephesos mit einem wütenden Mob zu tun bekam (19. 23 ff.), gehört zu den vielfach zitierten Ereignissen der frühchristlichen Zeit und hat vor allem in der Bibelforschung einen prominenten Platz. Was sich damals während einer nicht autorisierten Volksversammlung¹ abspielte, lässt sich anhand der ausführlichen Schilderung des Lukas gut nachvollziehen²: Danach habe „ein gewisser Demetrios, Silberschmied, silberne Tempel der Artemis produziert und dadurch der Gilde guten Profit verschafft“. Demetrios, offensichtlich Zunftobmann, hetzte die Ephesier gegen Paulus auf, da dieser behaupte, „es seien nicht Götter, die von Menschenhand [διὰ χειρῶν] fabriziert würden“, wodurch der „Wohlstand der Gilde gefährdet werde, und selbst die Große Göttin in Misskredit gerate“. Hier war anscheinend ein empfindlicher Nerv getroffen worden, wenn Demetrios mit so schwerem Geschütz auffuhr, weshalb hinter dem ganzen Aufruhr noch mehr als bloßes Geschäftsinteresse und religiöser Fanatismus gesteckt zu haben scheint.

Die Frage nach den ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος konnte bisher nicht in befriedigender Weise beantwortet werden, weshalb man sie einfach als „silberne Tempel der Artemis“ stehen ließ, also als dreidimensionale Tempelminiaturen und somit als Devotionalien verstand, auch wenn zugegeben werden musste, dass derlei bisher nicht aufgefunden wurde. Dass es solche überhaupt gegeben haben könnte, ist generell eher zu bezweifeln, da so etwas bestenfalls in billigem Material wie Ton u. a. zu erwarten wäre³. Und üblicherweise dienten dazu Figurinen der Gottheit⁴. Der insinuierte große Gewinn der Erzeuger hätte somit aus der starken Nachfrage nach solchen Devotionalien resultiert, die freilich wieder wegen des teuren Metalls nur für Vermögendere und kaum für die Masse erschwinglich gewesen wären.

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Für die vorliegende Untersuchung wurde keine Vollständigkeit angestrebt, immerhin jedoch 103 Exemplare einbezogen, so dass statistische Größe gegeben ist.

¹ Heute würde man von einem *flash mob* sprechen.

² Ich habe das Thema schon früher angesprochen in: Karwiese 1995b, S. 92 und Karwiese 2012, 38 Anm. 52, hier mit Verweisen auf die Interpretationen durch gewichtige Theologen wie H. Conzelmann und J. Roloff. Sehr eingehend ist noch die Analyse von Weiser 1985, Kapitel 13-28 538 ff., wenn hier auch in Bezug auf den ephesischen Hintergrund unhaltbare Behauptungen eingeflossen sind. Wichtig sind hier noch die Ausführungen Strelans S. 134 ff., die allerdings nur kurz auf die möglichen Devotionalien eingehen (S. 135, Anm. 14) und sich mehr mit dem gesellschaftlichen Umfeld und allgemeiner Kritik am „Bericht“ des Lukas beschäftigen.

³ Vergleichbare Bleivotive in Aediculaform gibt es z. B. in Carnuntum: Acta Carnuntina 8/1/2018, 25.

⁴ Vgl. dazu solche bei Fleischer 1973, Taf. 43 ff. Vgl. weiters Strelan 1996, a. O.

Der beste Lösungsansatz findet sich jedoch noch immer in der Berufsbezeichnung des Demetrios: ἀργυροκόπος, was freilich regelmäßig als „Silberschmied“ übersetzt wird. Nimmt man das Grundverb κόπτω, dessen Bedeutungsumfang von *Schmieden* über *Schlagen* bis *Prägen* reicht, eröffnet sich eine völlig andere Möglichkeit: So könnte Demetrios sehr wohl ein „Silberpräger“ bzw. *Münzmeister* gewesen sein, der die Emission von Silbermünzen vorzunehmen hatte. Dieser Zusammenhang geht auch deutlich aus mehreren antiken Quellen hervor, wie z. B. bei Herodot⁵. Demetrios muss also keinesfalls „silberne Tempel[chen]“ vertrieben haben. *Argyrokopoi* werden übrigens auch sonst noch in Ephesos erwähnt: IvE 547, 586, 635 u. a.

Wichtig ist hier auch, dass Demetrios den τεχνίταις, also Handwerkern (besser: Künstlern), „nicht geringe“ ἐργασίαν (Beschäftigung und also Verdienst) verschaffte. Neben dieser offenbar höher stehenden Gruppe rief Demetrios auch die περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (beschäftigten) ἐργάτας herbei, die ganz offensichtlich niedrigere Dienste verrichteten, wie da in einer Prägestätte wären: Metall abwiegen und Schrötlinge gießen, Prägen und Sortieren etc.⁶. Es war da also anscheinend die gesamte Zunft zur Demonstration angetreten.

Wer waren aber diese Leute in Wahrheit? Die Antwort darauf lässt sich aus dem Ablauf des Aufenthaltes des Paulus in Ephesos ableiten: Bei seinem 1. Besuch i. J. 52 fand er in der Synagoge nicht den gewünschten Anklang, ja wurde schließlich von einer konservativen Gruppe vertrieben, weshalb er mit seinen Jüngern in der „Schule“ (σχολή, nicht Synagoge, am besten *Auditorium*) eines Tyrannos Aufnahme fand, von wo aus er „zwei Jahre lang das Wort über ganz Asia verbreitete und Wunder wirkte“⁷. Erst gegen Ende seines 2. Aufenthaltes 53-55, da er längst allgemein bekannt war, kam es dann zum Aufruhr: hatte er bisher eher von religiöser jüdischer Seite Schwierigkeiten erfahren, wandte sich jetzt plötzlich eine Handwerks Gilde (und nicht etwa die Priesterschaft des Artemisions!) gegen ihn, die ihn der Blasphemie gegen die Große Göttin und Schädigung des materiellen Gewinns bezichtigte. Hier schaltete sich ein γραμματεὺς („Sekretär“) zur Verteidigung des Paulus ein und beruhigte die Massen auf eine Weise, die diesen anonymen Mann als Vertreter der lokalen Behörden ausweist⁸. In einer Nebenszene erscheinen noch, ebenfalls anonyme, *Asiarchen*, also Oberpriester des Kaiserkultes, als Freunde des Paulus. Während also Demetrios dem Paulus vorwarf, die Majestät der Ephesia und ihres Tempels zu gefährden, bezog sich der zur Ruhe mahnende *Grammateus* nur auf die („nicht verhöhnte Göttin“) und mit keinem Wort etwa auf den Kaiserkult.

Paulus war demnach gut „vernetzt“, hatte als römischer Bürger auch nichts zu befürchten, außer man hätte ihm wie Jesus vorgeworfen, religiösen Aufruhr zu verursachen (vor allem gegen den Kaiserkult) – und genau darauf könnte es Demetrios angelegt haben. Die rasche Niederschlagung des Theater-Mobs verhinderte jedoch eine Eskalation. Nimmt man dazu noch das Zeugnis des Paulus selbst, der mit den Worten εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα „ob ich in Ephesos des Menschen

⁵ Hist. 3, 56.2: νόμισμα κόψαντα; auch Plutarch, Moral. 830 E und Pollux, onomast. 7, 103 mit der erweiterten Form ἀργυροκοπιστήρ: Für „Silberschmied“ wäre schließlich eher zu erwarten etwa ἀργυροπλάτης oder ἀργυροχόος, denn solche Produkte wären wohl gegossen oder geformt bzw. gehämmert worden.

⁶ Weniger wohl das Stempelschneiden, das die Aufgabe der Künstler (*technitai*) gewesen wäre.

⁷ Apg 19, 8 ff.

⁸ Apg 19, 35 ff. Jedenfalls war dies nicht der *Sekretär* od. ä. der Gilde.

willen mit wilden Tieren gekämpft habe?“⁹ und „Trübsal, die uns in Asia widerfahren ist“ auf einen (völlig auszuschließenden) Kampf in der Arena [*ad bestias!*] anzuspielen scheint, im Gegenteil sich auf das Alte Testament bezog¹⁰, ist die Annahme einer physischen Verfolgung des Apostels nicht zu halten. Sicher bleibt nur, dass Paulus von einem Teil der lokalen jüdischen Gemeinde geschmäht wurde, so dass man sogar annehmen könnte, dass Demetrios wie Tyrranos¹¹ Jude war. Jedenfalls dürften schon zu viele Menschen bekehrt worden sein, was die Fundamentalisten nur noch mehr erboste¹².

Wo aber hätte Paulus gegen die Artemis (und offenbar nicht gegen ihr Heiligtum als solches) gepredigt bzw. polemisiert, so dass dies zur Reaktion des Demetrios führte? Da er den Paulus ohne weitere Titulierung despektierlich ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος nennt, war dieser stadtbekannt¹³. Es darf jedoch stark bezweifelt werden, dass Paulus z. B. vor den Toren des Heiligtums oder an einem anderen sensiblen Ort tatsächlich öffentlich gegen die „von Menschenhand gemachten“ Götter agitiert haben könnte. Denn seine Mission zielte vornehmlich auf die Bekehrung der hellenistischen Juden¹⁴ ab, die allerdings auch im heidnischen Tempelbetrieb aktiv waren, wie Demetrios eindeutig unter Beweis stellt. Unter diesem Aspekt könnte es leicht möglich sein, dass Paulus, wenn er diese Leute bekehren wollte, ihnen z. B. die künstlichen Götteridole eben als solche ausreden musste. Das hiesse, dass er gar nicht frontal gegen die Artemis, sondern ausschließlich gegen ihre Geschäfte machenden Anhänger agierte, die aus dem Tempel einen Bazar machten.

Aus der Logik solcher Phänomene heraus war es dann nur konsequent, Paulus der Störung des Kultbetriebes zu bezichtigen, wobei bemerkenswerter Weise nicht der Kaiserkult als Vehikel genutzt wurde¹⁵, mit dem das Geschäft im Artemistempel auch gar nicht gemacht werden konnte, selbst wenn der Kaiser natürlich omnipräsent war: Seit Augustus war es Tradition, dass die lokalen Götter politischer Garantie wegen nicht nur dem Kaiser huldigten, sondern auch von diesem erhöht wurden, was sich vor allem im Bildlichen manifestierte, so zu allererst auf den Münzen¹⁶.

So ergibt sich die Forderung danach, hier eine wenn möglich logische Brücke von den „Silber – Tempeln“ des Demetrios zu den Münzen seiner Zeit zu schlagen:

⁹ 1. Kor 15,32: gewöhnlich wird hier seit Luther „nach menschlicher Meinung“ od. ä. übersetzt, also einfach *angeblich* verstanden, was beides eine Strafe ausschließt. Vielleicht ist hier unter dem ἄνθρωπος eher Christus zu verstehen, für den Paulus litt.

¹⁰ 1. Kor 15, 32 und 2. Kor 1. 8 nach Jesaja 22, 23 und 56, 12. Die wilden Tiere waren demnach die jüdischen Fundamentalisten!

¹¹ Nicht identisch mit dem heidnischen Priester gleichen Namens: IvE 8, S. 198.

¹² Freilich muss man hier relativieren, denn in Apok 2, 4 f. wird der ephesischen Gemeinde um 96 mit „Exkommunikation“ gedroht, da dort anscheinend Renegaten sich ausbreiteten.

¹³ Im Gegensatz zu Demetrios, der als „einer namens“ (τις ὀνόματι) neu eingeführt wird.

¹⁴ Es ist natürlich davon auszugehen, dass gerade unter diesen, mehr noch als unter der griechischen Bevölkerung, der neue Same aufging.

¹⁵ Was dann ja wirklich gefährlich gewesen wäre und zur Verhaftung des Paulus geführt hätte.

¹⁶ Mit den Paarungen Nike bekränzt Kaiser / Kaiser opfert der Göttin (Magnesia/M. RPC 2690/Karwiese 2016, 179).

Der Aufstand des Demetrios fällt in die Zeit des Kaisers Claudius I. (41-54), und das Zusammenprallen des Paulus mit Demetrios ist nach dem Jahr 49 (Kaiserhochzeit) zu datieren. Just damals wurden in Ephesos nach 40 Jahren zum ersten Male wieder vier „Kistophoren“-Serien emittiert, von denen eine auf der Rückseite die reduzierte *tetrastyle* Front des Artemisions mit dem Kultbild der *Ephesia* zeigt: Auf der Vorderseite ist die nackte Büste des Kaisers *ohne* Lorbeerkranz nach links abgebildet, sein offizieller Titel ist dagegen richtig mit Caesar Augustus angegeben. Mit dieser Serie ist eine zweite (Gruppe 2) mittels identischer Vorderseiten gekoppelt, die auf der Rückseite die Front eines *distylen* Tempels zeigt, auf dessen Architrav die Inschrift ROM(a) ET AVG(ustus) die Tempelherren benennt. Ergänzt wird dies durch den Begriff des COM(mune) ASI(ae) (Abb. 3+4).

Die dritte Serie präsentiert auf der Vorderseite die Linksbüsten von Claudius und seiner Gattin Agrippina mit Schultergewand, auf der Rückseite das frontal stehende Kultbild der *Ephesia* in vollem Kultornat, umgeben von der Legende DIANA EPHESIA (Abb. 5).¹⁷

In diesem Programm (denn um ein solches handelt es sich augenscheinlich) sind demnach imperiale und lokalkultische Elemente vereint, wobei der römische Duktus¹⁸ prominent und quasi „fremd“ ist. Und während zudem sowohl bei den älteren als auch den jüngeren „Kistophoren“ ab dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. die lokale Gottheit in einer solchen „monumentalen“ Art nicht entgegentritt, hebt die claudische Prägung sowohl die regionale als auch die überregionale Bedeutung hervor, was auf ein besonderes Politikum weist, nämlich die deutliche römische Rücksichtnahme auf Ephesos als die Hauptstadt von Asia. Das spezifisch Römische erweist sich in der exquisiten Qualität der Porträts des Kaiserpaares, wie sie so in der lokalen Münzprägung nicht entgegentritt, wo auch Claudius allein gar nicht vorkommt¹⁹. Selbst die Darstellung des Kultbildes ist auf den „Kistophoren“ wesentlich besser und detailreicher, so dass der Eindruck entsteht, hier seien neben weniger begabten wahre Meister von außerhalb in der ephesischen Münzstätte, d. i. im Tempelbezirk, am Werke gewesen²⁰, dies allerdings (ausschließlich) für die „Kistophoren“.

Autopsie (also Vertrautheit mit den Gegebenheiten) verrät die Serie mit der Tempelfront, in deren Giebel Niken und Epiphanie-Türen deutlich sind²¹: Während dieser Typus in der lokalen Kupferprägung erst ab Vespasian auftaucht,²² ist er unter Claudius wohl nicht bloß vorweggenommen, sondern etwa Ausdruck einer neuen Religiosität im Kult, wo nach der „Freigabe“ des Götterbildes schon im 4. Jh. v. Chr.²³ jetzt auch weiterer Einblick gewährt wurde, wenn in den Giebeltüren z. B. theatralische Aufzüge die Mystik steigerten.

¹⁷ Die Qualität der Prägung wird deutlich auf einem, auf der Marmorstraße von Ephesos gefundenen, fast stempelfrischen Exemplar: Karwiese 1.

¹⁸ Die Porträts sind nicht nur vorzüglich, sondern auch sehr getreu und gehen auf entsprechende Musterbücher zurück. Vollends das sonst weniger übliche Latein verrät die Bindung.

¹⁹ s. dazu Karwiese 2012, Nr. 65 ff. und Karwiese 2016, S. 87.

²⁰ Die Kaiserbüsten auf den „Kistophoren“ sind generell von ähnlicher Qualität wie diejenigen auf den reichsrömischen Münzen, scheinen sie jedoch sogar zu übertreffen, wie der Vergleich nahelegt: s. Kent et al. 1973, Taf. 47 f.

²¹ s. dazu z. B. Karwiese 2012, S. 27.

²² s. MvE 5, S. 27.

²³ s. Fleischer 1973, Taf. 43 ff.

Wie aber lässt sich von dieser Evidenz eine Brücke schlagen zu den *Tempeln der Artemis* des Demetrios?

Die antiken Tempel hatten von Beginn mit dem Handel zu tun, waren sie doch der einzige Garant für die materielle Sicherheit deponierter Güter. Im Grunde waren die zahllosen Stiftungen und Weihgaben²⁴ in erster Linie *Einlagen*, die von der Gottheit verwaltet wurden. Am schönsten illustriert dies Xenophon, der sein Honorar der Ephesia anvertraute, um es später (sicher nach Abzügen) wieder zu erhalten²⁵. Ephesos galt sehr früh als „Bank von Asia“²⁶, welche Funktion freilich schon viel ältere Heiligtümer innehatten: Dabei ging es jedoch vor allem um die Hütung des Normgewichtes, was dazu führte, dass sich in den, durch ihr Asylon ausgezeichneten, Heiligtümern (d. i. in deren Areal) folgerichtig auch die Münzstätte etablierte²⁷. Das führte bald dazu, dass sich der Handel und vor allem die Geldwechsler breit machten, wie sogar im salomonischen Tempel zu Jerusalem, aus dem sie Jesus vertrieb: Schließlich warf er deren Tische um τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν... und verschüttete das Wechselgeld ἐξέχεε τὸ κέρμα²⁸.

Ein weiteres Faktum unterstreicht die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Münzen (bzw. Münzstätte) und Tempelschatz, nämlich der Umstand, dass claudische „Kistophoren“ unter Vespasian gegengestempelt, und noch ältere solche²⁹ erst unter Hadrian überprägt wurden, was ihren Verbleib als (z. B. stationären) Tempelbesitz erweist³⁰. Denn nur so können später noch Exemplare zu einer Manipulation vorhanden gewesen sein.

Die Firma des Demetrios produzierte anscheinend Silbermünzen, die von den Anhängern der Göttin und Pilgern gekauft wurden, um sie als handliche Opfergaben im Tempel niederzulegen. Der „Verkaufschlager“ wurde mit dem Eponym „Tempel“ beworben, so wie man in Athen von *Eulen* und in Korinth von *Füllen* (poloi³¹) sprach.

²⁴ z. B. das Riesendepot des Kroisos, s. Karwiese 1995a, S. 147 und Karwiese 1995b, S. 32.

²⁵ vgl. dazu Karwiese 1995b, S. 39 und 55.

²⁶ vgl. Karwiese 1995b, S. 31 f. Der Tempel (d. h. die Priester) vergab auch Kredite: Karwiese 1995a, S. 61.

²⁷ Das bedeutet jedoch nicht, wie Laum (1924) argumentierte, dass die Münze in den Tempeln erfunden wurde, der Vorgang ist umgekehrt. Nach Beschriftungen auf Säulen der „Arkadiane“ (Theaterstraße) gab es (auch) im Stadtzentrum einen *Topos* der Argyrokopoi (IvE 547).

²⁸ Mk. 11,15 ff. und Joh. 2, 13ff.

²⁹ Zurückreichend bis in die hellenistische Zeit, s. Herzfelder 1936, Tafeln pass.

³⁰ Nur, nicht im freien Umlauf befindliche, Münzen konnten Jahrzehnte später noch in Massierung vorhanden sein. Andererseits zeigt die Auffindung von 11 mehr oder minder stempelfrischen „Kistophoren“, die etwas verstreut im Koilon, d. h. unter den ehemaligen Sitzreihen des ephesischen Theaters, aufgetaucht sind (Karwiese 1998, S. 25 u. 28 f.), dass diese, von Claudius I. bis Hadrian reichenden, Münzen anscheinend im Theater verteilt und vielleicht sogar allesamt (trotz ihrer auf 4 ausserephesische Städte weisenden Thematik) in Ephesos erzeugt wurden. Ein weiteres Stück wurde vor dem Theater gefunden: Karwiese 1998, S. 12 f. mit Claudius & Agrippina/Ephesia.

³¹ Pollux 9.76.

Die numismatische Evidenz der „Silbertempel“

(Keine Vollständigkeit angestrebt)

Im Rahmen der frühkaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in den Ostprovinzen des römischen Imperiums nehmen mehrere Münzserien eine besondere Stellung ein, die auf Typen, Prägemetall und Gewicht, vor allem aber auf den lateinischen Legenden beruht. Der Ursprung ist in den frühen *Kistophoren*³² zu sehen, die, im 2. J. v. Chr. im Pergamenischen Königreich eingeführt, zunächst nur mit griechischen Jahreszahlen versehen waren, aber im 1. Jh. v. Chr. mit gemischt griechisch-lateinischen Legenden die endgültige politische Dominanz Roms widerspiegeln. Schließlich veränderte sich das Bild, und die namengebende *cista mystica* (der Schlangenkorb) auf der Vorderseite verschwand, so dass man ab da besser nicht mehr von Kistophoren sprechen sollte, deren Gewicht zudem zunächst deutlich höher war als das der unter Claudius emittierten Serie³³.

Anders als auf den Augustus-„Kistophoren“ mit den rein imperialen Rückseitentypen wie dem (pergamenischen?) Roma-Augustus-Tempel³⁴ begegnen unter Claudius daneben auch prominent lokale Bildtypen, wie das ephesische Artemision (1.a+b) und das Kultbild der Ephesia (2.). Daraus könnte man folgern, dass die Zentrale der Provinz Asia erst unter Claudius nach Ephesos verlegt worden sei, doch ist es keineswegs zwingend, dass die umfangreiche „Kistophoren“-Prägung unter Augustus³⁵ in Pergamon emittiert worden sei, denn die 10 Rückseitentypen beziehen sich - anders als bei Claudius - allein auf Augustus³⁶. Es ist daher wohl besser, Ephesos als Prägestätte anzunehmen, da dieser Ort möglicherweise doch schon (zumindest) ab 120 v. Chr. die Hauptstadt der Provinz war³⁷.

Zusammenfassung

Wie wohl in den meisten antiken Heiligtümern war neben den rein kultischen Aktivitäten um die Ephesia auch ein sehr geschäftiger Pilgerbetrieb ein immanenter Bestandteil. Dieser wieder hing ursächlich mit der Einrichtung der Asylie zusammen, die Personen wie Gütern Schutz versprach. Das war dann auch der Grund dafür, dass die Münzstätte vermutlich im Temenos, dem heiligen Bezirk, ihre Heimat fand, was dem Artemision den Titel der „Bank von Asia“ eintrug. Dessen ursprüngliche Bedeutung lag jedoch darin, dass hier (wovon wie in den alt-mesopotamischen Tempeln auszugehen ist) die Normmaße aufbewahrt wurden. Somit war der weitläufige Bezirk zugleich religiöses Kultzentrum und wirtschaftlicher Betrieb.

Neben Leuten, die das Asylon fallweise für sich oder ihr Vermögen³⁸ in Anspruch nahmen, gab es auch solche, die hier ihre Wirkstätte oder gar ihr ansässiges Handelskontor hatten, wie jener Demetrios, der den frommen Pilgern „Silbertempel“ verkaufte, was offenbar ein sehr gutes Ge-

³² Der Name ist antik: Cicero, *ad Atticum* 2, 6.2 und 11, 1.2 sowie Livius, *ab urbe condita* 37, 46.3.

³³ Von einer sehr deutlichen Frequenzspitze um 12,50 g (gewonnen allein aus dem Material in SNG Aulock und Kopenhagen) zu einer Ballung bei 10,50 g unter Claudius (s. u.).

³⁴ RPC 1: 2217 und 2219. Der Typ wurde unter Nerva nochmals ausgeprägt: s. RPC 3: 1303, 1311.

³⁵ RPC 1: 2203-2220.

³⁶ s. RPC 1, S. 376 ff.

³⁷ Dafür spricht vor allem die umfangreiche Goldserie, die der römische Prätor C. Atinius i. J. 121/20 besorgte: s. dazu Karwiese 1995b, S. 70 f. und *Die Goldmünzen der Artemis von Ephesos* (in Vorbereitung).

³⁸ Man denke an die Kroisos-Stiftung oder das Depot des Xenophon (vgl. dazu Karwiese 1995a, S. 146 f.).

schäft war. Was immer nun diese Devotionalien waren, sie waren dazu gedacht, dem Tempelschatz hinzugefügt zu werden³⁹.

Während zwar bisher keine Silbertempel aufgetaucht sind, ist umso auffälliger, dass just zur Zeit des Kaisers Claudius I. nach einer langen Pause wieder „Kistophoren“ in mehreren Serien emittiert wurden, deren Thematik eindeutig nur auf Ephesos bezogen werden kann: Denn wenn hier mit dem Kaiserkopf auf der Vorderseite einmal die Front des Artemisions, dann der offizielle römische Reichstempel auf den Rückseiten erscheinen, und schließlich mit den Köpfen des Kaisers und seiner Gemahlin Agrippina II. das Kultbild in geradezu monumentaler Hervorhebung entgegentritt, dann sollten Zweifel daran schwinden, dass es sich hier um ephesische Produkte handle, deren Bilder in gleichem Maße dem Kaiser wie der Göttin huldigten.

Somit ist der Aufruhr, den der Silberschmied Demetrios im Theater von Ephesos lostrat, auch eine Bestätigung dafür, dass nicht mehr Pergamon, sondern längst Ephesos die Provinzhauptstadt war⁴⁰. Denn es ging damals um eine urephesische Angelegenheit, deren Illustration auf dem wichtigsten Informationsmedium der Antike, der Münze, unbedingt zu erwarten war: Hatte die Stadt doch auch in ihrer lokalen Münzprägung die Vermählung des Kaiserpaares i. J. 49 n. Chr. als ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ gefeiert.

So stellt sich diese Silberprägung auch als eine hochpolitische Angelegenheit dar, mit der nicht nur die Große Göttin verherrlicht, sondern auch das römische Regime als Schutzmacht gepriesen wurde, dem umgekehrt die Ephesia mit ihren geöffneten Händen Asyl gewährte. Dabei darf nicht übersehen werden, dass sie in der lateinischen Form als DIANA EPHESIA entgegentritt, was diese „Kistophoren“/3D natürlich als römische Produkte erkennen lässt, die sowohl seitens der Provinzverwaltung als auch von ansässigen römischen Sponsoren dem Demetrios (zusammen mit dem Rohsilber) in Auftrag gegeben worden sein können.

Dieser Mann sorgte demnach als im Tempelbetrieb zugelassener Unternehmer für großen Umsatz von Produkten unter dem Begriff „Silbertempel“. Jede Störung musste daher als Angriff auf die Einnahmen gelten. Doch was tat Paulus wirklich, dass er als Gefahr für Göttin und Tempel angesehen wurde? Denn seine Behauptung, dass von Menschenhand keine Götter entstünden, konnte eher als ärgerlich abgetan werden. Dass er in fast ganz „Asia“ (das wäre geographisch die heutige West-Türkei) die Menschen zu bekehren suchte, worauf Demetrios auch hinwies, war schon schwerer wiegend, doch ging es dabei in erster Linie um die Juden. Und wo waren die aufgeschreckten Priester der Artemis, um dem Missionar Einhalt zu gebieten? Stattdessen warf sich ein (jüdischer?) *Grammateus* für Paulus in die Bresche, dem damit vor allem den Aufruhr zu stoppen und so ein Einschreiten der römischen Behörden zu verhindern gelang. Zuvor noch hatte ein Jude namens Alexandros auftreten wollen, wurde jedoch wegen seiner Herkunft niedergeschrien. Es ist daher bemerkenswert, dass Paulus in einem seiner Briefe einen Alexander erwähnt, der ihm in Ephesos übel mitgespielt habe, wobei er auch dessen Beruf anführt⁴¹: χαλκεύς, also „(Kup-

³⁹ Die Überprägung alter Kistophoren in hadrianischer Zeit bezeugt deren Aufbewahrung im Tempelschatz – denn wie hätten solche noch 200 Jahre später für diese Manipulation vorhanden sein können?!

⁴⁰ Die Goldserie der Artemis, die wenigstens einmal durch den römischen Beamten C. Atinius C. f. auf 120/21 v. Chr. datiert ist (s. Jenkins 1987, S. 183 ff. und French 1991, S. 201 f. bezeugen dies am besten.

⁴¹ 2 Tim 4, 14.

fer)Schmied“; beide werden in den NT-Querverweisen für identisch gehalten⁴², so dass dem Paulus hier eine Vermengung passiert wäre. Doch ist viel wahrscheinlicher, dass die beiden Juden Alexandros und Demetrios beruflich zusammen gehörten, und ersterer sich nicht zur Verteidigung des Paulus, sondern der „Silberpräger“ vor dem Volke erhob⁴³.

So wichtig der Angriff auf Paulus für die Heilsgeschichte auch war, und Lukas hier entsprechende Gewichtung vornahm, so deutlich wird dabei, dass die Obrigkeit das ganze entweder gar nicht wahrnahm oder sich nicht interessierte. Denn es gab ja auch beamtete Fürsprecher in Gestalt der Asiarchen, die den Kaiserkult zu hüten hatten und sich bei Gefahr im Verzug anders verhalten hätten.

Demetrios machte der Artemis silberne Tempel. Ist es Zufall, dass ausgerechnet zu jener Zeit die Produktion der „Kistophoren“ wieder aufgenommen wurde mit einer Thematik, die Kaiserpaar und Artemis gleichermaßen huldigte? Wäre es denkbar, dass das Geschäft mit diesen einfach zu handhabenden Motivgaben oder auch Souvenirs schlecht lief? Und wäre es ebenso denkbar, dass die jüdischen Gegenspieler des Paulus⁴⁴ (die ja vielleicht sogar mit dem Devotionalienhandel ihre besten Geschäfte machten) hier eine Möglichkeit sahen, dem Renegaten eins auszuwischen und beschwörend davor warnten, dass dieser Paulus, wenn er so weitermache, bald den altherwürdigen Kult zu verjagen versuchen könnte?

Wenn dem so war, was geschah mit diesen Silbermünzen, die im Durchschnitt nur geringe Abnutzungsspuren zeigen und mehr oder minder geschützte Aufbewahrung verraten? Sie waren gewiss nicht für den täglichen Gebrauch bestimmt, sondern als Votive für die Göttin und/oder als Festgeschenk für die Bürger der Stadt im Zuge einer der vielen Feiern im Theater gedacht⁴⁵. Es gäbe freilich auch noch die Möglichkeit, dass Tempel- und kaiserliche Kasse die Auftraggeber waren, und Demetrios mit seiner Gilde als Unternehmer die Prägung vornahm, was ihm *nicht geringen Verdienst* einbrachte. Paulus mag freilich vielleicht sogar dann auffällig geworden sein, wenn er weniger gegen die symbolträchtige Prägung selbst als dagegen aufgetreten wäre, dass überhaupt Geldgeschäfte in einem Tempel stattfanden. Und wie sollte man Leute bekehren, die sich nicht einmal der eigenen Religion gegenüber pietätvoll verhielten...⁴⁶

So bleibt schließlich noch die Frage: Wie kam Demetrios zu seinem reichen Gewinn?

Indem er das (ihm zur Verfügung gestellte) Silber mit seinen Leuten verarbeitete und dafür entweder reichlich entlohnt wurde, oder aber Bewerbung und Verkauf der Münzen als Subunternehmer

⁴² Bohlen 2006, 359.

⁴³ Nach Apg 19, 33 „informierte man (συμβέβασαν) aus der Menge den Alexandros, da ihn die Juden vorschickten“.

Die Menge wandte sich jedoch sofort gegen ihn und schrie zum zweiten Male ihr „Groß ist die Artemis der Ephesier“. Man hatte zwar nichts gegen die jüdischen Entrepreneurs im Tempelbezirk, doch sehr viel gegen sie als Tempelhüter.

⁴⁴ Zur Rolle der jüdischen Bevölkerung (der es um die Anerkennung ging) s. Rogers 1991, S. 12 und Karwiese 1995b, S. 91.

⁴⁵ Worauf ja die Funde in und vor dem Theater weisen, s. Anm. 25.

⁴⁶ Da gab es anscheinend auch sonst Probleme, wenn wenig später der Engel der Apokalypse (Apok. 12. 4) der ephesischen jüdisch-christlichen Gemeinde drohen musste (s. auch Karwiese 1995b, S. 96).

(*Franchise*) des Tempels gegen anteilige Verrechnung durchführte⁴⁷. Und des Paulus Intervention traf daher zu allererst den Demetrios. Den tausendfach geprägten Tempel, der da zum Zeugen angerufen wurde, hat dies weniger tangiert...

Doch da gibt es noch ein Problem: Demetrios ereiferte sich wegen des Sakrilegs gegen die Ephesia und ihren Tempel, während von einem solchen gegen den Dea Roma-Augustus-Tempel keine Rede ist. Daraus lässt sich schließen, dass man dem Römer Paulus nicht unterstellen mochte⁴⁸, es auf den offiziellen römischen Kult abgesehen zu haben. Dadurch, dass die Münzgruppen 1. a/b (Artemision) und 2.a/b (Dea Roma-Augustus) über die Vorderseiten verbunden sind⁴⁹, waren dies eben die „Silbertempel“, die bei einem Geschäftsrückgang allesamt betroffen gewesen sein mussten. Demetrios ging wohl davon aus, dass es genügen sollte, den Paulus als Verächter der Göttin anzuklagen.

*

Anhang: die numismatische Evidenz zu den „Kistophoren“ des Claudius I.

Das Artemision (Hier beispielhaft für alle „Kistophoren“ des Claudius aufgeschlüsselt)

1.a Tetrastyle Tempelfront auf zwei Stufen (Abb. 1)

Vs. in Perlkreis Kopf des Claudius I. n. li., ohne Lorbeerzweig und Gewand, 7h TICLAVD CAES.AVG

Rs. in Perlkreis tetrastyle jonische Tempelfront auf 2 Stufen und Stylobat, im Zentrum Kultbild der Artemis Ephesia im Ependytes mit Tānien, Nimbus und Polos. Über den Säulen* Architrav mit Scheininschrift? und Geison. Im Giebel große Mitteltür/ Fenster zwischen 2 Seitenfenstern, dazwischen 2 Niken, einen Arm zu der im Scheitel befindlichen Scheibe erhoben. Mittig horizontal geschrieben DIAN EPHE. Alle Buchstaben mit Appices.

* Die columnae cellatae sind durch zwei „Pölster“ angedeutet.

Viele Schrötlinge sind leicht oval, meist über die senkrechte Achse beprägt, der Punktkreis hat oft beidseits nicht mehr auf den Schrötling gepasst.

Gew.	Vs.	Referenz	NB
10,88	1	W. Holt	selber Stempel auch in 1.b
11,13		Berk IX'05: 451	
11,24		Pecunem/Gitbud 1: 136	
11,41		Basel MM 43: 300	
10,54	2	CNR 20/2: 510	selber Stempel auch in 1.b
10,62		Lanz 60: 346	
10,86		Berk 43366	
10,40	3	Hirsch 1911: 899	

⁴⁷ Das hätte auch mit „Silbertempeln“ nicht anders funktioniert.

⁴⁸ Lukas betont ja auffällig die guten Beziehungen des Paulus zu den lokalen Behörden.

⁴⁹ Also aus einer Prägestätte kamen.

10,47		Hirsch 18: 1845	
10,16	4	Triton 14: 649	
10,60		344: 211	
11,14		Pegasi 14: 377	
11,16		NAC 84: 1777	
11,17		CNG 79: 1066	
11,38		NFA 20: 116 ex 33: 20: 116	
/		Malter 18: 51	
/		Schulman XI'97:1433	
10,35	5	CNG 57: 1068 ex Ph. D. Vicci	Gegstpl. IMPVESAVG
10,70		Berk 86: 664	
11,24		MMD 9: 289 ex Hirsch 11: 112	
11,41	6	Gorny&M. 195: 327	
11,46		MMAG 1967: 1105 ex Basel 8: 893	
/	7	Emporium 4: 193	
/	8	Glendining II'53: 489	
/		Hamburger 1925: 566	
10,55	9	Peus 314: 383	
10,59		Hirsch 250-51: 866	
11,14		Pars Coins PCW-R313	
11,50		Leu 59: 252 ex Herbst '93: 114	
10,84	10	Poindessault VII'85: 1	
/	11	Spink 6026: 104	

Total Number 32 11

Bei 32 Exemplaren gibt es 11 Vorderseiten, d. s. pro Vorderseite knapp 3 Stück. Am häufigsten ist die Vs. 4 mit 26 % erhalten, gefolgt von Vs. 1 und 9 mit je 13 %; es wäre denkbar, dass diese den Beginn der Prägung anzeigen. Insgesamt lässt sich aus der Evidenz eine starke Emission ableiten.

Die metrologische Evidenz der Gruppe 1.a:

10,25	o
10,50	oooooooo
10,75	oooo
11,00	
11,25	oooooooo
11,50	oooo
g	

Daraus ergibt sich, wenngleich etwas unscharf, dass hier das Unzialgewicht von 26,875 g bzw. das daraus abgeleitete As-Gewicht von 10,75 zu Grunde liegt. Die Schrötlingsgröße ist zwar undeutlich, doch scheint es sich um den Wert von $1\frac{1}{2}$ *digiti* à 18,4 mm (*24,5 mm) zu handeln. Die Breite der Tempelfront (gemessen an den Außenkanten der Säulen) variiert zwischen schmal und breit, mit einer deutlichen Frequenz auf 12.5 mm; sie hat nichts zu tun mit den Stempeltypen. Da die „Kistophoren“ richtig auch als Dreifachdenare (3D) angesprochen werden, müssen sie unter Claudius als

1/90 der Libra 3,58 x 3 = 10,75 g gewogen haben⁵⁰, was aus den in Serie 1.a vorhandenen Exemplaren einen Denar mit 3,50-75 g Realgewicht ergibt. Weiter s. u. Serie 1.b-2.

Generell sind die Oberflächen scharf erhalten und weisen nur geringen Abrieb auf, der zumeist die „Brüste“ des Kultbildes, weniger das Ohr des Claudius, betrifft, so dass der Eindruck entsteht, als wären die Münzen häufig auf ihrer Rückseite, also mit dem Kaiserporträt nach oben, hin und her geschoben worden, wie es im Geschäft „über den Ladentisch“ geschieht, oder aber (weniger logisch) als Spielsteine verwendet worden wären.

Die häufigste Vs. ist 4 (25,8 gefolgt von 9 (16,1 %); die häufigste (hier nicht einbezogene) Rs. ist a (26,7 %):

Vs. 4	oooooooo	3 oo
9	ooooo	6 oo
1	oooo	7 o
2	ooo	10 o
5	ooo	11 o
8	ooo	

Da Vs. 4 sich von den anderen Porträts nur in Details unterscheidet, geht der Überhang vielleicht auf Zufall zurück, s. aber o. S. 6.

1.b Tetrastyle Tempelfront auf 3 Stufen (Abb. 2)

Vs. Kopf des Claudius I. n.li. wie bei 1.

Rs. wie zuvor, aber Tempel auf 3 Stufen

Gew.	Vs.	Referenz	NB
/	1	Titano San Marino 68: 169	selbe Stempel auch in 1.a
/		SKB 17: 167	
11,03	2	Basel 26: 790	
11,05		Gorny&M. 118: 1741	
10,01	6	Naumann 48: 544	
10,66		NAC N: 1729	
/		Emporium 4: 193	
9,97	12	NAC 51: 857	
10,74		CNG 75: 995	
10,89		Roma e-21: 732	
11,04		Peus 360: 8056 ex Beckenbauer 2	
10,71	13	MBasel 93: 110 ex Spink V'1904	
11,52		Gorny&M. 107: 307 ex Sternberg 26: 284	
11,60		Hirsch 214: 1614	
11,10	14	Nemesis Optimo	
10,84	15	Poindessault VII'85: 147	
11,13		Triton 6: 819	

⁵⁰ s. dazu Elmer 1956, 25.

11,18		Gorny&M. 118: 4208
11,84	15	Schulten X'85: 296
/		Glendining II'50: 1033
/		Dorotheum 416: 55
10,36	16	Meister&S. 12:75
10,39		Leu 52: 163
10,44		Kovacs 29: 84
11,01		CNG 58: 1107
11,03		Obolos 6: 639 ex Schulten IV'88: 2284
11,33	16	Stack's XII'96: 837 ex Sotheby X'93: 1461
11,33		CNG 105: 821
10,35	17	VAuctions 223: 84 ex 218: 114
10,62		SNG Tübingen 4727
10,83		Berk 147:227
10,85		Künker 288: 419
10,88		Sotheby X'95: 243
10,90		Lanz 74: 385
11,36		NAC 86: 110 ex CNR 26:
/		Basel 17: 382
9,91	18	Gorny&M. 176: 1642
10,52		CNG 90: 1461
11,07		Gorny 71: 615
/		Kreß: A854
/		NCirc 105/8: 4852
10,55	19	Peus 284: 804
10,66		Baldwin's 62-63: 82
/		Kurpfälz.MH 14: 159
10,63	20	Berk IX'05: 452
10,66		CNG 37: 1447
10,73		CNG e-125: 206
10,89		Naumann 47:
10,99		Peus 386: 684
11,02		CNG e-285: 303
11,05		Gorny&M. 118: 1741

Gew.	Vs.	Referenz	NB
11,30	20	CNG e-70: 866 ex Gorny 146: 361	
/		Cambridge	
10,72	21	CNG e-365: 317 ex Hirsch 197: 509	
10,80		Bourgan XII'91: 55	
10,85		Glenn W. Woods	
/		Cahn68: 228	
10,76	22	Künker 204: 538	

10,88		MMAG 582: 42	
11,39		Basel 35: 24	
/		Glendining IX'62: 284	
10,85	23	Gorny&M. 232: 332 ex Künker 248: 7456	
10,87		CNG 57: 1067	Gegstpl. IMPVESAVG
10,89		CNG 103: 813	
10,75	24	CNG 140: 128	
11,03		Künker 124: 8849	
11,10		Gorny&M. 165: 1536	
11,29		CNG 69: 1528	
/		MMAG 281: 24	
/		Kreß 122: 89	
/		Priv.Slg.	
/		Hirsch 185: 707	
10,93	25	Lanz 24: 491 ex Créd. de la B. III'85	
9,46	26	CNG e-341: 328	
10,90		CNG 70: 867	Gegstpl. IMPVESAVG
11,05		NAC O: 1900	
10,56	36	Gorny 97: 762 ex Sternberg LL 11: 202	
10,77	27	Sternberg 7: 556 ex Aulock 6573	
11,09		Leu 2: 367 ex Sotheby NY XII'91: 693	
11,12		Lanz 58: 486	
11,21		Nilus Coins	
/		Hess Horsky 1917: 2998	
10,64	28	Lanz 94: 203 ex Kastner 6: 256	
10,67		Berlin.MA 16: 156	
10,88		RPC 2222 (BMC 229)	
11,03		MMD 1: 694 ex Malter 47: 790	
11,21	28	Gorny 64: 339 ex Tkalec X'94: 183	
11,25		UBS 78: 1459	
11,41		CNG 57: 1066	
/		Köln.MK 50: 1490	
/		Teutoburger MA 86: 2455	
10,75	29	Solidus 9: 324	
11,47		Triton 7: 858	
/		Dupriez 115: 135	
11,03	30	CNG 75: 994	
/		Dorotheum 405: 111	
11,26	31	Lanz 72: 498 ex Gibbons 15: 51	
11,22	32	Hess 1960: 297	
11,66		Meister &S. 5: 121	
10,65	33	Italo Vecchi 7: 720	
/		Hirsch 82: 563	

9,67	34	Kölner MK 102: 231
11,04	35	Dorotheum 493: 123

103 32 <- Total Number

Bei 103 Exemplaren gibt es 32 Vorderseiten, d. s. pro Vorderseite ähnlich 1.a 3½ Stück. Am häufigsten ist die Vs. 9 mit 26 % erhalten, gefolgt von Vs. 20 mit 9% sowie 17 und 24 mit je 8 %. Insgesamt lässt sich aus der Evidenz ebenfalls eine starke Emission ableiten.

Die Gruppen 2.a (Rs. mit Roma- und Augustus-Tempel auf 2 Stufen) und 2.b (Rs. mit Roma- und Augustus-Tempel auf 3 Stufen) wurden wegen der Parallelität mit den Gruppe 1.a und 1.b in diese Liste einbezogen:

Die metrologische Evidenz der Gruppen 1. (o) + 2. (x)

9,50	x
9,75	x
10,00	oxxx
10,25	xx
10,50	ooooooooxxxxxxxxxxx
10,75	ooooooooxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
11,00	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
11,25	oooooooooooooooooooo
11,50	oooooxxxxx
11,75	xx

Aus diesem Frequenzbild ergibt sich deutlich eine Spitze bei 11,00 g (25,50 %), allerdings knapp gefolgt von 10,75 g; dies führte auf einen Denar von 3,666/58 g und damit eine Libra von 322,66/315,6 wobei ersterer Wert der zutreffendere ist.

Die Verteilung der Vorderseiten zeigt das folgende Bild:

Vs. 20	xxxxxxxxx	19	xxx
28	xxxxxxxxx	23	xxx
17	xxxxxxxxx	29	xxx
24	xxxxxxxxx	1	ooooxx
16	xxxxxxx	2	ooxx
15	xxxxxx	26	xx
18	xxxxx	30	xx
27	xxxxx	32	xx
12	xxxx	33	xx
21	xxxx	14	x
22	xxxx	31	x
6	ooxxx	34	x
13	xxx	35	x
		36	x

Während die Vss. 20 f. eine ähnliche Frequenz aufweisen, fallen die Vss. 13 f. stark ab, was jedenfalls nicht auf schlechte Stempel zurückzuführen ist, sondern vielleicht auf interne Hierarchien.

*

Hier schließt sich Gruppe 3 als die qualitätsvollste unter den claudischen „Kistophoren“ an:

Vs. Linksbüsten des lorbeerbekränzten Claudius vorne, dahinter Agrippina II. in Tunica. Umschrift TI.CLAVD.CAES.AVG.AGRIPPINA.AVGVSTA.

Rs. Kultbild der Ephesia frontal, im in Zonen gegliederten Ependytes, mit *mammae* und Brustschmuck (darin manchmal Halbmond) Nimbus und Turmpolos, die Hände seitlich weggestreckt, von ihnen fallen Wollbinden zu Boden. Umschrift DIANA EPHESIA.

Es bestehen keine Stempelverbindungen zu den Gruppen 1 und 2. Eine Aufschlüsselung des Materiales ist deshalb unterblieben.



(Abb. 1) Triton 14: 649 mit Vs. 4 (Gruppe 1.a)



(Abb. 2) Lanz 94: 544 mit Vs. 6 (Gruppe 1.b)



(Abb. 3) CNG 116: 218 mit Vs. 38 (Gruppe 2.a)



(Abb. 4) Gemini 2: 314 mit Vs. 47 (Gruppe 2.b)



(Abb. 5) Lanz 94: 229 mit Vs. 81 (Gruppe 3)

Alle Abb. vergrößert

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Abbreviations

- IvE Inschriften von Ephesos, Bonn 1979 ff.
- RPC Roman Provincial Coinage, London 1992 ff.
- Apg Apostelgeschichte
- Apok Johannes-Apokalypse
- Joh Johannes-Evangelium
- Kor Korinther-Brief
- Mk Markus-Evangelium
- Mt Matthäus-Evangelium

Δημήτριος...ἀργυροκόπος ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος
Demetrios'un Gümüş Tapınakları ve I. Claudius'un "Kistophor"ları (Bir Öneri)

Özet

Luka'nın Elçilerin İşleri'nde yer alan bir 'gümüşçü' olan Demetrios'un tiyatrodan Artemis'i ve tapınağını rencide ettiği için Paulos'a karşı insanları tahrik ettiği meşhur sahne, bilhassa numismatik kanıt kullanılmadığı için henüz yeterince ele alınmamıştır. Ama asıl bu alan o skandalın içyüzünü aydınlatmak için başka bir analitik fırsat vermektedir. Onlarda sadece Artemis'in gümüş tapınaklarının satışı sözde göre Paulos tarafından tehlikeye atıldığına değinilmiş olduğu için, aynı zamana ait İmparator I. Claudius'a ait gümüş 'kistophorlar' yakından bakmaya değmektedir. Çünkü bunlar Artemision'un ve Artemis Ephesia'nın kült heykelinin resimlerini taşımaktadır. Üçüncü bir seride Augustus ve Dea Roma resmedilmektedir. Bu durum bu sikkelerin gayet resmi bir Roma işi olduğunu göstermektedir. Sikke damgalarının sadece en yüksek kalitede değil, aynı zamanda Efes'e ait olmayan imparatorluk sikke basımının tarzında olmaları gerçeği bunu desteklemektedir. Bundan dolayı Efes'in kendi bronz sikkelerinde eyalet usulünce Claudius ve II. Agrippina'nın düğünlerini 'tanrıların düğünü' olarak kutlaması oldukça önem kazanmaktadır. Bu yüzden Demetrios'un gümüş tapınaklarının model olmaması ve 'kistophorları' simgelemesi olasılık dışı değildir. Dolayısıyla "kistophorlar" anlaşıldığı gibi sadece para birimi değil, tanrılara hediye anlamına da gelmektedir. Tanrı ve imparatorun bağlantısında tabi ki Ephesia ve imparatorun birbirini karşılıklı olarak yücelttiği çerçevede 'uluslararası' bir siyaset görünmektedir. Arada ürünleri için açıkçası iyi para kazanan 'sikke ustası' Demetrios vardı. Diğer yandan, Paulos, muhtemelen Yahudi düşmanları tarafından ileri sürülen bir çeşit araç olarak görünmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kistophorlar; Ephesos; Artemis; Paulos.

Δημήτριος...ἀργυροκόπος ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος
The Silver Temples of Demetrios and the "Cistophori" of Claudius I (A Suggestion)

Abstract

The well-known scene in Luke's Acts of the Apostles according to which a certain "silversmith" Demetrios agitated at the theatre against Paul because he had offended Artemis and her temple has not yet been sufficiently dealt with as particularly the numismatic evidence was not exploited. But it is this field which offers another analytical chance to illuminate the background of the scandal. As there are mentioned only silver temples of Artemis the sale of which was allegedly endangered by Paul, a closer look into those silver "cistophors" of contemporary emperor Claudius I is worthwhile for these bear the pictures of Artemisium and cult image of Artemis-Ephesia. On a third series there are represented Augustus and Dea Roma which shows that these coins were a highly official Roman affair. This is being underlined by the fact that the coin stamps are not only of the highest quality but are also of a non-Ephesian fashion close to the imperial coinage. Therefore, it is significant that Ephesos celebrated on its bronze coins the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina II as "marriage of Gods" in a rather provincial mode.

So, it is not improbable that the silver temples of Demetrios were not models but stood for the "cistophors". As such they were apparently ment as dona to the goddess and not only as currency. In the connexion of goddess and emperor, there is of course "international" policy evident in the frame of which the Ephesia enhanced the emperor and vice versa. In between there was the "mint master" Demetrios who as such gained evidently good money for his products. On the other hand, Paul seems to have been sort of a vehicle which was probably pushed forward by his Jewish enemies.

Keywords: Cistophori; Ephesos; Artemis; Paul.

Countermarks in the Name “Galba” on Roman Imperial and Provincial Coinages: Considerations on the Countermarks and the Circulation of Local Bronze Coins in Pannonia (?), Moesia, Thrace and Asia Minor (?)

Rodolfo MARTINI*

1. Foreword

From the reign of Nero to the ensuing civil wars (68-69 CE), the regions of Moesia and Thrace witnessed the widespread coining of Neronian bronze with Latin legends, typified by the ‘reproduction’ of certain types from the mints in Rome and Lugdunum. Especially noteworthy was the Perinthus mint, whose specimens circulated alongside local coinage with Greek legends. These issues, along with certain bronze series from the mints in Nicaea and Nicomedia, would later undergo widespread countermarking in the Danube and Asia Minor regions with countermark types using the emperor Galba’s name, in both Latin and Greek lettering, either spelled out or abbreviated.

Minting order and the subsequent countermarking allow us to again take up some major questions that have arisen regarding the coinage and distribution of imperial bronze in the western part of the Empire from the time of Augustus’ monetary reform onward. The complexity and multiple ramifications of this phenomenon have heretofore stymied attempts to devise an accepted, definitive explanation. Specifically, a framework is needed to comprehend the several outright local ‘reruns.’ Most of these are struck but a few are cast, and evidence shows they circulated daily alongside official issue, whose types they unflinchingly imitated from the central mints in Rome and Lugdunum, even while clearly bearing stylistic and morphological features that were generally inferior to their models. However, among this broad set of widespread issue various levels of production are found, with differing degrees of adherence to prototypical output from the main mints.

The reproduction of types and morphology from central coinage, in the absence of comparison based on specimens whose minting and provenance has been ascertained, often makes it complicated and speculative to clearly and assuredly separate ‘official’ exemplars from ‘local’ ones. This has led to a tendency to categorize the coins merely on the basis of portrayal, casting aside the problem of identifying their place of production, which coincides essentially with investigations into stylistic features. Stylistic inquiry has been limited because it is deemed subjective and not wholly reliable.¹ Many

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It is with great pleasure that I dedicate these notes on a class of countermarks to my colleague Johannes Nollé. The topic is evocative, harking to the most intense moments of a friendship stretching more than a score of years: lengthy exchanges of opinion, sometimes at a pitch that might have seemed sharp, over how to draw up the catalog of countermarks when publishing the Pangerl collection. My own thinking had been running in terms of mere alphabetical order but Johannes, curator of the *Nomismata* series, rightly saw that it ought to be ordered geographically. Once I had come wholly round to the wisdom of his reasoning and our Munich talks were winding up, they were capped by banter in a café near the Staatliche Münzsammlung over a slice of exquisite wild berry pastry.

¹ RPC Supplement 2, 39, no. 1762A «The rough fabric and unusual obverse legend show that this is not a coin of Rome or Lyon...».

discussions dismiss coins whose style or morphology is ‘different’ out of hand, terming them “ancient forgeries” or “barbarian imitations” or “auxiliary issue” or “local copies” and so forth. The effective imperial nature of “localized” production thus often goes unrecognized and, with it, the major role played throughout the Julian-Claudian period by this huge mass of bronze coin. For this was the coin that supplied the western areas of the Empire with the small change needed for daily transactions, primarily in the context of the Legions, to be sure, but also among civilians.

Overall Julian-Claudian coin circulation, closely tied to the legionary context, was beyond any doubt affected by the widespread phenomenon of local bronze coin production. But this phenomenon is often overlooked or its actual legal nature misunderstood. Only for a few Neronian issues from around Thrace have scholars so far recognized beyond doubt the existence and distribution of these ‘parallel’ coinages that replicate imperial mintings. And only certain types have been so identified in *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC), usually attributed across the board to the Perinthus mint. Although many scholars have taken up the question of the production and circulation of “copies” in various regions of the Empire and included these issues among the ‘provincial’ operations of the Roman administration, there is as yet no framing of the phenomenon overall, nor a clear awareness, for the Julian-Claudian period, of the official status of localized bronze issue, which was rooted in the legionary context both for its production and for its use.²

The large output, high quality, obvious close ties to military administration, and the breadth of circulation of these specimens in the Danube region during Nero’s time, incontrovertible evidence for which includes the considerable number of ‘local’ countermarked issues, not only with types relating to the emperor Galba, are phenomena that provide factors and critical inspiration to set out with fresh lean on an investigation into the production and distribution of such coin specie both for periods antedating Nero’s reign and for geographic regions other than the Danube *limes*.

2. Materials

The catalog shows eight currently known countermark types (A-H) with the name “Galba,” either spelled out or abbreviated, in alphabetical order, first those with legends in the Latin alphabet, then

² RPC, 320, nos. 1758-1762, *Group with Latin legends and Roman types*; before RIC, 186, «Uncertain (Balkan?) Mint» and 187, «[...] a semi-official *aes* mint [...] may have been situated in the frontier area occupied by the legions in Upper and Lower Moesia»; Howgego 1985, *passim*; Mac Dowall 1960, *passim*; Giard 1985, *passim*; Giard 1970, *passim*; Martini 2017, 236-237; Kenyon 1987, 24-26, § Contemporary imitations of the bronze coins of Claudius I; Kenyon 1992, § Circulation and Use of Irregular Claudian *Aes*, 316-328; Besombes 2003-2004, recently identifies Hispanic and Gallic mints that have coined bronze coins with Roman types during the reign of Caligula (23, «[...] un atelier provincial qui a frappé les as d'Agrippa de style non romain»; 26, «La grande nouveauté du règne de Caligula, c'est que le monnaies officielles non romaines issues d'ateliers officiels, qu'il serait difficile de localiser ailleurs qu'en Gaule [...]» and the reign of Claudius (27, «Dans la péninsule Ibérique, la production de sesterces, *dupondii* et as est partagée, selon nous, entre deux ateliers.»; 29, «[...] bronzes de Claude appartiennent à une production manifestement gauloise»); Kaenel 1984a, 108 «le imitazioni [...] delle province [...] coniazioni locali ufficiali oppure monete irregolarmente coniate ma in qualche modo tollerate oppure si tratta di veri e propri falsi?» (see also Kaenel 1986, 217-218); Campo 1974, 155, «[...] no se acuñaron en la ceca oficial de Roma, sino que son producto de acuñaciones locales. No es posible creer que este tipo de moneda [...] circulara en la clandestinidad, Roma tenia que conocer forzosamente la existencia de estas acuñaciones locales [...]»; Nash 1978, 26, «Many imitations of Roman asses [...] may have been produced under official Roman supervision».

with Greek, labeled in sequence from A to H, followed by the GIC reference number when found on provincial coinage. The list of specimens in each group begins with Roman imperial issue, when found, followed by provincial coinage. Records for coins from the Perinthus mint follow their order in RPC, placing Greek-legend coins before those with Roman lettering. The catalog is founded on two criteria: (a) imperial issue from the mints in Rome and Lugdunum, listed in RIC order, includes all currently known specimens; (b) series minted in the provinces, ordered according to RPC, include **only coins not recorded** in Schönert 1965, in RPC, in Martini 2002 and 2003.

Coins for each countermark are ordered according to the criteria used in RIC and RPC, broken down by issue, identified by their catalog letter (A1...), and followed by (a) their catalog features and (b) description of the material. Information under (a) includes identification of the mint, the issuing authority, the catalog number (from RIC or RPC), the denomination by Rome-mint standards (sesterces, dupondii, asses) with certainty for the Perinthus mint and in doubt for Nicaea and Nicomedia, and a brief reminder of the reverse type. Issue identified by RPC serial number is further labeled, in brackets, by the countermark type noted in the publication for the series under consideration.

The material reviewed, (b), numbered in series, follows catalog features and references to coin (i) in public and (ii) private collections, which are identified by full last name or by the conventional monogram made up of the first two letters of place of residence and the first letter of the owner's last name, followed by the serial number and, finally, (iii) specimens that have been traded, with the name of the auction house or URL in italics. When needed to distinguish the specimen, this is followed by a brief description either of the duplicate countermarked type (e.g. [x2] in the case of **GALBA**) or of the co-occurrence of other countermarks. The latter are shown in boldface (e.g., **NERCPP**), italics (e.g., *NERCPP*), or plain type (e.g., GALBA), depending on whether they are still legible on the coin surface, obliterated by another countermark or represent modern forgeries, respectively. The list of material takes into consideration only coins that have been identified with certainty, thus leaving out a score of countermarked specimens for which the mint and/or reverse type cannot yet be ascertained.

Two aspects bear remarking upon prior to the catalog list. First, note the provenance of much of the recorded material. Up until the last couple decades, countermarks with the name “Galba” were rather rare, but more recently they have begun to show up with increasing regularity in auction catalogs, generally on higher-quality specimens, such as in online sales, where coins of lesser market value are shown. The nature of their provenance makes it impossible, on the one hand, to directly view the material and, on the other, provides photographic documentation at typically poor resolution, especially for online sales, which allow only low-quality images to be downloaded. As a result, complete investigation of the material is often impossible. Similarly, reproductions of coins found in private collections are often the product of cellphone photography or digital scanning, often carried out on the fly or without proper equipment (lights, tripods, etc.). This material, only rarely available for direct inspection, thus also defies positive, reliable investigation, especially when details or particular features of the devices and legends need to be taken into consideration.

In the second place, the undeniable commercial interest aroused by coins countermarked with the “Galba” name, even were it for no other reason than the historical testimony of the *damnatio memoriae* of Emperor Nero's figure, has encouraged the production and spread of modern forgeries, most of which use poorly preserved, original Roman imperial coins whose market value they hope to enhance by countermarking. There are also less common cases of both the coin and the countermark being forged by striking (cf. 2A.1) or casting (2B.1).

As discussed below (v. 3.J *Modern Forgeries*), surefire identification of modern forgeries is complicated both by the current scarcity of countermarks with the “Galba” name, which makes type comparison fraught, and by the just-noted poor quality of so many photographic reproductions. The latter factor is further exacerbated fact that the rather rare known specimens are typically poorly preserved, both as coins and as countermarks.

A. **GA(lba) C(aesar) P(ater) P(atriae)**

A1. Roma, Claudius; RIC 99; sestertius, Spes

1. Brock coll., 45 (obv., **GALBA** + *GALBA*) (= CNG E126, 262)

B. **GALBA** (CIG, 591)

B1. Roma, Tiberius; RIC 51; sestertius, Carpentum

1. Saarbrücken, IAG (photofile) [x2] (obv., *NCAPR*)

B2. Roma, Tiberius; RIC 54, 60; sestertius, Quadriga (elephants)

1. DeO coll., 01 (obv., *NERCPP*); 2. CNG E132, 173 (obv., **NERCPP**)

B3. Roma, Tiberius, RIC 61,67; sestertius, Hexastyle temple

1. Cac coll., 53 (obv., *NERCPP* ?)

B4. Roma, Tiberius; RIC 62; sestertius, Quadriga (horses)

1. CNG E64, 1003 (obv., **NERCPP**)

B5. Roma, Nero Drusus; RIC 93, 109 (Claudius); sestertius, Curule chair

1. Budapest, MNM (gift 2000, ex Harcos coll.) (obv. **NERCPP**) (Harcos, *Damnatio*, fig. 1 = Martini 2002, 4012); 2. Baker coll., 43 [x2] (obv., *NERCPP*) (= CNG 46, 1183 = CNG 57, 1056, De Vicci coll.); 3. Baker coll., 44 [x2] (obv., *NERCPP*); 4. Connor coll., 09 [x2] (obv., *NERCPP*); 5. MuK coll., 109 [x2]; 6. SoT coll., 05 (obv., **NERCPP**); 7. *ancientcollectiblescoins-de*, x.2011 (= *Incitatus Coins*), iii.2015); 8. *NFA* 31, 542

B6. Roma, Claudius; RIC 96; sestertius, EX SC OB CIVES SERVATOS

1. MuK coll., 109 [x2]; 2. SaM coll., 569 (obv., *NERCPP*); 3. SaM coll., 570 [x2]

B7. Roma, Claudius; RIC 98, 114; sestertius, Triumphal arch

1. DeO coll., 03; 2. DeO coll., 04 (obv. *NERCPP*)

B8. Roma, Claudius; RIC 99, 115; sestertius, Spes

1. Brock coll., 45 (obv., **GACPP** + *GALBA*) (= CNG E126, 262); 2. SaM coll., 577 (= CNG 64, 1004); 3. CNG 69, 1524 (obv., *NERCPP* + **Nero radiate head I.**); 4. *hermes-coins*, iv.2006 (obv., *NERCPP*); 5. *Rauch* 80, 102 [x2] (*GALBA*) (cf. modern forgeries, 1C.1) + *Antonia bust I.* ?); 6. *runtofoffil*, iv.2007 [x2]; 7. *silencoins*, x.2007

B9. Roma, Agrippina Senior; RIC 102 (Claudius); sestertius, SC

1. Connor coll., 10; 2. Pangerl coll., TC52 [x2] (Martini 2003b, 86a) (obv., *NERCPP* ?); 3. CNG E183, 178 (obv., **NERCPP**); 4. *lagalerienumismatique*, xi.2004.(= *Rauch Sommer* 2007, 399) [x2]; 5. *oldromancoins*, iv.2006 (obv., *NERCPP*)

B10. Roma, Claudius; RIC ---; sestertius, ---

1. BuB coll., 10; 2. BuB coll., 11 (obv., *NERCPP*); 3. BuN coll., 11 (obv., **NERCPP**); 4. CaC coll., 36 (= *coloradorc*, vii.2003); 5. DeO coll., 15 (obv., *NERCPP*) (from *Sopiana* area?); 6. DeO coll., 16; 7. DeO coll., 17 [x2] (obv., *NERCPP*) (from *Sopiana* area?); 8. MüP coll., 38; 9. MüP coll., 39 [x2] [*NERCPP*] (from *Mursa*?); 10. RaL coll., 31 (obv., *GALBA* ?) + **Head r.**)

Greek legends

B11. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2050 [cmk: **GALBA**]; sestertius(?), Cista

B12. Nicaea, Nero / Agrippina Minor; RPC 2052 [cmk: **GALBA**]; dupondius(?), Dionysus

B13. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2057 [cmk: **GALBA**]; dupondius(?), Cista

1. *Naville Numismatics* 37, 172 (Clain-Stefanelli coll.)

B14. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2057var. [cmk: **GALBA**]; dupondius(?), Cista

1. SaM coll., 1646; 2. *NAC R*, 1444; 3. *oldromancoins*, iv.2005

B15. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2060 [cmk: **GALBA**]; as(?), Securitas (Poppaea)

1. BuK coll., 07; 2. [viminacium]; 3. *Forvm Ancient Coins*, rp79840; 4. *paganecoins*, iii.2005

B16. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2061 [cmk: **GALBA**]; as(?), Securitas (Messalina)

1. Wien, KM, 27322 (Howgego 1985, 4b)

B17. Nicaea, Nero; RPC 2060-61 [cmk: **GALBA**]; as(?), Securitas

1. SaM coll., 590; 2. *Künker* 83, 767

B18. Nicaea, Nero (head l.); RPC 2060-61var. [cmk: **GALBA**]; as(?), Securitas

1. [nemonater] (= [roman]) (ex Sofia private coll.)

C. **GAL(ba) C(aesar) A(vgvstvs)**(GIC, —)

C1. Roma, Claudius; RIC 96, 112; sestertius, EX SC OB CIVES SERVATOS

1. [roman] (coll. privata)

Latin legends

C2. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1758 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; sestertius, Triumphal arch

1. [roman] (private coll); 2. *paganecoins_2000*, xi.2003

C3. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S2} 1758A [cmk: **standard ? ΓΑΑΥ**]; sestertius, Decursio

1. Baker coll., 45 (= *paganecoins*, v.2002 = Martini 2003a 2, 1426); 2. Baker coll., 46 (= *paganecoins*, x.2001 = Martini 2003a, 1425)

C4. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1760 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Neptune

1. Brock coll. (= *silenoscoins*, iv.2006); 2. Savoca Coins Blue 7, part 1, 629

Greek legends

C5. Nicaea, Nero (head l.); RPC 2057 var. [cmk: **GALBA**]; sestertius(?), Cista

1. SaM coll., 584

D. **Palladium** ΓΑ(λβα) ΑΥ(τοκράτωρ)(CIG, 525)

D1. Nicomedia, Nero; RPC 2084 [cmk: **standard?** ΓΑΑΥ]; as(?), Nike

1. *Rauch* Sommer 2007, 393

D2. Nicomedia, Nero; RPC 2085 [cmk: **standard?** ΓΑΑΥ]; as(?), Uncertain object

E. **Palladium** ΓΑΛ(βα) (GIC, —)

Latin legends

E1. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S2} 1758A [cmk: **standard?** ΓΑΑΥ]; sestertius, Decursio

1. Oxford, AM (= *Rauch* 71, 551)

Greek legends

E2. Nicomedia, Nero; RPC^{S2} 2083A [cmk: ΓΑΛ]; sestertius, Decursio

E3. Nicomedia, Nero; RPC 2086 [cmk: **standard?** ΓΑΑΥ]; semis(?), Capricorn

F. **ΓΑΛΒΑ**(CIG, 526)

Greek legends

F1. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1752 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Apollo (cithara)

1. BuN coll., 05; 2. BuN coll., 19; 3. DiB coll., 15; 4. RaD coll., 08; 5. CNG 57, 783 (De Vicci coll.); 6. CNG E318, 408; 7. [curtisclay] (= CNG E320, 271); 8. CNG stock, vi.2013 (= MuM (Basel), stock 1969 (= Geranio 2014-, no. [11])); 9. *hermes-coins1*, ii.2003; 10. *honorart*, xi.2011; 11. *numisart*, i.2009

F2. Perinthus, Nero (head r.); RPC 1753var. [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; as, Apollo

1. *Gorny & Mosch* 181, 2804 (Lot); 2. *hermescoins1*, xi.2003

F3. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1754 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; dupondius, ΠΙΕΡΙΝ / ΘΙΩΝ

1. LoE coll., 60 (= *collections57110*, xi.2004)

Latin legends

F4. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1758 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; sestertius, Triumphal arch

1. *Akropolis Ancient Coins*, 605

F5. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1759 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; dupondius, Securitas

1. Baker coll., 41; 2. BoP coll., 48 (= *paganecoins*, vi.2003); 3. WaG coll., 10

F6. Perinthus, Nero (head l.); RPC 1759var. [cmk: **standard ?** ΓΑΑΥ]; dupondius, Securitas

1. CNG E123, 159

F7. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1760 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Neptune

1. Baker coll., 42; 2. LoV coll., 42; 3. MoR coll., 07; 4. PrO coll., 14; 5. RaL coll., 16; 6. SaM coll., 583; 7. *ancient-treasures*, ix.2006 (= Mucelli, Contromarche, p.78); 8. *Gorny & Mosch* 152, 2040

F8. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1761 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Altar

1. Brock coll., 46; 2. LoV coll., 01; 3. MoR coll., 10 (from *Utus?*); 4. Pangerl coll., A20 (= Martini 2003b, 92b); 5. SaM coll., 581; 6. SaM coll., 588; 7. *Gorny & Mosch* 191, 2804 (Lot); 8. *savoca-coins*, ix.2015; 9. *silenoccoins*, iv.2006

F9. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S1} 1761A [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Altar

1. Brock coll., 46; 2. SoS coll., 08; 3. *oldromancoins*, iii.2003

F10. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1762 [cmk: ---]; as, Eagle

1. DiB coll., 10 (from *Oescus?*); 2. DiB coll., 32 (from *Oescus?*); 3. NiL coll., 08; 4. SaM coll., 586 (= Calomino 2016, fig. 28); 5. *Forum Ancient Coins*, rs77050

F11. Perinthus, Nero (head r.); RPC^{S2} 1762A var. [cmk: **Capricorn**]; as, Genius

1. BuN coll., 02; 2. RaL coll., 28; 3. *hermescoins*, i.2004

Greek legends

F12. Nicaea; Nero; RPC 2060 [cmk: **GALBA**]; as(?), Securitas (Poppaea)

1. Del Valle coll. (= [mdelvalle], Nerón); 2. *CNG* 85, 585 (= Calomino 2016, fig. 29)

F13. Nicomedia, Nero; RPC^{S2} 2083A [cmk: **ΓΑΑ**]; sestertius(?), Decursio

1. *CNG* 72, 1153

G. **ΓΑΛ(βα)·Κ(αίσαρ) Α(ντοκράτωρ)** (CIG, —)

Latin legends

G1. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S2} 1758A [cmk: **standard? ΓΑΑΥ**]; sestertius, Decursio

1. SaM coll., 565; 2. *CNG* E326, 449 (= *Pecunem* 10, 413)

H. **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ** (CIG, 527)

H.1. Lugdunum, Nero; RIC 391; sestertius, Annona

1. Baker coll., 48

Greek legends

H2. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1748 [cmk: ---]; sestertius, Two cornucopiae

1. CiP coll., 09; 2. SaM coll., 571 (= Calomino 2016, fig. 27)

H3. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1752 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Apollo (cithara)

1. SaM coll., 587; 2. SoS coll., 05; 3. *CNG* E368, 229; 4. *Teutoburger Münzauktion* 90, 2239

H4. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1753 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; as, Apollo

1. Baker coll., 50

H5. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1754 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; sestertius, ΠΕΡΙΝ / ΘΙΩΝ

1. LiL coll., 52 (= *CNG* 93, 751 = *CNG* E208, 184); 2. SaM coll., 566; 3. SaM coll., 573; 4. [rennrad12020]; 5. *CNG* E154, 304 (lot); 6. *VAuctions* 275, 128

Latin legends

H6. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1758 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**]; sestertius, Triumphal arch

1. Berlin, SM, 26551; 2. Stara Zagora, HM, 5657; 3. BuB coll., 13; 4. DiB coll., 04 (from *Oescus*?); 5. [illyricum65], vii.2012; 6. LoV coll., 41; 7. MoR coll., 01 (= CNG 78, 1010); 8. CNG E365, 320; 9. Gorny & Mosch 118, 2089; 10. Gorny & Mosch 142, 2281; 11. Gorny & Mosch 176, 2160; 12. Rauch Sommer 2009, 640; 13. Teutoburger Münzauktion 64, 1993 (= Calomino 2016, p.16, fig. 37)

H7. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S2} 1758A [cmk: **standard? ΓΑΑΥ**]; sestertius, Decursio

1. MüK coll., 116; 2. SaM coll., 572; 3. SaM coll., 578; 4. SaM coll., 579; 5. *artcornucopia* 3E, 3386; 6. CNG E124, 243; 7. *countryclassic* 1875, ii.2007; 8. *numismatiklanz*, vii.2015; 9. Triton XVII.1-2, 619 (A.K. coll.)

H8. Perinthus, Nero (head l.); RPC^{S2} 1758Avar. [cmk: **standard? ΓΑΑΥ**]; sestertius, Decursio

1. *Artemideaste* E3. 3386

H9. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1760 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Neptune

1. Budapest, MNM; 2. SaM coll., 582; 3. SaM coll., 585; 4. WoA coll., 04 (= *paganecoins*, iii.2004)

H10. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1761 [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Altar

1. SaM coll., 591; 2. Gorny & Mosch 108, 1720

H11. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S1} 1761A [cmk: **ΓΑΛΒΑ**]; as, Altar

1. MoR coll., 13 (from *Utus* ?); 2. *engsie*, ix.2017

H12. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1762 [cmk: ---]; as, Eagle

1. *sproptimo*. xi.2013

H13. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S2} 1762A [cmk: **Capricorn**]; as, Genius

1. Rauch E19, 216

H14. Perinthus(?), Nero; RPC --- (RIC cf. type 368); as, Victoria(?)

1. [...] (= Mucelli, Contromarche, p. 77)

Modern forgeries

1. **GALBA**

1A. Roma, Tiberius; RIC 57, 63, 69; sestertius, Shield

1. Gorny & Mosch 126, 3018 (obv., *NERCPP* + **Head r.** ?) (Martini 2005, fig. 8)

1B. Roma, Claudius; RIC 98, 114; sestertius, Triumphal arch

1. *nemesis* 3855, iv.2008 (obv., **NERCPP**)

1C. Roma, Claudius; RIC 99, 115; sestertius, Spes

1. Rauch 80, 102 [*NERCPP* + **GALBA** [x2] + *Antonia bust l.* (?) (cf. B8.5)]

1D. Roma, Agrippina Senior; RIC 102 (Claudius); sestertius, SC

1. *hermescoins*, x.2003 (rev. **NCAPR**) (Martini 2005, fig. 7)

1E. Roma, Claudius; RIC ---; sestertius, ---

1. *ancient_treasures*, vi.2011 [x2]

2. ΓΑΛΚΑΙ

2A. Perinthus, Nero; RPC 1753; as, Apollo

1. Baker coll., 49

2B. Perinthus, Nero; RPC^{S1} 1761A; as, Altar

1. Baker coll., 47

Misreading

3. GALBIMP(---)

3A. (???), Nero(?); RIC / RPC ---; as(?), (???)

1. Sofia, AM(?) (from *Apiaria*)

Remarks:

B3.1: worn and deep cleaned coin, local? coinage, poorly definite photograph, damaged G[...]A (modern forgery?), NERCPP subtype?, uncertain identification, need confirmation; B6.3: both *GALBA* cmks erased; B7.2: uncertain (modern forgery?); B8.2: uncertain (modern forgery?); B8.5: both *GALBA* cmks erased, with third *GALBA* modern forgery (cf. 1C.1); B10.10: uncertain (modern forgery?), with ancient *GALBA*(?) erased. The erased type on the specimen is recognizable, albeit with some vagueness. At top, in the central part of the punch, the points of the letters A and L of the name **GALBA** seem discernible. Moreover, the size of the incused rectangle appears at odds with the usual shape for **NERCPP** countermarks, being shorter and taller.(cf. *infra*, discussion); B13.1: uncertain; B14.1-3: without(?) reverse legend; B14.2: uncertain (modern forgery?): see discussion *infra* § 3.J Modern forgery; B14.3: countermark struck on neck, damaged, GAL[...]; B15.1: uncertain (modern forgery?); B15.2: uncertain (modern forgery?), low definition photograph; struck on l., behind the head; B18.1: damaged, [...]ALB[...], struck on neck; C2.2: uncertain identification: need confirmation; C4.2: uncertain identification, damaged, GAL[...]: need confirmation; on Rev. other countermark?; E1.2: in RPC, ΓΑΛ, without standard?; E3. wrongly described as **standard?** ΓΑΑΥ (see discussion *infra* § 3.E; F1.3: uncertain Rev. type (Apollo?); F1.10: only Obv. illustrated, Rev. described like «frontal Apollo»; F1.11: low definition photograph; F2.1: Rev. description cited by seller as «Apollo»; F3.1: damaged, [...]ΛΒΑ; F7.3: uncertain; F8.2: damaged, [...]ΑΛ[...]; F8.3: uncertain identification: altar(?) on Rev.; F9.3: only Obv. illustrated, Rev. described by seller like «Divus Augustus altar»; F10.2: uncertain identification: eagle(?) on Rev.; H3.1: damaged, [...]ΑΛΚΑΙ; H5.4: damaged, [...]ΛΚΑΙ; H5.5: damaged, [...]ΑΛΚ[...]; H6.5: damaged, [...]ΛΚΑΙ; H6.6: damaged, [...]ΚΑ[...]; H6.8: damaged, [...]ΛΚΑΙ, struck on r., in front of portrait; H7.2: damaged, [...]ΑΙ[...]; H7.5: uncertain, low conservation; H7.8: damaged, ΓΑΛΚ[...]; H9.1: damaged, ΓΑΛ[...]; H9.2: damaged, [...]ΛΚΑΙ; H14.1: the Perinthus new coin type needs confirmation, Rev. described like «Vittoria e scudo con iscritto SPQR (?)» (cf. Plate 4); 1A.1: in identifying the second lexical countermark as **NCAPR**, **head facing right** subtype, I had erred. The punch size, especially its height, and the end of the legend that can be discerned, [...]PP, make it likely that this specimen belongs to the Neronian **NERCPP** type; 1C.1: two ancient erased *GALBA* (cf. B8.5); 1E.1: modern forgery, seems like ΠΑΥ(CI(?)) [x2]; 2B.1: «A fake “GAL KAI” on Nero coin (cast copy)» (see www.romancoins.info/cm-k-curiosities) 3A.1: Vla-

dimirova-Aladžova 1986, 36-38; Draganov 1991, 496; Vladimirova-Aladžova 1999, 49, no. 7: «Obverse: Roman inscription: NERO KLAV...AR [...]. Reverse: Damaged, AE, 22 mm)». The photograph is poorly defined. The specimen's small size, 22 millimeters, makes it nearly impossible to concur with the scholar's identification of the countermark. In all likelihood, this specimen belongs to a group of degraded local manufacture, which typically reproduce the types of the Augustan Tresviral dupondius, countermarked with the AVG and the TICÆ types (cf. Martini 2002, nos. 573-660) or with the TI·C·A type alone (cf. Martini 2002, nos. 3879-3896). These, in turn, are found in degraded writing or incoherent lettering, often poorly struck on the coins or partially illegible. This particular sort of countermark, with its challenging readability, has, over time and not just in this case, fostered the 'creation' of several nonexistent typologies engendered by erroneous or incomplete interpretation.

3. Countermarks

3.A **GA(lba) C(aesar) P(ater) P(atriae)** (A1, 1 sp.) [Plate 1]

This countermark, heretofore unpublished and known from a sole specimen in the Brock Collection (A1.1), was struck in an obliterating position inside the punch for the second **GALBA** found on the obverse of the Claudian sesterce. This corresponds to the placement of the frequently recorded **NER(o) C(aesar) P(ater) P(atriae)**³, which was often restruck precisely with the **GALBA** type. This countermark, compared to the more widespread **GALBA**, appears to constitute an updating of the prosopography for the *nomen imperialis* by adding the title *Pater Patriae*, almost as though it wished to recycle the legend from the Neronian type. We cannot establish when this honor was bestowed on Emperor Nero, but the succession of coin legends, especially the epigraphic sequence used for series from the Rome mint, seems to show that use of the PP initialism can be placed toward the end of Nero's reign, starting at the end(?) of the fall of 68 AD.⁴

The **GACPP** countermark is not without doubt over authenticity, though investigation can be carried out only on a photograph of the sole known specimen so far known. First of all, the abbreviation to two letters of the name Galba begs explanation, since it is usually made up of the first three, **GAL** or **ΓAA**. Second, the graphic shape of the two letters **P**, open with the eye drooping toward the base of the legend, though it may be only the impression of the countermark on the planchet, evident precisely in the two final letters, that was distorted by the underlying presence of the **GALBA**, leaves the outline of the new type indistinct.

3.B **GALBA** (B1-B18, 52 sp.) [Plate 1]

This type is found on imperial sesterces produced in the West (B1-B10) that do not belong to Latin-legend coinage from the Perinthus mint and on seven bronze issues from the Nicaea mint. Of the latter, one is similar to the sesterce in morphology and weight standard (B11). Three correspond to the dupondius (B12-B14) and three to the as (B15-B17). In the case of imperial sesterces, it must be noted that the type is commonly accompanied by the **NERCPP** countermark, which is often obliterated, placed as a subtype, or by other types, notably including the **Nero (radiated head facing right)** and the **Antonia (bust facing left)**, both of which are so far unpublished. Several countermark specimens in the first group, found on Western-made imperial sesterces, leave a scholar uncertain

³ Martini 2002, 202, no. 4012, in error, **NERCIMP**.

⁴ Cf. RIC, 243-244; according to Fabbricotti in the beginning of January, after the adoption of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Licinianus (Tacitus, *Historiae*, I.9) (Fabbricotti 1976, 36).

about whether they are genuine. There can be no doubt about ruling out as modern forgeries the types that feature obvious rounding of the punch edges, belying the fact they were made by pressing rather than striking.⁵ In other cases, we are forced to withhold judgement because the impression left by countermarking is flawed, often only partly legible or with indistinct edges or with lettering that had blended into the underlying coin type (i.e. Plate 3, B8.2).

No die identification has been possible among the recorded specimens, which show morphological differences between the set of countermarks found on imperial sesterces and those on issue from the Nicaea mint. These latter countermarks tend to have been applied with punches whose edges were square, not rounded, to be smaller than the type found on imperial sesterces, and to fit with the various coin morphologies, being larger for sesterces and smaller for dupondii and asses (cf. Plate 4, B16.1). In only one recorded case was the letter **A** found engraved without its horizontal bar, thus shaped like Λ (i.e. Plate 3, B14.2), giving the specimen yet one more feature to group it among the modern forgeries (cf. *infra*).

3.C **GAL(ba) C(aesar) A(vgvstvs)** (C1-C5, 8 sp.) [Plate 1]

Documentation of two specimens (C3.1-2) that appeared on the online United States market⁶ had previously enabled me to publish this countermark as spelled **GALCAI**, hinting that its expansion might give us **GAL(ba) CAI(sar)**⁷ if Caesar had been abbreviated in the ‘Greek’ fashion known to us from Augustan bronze issue from the mints in Ephesus and Pergamum.⁸ The greater number of available specimens and improved quality of their reproductions now allow for correction of the type’s identification to propose it be read as **GALCA**, without the final **I** (cf. Plate 1, C2.1). The inclusion of the two final letters **CA** as an acronym for the **C(aesar) A(ugustus)** initials rather than a truncated **CA(esar)** would seem preferable to interpreting them as a two-letter abbreviation that is rare in epigraphic contexts.

This countermark, currently known on only a few specimens, is distinguished by the large size of its letters, whose graphics are unrefined. This is especially obvious for the **A** drawn with a poorly aligned vertical bar and the horizontal bar sloped in ‘Greek’ style, nearly parallel to the second oblique segment. Our record for this countermark consists mostly of coins from Latin-legend series minted in (C2-C4), two sesterces and an as, along with a sesterce from Rome mint (C1.1) and a sesterce(?) from Nicaea with Greek legend (C5). The latter countermark differs appreciably from the others. Its lettering is smaller and carved in the center of the punch, with nearly hairline *ductus* that is quite similar to the usual epigraphic standard for the **GALBA** and **ΓΑΛΒΑ** types. It includes two interpuncts before and after the **C**, spelling out **GAL·C·A** (cf. Plate 5, Enlargement C5.1), thus confirming, definitively once the lettering can be documented with specimens of better quality and preservation, the above interpretation of the countermark.

3.D **Palladium ΓΑ(λβα) ΑΥ(τοκράτωρ)** (D1-D2, 1 sp.) [Plate 1]

This countermark has been found only on provincial bronze issue from the Nicomedia mint, the sole denomination being the as(?). It is large and, prior to the two-letter abbreviation **ΓΑ(λβα)**, depicts an

⁵ Martini 2003a, 112-114, see TI·C·A type «5.3. Falsificazioni moderne».

⁶ Martini 2003a, no. 1425 (*paganecoins*, x.2001); no. 1426 (*paganecoins*, v.2002).

⁷ Martini 2003a, 108-109.

⁸ RIC, no. 485 (Ephesus?); nos. 496-500 (Pergamum).

object that Howgego interprets as a standard, a theory provisionally accepted in RPC.⁹ The shape of a “globe atop a triangular feature” ill suits the shape of a legionary standard, which ought to have kept its rectangular shape. Nor does it fit the shape of a trophy, which even in extreme stylization ought to have shown, as its main distinguishing feature, the vertical cross that bore on its sides the spoils of war. The stylized object on the countermarks appears to be made up (a) of a *shield*, i.e. the broad midsection, (b) a *triangular portion*, the lower part of the figure, and (c) a sort of *small globe*, placed at the apex over the top of the shield. It would seem plausible to recognize this image as a depiction of a *Palladium*, conjured by the essential shapes that make it up: Minerva’s head (= c), the shield the goddess holds (= a), and the dress coving the lower part of the divinity’s body (= b).

3.E **Palladium** ΓΑΛ(βα) (E1-E3, 1 sp.) [Plate 1]

Found applied to a semis(?) and two sesterces(?), both depicting the *Decursio* scene, one with a Latin legend from the Perinthus mint, the other from Nicomedia, with a Greek legend, this countermark is not recorded in GIC, whereas in RPC there is no mention of the *Palladium* at the beginning of the legend. The typological identity of the two coins issued at greater value (sesterces) and the unusual countermark type that includes the *Palladium*, might point to attributing the Latin-legend sesterces with the the *Decursio* scene not to the Perinthus mint but to the mint in Nicomedia (cf. *infra*, § 5. Production). The countermark on the semis(?) from Nicomedia, E3, was described by Howgego (type C) and in RPC (No. 2085) as “standard? ΓΑΑΥ” and “standard? ΓΑ[ΑΥ],” respectively. However, it clearly (cf. Plate 5, enlargements A-B) consists of the type with a three-letter abbreviation for the name Galba. In this sense, it is hard to explain the use of a countermark of such size, even larger than the preceding one (3.D), among other things found only on this one specimen of semis(?), for such a small denomination, a phenomenon we may wish to ascribe, at least until there is greater documentation, to an ‘error’ on the part of the ancient moneyers.

3.F **ΓΑΛΒΑ** (F1-F13, 50 sp.) [Plates 1-2]

Found on all the bronze issues countermarked with the “Galba” name except the imperial series from Rome, this countermark seems more prevalent on specimens of less purchasing power, asses and dupondii, than on the higher denomination, the sesterce. The documentation collected has swollen the list of coin series affected to include some not known heretofore. There are three from the Perinthus mint, F4 (sestertius), F6 (dupondius) and F10-F11 (asses), one from the Nicaea mint, F12 (as?), and one from Nicomedia, F13 (sestertius?). The material available reflects a large number of dies, although the countermark is nevertheless distinctive because of its small lettering, properly engraved in mirrored epigraphy on the punch, with almost no signs of slanted writing or copied lettering (cf. Plate 4, F10.3).

3.G **ΓΑΛ(βα)·Κ(αίσαρ) Α(ντοκράτωρ)** (G1, 2 sp.) [Plate 2]

This countermark, found only on two Latin-legend sesterces from the Perinthus mint with the *Decursio* scene on the reverse, not previously known, might be deemed a mirror-image typology to the Greek-legend type C (cf. *supra*, 3.C) but could also prove to be the result of an erroneous reading of the latter part of the die, especially in the case of the coin from the antique market, G1.2, while the lettering on the specimen held in private collection, G1.1, appears to leave no doubt. The enlargements (cf. Plate 5, enlargements G1.1-G1.2) show the former coin (G1.1) has clear closure of the

⁹ GIC, 206, «The object before the inscription may be a standard».

punch edge following the final letter **A**, with no space for the **I** in the abbreviation **KAI**, while the latter (G1.2) has less careful lettering than the former, although the punch ends on the occipital part of Nero’s portrait, blending into the hair and the leaves on the laurel wreath. It nevertheless clearly has no room on the upper left, where the margin dips into the letter **A**, to fit in another letter. This type may be considered along the lines of a variant of the following one, in part because of the current limited number of specimens covered in documentation. Thus, our proposal for the last two letters is the same completion proposed for type C, i.e. a two-letter acronym **CA** for **C(aesar) A(vgustvs)**, later taken on as an initialism for **K(αἰσαρ) A(υτοκράτωρ)**. The existence of an interpunct following the three letters **ΓΑΑ** is certain (cf. G1.1), whereas we cannot establish whether there is any diacritic between the two following letters. Only specimens of higher quality and better preservation will allow for clarification of the lettering, be it **KA** or **K·A**, although a two-letter abbreviation **KA** for **KA(ἰσαρ)** would seem unlikely.

3.H **ΓΑΑ(βα)·KAI(σαρ)** (H1-H13, 48 sp.) [Plate 2]

Second most widespread, surpassed only by the **ΓΑΑΒΑ** type, this countermark has been found almost exclusively on bronze issue from the Perinthus mint, with particular prevalence on series with Latin legends, preferably the higher-denomination sesterce, rather than the as, with no dupondii yet known to bear this type. The sesterce specimen from the Lugdunum mint that has the *Annona* scene on the reverse, held in a private collection (cf. H1.1), must be deemed an exception to the norm of countermark application, though nevertheless bringing new testimony to the penetration, albeit in limited number, of imperial-issue sesterces into circulation around Moesia and Thrace, whereas this denomination is rather well attested in Pannonia. The countermark is fairly standardized in its lettering, reflecting a small number of dies, and there have been no record of any particularly degenerate lettering (cf. H3.1) or copied writing. This typology can likely be divided into two main groups (cf. *infra*, Circulation). The first (a), less common, is distinguished by its smaller punch size and smaller lettering compared to the second (b), which is broader with letters whose *ductus* is thick and pronounced (Plate 2). The two groupings have different anomalies, noted here as “uncertain size” (cf. Plate 2), and there seems to be no precise rule for application, in that both the first “large size” type (cf. Plate 2) and the second, “small size” (cf. Plate 2), recur on Perinthus issue regardless of whether the legend is in Greek or Latin and regardless of whether the coins are sesterces or asses.

3.I Uncertain [Plate 3]

The first six specimens in the catalog, which belong to the **GALBA** type, B8.2 and B10.10 (sesterces from Rome, Claudius), B13.1 and B14.2 (dupondii? from Nicaea, Nero), and B15.4 (asses? from Nicaea, Nero) and to the **ΓΑΑ·KAI** type, H7.8 (sesterce from Perinthus, Nero), seem more likely to be modern forgeries than poor-quality engravings. The B8.1 specimen looks closely tied to B14.2, possibly its inspiration. The B10.10 countermark is distinguished by its small punch and diminutive lettering, with the initial **G** shaped like a **C**. In B13.1 we not only come upon a rerun of the ‘open’ kind of **C** but note how the decadent lettering stands out, especially the letter **L**, whose horizontal bar is elongated. Specimen B15.4 takes up the orthogonal lettering with thick, squared-off *ductus* that is typical of many **GALBA** type countermarks, such as B5.2, for example. The lettering on H7.8 stands out for originality, only partly(?) imprinted as **ΓΑΑΚ**[...], due to a procedural flaw(?) or some intention on the part of the moneyer(?), and used smaller letters than usual for the **ΓΑΑ·KAI** countermark that look overall very much like the lettering usually employed for the **ΓΑΑΒΑ** type.

Things are a bit different for the other two uncertain specimens. One is tentatively assigned in the

catalog to the **ΓΑΛΒΑ** type, F13.1 (sesterce? from Nicomedia, Nero) and the other to the **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** type, H7.6 (sesterce from Perinthus, Nero). The graphics of their lettering cannot be immediately ascribed to any of the presumed original models.

The F13.1 countermark, in all likelihood, if taken to be a **ΓΑΛΒΑ** type, certainly has unusual lettering, starting with its oversize breadth that brings it right to the edge of the four sides of the die. Nor do the letters sit at the center of the epigraphic field defined by the punch. The idiosyncrasy continues with the shape of the presumed letter **B**, lettered in the shape of a **Π**, i.e. as an open **P** with its eye extended toward the base line. If the lexical identification of this countermark, along with its authenticity, can indeed be ascertained, it would extend the use of the **ΓΑΛΒΑ** type to the Nicomedia mint.

The other specimen, H7.6, is not likely to garner quite so much interest, since it fits into a fairly homogeneous set of coins. It appears to consist of an imitation in writing of a **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** type, whose lettering works out to **[Γ]ΑΛΗ Ι**. There is less likelihood in this case that it might actually be a sloppy modern forgery, although the examination on its photographic reproduction cannot be considered conclusive reasoning.

3.J Modern Forgeries (1A-1E, 2A-2B, 7 sp.) [Plate 3]

The problem of identifying modern forgeries primarily involves sesterces from the Rome mint with the **GALBA** countermark and Perinthus sesterces, with either Latin or Greek legends, countermarked with the **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** type. Only to a lesser extent does it affect other types and smaller denominations, which are obviously less attractive targets for ‘reproduction’ because they hold less trading interest and market value. Recorded here under “Modern Forgeries” are a few almost certain examples of countermarks of modern manufacture (cf. 1A-1E, 2A-2B). A few specimens are also illustrated in the plates under the rubric of “Uncertain” (cf. Plate 3) and included organically in the catalog but with brief discussion of whether they are to be deemed modern forgeries or decadent writing and lettering that imitate known countermarks (cfr. *supra*, § 3.I. *Uncertain*). Investigation into these coins is complicated, as mentioned above, both by the limited amount of material documentation currently completed and by the private nature or antique-market provenance of available specimens, factors that allow for neither proper typological comparison nor direct inspection, thus leaving the investigation to rely perforce on photographic reproductions, which are often poor quality.

The examples of possible modern forgeries show up in various ways. The countermark on specimen 1A.1 was most likely achieved by pressing rather than striking (cf. note 5), and appears alongside two ancient types, on the reverse, **head facing right**, which overstrikes the **NERCPP** mark (cf. *supra*, 2. Material, § Remarks). Specimens 1B.1 and 1D.1 are ancient coins on which someone in recent times has added the **GALBA** type. In both cases the countermark is accompanied by an authentic countermark, **NERCPP** (1B.1) and **NCAPR** (1D.1), respectively.¹⁰ The case of specimen 1C.1 is a bit more complex. The coin is countermarked with a probably modern-made **GALBA** type in the center of Claudius’s portrait pressed into the surface (?) and has two more **GALBAs** on the sides overstruck on *Antonia* (bust, left) and *NERCPP* (right), both authentic and effaced, likely ancient. Two other Perinthus specimens, 2A.1 and 2B.1, both countermarked **ΓΑΛΚΑΙ**, have been deemed counterfeit, both as coins and as countermarks. The former seems to have been struck(?) in modern times, probably with a die carved by copying an original specimen. The latter is a cast replica of a countermarked ancient

¹⁰ Martini 2005, 24, fig. 7.

coin.

The nature of the material and the limited known documentation, almost exclusively from sales catalogs or private collections with the concomitant challenges to analysis inherent in working only from photographic reproductions, mandates extreme caution in judging the authenticity of specific coins. Be that as it may, in spite of the meager number of specimens, an outline of rather uniform behavior for groups of countermarks can begin to be drawn, highlighting any possible outliers. For example, the Nicaea sesterce (B14.2) recorded here in the catalog despite its dubious originality stands apart from the other coins because it is the only case of the **GALBA** countermark showing up in lettering just like what is found on the imperial sesterces (B1-B10). This is in sharp contrast to what occurs for the other specimens from this mint (cf. B14.1 and B14.3) (cf. *supra*). Should good documentation confirm the anomaly of this specimen, it would most certainly have to be classed among modern forgeries.

4. Function

Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the primary function of countermarks with the name “Galba” on the issues chosen for countermarking was political. This function was fulfilled both directly and indirectly, whereas there do not seem to have been instances in which the countermark was used primarily for economic purposes as a way to validate bronze specie already in circulation. The provincial administration chose two different methods for carrying out the *damnatio* of Nero in favor of Galba. It operated on issues of differing legal status, imperial and provincial. The former, (a), direct, represented Galba’s ‘political pronunciamento’. The latter, (b), indirect, implemented Nero’s *damnatio memoriae*.

The lower Danube was the region of the Empire where Nero’s portrait saw its most widespread, systematic *damnatio*¹¹, defying all comparison with other areas, especially in Gaul, in terms of the numerous countermarks from the periods of the Civil Wars and Vespasian¹², or in Pannonia where the [*legio*] **XI** [*Clavdia Pia*] type was used.¹³ With these types, there was no systematic erasure of Nero’s imperial portrait; rather, the new authority was simply proclaimed in Gaul, while in Pannonia coins were distributed among the Legions with the numeral **XI** for *Legio XI*.

4.1. The Political Pronunciamento

Indirect intervention took the form of the sole countermark **GALBA**, added to various coin series:

¹¹ Calomino 2016, 67 «The numismatic evidence shows that some official actions were taken in some regions [...] to delegitimise Nero's authority [...] The spread of countermarking of his bronze coins as a political measure was unparalleled; the marks were mostly stamped on his portrait, although not necessarily with the intent of defacement».

¹² Cf. cmks: **S(enatvs)** **P(opvlvs)****Q(ve)** **R(omanvs)**, Calomino 2016, 68, no. 23, Martini 2003b, nos. 26-27; **P(opvlvs)** **R(omanvs)**, Calomino 2016, 68, no. 24; **P(opvlvs)** **R(omanvs)** [retrograde], Calomino 2016, 68, no. 25; **VESPA(sianvs)** [ligature], Calomino 2016, 69, no. 31, Martini 2003b, no. 35; **VITE(llivs)**, Calomino 2016, 69, no. 30; Kos – Šemrov 1995, 62, remark «[...] countermarks on the neck of Nero's bust can also be interpreted as a *damnatio memoriae* of a despised and slain emperor, in addition to the basic function of legionary countermarks»; see also Savio 2009, *passim*.

¹³ Cmk [*Legio*] **XI**: Mac Dowall 1960, 103-106 (like **X**); Calomino 2016, 69, no. 26, Martini 2003b, no. 82; Kos – Šemrov 1995, 59-62.

(a) imperial sesterces from the Rome mint, coined between the reign of Tiberius and the reign of Claudius (B1-B10); and (b) provincial issue with the Greek legend from Nicaea (B11-B17).¹⁴

(a): On the first group of specimens (B1-B10), there was no need to obliterate the portrait as was done on other series because it was not Nero's. It was enough to proclaim Galba the new imperial authority. One case has been documented of a different portrait being obliterated, a portrait of Nero Drusus (cf. B5.1), which is to be understood as an obvious minter's mistake. Evidence shows there was an outright, indirect *damnatio* of Nero's **NERCPP** countermark through its systematic obliteration on numerous imperial specimens via two different means: (a1) simple mechanical erasure of the legend (cf. Plate 5, B8.3) or (a2) by superimposing the **GALBA** countermark, often twice on the same coin arranged vertically next to the portrait, with one countermark struck inside the mold of the earlier Neronian type, thus nearly wholly obliterating it and almost always leaving Galba's new type essentially illegible as it blended into the preceding countermark (cf. Plate 5, B5.3). This may help explain why ancient minters felt the need to countermark the same coin twice with the **GALBA** type, only one of which came out identifiable.

(b): The second group is made up almost entirely of Greek-legend issue from the Nicaea mint in various denominations. Comparison with weight standards from the Rome mint is not always straightforward, however, though these appear to be the sestertius(?), the dupondius(?), and the as(?). Here, the graphics of the **GALBA** countermark differ from those of the previous group, its overall size being smaller to suit the different morphology of the issues on which it was placed (cf. *supra*) and the rounded punch have been given up in favor of the square kind. In that regard, doubt may be cast on the authenticity of certain known specimens of the **GALBA** found on imperial sesterces whose punch clearly had rounded edges, a feature not found on the coins from the Nicaea mint. The different punch shape is only one of the features that call into question the authenticity of specimens such as B14.2, whose cataloguing is under doubt (cf. *supra*, § 2. Materials).

4.2. *Damnatio Memoriae* [Plate 4]

Direct political intervention: (a) employed all the countermarks with the "Galba" name, (b) involved only denominations with Nero's portrait, except for the Nero Drusus sesterce (B5.1) (Plate 4), whether issued by provincial mints in Perinthus, Nicaea, and Nicomedia or coined at an imperial facility, though as yet we have only a single such specimen, a sesterce from the Lugdunum mint in a private collection (H1.1) (Plate 4) with the **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** type, and (c) clearly aimed to systematically 'erase' the image of the execrated emperor and proclaim the new Roman authority. This brings the specie circulating in the lower Danube into the purview of the overall *damnatio memoriae*, a systematic operation carried out with special vehemence on coinage that affected Nero in both Western and Eastern regions of the Empire.¹⁵

The materials collected show the overall behavior of countermarks, all struck on the obverse of the specimens for the primary purpose of obliterating the imperial portrait, though results of the opera-

¹⁴ Mac Dowall 1960, 107-108, "Copper As", "Sestertius" or "Dupondius"; Howgego 1985, 90 «[...] three of what (*Nicean coins*) which are presumably dupondii»; Kaenel 1984, 141 «Sesterzgrösse» and 142 «Dupondiusgrösse»; RPC, 318 «[...] Perinthus was almost certainly the mint of some 'Roman' type sestertii, dupondii and asses of Nero».

¹⁵ Varner 2004, § Nero and Poppaea, 46-86 (use of countermark **ΓΑΛΒΑ**, 51); Howgego 1982-83, *passim* (§ 3. Occasions, 50-52); Calomino 2016, *passim*.

tion vary. The *damnatio* is, in some cases, carried out perfectly (cf. Plate 4, B14.1, F1.6, H1.1, H5.4, H6.12, H10.3). On other coins Nero’s portrait has been only partly removed (cf. Plate 4, C4.1, F10.3, F12.2, H5.1). Finally, there are coins on which the imperial profile is nearly intact (cf. Plate 4, B16.1, H9.1). The determination to condemn the image, which called for striking the countermarks on a portion of the coin surface ill suited to the new strike, made it hard to achieve a proper impression for the various “Galba” types, which often end up illegible (cf. Plate 4, F1.7). The countermarks often blend with the features of Nero’s portrait that are in highest relief, such as the neckline, the chin contour, the nose profile or the bangs. Adding to the challenge of the peculiar placement on the planchet surface are detriments to proper countermark application that arise due to the use of rather large punches. This is especially apparent with the epigraphic ‘length’ of the ΓΑΛΒΑ and ΓΑΛΚΑΙ types.

5. Production

The coins subject to countermarking fall into two distinct categories, (a) those with Greek legends coined in Perinthus, Nicaea, and Nicomedia, whose ethnicity obviously traces to the mint of origin, although there used to be some uncertainty over a few specimens with no mint mark that have now been brought back into the series from the city¹⁶, and (b) those with Latin legends, whether coined in the Rome mint, the sole such denomination being the sesterce, or provincially issued sesterces, dupondii, and asses, which are currently attributed across the board to the Perinthus mint.¹⁷

Current knowledge does not allow for precise identification of the location of manufacture of the coins with Latin legends and Roman types to which countermarks in the “Galba” name have been applied, although we can be fairly certain their origin falls into the general area of Moesia and Thrace. When analyzing the ΓΑΛΒΑ type alone, MacDowall had theorized, partly because of what is known about circulation in the period, that the coins came from a mint in Moesia¹⁸, whereas in RPC, the series with Latin legends are attributed only to the Perinthus mint, on the basis of the fact that the same countermarks used on Greek-legend specimens with city symbols are found on Latin-legend issue. However, this is not a determining factor because countermarks with identical typology are found without distinction on bronze coinage from Nicaea and Nicomedia. This deprives the wish to equate the same countermark with the identical mint of any basis in fact.

The broad range of morphology both for Nero’s bronze issue and for countermarks in the “Galba” name rightly leads us to theorize the existence of several manufacturing locations that operated at the same time. For the coins, we know of a large number of dies, of differing quality, with various imagery. Among the countermarks, we find variety in both size and writing. The separate production centers were likely tied to urban areas as well as the main settlements and encampments of legionaries

¹⁶ RPC, 349, Nicomedia «Other Bithynian coins without ethnic [...] should perhaps be attributed to Nicomedia [...] One of the coins discussed [...] has been attributed to Nicomedia (2084) [here, D1], since it has the same countermark as occurs on two definitely Nicomedian coins».

¹⁷ RPC, 318, «These rare coins [...] have the same Galban countermarks as coins of Perinthus [...] the same punch was used to apply the countermark on both sort of coins [...]. In view of the fact that countermarks were generally applied by a mint on to its own coins, the attribution of the Neronian coins to Perinthus seems reasonably sure».

¹⁸ Mac Dowall 1960, 106 «[...] seems to have been applied locally at a centre in Lower Moesia».

throughout the lower Danube region (cf. *infra*, § 6. Circulation).

By encouraging on a broad scale in the lower Danube region the striking of coins with Latin legends, with the portraiture and weight standards of the Rome mint, the imperial administration followed and carried to its extreme a practice that had lasted for the whole history of coinage in the Empire. This practice consisted of making bronze coin under the direct authority of the military administration, presumably centered in the main legionary encampments along the *limes*.¹⁹ Viewed in this light, the hypothetical attribution of Nero's Danube issue with Latin legends solely to the Perinthus mint loses substance, especially since it leaves unexplained the (a) morphological and (b) stylistic variations between the Latin-legend and Greek-legend series. The latter, corresponding to sesterces and dupondii, were coined in bronze and orichalcum, whereas the Latin-legend series were only in bronze.²⁰ Though hard to establish with current limited documentation, it seems plausible that Nero's facial features on the Latin-legend Perinthus coinage were reproduced using more cursive iconographic models than had been followed for the Greek coinage. The Greek series adhere more closely to the imperial prototypes of Western mints in Rome and Lugdunum.

It thus seems reasonable to ascribe the output of Neronian coins with Latin legends and counter marks in the "Galba" name to more than one manufacturing location and not only to the Perinthus mint. Improvements in documentation and better understanding of the locations of coin finds, which are currently limited to a meager number of reports or information gleaned from the antique market or the knowledge of individual private collectors, may make it possible to identify different production centers for the coins and application points for the countermarks.

Within the group of countermarks in the "Galba" name, it nevertheless seems plausible to isolate a set of specimens with the **GALBA** type struck on imperial sesterces (B1-B10), as distinct from the rest of the countermarked coins, whether with the Latin or the Greek legend, including those from the Nicomedia mint with identical typology (B11-B17) (cf. *supra* § 3B). Imperial sesterces often bear the **GALBA** type along with the Neronian **NERCPP** type, which has not turned up on any of her issue from the area, thus setting this set's originality off from the remaining provincial materials and hinting at a different location for the application of countermarks. The spread of the **GALBA** countermark, as well as the often accompanying **NERCPP** countermark, across several Hungarian collections (i.e. BuB coll., DeO coll.), some of which have marked geographic emphasis, and reports of presumed Pannonian origin (i.e. B5.1, B10.9, MüP coll., 39) might point to Pannonia as the area where the countermark that appears on imperial Roman sesterces was produced and circulated. In this regard, we know the sestertius denomination was widely used in the region, as attested by the widespread [*legio*] **XI** type (cf. *supra*) whose application has been traced without contention to Pannonia.²¹ On the other hand, countermarked imperial sesterces appear rare and poorly spread in Moesian and Thracian circulation, save for the few specimens with the **goat/rudder**²² and excluding the **DV** type,

¹⁹ Martini 2017, 235-237; also the countermarked cast coin from *Carnuntum*, Hahn 1976, 32, no. 202 «Münz Km. (mitgegossen)»; Martini 2003b, 20-25 (see also *supra*, note 2).

²⁰ RPC, brass: no. 1748 (in error, bronze), no. 1752 and no. 1754; bronze: nos. 1752-1753.

²¹ Mac Dowall 1960, 103, «[...] seems to have been applied locally in one of the Upper Danubian provinces, almost certainly Pannonia»; Kos – Šemrov 1995, 59, «A countermark [...] which was found some where in the area of Ptuj (*Poetovio*)» and 61, «Ptuj (*Poetovio*) [...] the countermarks had belonged to the legio XI Claudia as exactly at this Pannonian site»; Martini 2003b, no. 82.

²² Martini 2003a, 110-111, nos. 1444-1446, no. 1448.

which has to belong to a period after the 68-69 AD Civil Wars.²³

Although further verification is needed, available evidence about the **GALBA** countermark appears to show that the type, when found on imperial sesterces (B1-B10), not only in the company of the Neronian **NERCPP** type, is to attribute to the southern part of Pannonia, the area known from the second century AD as *Pannonia Inferior*.

Another observation can be made about sesterces that bear the *Decursio* scene on the reverse. Recent documentation has included not only the two series RPC 2103-2104, previously assigned to an "uncertain mint in Bithynia," but also two other issues, one made in Perinthus, RPC 1758A, with a Latin legend, that has DECVR SIO on the exergue and one from Nicomedia, RPC 2083A, whose exergue bears the ethnic name of the city in Greek, NEIKOMEΔEΩN. The latter two specimens have enabled us to extend attribution to the Aisa Minor mint to the former two issues (RPC 2103-2104) as well. The **Palladium** ΓΑΛ(βα) countermark, if we exclude the isolated case of a semis(?) (RPC 2086), has currently been found only on two recently identified coin series, RPC 1758A (Perinthus) and 2083A (Nicomedia). This makes it possible, on the one hand, to theorize that the type was applied precisely in Nicomedia or, at any rate, in Asia Minor and, on the other, that the series deemed issued in Perinthus with the Neronian *Decursio* scene, despite their Latin legend, might also belong to the Nicomedia mint(?).

5.1. Imperial Coinage and Military (or Localized) Issue

At the current state of documentation, known specimens of sesterces with Latin legends so far attributed to the Perinthus mint belong to only two typological series, the Triumphal Arch and the *Decursio*. This allows for an initial observation on the propaganda dynamics of the Nero administration, specifically with regard to the legionary context. Western bronze issued during Nero's reign breaks down into the distinct production of the Rome and Lugdunum mints, two sequences of coinage in nearly identical denominations and types, with those of the Gaulish mint recognizable by a small globe at the end of the neckline on Nero's portrait.²⁴

The series with Latin legends from the Danube and/or Asia Minor region fit into the pattern of localized manufacture of bronze coin. However, they differ from Lugdunum issue (a) in the lack of the distinctive feature of the small globe for the mint in Gaul, (b) in using only certain typologies from Rome, and (c) in adding 'original' imagery compared to imperial coinage. As far as (a) is concerned, we have already noted that the primary criterion for distinguishing the Danube and Asia Minor series is still their morphology and, above all, their stylistic judgement. In terms of (b) the typologies are (i) the Triumphal Arch (RPC 175, cf. RIC, 136, type 4) (cf. Plate 5, H6.8), (ii) the *Decursio* (RPC 1758A, cf. RIC, 137, types 10-12) (cf. Plate 5, H7.6), and (iii) the *Genivs Avgvsti* (RPC^{S2} 1762A, cf. RIC, 137, types 13) (Plate 5, RPC^{S2}, 1762A). Types that illustrate (c) include (iv) the *Pro vident* (RPC 1761), (v) the Eagle (RPC 1762) and (vi) the Neptune (RPC 1760). The first two were used for Tiberius' issues in the name of Divus Augustus (RIC 81-82) and the third for Caligula's series commemorating Agrippa (RIC 58). There are obvious relations between all the types cited (i-vi) and the legionary context. Direct reference to Nero's military activity²⁵ is made by the Triumphal Arch (i) and the Emperor as

²³ Martini 2003b, 151, note 391.

²⁴ RIC, 142-144, § Aes of Lugdunum (nos. 371-606).

²⁵ Smith 2000, 283-284, § The Praetorian Guard and coinage, «To conservative Romans the stationing of the Praetorian guard in Rome was one of the most offensive features of the principate».

knight (ii).²⁶ The image of Neptune (vi) recalls the god who protected the fleet stationed in the lower Danube and the *Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*. The two Tiberian depictions (iv-v), referring to the Augustan cult, had immediate evocative power, the Eagle (v) as a legionary symbol *par excellence* and the *Provident* (iv) as founder of the Empire and the personification of political-administrative gifts, as well as being the Julian-Claudian bronze issue that may have had the most capillary spread through Western regions, often used for votive or funerary purposes. Finally, the last type, (iii) the *Genius Avgvsti*, also seems to trace back to some generic legionary context as a function of its wish to assimilate Nero to Apollo, a divinity whose persona (iii) may hark to the god who protected the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, portrayed on two Greek-legend issues from the Perinthus mint, showing Apollo-Nero Citharoedus (RPC 1752, cf. RIC 136, type 3) and Apollo with scepter (RPC 1753).

The bronze series from the mints in Rome and Lugdunum, whose types show obvious relation, thus represent “imperial coinage” we might term ‘centralized,’ under the direct control of the administrative apparatus in Rome, whereas production from Perinthus or Asia Minor represent “military (or localized) issue” that met different needs from the foregoing. Such coinage was less closely bound to the complex, multifaceted institutional framework of Roman politics and Roman society, more directly aimed at the legionary user. As a result, it chose evocative iconographic themes that tied in neatly with military life, while keeping as its main purpose the supply of small denominations for everyday transactions.

The innovation introduced under Nero, in addition to sanctioning the existence of bronze issue outside Rome with the identifying ‘mark’ of the Lugdunum mint, a graphic expedient that had not been used earlier for series minted in Gaul and Hispania under Caligula and Claudius²⁷, can be seen in the different organization of localized legionary coinages. Localized coinage had been known since the time of Augustus²⁸, but was now no longer relegated to the role of useful but unthinking ‘copies’ of prototypes from the Rome mint. It was now a recognized and coherent element in a broader, complex framework of imperial policy. The coin was directly tied to the milieu of the legions not only in their primary military function but also in terms of the equally important part they were to play in the social makeup of provincial territories.

6. Circulation

Little certain archaeological evidence is available to us.²⁹ ‘Territorial’ characteristics that can be inferred from the antique market and from private collections (cf. *supra*, Materials)³⁰ certainly point to

²⁶ *Contra* Smith 2000, 284-285, § The problem of the DECVR SIO types, «[...] the scenes depicted are not military displays at all, but a form of theatre [...]».

²⁷ Besombes 2003-2004, 23-26.

²⁸ Martini 2017, 236-238.

²⁹ (29) See Vladimirova-Aladžova 1986, 36-38; Vladimirova-Aladžova 1999, 45-49; Draganov 1991, 495 (ΓΑΑ·ΚΑΙ, da Nova Zagora).

³⁰ **GALBA**: B10.5, DeO coll., 15 (from *Sopianae* area(?); B10.7, DeO coll., 17, from *Sopianae* area(?); B10.9, MüP coll., 39, from *Mursa*(?); Bulgarian private coll., from *Asamus*(?) (Martini 2002, no. 4009); Budapest, MNM, gift 2000, from the Pannonia area (*id.*, no. 4012); **ΓΑΛΒΑ**: F8.3, MoR coll., 10, from *Utus*(?); F10.1, DiB coll., 10, from *Oescus*(?); F10.2, DiB coll., 32, from *Oescus*(?); Budapest, MNM 54.A.1921.93, from the Pannonian area (Martini 2002, no.4051); **ΓΑΑ·ΚΑΙ**: H6.3, DiB coll. 04, from *Oescus*(?); H11.1, MoR coll., 13, from *Utus*(?); Stara Zagora, HM 4 sz 5657, from Stara Zagora(?) (Martini 2002, no. 4055); two Bulgarian private

production and circulation in Moesia and Thrace for a substantial portion of the countermarked coins, with two exceptions. The first is for imperial sesterces with the **GALBA** type, whose spread (and striking?) can most likely be attributed to areas farther to the west, probably including Pannonia (cfr. *supra*). The other exception concerns certain series from Bithynia in Asia Minor, which can be attributed to mints in (or around?) Nicaea and Nicomedia.

The theory that most of the countermarks with the “Galba” name circulated around the lower Danube allows for the identification of specific distribution dynamics for bronze coin. Evidence shows that provincial issue from the Nicaea mint with the **GALBA**, **GALCA**, and **TAABA** countermarks and from the Nicomedia mint with the latter Greek legend, of which there is fair attestation in the area, were assimilated to series minted in Perinthus, with legends in both Latin and Greek. These coins circulated together and together were countermarked with certain imperial Galba types.

The clear distinction within the **GALBA** group in denomination and die morphology between imperial specimens (B1-B10), leaving out some possible modern forgeries (i.e. B8.2, B14.2), and the provincial specimens (B11-B17), which all belong to issues from the Nicaea mint, seems to suggest that we can identify two distinct contexts for countermarking, as well as circulation. The former coins can be placed around Pannonia. The latter can be traced to an area other than the lower Danube, quite possibly Nicaea itself or another part of Asia Minor to be identified somewhere in Bithynia. This last hypothesis might find favor in the exclusive use of issue from the city for countermarks with the Latin **GALBA** type, a fact that, otherwise, given what is currently known, would appear to have no reasonable explanation.

As documentation continues to be collected, additional distinctions within the group of countermarked sesterces may be confirmed. These are currently to be considered only as possible working hypotheses to be tested: (a) It may be possible to separate the specimens with the **GALBA** type alone, often twice, from coins where it is accompanied by **NERCPP**, which it often obliterates; and (b) there may ultimately prove to be a different geographic determination for specimens whose **GALBA** countermark has been erased or damaged.

For (a), information on the circulation of imperial sesterces around Pannonia always refers to the two types **GALBA** and **NERCPP** together (i.e. B2.1, B5.1, B5.6), suggesting that both belong to that region. For (b), erasures of the **GALBA** countermark have so far been found only on four specimens of sesterces³¹ (cf. Plate 4, B8.5, B10.10), which demonstrates the existence of the phenomenon, almost certainly during the period after the emperor was sentenced to *damnatio memoriae* but before he was rehabilitated under Vespasian.³² Furthermore no accompanying **NERCPP** is to be found, which might -- with all the caution warranted by our limited documentation -- theoretically hint at a different geographic destination compared to the preceding specimens, if not an outright different venue of manufacture. At the very least, we might shift their circulation somewhat eastward from Pannonia,

coll., from *Utus-Augustae* (id., nos. 4056, 4058).

³¹ **GALBA** [x2], both erased: (1), Martini 2002, no. 4009; (2), Martini 2003a, no. 1424; (3) B8.5, *Rauch* 80, 102; **GALBA**(?), B10.10: the countermark erased is recognizable with fair, albeit not total, certainty. The points of the letters **A** and **L** in the **GALBA** name appear discernible at the top, in the center portion of the punch. Furthermore, the size of the incused rectangle does not look compatible with the usual shape of **NERCPP** countermarks, compared to which it is narrower and taller.

³² Bianchi 2014, 45-46; Varner 2004, 106.

along the lower Danube estuary into a wholly Moesian context, on the strength of the probable provenance from that area of two of the four specimens. One was likely uncovered around ancient *Asamus*.³³ The other belonged to a private Bulgarian collection at the time of its first documentation.³⁴

The available material appears to show some practically stabilized ‘behavior’ on the part of the countermarking operations. Issues from the Nicaea mint are involved almost exclusively in countermarking with the Latin-legend **GALBA** and **GALCA** countermarks, except for three specimens with the **ΓΑΛΒΑ** type (F12.1-2, F13.1). Similarly, on series from the Nicomedia mint we find only types with the Greek legends **ΓΑΛΒΑ** and, especially, **Palladium ΓΑΑΥ** and **Palladium ΓΑΛ**. For the latter two types, these represent the only coins with such countermarks, save for one specimen from Perinthus (E1.1), though the attribution of a venue to the coinage of this issue, which bears on its reverse the Neronian scene of the *Decursio*, might be shifted to none other than Nicomedia, thus confirming the idea that these two countermarks were struck only on coins from mints in Asia Mi nor (cfr. *supra*).

Only on asses and sesterces, including a few with the Neronian scene of *Decursio* on the reverse, from the Perinthus mint, in both Latin and Greek lettering, do we find the **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑ** (G1) and **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** (H1-H13) types, with the sole exception known so far of a Lugdunum sesterce (H1.1). Here, again, available documentation would tend to point to Perinthus as the main location for countermarking the two types, theorizing circulatory drift into Thrace of the not-yet-countermarked sesterces with the *Decursio* scene from Nicomedia, should attribution to the series from the Asia Minor mint not be settled upon (cf. *supra*).

The theory that the sesterces with the Neronian *Decursio* scene drifted away from the Perinthus mint would, however, seem hard to reconcile with the behavior of the **ΓΑΛ·ΚΑΙ** type mentioned above (cf. *supra*, Countermarks 3.H), which shows up in two distinct morphologies. One is smaller, with graphics wholly analogous to the **ΓΑΛΒΑ** type. The other, distinguished by larger punches and broader letters (cf. *supra*, and Plate 2, “large size” and “small size”). Given current information, it seems impossible to identify a single same behavior for the two countermarks. The recur with no distinct pattern on all issue from the Perinthus mint, including the sesterces with the *Decursio* scene, in no apparent order, a fact that calls into question the aforementioned possible manufacturing distinction that would have the striking of specimens depicting the Neronian type take place only at the Nicomedia mint.

7. Conclusion

The growth of documentation collected has made it possible to: (a) increase the number of countermark types from those listed in GIC; (b) update the coin issues and countermark distribution outlined in RPC; (c) better specify iconography for the two types with the *Palladium* image; (d) start an initial discussion of modern forgeries for the **GALBA** type; and (e) improve our geographic delimitation of possible location for the production and circulation of the countermarks.

(a) There are three new types not recorded in GIC: **GALCA** (C1-C4), **ΓΑΛΚΑ** (G1) and **Palladium ΓΑΛ** (E1-E3). The last is described in RPC without the figurative feature, the *Palladium*, at the beginning of the legend.

³³ Martini 2002, no. 4009.

³⁴ Martini 2003a, no. 1424.

(b) Five issues, four from the Perinthus mint (RPC 1753, 1758A, 1759, and 1762) and one from Nicaea (RPC 2057) turned out to be variants of the types described in RPC. In all of these it was the direction of Nero’s imperial profile that differed from what was reported (cf. Table 1). In 21 cases, the relation between issues recorded in RPC and the countermarks found on them have been revised (cf. Table 2). Two series from Perinthus (RPC 1748, 1762) were found with countermarks that had not been recorded for them (Tables 1-2).

(c) The device preceding the letters of countermark GIC 525, the **Palladium** ΓΑΥΥ (D1-D3) type, had been given only a provisional description, taken up in RPC, as “standard?,” while in fact it is the mythological feature relating to the cult of Pallas.

(d) There appears to be no denying that a considerable portion of countermarks with the **GALBA** type struck on sesterces from the imperial mint in Rome must be deemed of modern origin, although the problem cannot currently be better detailed because of the scarce availability of the known material. This same cannot be said for the other countermarks in the “Galba” name, which appear to be all but immune from counterfeiting save for cases that are altogether sporadic (i.e. 2A.1).

(e) The countermarks analyzed here, as with the manufacture of Latin issues using Roman types, are generically attributed to the Perinthus mint. However, the following attributions seem possible:

1. The **GALBA** type on imperial sesterces accompanied by the **NERC**PP type could be attributed to the Moesia area for isolated countermarks, whereas it might be traceable to Nicaea, or to some where in Bithynia in any case, for those found on Nicaea issue.
2. An Asian context, if not Nicomedia itself, would appear a likely attribution for the two types with the image of the *Palladium*, **Palladium** ΓΑΥΥ and **Palladium** ΓΑΛ, on the basis of a shift to Nicomedia for striking Latin- and Greek-legend sesterces with the Neronian scene of the *Decursio*.
3. Finally, although the manufacture of the ΓΑΛΚΑΙ type can likely be traced overall to the Perinthus mint, the same cannot be said of the ΓΑΛΒΑ type, which is known from a fair number of dies, whose graphics range widely. The latter might thus be attributed to various output locations, still in the lower Danube area, in all likelihood tied to the main legionary centers in the region.

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Table 1. Cmks

cmk	Roma	Perinthus (G)	RPC	Perinthus (L)	RPC	Nicaea	RPC	Nicomedia	RPC
GACPP (GIC ---)	●								
GALBA (GIC 591)	●					●	*		
GALCA (GIC ---)	●			●	---	●	---		
Palladium ΓΑΑΥ (GIC 525)								●	*
Palladium ΓΑΛ (GIC ---)				●	(?)				
ΓΑΛΒΑ (GIC 526)		●	*	●	*	●	---	●	---
ΓΑΛΚΑ (GIC ---)				●	---				
ΓΑΛΚΑΙ (GIC 527)	●	●	*	●	*				

Table 2. Mints

mint	GACPP	GALBA	GALCA	Palladium ΓΑΑΥ	Palladium ΓΑΛ	ΓΑΛΒΑ	ΓΑΛΚΑ	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
Roma	●	●	●					●
Perinthus (L)			●		●	●	●	●
Perinthus (G)						●		●
Nicaea		●	●			●		
Nicomedia				●	●	●		

Table 3. Cmks / issues

cmk	sestertius (L)	sestertius (G)	dupondius (L)	dupondius (G)	as (L)	as (G)	semis (G)
GACPP (GIC ---)	●						
GALBA (CIG 591)	●	●		●		●	

GALCA (CIG ---)	●	●	●	●	●		
Palladium ΓAAY (GIC 525)					●	●	
Palladium ΓAA (GIC ---)	●	●	●				●
ΓAΛBA (GIC 526)	●	●	●	●	●	●	
ΓAAKA (GIC ---)	●		●				
ΓAAKAI (GIC 527)	●	●	●		●	●	

Table 1. MINTS

Type	RIC	Cmk	GIC	
ROMA				
sestertius	51, 54, 62	GALBA	591	
sestertius	99	GACPP + GALBA [x2] --- / 591		
sestertius	93, 99, 102	GALBA	591	
sestertius	96,112	GALCA	---	
LUGDUNUM				
sestertius	391	ΓAAKAI		
	RPC		GIC	RPC (Cmks)
PERINTHUS				
Latin legends				
sestertius	1758	GALCA	---	ΓAAKAI
sestertius	1758A	GALCA	---	Standard? ΓAAY
as	1760	GALCA	---	ΓAΛBA
sestertius	1758A	Palladium ΓAA	---	Standard? ΓAAY
sestertius	1758	ΓAΛBA	526	ΓAAKAI
dupondius	1759	ΓAΛBA	526	ΓAΛBA
dupondius	1759var.	ΓAΛBA	526	Standard? ΓAAY
as	1760	ΓAΛBA	526	ΓAΛBA
as	1761	ΓAΛBA	526	ΓAΛBA
as	1761A	ΓAΛBA	526	ΓAΛBA
as	1762	ΓAΛBA	526	---

as	1762var.	ΓΑΛΒΑ	526	Capricorn
sestertius	1758A	ΓΑΛΚΑ	---	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
sestertius	1758	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
sestertius	1758A	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
sestertius	1758Avar.	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
as	1760	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΒΑ
as	1761	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΒΑ
as	1761A	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΒΑ
as	1762	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	---
as	1762A	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	Capricorn
Greek legends				
as	1752	ΓΑΛΒΑ	526	ΓΑΛΒΑ
as	1753var.	ΓΑΛΒΑ	526	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
dupondius	1754	ΓΑΛΒΑ	526	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
sestertius	1748	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	---
as	1752	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΒΑ
as	1753	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
sestertius	1754	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	527	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
NICAEA				
sestertius(?)	2050, 2057-2057var.	GALBA	591	GALBA
dupondius(?)	2052	GALBA	591	GALBA
as(?)	2060-2061	GALBA	591	GALBA
as(?)	2060-2061var.	GALBA	591	GALBA
dupondius(?)	2057var.	GALCA	---	GALBA
NICOMEDIA				
as(?)	2084-2085	Palladium ΓΑΑΥ	525	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
semis(?)	2086	Palladium ΓΑΛ	525	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
sestertius(?)	2083A	Palladium ΓΑΛ	---	ΓΑΛ
sestertius(?)	2083A	ΓΑΛΒΑ	526	ΓΑΛ

Table 2. COUNTERMARKS

Mint	Latin	Greek	RPC	RPC (other Cmks)
GACPP				
Roma	sestertius	RIC 99		
GALBA (GIC 591)				
Roma	sestertius	RIC 62		
Roma	sestertius	RIC 93, 99, 102		
Nicaea	sestertius(?)	RPC 205	GALBA	
Nicaea	dupondius(?)	RPC 2052	GALBA	
Nicaea	dupondius(?)	RPC 2057-2057var.	GALBA	
Nicaea	as(?)	RPC 2060-2061	GALBA	
Nicaea	as(?)	RPC 2060-2061var.	GALBA	
GALCA (GIC ---)				
Roma	sestertius	RIC 96,112		
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758	---	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758A	---	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1760	---	ΓΑΛΒΑ
Nicaea	sestertius(?)	RPC 2057var.	---	GALBA
Palladium ΓΑΑΥ (GIC 525)				
Nicomedia	as(?)	RPC 2084-2085	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ	
Palladium ΓΑΛ (GIC ---)				
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758A	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ	
Nicomedia	sestertius(?)	RPC 2081A	ΓΑΛ	
Nicomedia	semis(?)	RPC 2086	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ	
ΓΑΛΒΑ (GIC 526)				
Perinthus	as	RPC 1752	ΓΑΛΒΑ	
Perinthus	as	RPC 1753var.	ΓΑΛΒΑ	
Perinthus	dupondius	RPC 1754	---	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758	---	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
Perinthus	dupondius	RPC 1759	---	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ
Perinthus	dupondius	RPC 1759var.	---	Standards? ΓΑΑΥ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1760-1761	ΓΑΛΒΑ	

Perinthus	as	RPC 1761A	ΓΑΛΒΑ	
Perinthus	as	RPC 1762	---	---
Perinthus	as	RPC 1762Avar.	---	Capricorn
Nicaea	dupondius(?)	RPC 2060	---	GALBA
Nicomedia	sestertius(?)	RPC 2083A	---	ΓΑΛ
ΓΑΛΚΑ (GIC ---)				
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758A	---	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
ΓΑΛΚΑΙ (GIC 527)				
Lugdunum	sestertius	RIC 391		
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1748	---	---
Perinthus	as	RPC 1752	---	ΓΑΛΒΑ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1753	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1754	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758	ΓΑΛΚΑΙ	
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758A	---	Standards? ΓΑΑΥ
Perinthus	sestertius	RPC 1758Avar.	---	Standard? ΓΑΑΥ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1760-1761	---	ΓΑΛΒΑ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1761A	---	ΓΑΛΒΑ
Perinthus	as	RPC 1762	---	---
Perinthus	as	RPC 1762A	---	Capricorn

**Roma İmparatorluk ve Eyalet Sikkeleri Üzerinde Bulunan “Galba” İsimli Kontrmarklar:
Kontrmarklar Üzerine Düşünceler ve Yerli Bronz Sikkelerin
Pannonia (?), Moesia, Thrakia ve Küçük Asya’daki (?) Sirkülasyonu**

Özet

Bu makale, bir yandan RPC-I’in yayınlanmasından itibaren tanımlanan tipleri kataloglayarak, öte yandan aşağı Tuna sınırı ve Pontus et Bithynia eyaleti etrafında kontrmark işlemlerinin kurulduğu yerde, Galba’nın emperyal politikasıyla uyum içindeki bir faaliyet olan sosyal bağlamı tanımlayarak, bilinen tiplerin sırasını doğrulamak, düzeltmek ve geliştirmek amacıyla ya komple yazılmış ya da kısaltılmış şekilde “Galba” ismini kullanan Latince ve Yunanca lejantlı sekiz farklı imparatorluk kontrmarkını araştırmaktadır. Bu makale, kontrmarkların basıldığı bölgeler ve basılmış sikkelerin dağılımı ile ilgili soruları aralarından seçip bu sorunlara son zamanlarda belgelenen tiplerle alakalı önemli yeni kanıtları göz önüne getiren kısa bir tartışma sunmaktadır. Şimdiye kadar tam anlamıyla incelenmemiş olan imparatorluk dönemi sikkelerinin hem basımı hem de sirkülasyonunun belirgin özellikleri resmedilmiştir. Özel önem elbette eyaletlerin idari yönetimi ile birlikte yakın bir ilişki içinde giden Roma lejyon yönetiminin parayla ilgili operasyonlarına verilmiştir. İki tane kontrmarkın okunuşu GIC kataloğuyla karşılaştırılarak düzeltilmiştir. Ayrıca üç tane yeni kontrmark tipi tanımlanmıştır. Son olarak kataloğun bir bölümü modern sahteciliğe ayrılmıştır. Bu tipler uygun belgelendirme yokluğu sahtekârlığın biçimini tespit etmeyi imkânsız kıldığından oldukça sık bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kont(e)rmak; Galba; sikke; sikke sirkülasyonu; sikke sahtekârlığı.

Countermarks in the Name “Galba” on Roman Imperial and Provincial Coinages: Considerations on the Countermarks and the Circulation of Local Bronze Coins in Pannonia (?), Moesia, Thrace and Asia Minor (?)

Abstract

This article investigates the eight different imperial countermarks with Latin and Greek legends that use the name “Galba,” either spelled out or abbreviated, in order to verify, correct, and update the sequence of known types, cataloguing specimens identified since publication of RPC-I, on the one hand, and, on the other, describing the social context where the countermarking operation was set up around the lower Danube limes and the province of Pontus et Bithynia, activity in keeping with the Galba’s imperial policy. It singles out questions over the areas where the countermarks were struck and the coinage distributed, offering concise discussion of these problems that takes in to account important new evidence from recently documented specimens. Certain facets of both the minting and circulation of imperial bronze coinage that had not been properly assessed heretofore are limned. Special attention is paid to the moneying operations of the Roman Legionary administration, run, of course, in close coordination with the provincial administrative apparatus. The reading of two countermarks has been corrected, compared to the GIC catalog. Three new countermark types have also been identified. Finally, the catalog devotes a section to modern forgeries, specimens found rather often, whose lack of proper documentation may make it impossible to ascertain the nature of the counterfeiting.

Keywords: Countermarks; Galba; Coinages; Circulation of coinages; Coin forgeries.

PLATES



A1.1



B2.2



B5.2



B5.6



B8.1



B14.1



C2.1



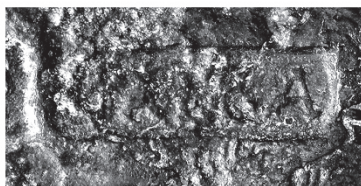
C3.1



C3.2



C4.1



C5.1



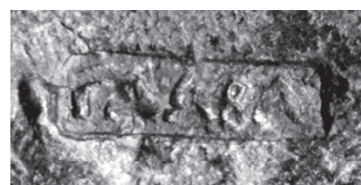
D1.1



E1.1



E2



F5.1



F5.2



F7.1



F7.4



F7.8



F10.4



F10.5



F12.2



G1.1



G1.2

ΓΑΛΛΑΙ (large size)



H2.2



H4.2



H6.6



H7.9

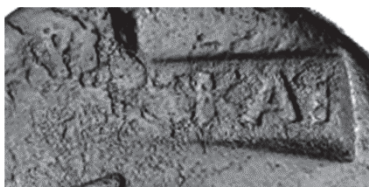


H9.2

ΓΑΛΛΑΙ (uncertain size)



H3.1



H6.7

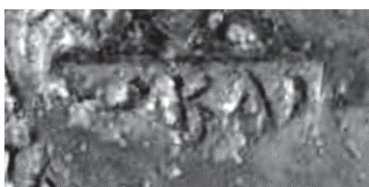


H10.3

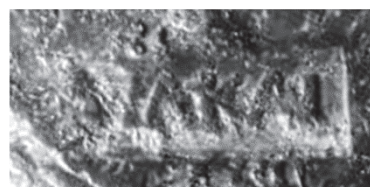
ΓΑΛΛΑΙ (small size)



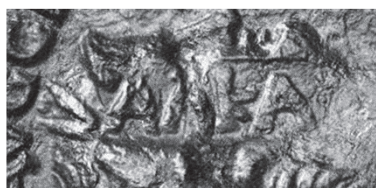
H1.1



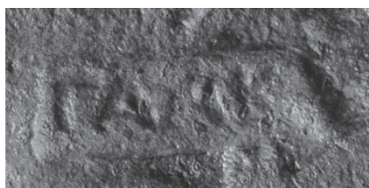
H5.4



H6.4



H6.10



H7.8

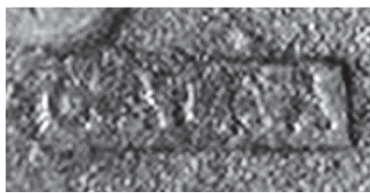


H10.1

Uncertain



B8.2



B10.10



B13.1



B14.2



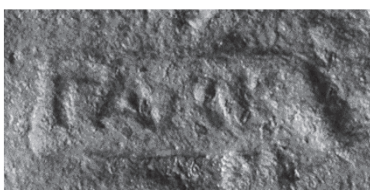
B15.4



F13.1



H7.6

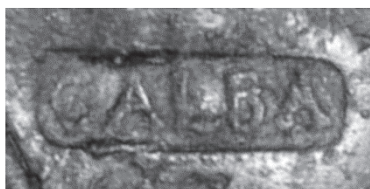


H7.8

Modern forgeries



1A.1



1B.1



1C.1



1D.1



2B.1



2B.1



2A.1



2A.1

Damnatio Memoriae

B5.1



B5.2



B8 5



B8.5 (erased GALBA)



B10.10



B10.10 (erased GALBA?)



B14.1



B14.2



B16.1



C4.1



F1.6



F1.7



F10.3



F12.2



H1.1



H5.1



H5.4



H6.12



H9.1

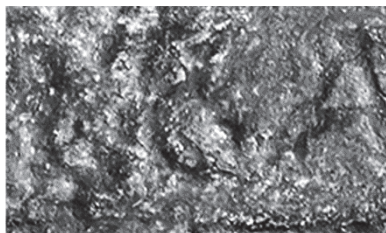


H10.3

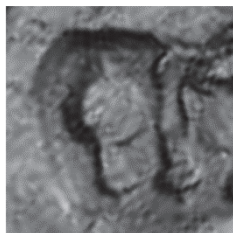


H14.1

Enlargments



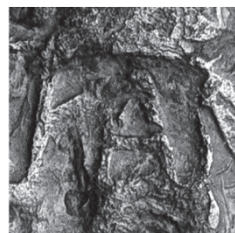
C5.1



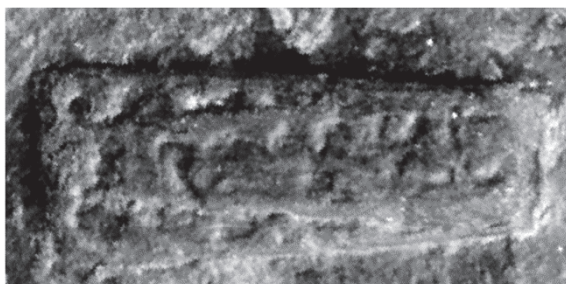
E1.1



G1.1



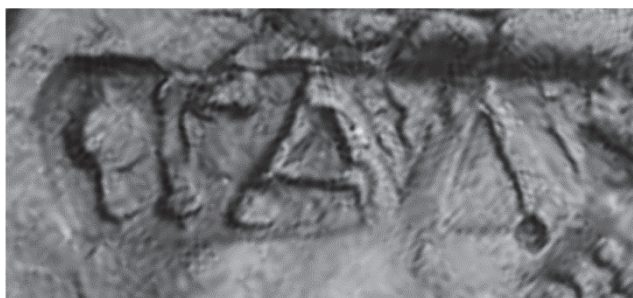
G1.2



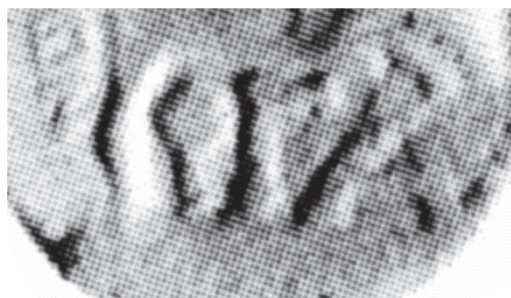
B5.3



B8.3



A (E1.1)



B (E3)



H6.8



H7.6



RPC^{S2} 1762A [x1,5]

Reconstructing the Past in a changing Landscape. Reflections on the Area of Ephesus and other Sites in Western Asia Minor

Andreas KÜLZER*

Dedicated to Johannes Nollé on his 65th birthday

Landscapes are in perpetual transformation; change is one of their elementary phenomena.¹ This is due to several factors, some of them basing on natural causes like climatic changes or changes of soil quality, for example by salinization or lowering of the water table. Human beings provoke other changes, including deforestation, draining of swamps, or river regulation.² Extremely important are the establishment of settlements and the construction of roads and routes for developing a regional or even national communication system.³ These are common efforts to transform a natural space into a cultural landscape;⁴ but as a result, one has to notice that the former unified landscape is now structured and divided; its homogeneity is lost.

It is the main task of historical geography to reconstruct the former state of a special landscape, even more to search for regularities of emergence or decline of cultural landscapes in general.⁵ The reconstruction can focus on different aspects, for example the geomorphological situation, but also on historical settlement conditions, the using of agricultural areas or the course of the former road system. There are different methods of reconstruction, scientific approaches like geodesy and geophysics, climatology or pollen analysis, as well as historical or philological approaches like analysis of written sources, archaeological data or onomastic material.⁶ It is necessary to combine the results of *all* methods if the picture of former days' reality should be trustworthy.

Considering that, it is important to understand the central concepts of *landscape* and of *space*. Especially the definition of *space* is topic of intensive scientific discussion. The ambiguity of the term allows different approaches and various interpretations, in view of the fact that not only geography but also subjects like sociology or literary sciences are affected.⁷ Important and widely accepted is a

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² Geyer 2002, 31-45; Telelis 2008, 167-207; Veikou 2012a; Koder 2012, 155-157.

³ Among others, French 2016a; French 2016b; Külzer 2016, 187-194.

⁴ Veikou – Beihammer 2017, 387.

⁵ Cf. Kirsten 1987, 1-50; Külzer 2010, 173-184.

⁶ Koder 1986, 155-187; Telelis 2004; Koder 2006, 159-183; Koder 2010, 13-22; Popović 2014, 10-17; Külzer, forthcoming a.

⁷ Cf. Dünne – Günzel 2006; Cassidy-Welch 2010, 1-4; Ette 2013, especially 49-60; Veikou 2016; Veikou – Beihammer 2017, 388-390.

theory of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991).⁸ In his opinion, space is more than a mere collection of material realities and persons in a landscape; beyond men and environment space should be understood as a site of ongoing interactions of social relations, as a dynamic process of production inspired by a society.⁹ Yet, each society produces its own individual space, following its own customs and habits. It is exclusively understandable from its respective time and concrete circumstances.

For a proper understanding of his perceptions of *space* and *processes of production of space*, Lefebvre developed a tripartite model consisting of the concepts of perceived space, of conceived space, and of lived social space.¹⁰ The following applies to Byzantium: the buildings erected at that time, the Byzantine houses and fortresses, the basilicas and cross-dome churches, but also the geographical conditions of a special landscape are among the first concept; they are perceptible and part of an everyday spatial practice. Theories of space and spatial statements as mentioned in literary sources belong to the second concept; they are entirely abstract and part of a mental history. The interpretation of these materials allows an approach to the lived reality of the Byzantines, to the third concept.¹¹ All three concepts belong together; they are inseparable from each other and present different facets of *one* image. As a unity, they provide a performing theoretical model for the reconstruction of historical spaces.

However, this model seems to be very general. The Byzantine Empire existed for more than thousand years, and numerous changes took place in this long period. To make the model more precise, one should pay more attention to the factor *time* and choose smaller time units. The realities of the Early Byzantine Period differ significantly from those of the late Palaeologian period. This applies to different areas, for example to the domain of *geographic space*: due to geomorphological reasons, countless mountains and islands, coastlines and estuaries changed their form in this millennium. Just to mention the estuaries of the river Meander (Büyük Menderes Nehri) south of modern Samsun dağ¹² or of the river Hermos (Gediz çayı) in the wider hinterland of Smyrna (İzmir).¹³ (See fig. 1). - There were also remarkable changes in the *sacral space*: from the 6th century onwards, the sacral space in the Byzantine core lands, in Western Anatolia as well as in the Aegean region or in Thrace, was mainly Christian and in some limited parts Jewish; but pagan sacral space, still existing in Late Antiquity, disappeared.¹⁴ Among numerous examples, I would like to mention here John of Ephesus and the Christianization of thousands of people, the erection of numerous churches and monasteries in the hinterland of Tralleis (Aydın) in the period of Emperor Justinian I. (527-565).¹⁵ - Furthermore, the *political space* of the Byzantine Empire changed a lot, due to an interplay of conquests and territorial gains on the one hand and partly dramatic losses on the other. Regarding this

⁸ Lefebvre 1991.

⁹ Important also Veikou, forthcoming.

¹⁰ Lefebvre 1991, 38-41, 46, 51, 53 etc.

¹¹ Cf. Veikou, forthcoming.

¹² Müllenhoff 2005; Ragia 2009, 13-212; Thonemann 2011, 1-49; Brückner e. a. 2017, 877-887.

¹³ Doğer 1998, 2, 3, 49, 54, 60, 74, 75, 993 etc.; Meriç 2018, 33-55.

¹⁴ Brown 1995, 27-54; Mitchell 2007, 225-300; Cameron 2012, 58-83.

¹⁵ John of Ephesos, Hist. eccl. III 2, 36-37; Trombley 1985, 329-334; Whitby 1991, 111-112, 130-131; Külzer, forthcoming b.

dynamic, the question of the essence of Byzantine space arises: were the Peloponnese or the hinterland of Thessaloniki in the 7th and 8th century or Western Anatolia in the 14th century still included here, regarding the real level of power, the *de facto* loss of power of the Byzantine Emperor? The answer will surely vary, depending on the personality of the individual researcher...

Transformation of space did not only exist in geographical or geomorphological, in sacred and in political terms, but also on a smaller scale. Just to mention the dislocation of settlements, so often documented through archaeological and literary sources. The old settlement place lost its former importance, while the new one, which was probably ahistorical before, got a new identity. The bishopric Elea for example, situated around 20 kilometers south-east of Pergamum (Bergama) near the modern village of Kazıkbağları at the shore of the Aegean Sea, was dislocated two kilometers further to the north in the late 6th century. The new location, the former uninhabited and dull hills of *Püsküllü tepeler*, received the tradition and prestige of a bishopric, while the former location found itself largely abandoned.¹⁶ The later lost its character of a vivid settlement and even its ecclesiastical rank; it became a secular place and transformed to a simple base of some workshops and small factories.

The outcome of social change results in the emergence of new architectural forms and new kinds of settlements, which enriched the variety of forms in the single landscapes. One can think about the appearance of the cross-dome churches after iconoclasm. In most cases smaller and cheaper than the basilicas, people erected them at numerous places all over the Byzantine Empire, on mountain peaks or near the sea. As a result, sacral space increased. Furthermore, one should remember the huge monastic settlements described by Johannes Koder,¹⁷ which often had the dimension and population of bigger villages or the offshore island settlements, the isles of refuge, mentioned at different occasions by Myrto Veikou and others.¹⁸ Therefore, the idea of the existence of a *Byzantine space* as continuum for more than thousand years, as a great abstract noun is more than doubtful. It seems to be necessary for a significant scientific investigation to use the term space only for limited landscapes and working domains on a smaller scale, with a sensible reduction of large time units.

Obviously, the transformation of landscapes and space continued after the end of the Byzantine Empire. In the 18th, 19th, or 20th centuries, it was a common habit for European travelers in Anatolia or in the Balkans, to refer to contemporary local villages as geographic reference points for their archaeological or epigraphical discoveries. Nevertheless, if anyone should look for these mentioned settlements on a modern map, he has to realize that numerous villages do not exist anymore, while others are difficult to identify due to previous renaming measures or an interim dislocation. However, if the former reference points are lost, the identification of the ancient remains connected to them is nearly impossible. Therefore, some places established for a limited time as late antique or Byzantine due to their documented archaeological remains lost their tradition again. They disappeared from common academic knowledge and fall back into historical unawareness due to the technical difficulties of an accurate location of their geographical reference points.

¹⁶ Pirson 2014, 340, 355-356; Külzer 2018, 61-62.

¹⁷ Koder 1993/1994.

¹⁸ Hood 1970, 37-45; Veikou 2009; Veikou 2010; Veikou 2012a; Veikou 2012b, Veikou 2013; Veikou, forthcoming.

Scientific identifications of historical sites are elements for structuring a landscape as well. In the year 1881 Heinrich Schliemann identified Lodos burnu, modern Deve burnu at the northwestern end of today's Edremit körfezi, a cape without archaeological remains and therefore an ahistorical place, as Cape Lekton;¹⁹ thus, the place got a Homeric tradition. Consequently, this place, these stones were the ones commemorated in the writings of the Roman geographer Strabo or the Byzantine authors Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos and John Tzetzes.²⁰ However, some years later scholars recognized that Baba burnu five kilometers further to the northwest was more likely the historical place of Cape Lekton. Therefore, identification changed; the same history was attributed to different stones and another landmark.²¹ The place of Deve burnu turned back after a short period of historicity to insignificance and anonymity, and this happened without any change of its individual geographical character.

In the southern Troad, near the modern village of Kozlu, one can find an impressive ancient settlement place with mighty walls. In the 19th century, people believed it was Gargara,²² a well-known place in ancient and medieval times, mentioned as a station in the east of Assos (Behraim Kale) on the *Peutinger map* and documented as a bishopric until the late 12th century. Here again, identification changed; from 1898 up to now the place is regarded as Lampōneia,²³ an ancient place without any ecclesiastical tradition. The old walls, remaining identical and unchanged, are now affiliated with other stories and a dissimilar historicity.

After this discussion on different aspects of space, landscape and methods for the correct reconstruction of former day's reality, it is time to switch to the area of Ephesus and its nearer hinterland. Here again, one has to address various problems. One of them is the considerable change of the whole landscape due to alluvial deposits of the river Cayster (Küçük Menderes), which influenced and shaped the entire coastal area (see fig. 2 and 3).²⁴ The situation is similar to that of the above-mentioned estuaries of the rivers Meander and Hermos. The Cayster created the extended plain in the west of modern Selçuk with its more than 8 kilometers length in the last 2,300 years thanks to its deposits; around 300 B.C. the coastline was just north and west of the Ayasoluk. The Koressos harbor north of the nearby Panayırdağ, already existing in the 8th century B.C. was unusable 700 years later because of sedimentation.²⁵ Some decades later, Pliny the Elder (23-79) reported that the former island of Syriē was a part of the mainland due to the deposits of the river (V 31,115).²⁶ The coastline was at the level of today's Akgöl or Çatalgölü in the early byzantine period; however, the Roman harbor of Ephesus in the west of the Panayırdağ was still in use at that time. Dredging and

¹⁹ Schliemann 1881, 17-18, 79.

²⁰ Strabōn 13,1,6; 13,1,49; Constantine Porphyrogennētos, *De thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 83; John Tzetzes, *Lycophronis Alexandra II. Scholia*, ed. Scheer, 24, 1170.

²¹ Cf. Cook 1973, 190, 238.

²² Clarke 1888, 298-302; Cook 1973, 253, 255-261; Külzer, forthcoming c.

²³ Cook 1973, 261-264.

²⁴ Stock e. a. 2013, 58; Steskal 2014, 328-329; Külzer 2018, 51-53. For the headwater and middle course of the river Cayster, see Meriç 2009; Dan 2017, 88-100; Külzer 2017, 195-214, 475-478; Kirbihler 2018, 133-160.

²⁵ Scherrer 2007, 347; Steskal 2014, 331-332; Stock e. a. 2014, 38, 56-57; Ladstätter 2016, 233-240, 253-257; Külzer 2018, 50-51.

²⁶ Brückner e. a. 2017, 887-888, 892.

various construction work were necessary to realize this. A harbor channel was constructed at an early stage to keep the connection with the sea, but because of the ongoing siltation process, it was useable only for small ships already in Late Roman times.²⁷ In the middle byzantine period, the seaside run east of the modern village of Zeytinköy, in the late byzantine period at least one kilometer further to the west.²⁸ It was constantly necessary to extend the harbor channel that increasingly silted. New roads and routes, small settlements and cultivation areas shaped the alluvial plain; they helped to transform the local natural space into a cultural landscape. Obviously, it is impossible to find larger quantities of ancient ceramics here; even in byzantine times huge parts of the plain did not exist, these regions were still covered with water and belonged to the sea.

The results of these geomorphological studies are useful concerning the localization of toponyms transmitted by literary sources. The harbor of Panormos for example, mentioned by the Roman geographer Strabo (14,1,20), can only be localized in those regions which were coastal areas at the beginning of the Common Era: therefore, wide landscapes in the west of Ephesus are not affected in this context. As mentioned elsewhere, its localization in the north of the river Cayster, at the foot of modern Alaman dağı is unlikely.²⁹ The archaeological remains discovered there do definitely not belong to a harbor construction. Instead, a more likely side of Panormos could be the huge harbor-place at Çanakgölü south of the Cayster, documented by archaeological and geological data (see fig. 4).³⁰ However, some questions need to be answered before the localization is secured, especially concerning the correct assessment of the local ceramic types.

Another harbor is located about 400 meters east of today's coastal line, besides the 10-meter high hill *Kumtepe*; the area's toponym is Pamucak,³¹ after an adjoining coastal town. The hill was an island in ancient times; later alluvial deposits connected it to the mainland. Since early Byzantine times, there was a huge basilica on the top of the hill.³² The church whose name remains unknown served as a pilgrims' destination; a special anchorage enabled the visitors to enter the place. From a small platform, a mighty staircase led upstairs to the basilica. Just a stone's throw away from that place runs the harbor channel with a further port construction.³³

About two kilometers south of *Kumtepe* one can find the huge holiday center of Aqua Park, which dominates the surrounding landscape virtually as well as acoustically. Different histories are associated with this place. During construction work of the hotel, many ancient and Byzantine settlement remains were removed or simply destroyed.³⁴ These remains were partly interpreted as legacies of the former town of Phygela; for example, the "Topographical Map of Western Asia Minor" published by Alfred Philippon in Gotha in the year 1910 (map 3, scale 1:300,000) was doing so. But more likely, this area was not the place of Phygela; instead, here should be the location of the late

²⁷ Steskal 2014, 333-334; Külzer 2018, 51-52.

²⁸ Stock e. a. 2013, 58.

²⁹ Külzer 2018, 56-57 against the theory of Meriç 1985. Furthermore, Stock e. a. 2013, 58, 59, 67.

³⁰ Hopfgartner 1962/1963, 52; Stock e. a. 2013, 59-60, 62-63; Külzer 2018.

³¹ Ladstätter e. a. 2014, 2-4; Külzer 2018, 53-54.

³² Currently ÖAI 2014, 26, 28, 30; ÖAI 2015, 22-23; ÖAI 2016, 27-28.

³³ Stock e. a. 2013, 67; Pfeiffer-Taş 2014, 1095; Külzer 2018, 54.

³⁴ Pfeiffer-Taş 2014, 1099-1100, Fig. 10-11.

medieval harbor of Ephesus,³⁵ a place which according to the German pilgrim Ludolf of Suchem, writing between 1336 and 1341, was located at the front of the seaside, in a distance from about four kilometers from ancient Ephesus. He described the area as an extensive settlement place with numerous residential buildings and (Latin) churches.³⁶ The well-preserved wall running up a hill east of Aqua Park and visible even on satellite images, may have been one of the boundaries of this late harbor area. However, I should mention that some scholars correlate Ludolf's description with the above mentioned port near *Kumtepe* - again we have identical stones connected with various histories, the reconstruction of the landscape's past is the result of single characters and their personal believes...

If the place of Aqua Park is really the location of the late medieval harbor of Ephesus, so one wonders where should be the place of Phygela,³⁷ the well-documented town by the sea, where the Byzantine navy gathered twice (in the years 903 and 961) to start the recapture of Crete? A proposed localization at today's Kuşadası³⁸ is much too far to the south. More likely, Phygela was located close to a bay two kilometers south of Aqua Park, near the modern resort of Bayraklıdede. This place corresponds best to the descriptions of the literary sources, including the detailed report written by the Latin pilgrim Willibald in the year 721. However, the numerous Byzantine settlement remains, still documented on the shore of the bay in the early 1960s,³⁹ whose analysis would be so useful, are unfortunately completely lost today.

The extended byzantine settlement near Arvalia, 4 kilometers east-northeast of the bay of Bayraklıdede, documented in the early 1960s as well,⁴⁰ was also partly identified with Phygela. Other researches localized in the same area Ortygia, a Roman settlement place; the geographer Strabo mentioned its temples and cult buildings (14,1,20). Today Arvalia is associated neither with the first nor with the second tradition. Most people localize Phygela at the mentioned bay; Ortygia seems to be further to the south, near the modern village of Kirazlı or Akçaova, 9 kilometers north of Söke.⁴¹ Arvalia however did not only lose its various historical traditions, the area lost even its identity. A few years ago the settlement remains were removed, the ground was leveled; and afterwards people established on the former settlement place a training center for the football club *Altınordu Futbol Sosyal Girişimi* (Altınordu FSG), playing these days in the Second Turkish Division. Only the fragments of ceramics and bricks in the meadows close to the playing fields remind one of the former history of Arvalia. Even a 5th century basilica discovered during construction work in this area in the year 2010 was not preserved, but it is lost again.⁴²

The initial statement concerning the perpetual transformation of landscapes is correct in the case of various places in Western Anatolia, in the area of Ephesus and its wider hinterland. The change happened partly due to natural causes, partly due to human beings and their interventions. Some

³⁵ Pfeiffer-Taş 2014, 1088, 1092-1094, 1097-1103; Külzer 2018, 54-56.

³⁶ Ludolf of Suchem, cap. 18; Pfeiffer-Taş 2014, 1092-1093.

³⁷ Külzer 2018, 55-56.

³⁸ Foss 1979, 123; Talbert e. a. 2000, 946 and Map 61.

³⁹ Hopfgartner 1962/1963, 52, 67-69, Tafel I.

⁴⁰ Hopfgartner 1962/1963, 39-51.

⁴¹ Keil 1922-1924, 113-115; Günel 2003, 92-94.

⁴² Tok 2017, 373-384, 522-524.

geographical points, clearly determinable in a landscape, are connected with different ideas and historical traditions. The individual valence of these places is not constant but in transformation. Historicity and lack of history alternate with each other. Moreover, what about the above-mentioned theory of space? The idea of the three concepts of perceived space, of conceived space and of lived social space completing each other is applicable for Byzantium. However, the preselected unambiguity of all concepts does not exist; the factor interpretation is extremely important, especially concerning perceived and conceived space. Moreover, interpretation communicates with subjectivity, and this subjectivity manifests itself in the existence of different localizations. Uniqueness comparable to mathematics or physics is inaccessible. Furthermore, it should be wise to enrich Lefebvre's model with the factor time. The interpretation of space for a whole millennium makes no sense; the use of smaller time units is necessary to get significant results for a correct understanding of historical space, in Western Anatolia or elsewhere in Byzantium.

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Figures

Fig. 1: Byzantine Province of Asia, QGIS 2.18 © Andreas Külzer, 2018.

Fig. 2: Significant Changes of the Coast-line near Ephesus, Stock e. a. 2013, 58.

Fig. 3: The Ephesian Plain between Ayasoluk and Pamucak, © Andreas Külzer, 2016.

Fig. 4: The Hinterland of Ephesus, Hopfgartner 1962/1963, 68-69, revised.

**Değişen Bir Bölgede Geçmişin Rekonstrüksiyonu.
Efes Bölgesi ve Küçük Asya'nın Batısındaki Başka Bölgeler Hakkında Düşünceler**

Özet

Peyzajlar daimi bir değişim içindedirler. Bu kısmen iklimsel değişimlerden veya tuzlanma örneğinde olduğu gibi toprak kalitesinin değişimleri gibi doğal nedenlerden olmakta, kısmen de ormanların yok edilmesi veya nehirlerin düzenlenmesi gibi insanlardan ve onların müdahalelerinden meydana gelmektedir. Diğerleri arasında, yerleşimlerin kuruluşu ve yolların yapılışı doğal bir yeri kültürel bir manzaraya dönüştürmek için olağan girişimlerdir. Tarihi coğrafya belli bir döneme, örnek olarak Geç Antik Dönem'e veya Orta Bizans Çağı'na odaklanarak bir peyzajın önceki halinin rekonstrüksiyonunu yapmaya çabalamaktadır. Rekonstrüksiyon çeşitli metotlar kullanarak – yani jeodezi ve jeofizik gibi bilimsel yaklaşımlarla birlikte yazılı kaynakların analizi veya arkeolojik bilgiler gibi tarihi veya filolojik yaklaşımlar – farklı bakış açılarına odaklanmaktadır. Farklı zaman kademeleri araştırma sonucu olarak sunulan resimde kendini gösterebilir; bazı yerler tarihleri boyunca çeşitli fikirler ve gelenekler ile bağlantılıdır. Bir akademik çalışmanın hem yazarı hem de okuyucusu taraflı yorumlamanın her tarihi ve tarihi coğrafik çalışmanın daima önemli bir etkeni olduğu gerçeğinin farkında olmalıdır. Batı Anadolu'daki başka yerlerin arasında Efes bölgesi şunu göstermek için iyi bir örnektir: Değişen bir peyzaj ve edebi kaynakların farklı yorumları ve yerel arkeolojik materyal bu bölgedeki Geç Antik Dönem ve Orta Çağ süresindeki yerleşim koşullarının farklı bir resmini sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ephesos; Geç Antikçağ; Ortaçağ; Araştırma Metotları; Uzam.

**Reconstructing the Past in a changing Landscape.
Reflections on the Area of Ephesus and other Sites in Western Asia Minor
Abstract**

Landscapes are in perpetual transformation. This happens partly due to natural causes, like climatic changes or changes of soil quality, for example by salinization, partly due to human beings and their interventions, just to recall deforestation, or the regulation of rivers. Among others, the establishment of settlements and the construction of roads are common efforts to transform a natural space into a cultural landscape. – Historical geography tries to reconstruct the former state of a landscape, focusing on a special period, for example Late Antiquity or the Middle Byzantine Period. The reconstruction focus on different aspects, by using various methods, scientific approaches like geodesy and geophysics as well as historical or philological approaches like the analysis of written sources or archaeological data. Different time levels may appear in the picture presented as research result; some places are connected with diverse ideas and traditions during their history. Both the author and the reader of an academic study must be aware of the fact that subjective interpretation is always an important factor of each historical and historic-geographical work. Among other places in Western Anatolia, the area of Ephesus is a good example to illustrate this: a changing landscape and divergent interpretations of literary sources and the local archaeological material offer different pictures of the settlement conditions in that area during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Ephesus; Late Antiquity; Middle Ages; research methods; space.

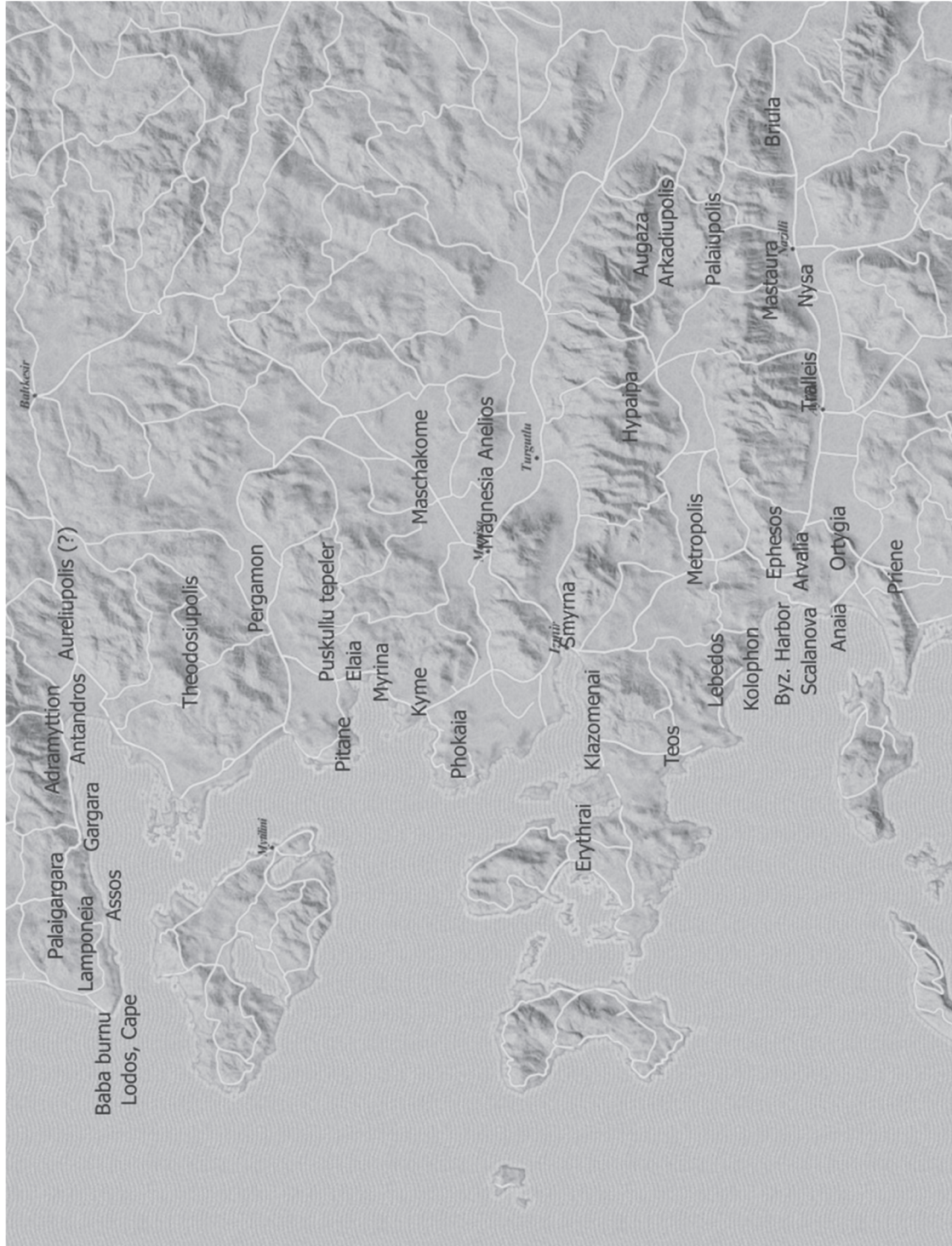


Fig. 1) Byzantine Province of Asia, QGIS 2.18 © Andreas Külzer, 2018

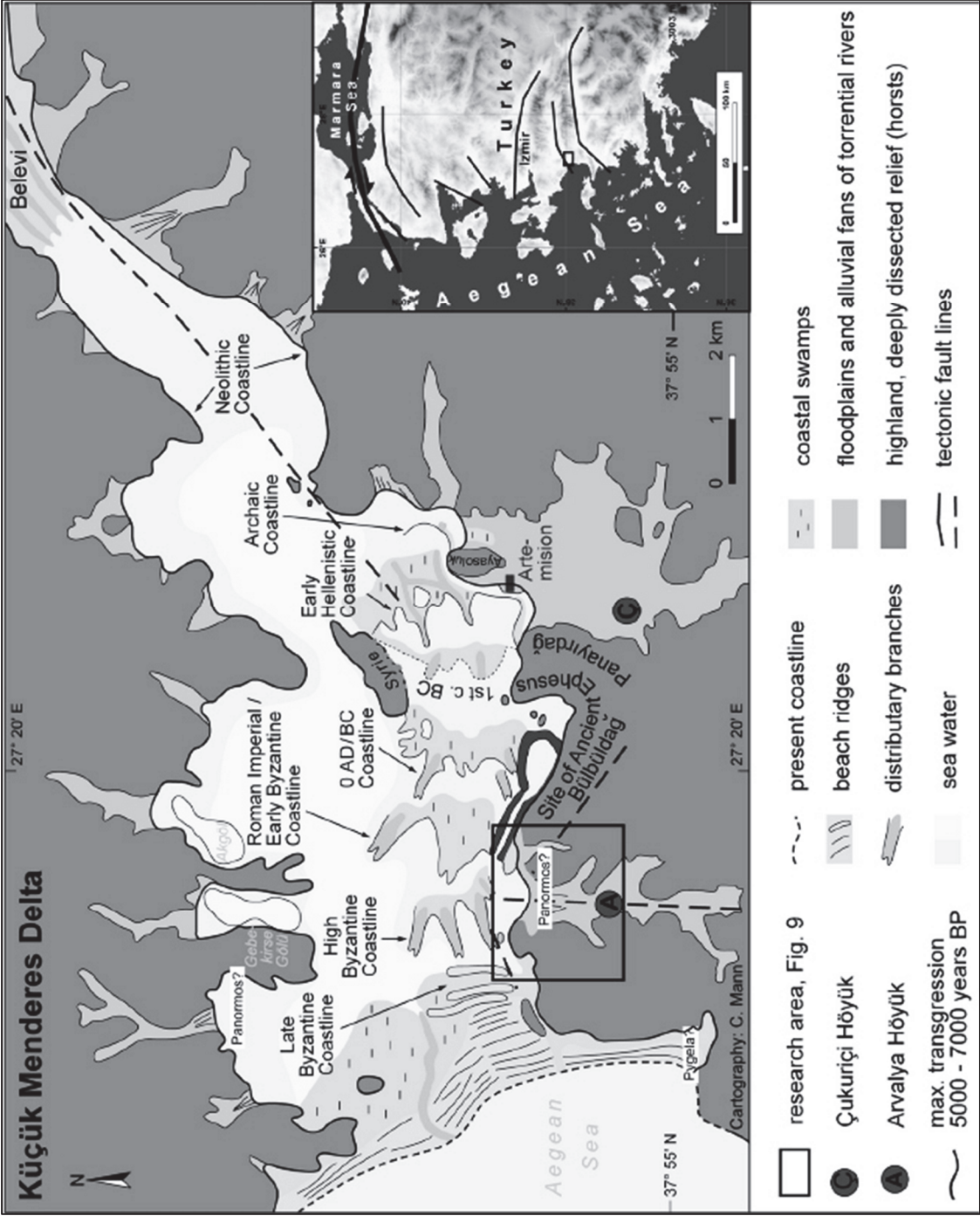


Fig. 2) Significant Changes of the Coast-line near Ephesus, Stock et al. 2013, 58



Fig. 3) The Ephesian Plain between Ayasoluk and Pamucak (© Andreas Külzer, 2016)



Fig. 4) The Hinterland of Ephesus, Hopfgartner 1962/1963, 68-69, revised

The Andriake Marbles: record of “a small ruined temple of very white marble” -a Roman 1st – 2nd century hilltop mausoleum and coastal navigational marker at Andriake, Lycia, that disappeared in the early 19th c.

T. Michael P. DUGGAN*

A caprice or *capriccio* is a drawing or painting that has been composed from a variety of different elements recorded separately that have been combined by the artist to form an imagined composition, often depicting an idea of a time or of the passage of time, and the idea of a place, relating to patrimony and history, to the consequences of the passage of time and to destiny, rather than taking a more or less exact copy of a particular place from a particular position. The latter work would in the 18th c. have been termed a view or *veduta*, rather than a caprice or *capriccio*. Those 18th and 19th c. artists, such as G. A. Canaletto, G. P. Panini, C. R. Cockerell, and H. J. Johnson, who drew and painted *capriccio* also drew and painted accurate views. The insertion of transients, people, ships and boats, birds and animals drawn elsewhere into the depiction of a view or *veduta* does not change the work into a *capriccio* but, for example the painting entitled, *A Capriccio Of Roman Ruins And Monuments, Including The Arch Of Titus, The Farnese Flora, The Temples Of Saturn, Vespasian And Fortuna Virilis*, painted by the Italian Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691-1765), combines a selection of ancient buildings that are in fact in various parts of Rome, impossible to see in a single view, into a single composition; as likewise, the insertion by William Marlow, of the depiction of Sir Christopher Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral in London into an oil painting of c. 1795 otherwise depicting the waterways of Venice, is a caprice, a work itself entitled, “*Capriccio: St Paul's and a Venetian Canal*”¹.

Luigi Mayer (1750-1803), an artist who had studied in Rome with Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78) who produced both *capriccio* and *veduta*, was consequently often described by contemporaries as Luigi Mayer Romano², but who was of German descent and born in Naples, depicted a small ruined temple-like mausoleum on the hilltop behind Hadrian's *horrea*³ at Andriake (Cacamo), with the vast imperial *horrea* and its inscription being the main subject of this work. The famous⁴ hand coloured aquatint of this subject entitled, “*Ancient Granary at Cacamo – Ancien Grenier A 'Ca-*

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¹ At http://www.tate.org.uk/art/images/work/N/N06/N06213_10.jpg, accessed on 27.02.2018.

² Eg. Sestini 1790, vii.

³ “On the north side of the entrance are the remains of large Roman horrea, with a perfect inscription, which states that the horrea were Hadrian's: the date is Hadrian's third consulate, which is A.D. 119.” s.v. Andriaca, Smith 1854, 135.

⁴ Famous in part through a set of Spode painted pottery which was produced carrying designs based upon Luigi Mayer's Caramania series of aquatints, with the Caramanian pattern first introduced about 1809, usually transfer printed in blue. It was manufactured after the Spode period, from 1833-1847 carrying the marks of Spode's owners, Copeland & Garrett, including transfer prints of the “*Ancient Granary at Cacamo*”, see Coysh 1972, 97. However the hill and temple tomb are not depicted in this print and Luigi Mayer's depiction of the “*granary*”-horreos has been extensively altered as well as showing only a detail of the original, rather than being simply a copy of the aquatint. <http://spodeabc.blogspot.com.tr/p/c.html>.

camo” (Fig. 1), depicting this massive imperial sub-divided depot with its Latin inscription, was Plate 3, engraved by Thomas Milton (1743-1827) et al., and printed by T. Bensley on watermarked (1801 J. Whatman) paper, in a volume of plates and text first published by R. Bowyer of Pall Mall, London, in the year of Luigi Mayer’s death, 1803⁵, entitled, “*Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored; with some curious selections from the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and the celebrated cities of Corinth, Carthage, and Tripoli; from the original drawings in the possession of Sir R. Ainslie, taken during his embassy to Constantinople, by Luigi Mayer; with historical observations and incidental illustrations of the manners and customs of the natives of the country*”.



Fig. 1) Luigi Mayer’s coloured aquatint entitled, “Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A’Cacamo”⁶



Fig. 2) Detail of Fig. 1. The “small temple” on the summit of the hill at Andriake.

A year later three different collections of views made by Luigi Mayer were published as a single volume containing 96 hand-colored folio aquatint plates engraved after Mayer’s drawings and with a new title page⁷, *Views in Egypt* (originally published in 1801 with 48 plates), *Palestine and the Holy Land* (with 24 plates originally published in 1802), and *Other Parts of the Ottoman Empire* (largely of Caramania, the subject of 18 of a total of 24 plates, originally published in 1803), again printed by Thomas Bensley for Richard Bowyer of Pall Mall, London, 1804. A selection of 24 of these plates was also published by Richard Bowyer in 1811 entitled, *A Selection of the most interes-*

⁵ After graduating from Oxford, Richard Pococke spent three years travelling in the Middle East, from 1735 to 1738 and William Bowyer (1699–1777), published Richard Pococke’s *A Description of the East and Some other countries*, a work illustrated by numerous engravings in 1745, and his son, also named William Bowyer, published the volumes of Luigi Mayer’s views, as also the Rev. F. J. V. Arundell’s tome entitled, *Discoveries in Asia Minor: including a description of the ruins of several ancient cities, and especially Antioch of Pisidia*, with engravings in 1834.

⁶ https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008694883 The version, Ref: P/1038 at <http://www.rareoldprints.com/p/1038> records in error Luigi Mayer’s aquatint of the Granary at Andriake, Lycia-Asia Minor-modern Turkey, as being made in the country of Egypt with the Location: Cacamo=Kekova.

⁷ The hand coloured title-page by Luigi Mayer for the volume entitled “*Views in Turkey, Asia, Palestine, Syria*”, published in 1804, at: V&A No.SP.385 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1106725/views-in-turkey-asia-palestinesyria-etching-mayer-luigi/>.

ting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Turkey, in Europe and in Asia: in Egypte (sic.), Palestine and Asia Minor and another edition in 1811 and in 1812, entitled, *A Selection of the most interesting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Turkey, in Europe and in Asia: Syria, Sicily, the Eolian Islands: Temple of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter Ammon in Libya, &c. &c.* and in 1812, *A selection of the most interesting of Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collection of views in Egypt, Asia Minor, etc.* The titles of the selections made from the views of Caramania, published in *A Selection...* were: *An ancient bath at Cacamo in Caramania, Ancient Theatre at Cacamo in Caramania* and, *A Colossal Sarcophagus at Cacamo*⁸. The plates were engraved between 1801 and 1805 by William Watts (1753-1851).⁹

This small Roman temple-like mausoleum (Fig. 2) over the course of the last century has come to be understood to have been an imaginary building, a caprice that was introduced for artistic effect by the artist onto this hilltop location in the finished depiction of this subject, inserted into the drawing he made at Andriake at some point between May and the 22nd of June, 1792, the date he left Caramania and returned by boat to Constantinople¹⁰. The former presence in this location of this building, as depicted in this aquatint, was unmentioned by F. Stark, who mentions both the 'granary' at Andriake and the remains of the Hellenistic tower-fortification on Andriake point, but does not mention the former presence of this structure in her 1956 book¹¹. In 1975 it was briefly mentioned as a watchtower through Beaufort's quote by Jürgen Borchhardt and Günter Neumann: "*Ihm verdanken wir die Entdeckung der Ruinen zu beiden Seiten des Flusses, des Garariums und des Wachturms II, den er allerdings für "a small ruined temple of very white marble" hielt. Beaufort identifizierte auch den Ort richtig mit dem antiken Andriake.*"¹² But it is not mentioned in the text concerning Andriake in the entry on Myra written by G. E. Bean in the PECS of 1976, nor in 2017¹³; nor is it mentioned in G. E. Bean's Lycian Turkey¹⁴; nor is it mentioned by J. Freely in his guide to The Western Mediterranean Coast of Turkey.¹⁵ N. Çevik has employed Luigi Mayer's aquatint depicting the "*Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo*", as an illustration to the sections in his works on the Horrea Hadriani at Andriake,¹⁶ but the team have found no evidence for this white marble temple-mausoleum on the hill depicted in this drawing and aquatint, suggesting the nearby Hellenistic tower of limestone blocks was represented as a temple by Luigi Mayer.¹⁷ It is unmarked on modern archaeological maps of the site.

The implication of the current line of thought concerning this structure being that the depiction entitled, "*Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo*", Plate 3 in its initial 1803 publi-

⁸ Malte-Brun 1823, 179, footnote, incorrectly records this work as entitled: "*Picturesque Travels in Caramania etc. From the Cabinet of Sir Robert Ainslie*, London, 1809."

⁹ Obituary in *The Art-Journal* March 1, 1852, 76; Spooner 1852, 1077.

¹⁰ See, Taylor 2013, for somewhere in excess of 18 finished drawings made in Caramania in about 6 weeks.

¹¹ Stark 1956, 154-5.

¹² Borchhardt – Neumann 1975, 39.

¹³ PECS 2017, 603-4.

¹⁴ Bean 1989, 129-130.

¹⁵ Freely 1997, 264-265.

¹⁶ Çevik 2002, 109; Çevik 2015, 385.

¹⁷ Çevik 2015, 381, "... Kumdağ Tepe'nin batı yönde tatlı bir sırt yapmaya başladığı kayalık tepe üzerinde konumlanan kule, Beufort (sic.) tarafından 'beyaz mermerden yapılmış küçük bir tapınak kalıntısı' olarak yorumlanmış, Luigi Meyer de böyle çizmiştir..."

cation, in the volume entitled “*Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored...*” was not, as Luigi Mayer stated in the title to this volume, a view; but rather, the depiction of this temple-like building on this hilltop was introduced by the artist, a caprice, thereby presenting the viewer of the aquatint with a capriccio masquerading as a view. In 2010 the art historian-archaeologist Prof. D. Behrens-Abouseif, in the catalogue to the exhibition held at the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, *Archaeologists and Travellers in Ottoman Lands*, stated that with one possible exception Luigi Mayer’s depictions in Egypt, “*have no documentary value for the architectural historian.*”¹⁸ However, in 1813 the Rev. J. Haggitt wrote, “*I refer you to the designs of the late Luigi Mayer, a draftsman of acknowledged exactness*”¹⁹, an opinion recently echoed by Anda-Lucia Spânu in 2012 in her description of the artist as, “*a pre-Orientalist painter, known as the author of very precise views of the Middle East*”²⁰, and Luigi Mayer furnished the drawings engraved as two plates in a numismatic work by Domenico Sestini, with Plate II depicting the obverse and reverse of Medieval Lesser Armenian gold and silver coins, forming a part of Sir Robert Ainslie’s collection, where Luigi Mayer is described in the Prefazione as: “*le quali addiamo fatto disegnare con esattezza, e diligenza da un bravo Disegnatore, e pittore, cidè dal Sig. Luigi Mayer Romano, unico allievo del Celebre Piranesi, acciò l’ Europa, e la Repubblica Letteraria possa darle quel merito dovuto. Questa serie di monete è stata, ed era trascurata, e negletta da quasi tutti gli Antiquarj, per esser poco.*”²¹, indicating his drawings and paintings were regarded as being both diligent and exact. Further, two of Luigi Mayer’s depictions of the theatre at Myra from 1792, were published in *Dilettanti* 1797, Plates LVI and LVII, and the *Dilettanti’s Antiquities of Ionia* was described in 1860 as, “*a work yet unsurpassed for accuracy and beauty, and invaluable to the students of ancient architecture.*”²² Both of these plates of Myra’s theatre were engraved by William Bryne (1743-1805), both were given an incorrect title, describing them as “*Theatre at Patara*”, rather than Theatre at Myra, as also in the text, “*In Plates LVI. LVII. are views of the Theatre at Patara (sic.) on the coast of Lycia, shewing the remains of the scene. The hill above the Theatre is covered with sepulchral monuments.*”²³, as likewise, “*The Society are indebted to Sir Robert Ainslie for the two views of the Theatre at Patara, that of Castell Rosso, and of Macri or Telmessus, which are taken from drawings by Mr. Myers (sic.)*”²⁴, in his possession, and finished under his inspection.”²⁵ This mis-description of the theatre at Myra as the theatre at Patara was pointed out in a letter from William Wilkins R.A. to W. R. Hamilton, Treasurer and Secretary of the Society from 1830, who wrote the general articles for Part III of *Antiquities of Ionia*, a letter noted in Volume V of 1915, “*The Roman theatre (at Myra) was first illustrated in the second part of the Antiquities of*

¹⁸ Exhibition catalogue, Between Istanbul and Cairo: Louis François Cassas and the Panoramic Perspective. In *Archaeologists and travellers in Ottoman Lands*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Exhibition catalogue 1.-14. 2010, 5.

¹⁹ Haggitt 1813, 93.

²⁰ Spânu 2012, 321; likewise 326, “In all of these illustrations, Luigi Mayer paid great attention not only to the architectural elements of the buildings, but local occupations, the clothes and characteristic details of the places crossed.” https://www.academia.edu/2374209/Luigi_Mayer_and_his_18th_Century_Urban_Views.

²¹ Sestini 1790, vii.

²² Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts, No. 325, Saturday, March 24th 1860, 180.

²³ *Dilettanti* 1797, 34.

²⁴ This same spelling of Luigi Mayer’s surname as Myers was employed by Hamilton 1847, 251.

²⁵ *Dilettanti* 1797, 43. See also Cust 1914, 104, who records these four Lycian engravings as taken from the drawings of Luigi Mayer.

Ionian, but under the title Patara. This fact is pointed out in a letter from Wilkins to Hamilton, and he was certainly right."²⁶ The fact that the illustration of the theatre at Antiphellus was in error labelled Castell Rosso was not noted. But for Luigi Mayer's work in Lycia to be engraved and published in *Dilettanti* 1797, containing its measured drawings and architectural plans, does rather suggest that his depictions were regarded at the time as being quite accurate views, like those drawn by William Pars that appeared in the same volume (Figs. 6, 7), rather than that the depictions in Lycia drawn by Luigi Mayer were regarded as exhibitions of 18th century artistic caprice. It is of note that in *Dilettanti* 1915, the editor records at the end of the list of plates of Myra in this volume, that, "*Some interesting illustrations of Myra from drawings made for Sir. R. Ainslie at the end of the eighteenth century are published in Mayer's Views in the Ottoman Empire, 1803.*"²⁷, while not noting that these two plates made from drawings at Myra, and the plates made from drawings of Castell Rosso and of Macri/Telmessus were from drawings by Luigi Mayer, a total of four plates, which were first published in *Dilettanti* 1797, and only subsequently were published in Mayer 1803. In further support of the accuracy of record provided by Luigi Mayer's drawings in 1792, R. C. Severis noted that in excavations by the French Archaeological Mission on Cyprus in 1989, architectural pieces were found sharing the same architectural characteristics as those that were recorded by Luigi Mayer, confirming the accuracy of Mayer's 1792 representation of the architecture in the scene on Ottoman Cyprus he drew depicting the Roadstead at Amathus-Amathonde.²⁸

It can be suggested Luigi Mayer differed little in his intention in making his drawings of views in Caramania from that expressed in the preface to Cornelius Le Bruyn's *A Voyage to the Levant*, published in English translation in 1702, that records Le Bruyn's intention expressed in the drawings he made in the Levant between 1674 and 1681, which "*was to give the world exact designs or draughts of the cities, places and edifices, which he met with on his travels; and herein he is very accurate, having drawn all his prospects upon the very place where he was.*"²⁹ This same intent was expressed by the architect James 'Athenian' Stuart (1713-1788) who wrote concerning the views presented in *Dilettanti* 1762: "*The views were also furnished on the spot: and in these, preferring Truth to every other consideration, I have taken none of the Liberties with which Painters are apt to indulge themselves, for a design of rendering the representation of Places more agreeable to the Eye and better Pictures. Not one object here is embellished by strokes of Fancy, nor is the situation of any one of them changed,...The Figures that are introduced in these Views are drawn from Nature, and represent the Dress and Appearance of the present Inhabitants of Athens.*"³⁰ This was a volume certainly in the library of Luigi Mayer's patron, in the service of the Levant Company,³¹ the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte from 1775 to 1793, Sir Robert Ainslie (1729/30-1812), elected a Member of the Society of *Dilettanti* in 1795,³² a collec-

²⁶ *Dilettanti* 1915, 16.

²⁷ *Dilettanti* 1915, X.

²⁸ Severis 1999, 59.

²⁹ Le Bruyn 1702, preface.

³⁰ Stuart 1762, viii. For the Preface remarking upon the same in the French edition, Paris 1714, (f.5), see: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bruyn1714/0010?sid=718aa4c1553e753f2825b5677580ced8>.

³¹ For the British trade network in the Mediterranean at the end of the 18th and first decade of the 19th c. see Galani 2017, 35-38, in respect to Robert Ainslie's correspondence and Levant Co. connections, see maps 2.3A, 2.3B.

³² A subsequent British Ambassador to the Porte from 1799-1803, The seventh Earl of Elgin, was elected a Member in 1831; British Ambassador to the Porte from 1803-1804, William Drummond, was elected a Mem-

tor of antiquities and coins,³³ created baronet in 1804, who seems to have employed the artist Luigi Mayer in Ottoman territory from 1786 to 1794.³⁴ This intent in representation was doubtless expressed to Luigi Mayer by his patron, as he wanted no drawings “*embellished by strokes of Fancy*”, no liberties taken, but a clear and accurate record of the view.

Although Hadrian’s *horrea* was depicted in the published aquatint, as presumably in the original drawing made by Mayer at Andriake, from which the finished coloured gouache was subsequently painted, which formed the model employed for the aquatint, with a total of seven, rather than the eight doors it actually has in this facade - a simple matter of miscounting the number of openings in the facade when drawing this very long facade from an angle, rather than face on³⁵ - and the size of some of the Lycian sarcophagi and tombs that he drew in Caramania, as also in the depiction of the size of the interior of the cistern at Andriake, which, like the Lycian tombs and sarcophagi, was depicted of a greatly increased relative size for effect - introduced into these depictions a touch of the sublime, while the human figures were reduced in scale, thereby drawing greater attention to the physical remains of these structures; there seems to have been no attempt made by Luigi Mayer to introduce into any of the views taken in Caramania any structures that lay beyond the frame of

ber of the Society in 1800; Sir Stratford Canning, Ambassador to the Porte from 1825-1827, 1841-1858, was elected a Member in 1834. Earlier, Robert Colebrooke, Ambassador to the Porte in 1764, was elected a Member in 1740; Sir James Porter, Ambassador to the Porte from 1747-1762, was elected a Member in 1766 and Edward Wortley Montague, Ambassador to the Porte from 1716-1718, was elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1749. For these dates of election of members, see Dilettanti 1855.

³³ His fine collection made from Constantinople of the coins of the Syrian and Macedonian kings was sold for £8,000, one half bought by R. Payne Knight, a Member of the Society of the Dilettanti, today in the British Museum, the other half was in Lord Northwick’s collection at Flambards, Middlesex before 1811, Lord Northwick was also a Member of the Society of the Dilettanti. Sir Robert Ainslie purchased the Kufi coin collection of L’Abbe Beauchamp, the French consul-general at Baghdad and added further examples to it and this collection of early Islamic coinage was purchased by William Marsden in September 1805 and led to Marsden’s publication in London between 1823-1825 of, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata. The Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of his Collection, Described and Historically Illustrated*, a watermark volume in Islamic numismatics. Col. W. M. Leake married William Marsden’s widow in 1838. Sir Robert Ainslie also built a collection of gold and silver coinage from Medieval Lesser Armenia vis. Sestini 1790. For additional official information, see the letter-books compiled during the embassy of Sir Robert Ainslie. 1776-94. 7 vols. F.O. 261.

³⁴ See Taylor 2013. At a salary of 50 guineas per year, with board, lodgings, laundry and travel expenses.

³⁵ Beaufort made this same mistake, recording the number of sections and openings as seven, “*The granary is divided into seven compartments, each of which had a door to the front*”. Beaufort 1817, 27-28; then repeated from Beaufort in Texier 1862, Ch.XXI, 694. It has in fact the same number of rooms as the horrea of Hadrian at Patara. This was drawn and measured by the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia in 1812, the two unpublished finished drawings of the horrea at Patara by Francis Octavius Bedford are in the RIBA, SD 134/39 RIBA65720 (section and elevation) and SD 134/38 RIBA65719 (Plan), both of which have been incorrectly dated 1810, but which on the Plan of Patara drawn by William Gell published in Dilettanti 1840, Chapter III, Plate I, it is marked as F, Horreum, and is strangely depicted, not in its correct location, smaller and with only three compartments. Yet on William Gell’s own View of Patara, in Dilettanti 1840, Chapter III, Plate II, this large building seems to have been drawn. The discrepancies between the Plan and the View of Patara are remarkable.

the view recorded, and thereby to misrepresent the content of the views he recorded in the gouaches and in the published plates, through the introduction of structures from elsewhere.

It seems probable that part of the reason why the view he took depicting the horrea-‘granary’ from the side, with the Latin inscription extending along the facade, was to include this building on this hilltop within the view, with the line of the pediment of the horrea echoed by the ascending line of the hilltop leading to this temple-like structure. Taking this aspect, rather than depicting the horrea from the front, from which viewpoint the inscription would, in fact, have been more legible, but then this hilltop and its ‘temple’ would not have been included within the view. The text of the inscription that extends along this facade was subsequently added to the drawing after it was otherwise completed. This is because if the inscription on the facade had been legible and recorded on the drawing at the same time as the building was being drawn, the number of doors in the facade would have been recorded as eight, rather than the seven depicted, with the letters and words of the inscription correctly located relative to each of these eight door openings³⁶. Further, from the angle this view was taken from, this inscription is largely, if not entirely invisible on the facade in the afternoon light; rather than, as is depicted in this aquatint, which shows from this angle the text as being completely legible along the entire length of the facade, an impossibility from this angle even in 129 A.D. when the letters of the inscription carried their fresh colouring, as today or in 1792.

The depiction by Luigi Mayer of this “small temple” on this hilltop shows a stone building, square in plan, orientated towards the South, constructed upon a relatively low podium of stone blocks with two free-standing Corinthian columns between each pillar, with two corner pillar pilasters per side, four pillars at the corners of the peristyle. The North East corner, North wall and presumably the North West corner, seems perhaps more solid, suggesting the cella walls of a “small temple”. The building is summounted by a cornice and entablature, presumably with the roof having triangular pediments, or possibly constructed in corbelling technique; of marble beams transversely crossing the space to form on the exterior a stepped pyramid. It seems the columns and pilasters were not fluted, although given the small size of the representation, this is uncertain. From this depiction it seems probable that this building was in the 1790’s relatively intact, although the podium was depicted as undermined at the South East corner facing the sea, the entablature was damaged, the roof was missing and the North West corner of the North facing wall seems already to have fallen, together perhaps with one of the columns from the South facade, which seems to be indicated as four fallen column drums or four blocks of masonry on the hilltop to the left of this building (Fig. 2).

This Roman monumental temple-tomb at Andriake, by 1792, although in a much more ruined condition, has a considerable resemblance to the Carian Mylasa-Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb dating from the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6), a building that remains *in situ* with its structure largely intact today. However, the rear of the monument at Andriake seems perhaps to be depicted as a walled enclosed area with applied pilasters, rather than open like the Gümüşkesen memorial tomb. Although it seems Luigi Mayer did not draw the Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb himself, it had already been drawn by both Richard Pococke and by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, whose drawings were engraved and were published in travel accounts in London in 1745

³⁶ This was the case for the architectural drawing of its elevation, today in the RIBA, drawn by J. P. Gandy from sketches and measurements he made in 1812, where the inscription is accurately depicted relative to the eight door openings in the facade, SD140/9, RIBA65811.

and in Paris in 1782 (Figs. 4, 5) and doubtless he had access to these volumes in the library of his patron. The Roman mausoleum nearly 13 m. high, in Karabucak district, about 2.5 km. to the West of Myra-Deme, of the Corinthian Order with pilasters, is of a different type, with walls raised on three sides of the podium and could not have served Luigi Mayer as a nearby model for his depiction of this building at Andriake, the ancient port for Myra.

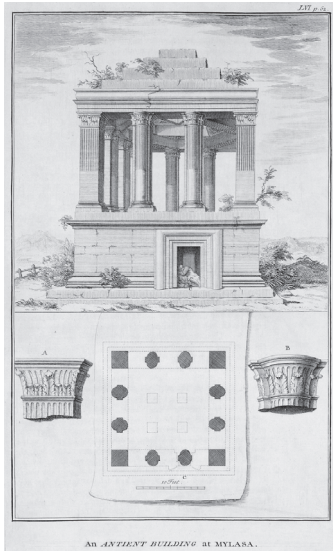


Fig. 3) Engraving entitled "An Ancient Building By Mylasa", from Pococke 1745, 62-63, Plate 56, recording the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb.³⁷



Fig. 4) Engraving by Liénard and Choffard from the drawing made by J. B. Hilair of 1776 entitled, 'Tombeau près de Mylasa', from Choiseul Gouffier 1782, 144-145, Plate 45 of the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb.³⁸



Fig. 5) The corrected (reversed) engraved image of the published composition Fig. 4, depicting the Mylasa-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb, as it was drawn by J. B. Hilair, with the entrance to the tomb to the left.



Fig. 6) William Pars's water-colour entitled, "A Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa", from the Society of Dilettanti, Ionian expedition 1764-1766, B.M., Museum No. Mm,11.73© Trustees of the British Museum.³⁹

It can be noted that both Figs. 3 and 4 have unfortunately, mistakenly been engraved, printed and published in reverse, a mirror image of the original drawing being published rather than an accurate copy of the original drawing. This was a relatively common error made by engravers, not only in the

³⁷ <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=50559>.

³⁸ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449081d/f301.image>.

³⁹ Listed in British Museum 1844, 274. See at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=33999001&objectId=745607&partId=1.

18th century, through copying the drawing directly onto the engraving plate without reversing the image, resulting in the print taken from the engraver's plate being the reverse of, rather than the same as the original drawn image. In consequence of this error in technique, what should be on the left of the engraving is printed on the right, what should be on the right appears on the left, and the composition of the published engraving is fundamentally different from that of the original drawing. The printed depiction altered in terms of their position the recorded details, as for example, the door into the base of this tomb should be, as it is in fact, on the left, and not, as in these published engravings on the right hand side of this face of the monument. For the corrected (reversed) image of Fig. 4, see Fig. 5 below. Luigi Mayer in 1792 was probably unaware of William Pars' watercolour view of this monument taken in 1764, published as an engraving in 1797 see Figs. 6, 7.

The question to be answered is did Luigi Mayer in this depiction record what he saw at Andriake in 1792, was this small Roman mausoleum, which he described as a temple, in fact standing on this hilltop at that time? Or, did he introduce into his view, this 'temple', a copy of a similar type to the square in section Mylasa-Melasso-Milas, 'Gümüşkesen' memorial tomb, a caprice introduced as an artistic embellishment to this view at Andriake?

Luigi Mayer in his views of Caramania in 1792 was concerned with making what he recorded in his views legible to the Enlightenment eye, firstly to that of his patron, Sir Robert Ainslie, who almost certainly was not present⁴⁰ and probably did not visit the places where these drawings were made. In consequence of this requirement of legibility, the proportions of the exceptional remains of antiquity Luigi Mayer recorded were increased in size, relative to the size of the landscape and the to size of the people he depicted in the view he took. This was his practice in the record he made, of emphasising by scale the exceptional, the exceptional being the reason for the particular view being taken, rather than, as was later the case with artists such as the Rev. E. T. Daniell and William James Müller working in Lycia in the 19th c., treating the view as a whole, with all of its elements to be recorded to the same scale, tombs, hills, people and trees. The system he employed was to make the initial drawing on the spot, which was presumably the set of drawings that is recorded in 1805.⁴¹ In 1792 this finished drawing was then copied four times in gouache, once for the Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie, another copy for Mr Graves, for Mr. Berners⁴² and one for Mr. Tilson, and it was

⁴⁰ The group of travellers with Luigi Mayer are mentioned by name as "*Groves, Berners and another*", Eclectic 1805, 313, but see, Taylor 2013 for the names, Graves, Berners and Tilson. The Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms. Eng. Misc. 433, Vol. 1, 180, records of the party that toured in 1792 with Luigi Mayer, "*we had dismissed the artist which we brought with us from Rome, and we were fortunate enough to supply his place by a man who was an excellent draughtsman and a pleasant agreeable companion. His name was Mayer. We became acquainted with him at the Ambassador's in whose employment he had been many years.*", cited Sevius, fn.106, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/files/34490974/300709_vol1.pdf.

⁴¹ Presumably "*the sketches in the possession of his widow*," in 1805 were the artist's set, although Mayer's widow is not recorded as Clara, the daughter of Sir Robert Ainslie's interpreter, Mr. Barthold, but is described for some reason as, "*a Greek from Bulgaria*", Eclectic 1805, 313.

⁴² It may be the reason for the initial A and B on some of these gouaches, e.g. Adam's Auctions, Dublin, Lot. 532, 06-10-2009, "*LUIGI MAYER SARCOFAGHI COLOSSALI TAGLIATI NELL' VIVO SASSO ESISTENTI NEL PORTO DI CACCAMO NELLA CARAMANIA Tavola N LXIV del Viaggio pittoresco del Sig. Cav. Roberto Ainslie, Signed with initials LM: f, lower left (in the margin) and the letter 'A'. SARCOFAGO COL SUO COPERCHIO ROVESCIATO, CHE SERVE DI ABITAZIONE AL GUARDIANO DEL PORTO DI CACCAMO*

from the Ambassador's copies of the original drawings that the published aquatints of these drawings were made.



Fig. 7) William Pars water-colour drawing was correctly engraved by William Bryne and published in *Dilettanti* 1797, Plate XXIV, entitled, "Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa".⁴³

The absence of any identifiable published physical-archaeological remains of this building *in-situ*, on this site at Andriake today, does not of course supply us with conclusive evidence as to the past presence or absence of a structure in this location. Although there are no published modern archaeological records of any physical remains from a small, square in section, temple-like mausoleum standing in this location on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, no recognised evidence of any cuttings for locating the blocks of the foundation of this building in the rock outcrop forming the summit, no *in situ* podium blocks or fallen columns, no column or pilaster capitals or blocks that have been identified and published as belonging to such a building; it remains the case that in the biligual text to the list of plates in this volume, Luigi Mayer clearly and explicitly records, "No. 3. Ancient Granary at Cacamo... On the summit of a hill near is a small temple, perhaps belonging to the ancient Myra." "Tout près sur le haut d'une colline est un petit temple, qui appartenait peut-être à l'ancienne Myre."⁴⁴

From both the depiction recorded in this aquatint, and presumably in the original drawing, as in the gouache from which this aquatint was made, and in the associated published text to this plate by Luigi Mayer, it would seem that in the 1790's there stood on the summit of this hill behind the

Signed with initials LM:f: lower left (in the margin) and the letter 'B,' identified the work as Ambassador Anislie's or as Bernier's copy.

⁴³ http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/image/dilettanti1797bd2/4/038_ROEM_024.jpg.

⁴⁴ List of engravings and text from Mayer 1803, 368-385, 369 reads: "3. Ancient Granary at Cacamo. This granary, as appears by the inscription, Horrea imp. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ; Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Cos. Ill, was built in the year 119 by the emperor Hadrian, the adopted son of Trajan, whom he succeeded, and the grandson of Nerva. On the summit of a hill near is a small temple, perhaps belonging to the ancient Myra - 4". "3. Ancien Grenier à Cacamo, Ce grenier, comme il paroît par l'inscription, Horrea imp. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Cos. Ill. fut construit l'an 119 par l'Empereur Adrien, fils adoptif de Trajan, à qui il succéda, et petit-fils de Nerva. Tout près sur le haut d'une colline vure. Doil élie placée via-vis de est un petit temple, qui appartenait peut-être à l'ancienne Myre 4" https://archive.org/stream/gri_33125008694883/gri_33125008694883_djvu.txt.

horrea at Andriake, what was understood to be a small, square in section Roman temple (rather most probably a building of the temple-tomb type) which had been constructed at Andriake on this prominent hilltop position overlooking both the harbour and the sea. It was a landmark building, certainly forming at that time at the end of the 18th century a noteworthy structure, and also, through its location, it would have provided for mariners a noteworthy harbour-coastal navigational marker. It seems this was a structure that Luigi Mayer recorded because it was there on this hilltop location as he stated, and he took the prospect he recorded of the Imperial horrea as it would include this “*temple on the hill*,” because he regarded it as an important building.

A summary of the contents of “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...” of 1803, was published in French by M. Malte-Brun in Paris in Tome VI of, *Annales des voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire; ou Collection Des Voyages nouveaux les plus estimés, traduits de toutes Des Relations Originales, inédites, communiquées par les Voyageurs Français et Etrangers; ...*, 1809, 368-385. It includes an extended excerpt concerning the history of Caramanie and the description of all of Luigi Mayer's plates, with the text to Plate 3 reading: “Ancien grenier à Cacamo. Ce grenier, comme il paroît par l'inscription: Horrea imper. Cæsaris Divi Trajani Parthici F. Divi Nervæ Nepotis Trajani Hadriani Augusti Eos. III, fut construit, l'an 119, par l'empereur Adrien, fils adoptif de Trajan à qui il succéda, et petit-fils de Nerva. Tout près, sur le haut d'une colline, est un petit temple qui appartenait peut-être à l'ancienne Myra.”⁴⁵

In the 1813 notice of Luigi Mayer's prints of Caramania in “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...” in the *Sammlung von Anekdoten und Charakterzügen auch Relationen von Schlachten und Gefechten aus den merkwürdigen Kriegen: in den Jahren*, Baumgärtner, Leipzig, of 1813, this Plate, numbered 3 in the first edition, is here numbered 2, and is entitled: Ein alter Getreideboden zu Cacamo, that is, the Roman horrea is described as a depot, rather than as a granary-grenier-kornhaus.

In Herstadt – Rhun – Baumgärtner 1816, notice is made of the publication of Johann Adam Bergk's translation of “Views in the Ottoman empire, chiefly in Caramania...”, entitled, *Ansichten von der Türkei hauptsächlich von Caramanien einem bisher wenig bekannten Theile von Kleinasien*, which was published by Baumgärtner in Leipzig in 1812. The 20 plates in this translation are numbered and named, with the second plate in this German edition, entitled, “2. Ein alter Getreideboden zu Cacamo.”, the Roman horrea is again described as a depot, rather than as a granary-grenier-kornhaus.

Captain Francis Beaufort's record of this building in 1811

Less than twenty years after Luigi Mayer had drawn at Andriake and eight years after the aquatint of Hadrian's horrea at Andriake had been first published, the British Admiralty hydrographer Captain Francis Beaufort recorded this structure in 1811⁴⁶ in the course of his hydrographic survey of the coastline of southern Asia Minor, a record of which was published in Beaufort 1817. In it he simply states: “Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very

⁴⁵ Malte-Brun 1809, 369.

⁴⁶ Beaufort records C. R. Cockerell's visit to Myra as “in the following year” (Beaufort 1817, 30) and Cockerell visited Myra in 1812, prior to meeting Beaufort by Phaselis in April 1812, consequently Beaufort's observations at Andriake were made in 1811.

*white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plain of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains.*⁴⁷

This passage records Captain Beaufort saw this structure at Andriake in 1811, the same structure that had already been drawn and described by Luigi Mayer, and that he had climbed this peaked hill behind the “granary” and had personally obtained the prospect that he describes, and he was able to describe this “small ruined temple” as being constructed of ‘very white marble’. Neither of these observations recorded by Beaufort, ‘ruined’ and, constructed of ‘very white marble’ were recorded by Luigi Mayer in the text to his plate, nor did Luigi Mayer provide any written account of the prospect that was obtained from the summit of this hill. Consequently, we have today two quite separate records, both recorded from first hand observation, but which were made nearly two decades apart, in 1792 and in 1811, in these two accounts, which were published in London 14 years apart, written by Luigi Mayer and by Captain Francis Beaufort, of the presence of a small temple-like building on this hilltop location behind Hadrian’s horrea-‘Granarium’ at Andriake.

It seems evident that Captain Beaufort was no Latinist and he had not read Luigi Mayer’s bilingual text published in 1803, nor read its précis, published in French in 1809, even though Luigi Mayer depicts (Fig. 1) and Francis Beaufort records that the horrea at Andriake had seven openings in the facade⁴⁸, when in fact it had eight. Both had miscounted the number of openings in the facade, in part, caused by the two busts sculpted above one of the door openings in the middle of the facade, over the middle, the fourth, the central door in Mayer’s depiction, and located by Beaufort in his description as follows: “Over the centre door are two busts of a male and a female.”⁴⁹ As there is recorded a centre door, a doorway emphasised by the presence of these two busts, there is therefore implicitly an uneven number of openings in this facade, seven, rather than, as there are in fact, eight openings, the busts are over the fourth entrance from the left.

Captain Beaufort does not cite in any way from Luigi Mayer’s work in his *Karamania* of 1817 and he appears not to have seen or read it. This can be understood from the fact he clearly records on his Admiralty chart of this part of the coastline published in 1819 (see below), that the horrea-‘granary’ at Andriake was constructed by Emperor Trejan(sic.), while publishing the full text of the Latin inscription on page 27 in his *Karamania* of 1817, not recording this building as constructed by Emperor Hadrian, in his book or on his chart. Yet the inscription on this building had already been correctly recorded by Luigi Mayer in 1803, as also recorded in *The British Critic* of August 1804, where Plate 3 is described as: “An ancient granary, built by Hadrian, and inscribed with his name.”⁵⁰, as likewise in the précis of Mayer’s volume published in Paris in 1809 as being construc-

⁴⁷ Beaufort 1817, 26. That Capt. Beaufort could distinguish between “very white marble” and limestone is evident, “They were of the whitest marble, and of very neat workmanship.” Beaufort 1817, 60; “The latter are made of coarse marble, which has suffered so much from time and weather,” idem. 201; “Here they are constructed of a hard grey limestone, neatly laid in regular courses of equal thickness,” idem. 210; “faced and covered with blocks of yellowish shelly-limestone” idem. 250.

⁴⁸ Beaufort 1817, 27-28.

⁴⁹ Beaufort 1817, 28, hence, Texier 1862, 694, “il est d’une conservation parfaite et divisé en sept chamres ayant chacune une porte: celle du milieu est surmontée de deux bustes.”

⁵⁰ Critic 1804, 171.

ted by Emperor Hadrian, as the transcription of the Latin inscription published by both authors records.⁵¹



Fig. 8) Above: Detail showing the position of the “Temple” at Andriake marked in its hilltop location between Andriake Point and Trejan’s (sic.) granary on the 1819 British Admiralty Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia drawn by J. Walker from the data compiled from observations, triangulation, measurement and soundings made by Captain F. Beaufort in 1811, © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.⁵²

Fig. 9) Below: Detail from Google Earth© Geoeye 2011, showing from left to right: Andriake Point, the position of the “Temple”, and the eastern tip of Pt. Pyrgo-Stamirra-Taşdibi marked in their positions as they are indicated on the 1819 British Admiralty chart.

It seems therefore to be most improbable that Captain Beaufort, in giving his account of this temple-like building on the hilltop behind the horrea in 1811, was influenced in any way at all by the account and depiction of this same building presented in Luigi Mayer’s earlier publication, the hydrographer Captain Beaufort seems to have been quite unaware of it. It can also be noted that technically, the horrea was not necessarily “a granary”, although many have described it as such, including Luigi Mayer and Captain Francis Beaufort, as the Latin plural form “horrea”, as is recorded on this facade inscription, is the plural of horreum, which means a depot, storehouse, magazine, granary, and consequently this depot or storehouse structure consists of: depots, storerooms, magazines or granaries in the plural, and it would appear that it was perhaps the single depot that carries the two imperial busts carved above the entrance that was the Imperial depot, the other seven sections perhaps were not directly employed by the state.

Further, this “small ruined temple of very white marble” on the summit of this hill at Andriake was such a noteworthy navigational marker on this coastline at the time of Captain Beaufort’s repeated passages past Andriake in the course of his coastal surveying work conducted in 1811 and 1812,

⁵¹ William Martin Leake records it as “apparently a granary of Hadrian”, in his, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor...*, Leake 1824, 183.

⁵² National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Object ID, G235:8/6 Karamania Chart I from Makry to Khelidonia... by Francis Beaufort F.R.S.... 1811, <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/539782.html> Repro ID: F8518.

that this building is clearly marked and recorded by name on the British Admiralty chart of this section of the coastline. The sequence of names recorded on this section of the chart of this coastline (Fig. 8) from west to east reads: *Andriake Pt.*, *Temple*, *Trejan's* (sic.) *Granary*, *Pyrgo Pt.*, on the Admiralty chart of 1819 drawn to a scale of: circa 1:150,000, a chart entitled, *Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia*, which measures 39 by 26 inches (c. 100 by 67 cm). The structure named as a 'Temple' on this chart being this "white marble" hilltop temple-type tomb.

Further, on the topographical view of this section of the coastline, entitled: "V. View from Castelorizo to the Khelidonia Islands", presented on this same British Admiralty chart of 1819 (Fig. 10), this building is also explicitly named as a "Temple", with its precise location indicated by a vertical line, just to the right of the co-ordinates recording, "N. 17 degrees W." for the un-named Andriake point, while to its right, the "white beach" of Sülük Plaj is also noted below, without a vertical line, followed by the co-ordinates and name of the adjacent promontory to its east, "N. 4 degrees E. 6m'. *Pyrgo Pt.*", today the promontory named Taşdibi.⁵³ Along this section of the coastline these points were recorded in this way as providing important visible visual markers for navigation.



Fig. 10) Above. Detail showing the location of the "Temple" at Andriake clearly marked in its hilltop location on the 1819 British Admiralty Karamania Chart I, from Makry to Khelidonia drawn up by J. Walker from data recorded in 1811 by Captain Francis Beaufort, ©National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.⁵⁴

Fig. 11) Below. Detail from Google Earth © Geoeye 2011, showing from left to right: Andriake Point, the position of the "Temple", and the eastern tip of Pt. Pyrgo-Stamirra-Taşdibi marked in their positions as are indicated to scale on the 1819 British Admiralty chart.

Recorded in his diary and published in his book, and recorded on his chart as providing a noteworthy navigational marker for maritime passage along this coastline, a navigational marker clearly recorded twice as a 'Temple', on both the chart and on the topographical view on the British Admiralty chart of this coastline published in 1819, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the hydrographer Captain Francis Beaufort had seen what he describes as a "small ruined temple of very white marble" on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake in 1811 and 1812, both from the sea and on land. He had climbed the hill, and he had seen this building, both the prospect from it and the prospect of it, and he considered its visibility from the sea, a small ruined temple of very

⁵³ Duggan – Aygün 2015.

⁵⁴ National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Object ID, G235:8/6 Karamania Chart I from Makry to Khelidonia... by Francis Beaufort F.R.S.... 1811, <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/539782.html> Repro ID: F8518.

white marble on this hilltop, to be such a noteworthy feature on this extent of coastline that it was recorded as a navigational marker on the topographical view of this section of the coastline from Castelorizo to Cape Gelidonya published in 1819, thereby clearly indicating that this temple-mausoleum, although described as a “*ruin*”, its roof had fallen, was highly visible and was still standing upon this hilltop to the height of its entablature in 1811, and in April 1812 when Captain Beaufort passed by Andriake sailing east along this coastline.

For the following four reasons, I think there is no possibility that Captain Beaufort described the perhaps Late Classical or Early Hellenistic tower on the hilltop further towards Andriake Point, as a ‘*Temple*’. Firstly, its walls are not constructed “*of very white marble*,” but are of weathered limestone, surface grey. Secondly, it is without any columns-column drums, so how could both Luigi Mayer and Francis Beaufort have mistaken the remains of this Hellenistic tower for a temple? Both had seen and knew the differences between watchtowers and temples.⁵⁵ Beaufort would have marked “*Tower*,” not “*Temple*” on his chart, and, in the Key to this Chart, he records that at Pyrgo Point, there was a “*Tower*.” The tower towards Andriake Point was noted as “*une tour hellénique*,” not as a temple by Charles Texier in 1836 and published in 1861, “*là on découvre l’entrée du port Andraki indiquée par une tour hellénique, la Pointe Pyrgo îles portulans*.”⁵⁶ (However, this “*tour hellénique*” at the entrance to the port of Andriake noted by Texier, was not in fact the tower at Pointe Pyrgo of the portulans as was stated by Charles Texier, as Pointe Pyrgo is not at the mouth of the Andracus - Andraki River, but lies further to the east, closer to the mouth of the River Myrus, and is marked as such on Beaufort’s chart, where the Seljuk manâr, often termed the Tower of St. Nicholas or Pyrgos-kule⁵⁷, stands at the Medieval port of Stamirra-Strumica (and is recorded as with Tower on Beaufort’s Admiralty Chart) the base of which remains *in situ* today, but almost all of the shaft of which was brought down in the 1741 seismic event,⁵⁸ at Pyrgo Pt.- the promontory today termed Taşdibi.) Likewise the fortification tower at the entrance to the port of Andriake was described as “*une tour carrée*” not as a temple in the *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l’Orient par Adolphe Joanne et Emile Isambert*, L. Hachette et C., Paris, 1861, 560, (Route 92), “*Descendant le cours de l’Andriacus, on atteint au bord de la mer (3 kil.) le v. de Andraki, signalé deloin par une tour carrée, qui s’élève au fond de la baie du même nom. Sur le rivage à l’E., sont les ruines d’un édifice dit le Grenier d’Adrien. D’Andraki, on se rembarquera pour Kékoba*.”.) Thirdly, because this tower fortification is closer to Andriake Point, than the location of the hilltop ‘*Temple*’ indicated in the drawing by Luigi Mayer, and its location is described by Beaufort as, “*Above the granary, on the summit of a pointed hill*,” not, “*To the west of the granary, on the summit of a pointed hill*.” Fourthly, there is not the slightest evidence to suggest British Admiralty hydrographers in the 19th century marked unverified, non-existent, fanciful structures on British Admiralty charts and topographical views to serve as navigational markers for shipping sailing along this, or along any other coastline.

⁵⁵ For Towers, Beaufort 1817, 121, 195, 201, 236, 285; idem Temples, 4, 14, 43, 142, 241.

⁵⁶ Texier 1862, 690, 694.

⁵⁷ The place where D. E. Colnaghi embarked following his visit to Myra in 1854, Newton 1865, 344, “*Monday April 3rd. – From Myra we proceeded in a country boat to Deliktash. We embarked from a little bay; on the promontory which formed it (Taşdibi) are the ruins of a Byzantine (sic. Seljuk 13th c.) watch-tower or lighthouse*.”

⁵⁸ For further on this medieval manâr, a territorial marker, harbour marker and signalling tower at Pyrgos Point, see Duggan – Aygün 2015.

Consequently, this hill-top Roman temple-tomb stood in this position and it can be stated with some certainty that this Roman temple type mausoleum, recorded in this hilltop position on this British Admiralty chart of 1819 as a *Temple*, shows it had not been imaginatively introduced by Luigi Mayer into his depiction of Hadrian's horrea at Andriake in 1792, thereby converting a view into a caprice.

Further, it seems probable that it was deliberately constructed of this "very white marble" in this location to serve from sea and land both as a most prominent memorial to the entombed, who, from the location of his monument and the very white marble employed in its construction, was evidently a Roman of some considerable consequence, perhaps of Senatorial rank, and, also to serve as a highly visible navigational marker for mariners off this coastline over the course of more than 1600 years, when it was again recorded as such a navigational marker by Captain Francis Beaufort on this chart published by the British Admiralty in 1819. It would have served as a navigational marker for Roman vessels nearing the port of Andriake from the East, and it doubtless served this same function, when the entrance to the harbour at Andriake was no longer passable for shipping, for its successor, for vessels approaching from the West, for the Medieval port established at adjacent Stamirra-Taşdibi.⁵⁹ This white marble hilltop temple-tomb, functioning as a coastal navigational marker over the course of more than 1600 years, may remind of similar relationships between prominent coastal tombs-mausoleum and adjacent Mediterranean ports, such the Roman Hıdırlık mausoleum on the cliff-top and the harbour at Attalia-Attaleia-Antalya; as also, but no longer extant today, a large brick pyramid marking an island anchorage by Dalaman, "The bay of Dalaman is separated from that of Koi-gez by a high bold promontory named Kapanya, on rounding which an island will be seen, whose towering cliffs are crowned by a large brick pyramid; there is anchorage under this island for small vessels."⁶⁰

The architect and a member of the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends* (a group of Europeans who undertook excavations in Ottoman territory to auction their finds for financial gain, an association of looters, eg. the Aegina Marbles) Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863) who visited Andriake in April 1812, crossed with the crew of his caique on foot from a port at the eastern end of Karadağ to Myra to visit the Church of St. Nicholas and he returned with his crew and the pappas-priest from the church the following day down the river by means of a rowing boat. Remarkably in his son's edition of his fathers' journal published in 1903, he mentions neither the 'temple-tomb' on this hilltop, nor the tower, nor the enormous *horrea*, nor is there record he drew them. He just records that, "*The road was wretched, and what made it worse was that in wading across a river which was over my knees I so wetted my shalvar that they were heavy to walk in. At the mouth of the river Zanthus* (sic. Çay Ağzı-the mouth of the Andracus River) *we found many tombs, but none of which I could read the inscription...Accompanied by the pappas, we took a boat on the river and rowed down to the port at the mouth* (today Çay Ağzı), *and across the bay to the port where our bark lay.*"⁶¹ However, given that an interesting account of him drawing at Myra was published from his Journal⁶², as is repeated in Francis Beaufort's Karamania of 1817,⁶³ it may well be that amongst the more

⁵⁹ Duggan – Aygün 2015. The height of the medieval manâr was not less than 25 m.

⁶⁰ Hoskyn 1843, 144.

⁶¹ Cockerell 1903, 165-166; idem 168. "Myra" on page 165 is not Myra but should be read as Kekova Island, as likewise, "Zanthus" on page 166 is not Xanthus, but should be read as Andraki.

⁶² Cockerell 1903, 171.

⁶³ Beaufort 1817, 59-60.

than 700 of his today largely unpublished drawings of Greece and Asia Minor in the British Museum, London, there are drawings of this hilltop monument, as also of Hadrian's Horrea, and the tower at Andriake, and perhaps record of this building is amongst the unpublished parts of his journal.

The Society of Dilettanti's Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, at Myra-Andriake in September 1812

The Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, left Britain in a refitted Ottoman naval sloop, "*The Africa*", of 24 guns captained by Ismail Gibraltar (of Rhodes)⁶⁴ in November 1811 and the Mission departed Asia Minor for Athens at the end of 1812, returning to England after working in Greece in the summer of 1813. John Peter Gandy (later recorded with the names J. P. Gandy-Deering and, J. Deering)⁶⁵ (1787-1850) was one of the two young architects, the other being, Francis Octavius Bedford (1784-1858), members of the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811-13, which was led by William Gell (1777-1836),⁶⁶ with the Hon. Keppel Richard Craven (1779-1851) as companion.

A considerable period of time, more than a month in 1812 was spent by the Dilettanti Mission, at Myra and its port of Andriake, from where a total of 46 listed measured architectural drawings, plans, views and maps were produced.⁶⁷ From these drawing the finished drawings were made to be engraved for publication, one of which, a view by J. P. Gandy, was published in 1840 (see below), another 21 of which, Plates XI-XXXI and one figure in the text, were published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1915 in *Antiquities of Ionia*, III, part V. Less than half of the record made by the Dilettanti Mission at Myra-Andriake listed in the 1814 Catalogue, remains unpublished todate, these amongst "*the many others (architectural drawings) of Myra and Telmessus that have not been engraved*,"⁶⁸ that were given by the Society of Dilettanti to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1912.⁶⁹

It is certain that J. P. Gandy and perhaps also, given its importance to the mission, Francis Bedford, recorded this building on this hilltop in different ways, through measured drawings and a reconstruction of it, and through recording a view of it on this prominent hilltop. J. P. Gandy also certainly produced plan, elevation and detailed drawings of Hadrian's horrea, which are recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings and Plans of the Mission of 1814, as Nos. "200, *Plan of the Horreum*, 201, *Ele-*

⁶⁴ Cust 1914, 151.

⁶⁵ J. P. Gandy (1787-1850) changed his name to J. P. Gandy Deering on receiving an inheritance from Henry Deering in 1828. Through the Society of Dilettanti, he became a friend of Lord Elgin for whom he built Broomhall, the family seat of the Earls of Elgin. In 1830 he was voted a member of the Society of Dilettanti and he is listed as John Deering, not as John P. Gandy Deering in the List of Members of the Society (Dilettanti 1855, 126); but recorded as T. (sic.) P. Deering, in *Antiquities of Ionia* (Volume V): Being a supplement to part III, London, 1915, 5, published by the Society.

⁶⁶ He was paid a fee of £50 a month plus expenses, the two artist-draughtsmen £200 per year plus expenses, Cust 1914, 154.

⁶⁷ For this catalogue first published in 1814, see Dilettanti 1915, 7-9. The Myra-Andriake Cat. Nos. are: 164-203 and 102-106, a total of 46. A total of 482 drawings, plans, view and maps produced by the members of this mission were catalogued, while others are unrecorded, including those drawn by the Mission on Aegina in 1811.

⁶⁸ Dilettanti 1915, xii.

⁶⁹ It can be noted that the drawing entitled, "*Detail of the doorway of the Late Tomb*," by Francis Bedford which was published on Page 15 of Dilettanti 1915, seems not to have been given to the RIBA. <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1915bd5/0039?sid=fa32b25c6293a9b0daec8a316cfe278a>.

vation, 202 Details”,⁷⁰ works that remained unpublished by the Society of Dilettanti in 1915 and to-day. The RIBA has a finished architectural drawing by J. P. Gandy (catalogued as by J. P. Gandy-Deering) entitled “Horrea at Myra Port,” dated by the RIBA as 1812, which is not the date of this finished drawing, but the date the measurements were taken at Andriake, SD140/9, RIBA65811. It shows the Elevation and Details, Nos. 201 and 202 in the 1814 General Catalogue of Drawings and Plans produced by the Mission, combined into one single image. However, No. 200, the “*Plan of the Horreum*” at Andriake made in 1812 has been lost.⁷¹ It is suggested here, that although a most detailed architectural record was made in September 1812 of this hilltop Temple-like mausoleum, these drawings were not recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings and Maps from the Mission that was published in 1814, which were republished in 1915. That these particular drawings were quite deliberately excluded, together with those drawn on Aegina at C. R. Cockerell’s excavation in 1811, from the catalogued published list of drawings and maps produced by the mission. The reason one knows these detailed measured architectural drawings of this building were made in September 1812 is because of the record of the state of this building provided by J. P. Gandy in his view of it in 1812, published in 1840. One can surmise, if all had gone well with William Gell’s objectives, it seems probable these measured architectural drawings of the temple-like mausoleum at Andriake would have been recorded in the published General Catalogue of Drawing and Plans produced by the Mission which was published in 1814, and these would have formed engraved plates illustrating this building for their subsequent publication by the Society in the *Antiquities of Ionia*.

The architect J. P. Gandy’s record of this Temple-like building from September 1812

There is published visual record of the remains of this structure standing on this hilltop at Andriake in a view taken by J. P. Gandy in September 1812. This water-colour drawing was taken, probably late in September,⁷² early in the morning with the sun rising over the range of hills 15 km. to the east of Andriake, from onboard a vessel with its deck high above the water, moored off the mouth of the Andracus - Andraki River at Çay Ağzı. It is possible that one of the telescopes purchased for the Mission⁷³ was employed in the taking of this view, against the rays of the rising sun, given the degree of accurate detail depicted at such a distance. It is recorded as Number 108 in the 1814 General Catalogue of Views and Maps made by the Mission.⁷⁴ The depiction of this view was subsequently engraved by A. R. Freebairn (1794-1846) and it forms a steel engraved vignette entitled, “*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*” (Figs. 12, 13, 14) inscribed with the name J. P. Gandy-Deering, rather than J. P. Gandy, which was his name when this drawing was made and remained so until 1828. This vignette was oddly employed for Chapter III which is entitled “*Patara*”, on page 75 of the third volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* published in London in 1840 by the Society of Dilettanti.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Dilettanti 1915, 8.

⁷¹ Dilettanti 1915, 19.

⁷² For this date see: Dilettanti 1915, 5; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143875/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> “*in Summer/Autumn 1812, he and Francis O. Bedford investigated and drew antiquities in Lycia, including Myra (Demre) and Antiphellus (Kas).*”

⁷³ For the purchase of telescopes for the Mission, at a cost of £65.13 s., see, Dilettanti 1855, 111.

⁷⁴ Dilettanti 1915, 9.

⁷⁵ It is today unknown if J. P. Gandy employed any form of camera obscura in his work for the Society of Dilettanti at this time, but one was certainly employed by William Gell at Pompeii with J. P. Gandy in 1817-1819, “*It may be proper to state, that the original drawings for this work were made by the camera lucida, by Sir William Gell. To render the subject clearer, a slight alteration has in two or three instances been made, but always mentioned in the text*”, Gell – Gandy 1821, I, xvi.

The architectural expert William Wilkins R.A., elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1809 was the prospective editor of this volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, whose illness and demise in 1839, together with the absence from England on official duties of Col. William Martin Leake (1777-1860), Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1814,⁷⁶ who was to have been supervising the work,⁷⁷ had in part, together with various other commitments, caused the delay in the publication of this third volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* until 1840,⁷⁸ 27 years after the Mission's return.



Fig. 12) Vignette entitled, "View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)", heading Chapter III entitled, "Patara", in the third volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* published in 1840 showing the mouth of the Andriake river at dawn, the Ottoman buildings to the left by the mouth of the river, the sand banks and the remains of this temple-mausoleum tomb on the hilltop on the right.⁷⁹

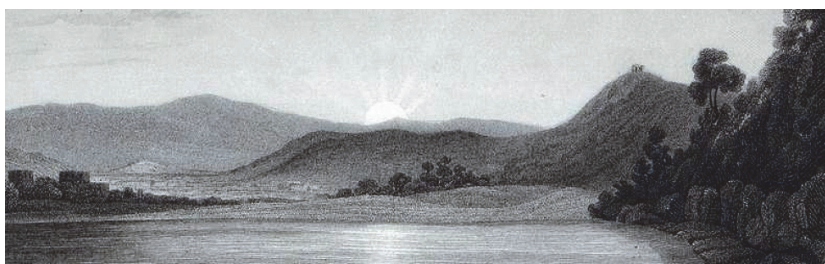


Fig. 13) Detail of Fig. 12



Fig. 14) Detail of Fig. 12

It is hard to determine today the reason why this mis-named vignette depicting Andriake was ever published, and why it heads the chapter entitled Patara in this 1840 publication. However, as the only remains of antiquity clearly recorded in this view and given its known importance through the

⁷⁶ Dilettanti 1855, 125.

⁷⁷ Cust 1914, 168.

⁷⁸ Dilettanti 1915, xi.

⁷⁹ *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part the Third, London, 1840, 75; <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1840bd3/0141?sid=20696109c6ddaf09e2dbd62330adca3>.

record of it published by Luigi Mayer in 1803, there seems little room for doubt that sketches and measurements of this building were taken on site by J. P. Gandy or F. O. Bedford in 1812, for subsequent publication as finished measured architectural drawings of this building, for the projected publication of the architectural remains at Myra-Andriake by the Society of the Dilettanti.

J. P. Gandy also produced at Myra-Andriake an accurate watercolour of the exterior of the Myra theatre in September 1812, today in the British Museum, which was engraved for the Society of Dilettanti, and published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1915, entitled, “*Exterior of the Theatre*”, Plate XII.⁸⁰ A further water-colour view by J. P. Gandy, looking across the interior of the Myra theatre, entitled “*Interior of the Theatre*”, Plate XIII, was etched by G. Cooke (1781-1834), engraved and was published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1915, a view taken looking in the opposite direction to the view taken by Luigi Mayer of the theatre in 1792 which was published as Plate LVII in *Antiquities of Ionia* of 1797. He also produced an unpublished page for engraving of the front elevation of the horrea at Andriake and details thereof, today in the RIBA archive⁸¹ and drew the plan of it. Another watercolour, probably by William Gell, was etched by G. Cooke (1781-1834) and engraved by his pupil, G. Hollis (1793-1842) and entitled, “*General view of the Tombs and Theatre*”, Pl. XI, published in *Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1915, that complements Luigi Mayer’s view of the Myra theatre of 1792, which was published as Plate LVI in *Antiquities of Ionia* of 1797.

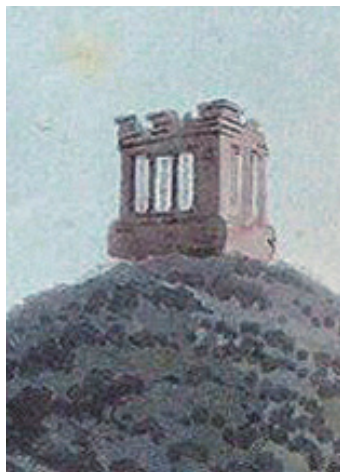


Fig. 15) Detail of Fig. 1



Fig. 16) Detail of Fig. 12

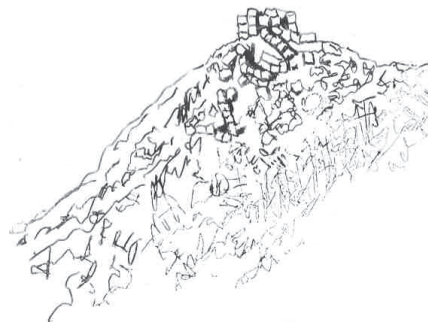


Fig. 17) Tracing of the remains indicated by the engraving Fig. 16

From the comparison of the depiction of the remains of this structure drawn in 1792 and again in 1812 (Figs. 15, 16), it is quite evident that at some point over the course of these two decades that this building had been largely dismantled, and further, given that Francis Beaufort recorded this hilltop structure as a noteworthy navigational marker in 1811, for which it would need to be stan-

⁸⁰ V&A Museum, London, SD.413, Watercolour, Exterior of the Theatre, Myra, Lycia, Turkey, 1812 by John Peter Gandy (afterwards Deering) R.A. see, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143875/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> The V&A Historical Context Note reads in error, “*Antiquities of Ionia*, Vol. V, 1815, Pl. XII” rather than 1915. The V&A Museum, London, has a water-colour by William Gell of a Lycian type Tomb, SD.412, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O143873/a-tomb-in-lycia-turkey-watercolour-gandy-john-peter/> that from his water-colour of Myra, engraved and published as Plate XI Myra, in *Dilettanti* 1915, could perhaps be localised to Myra, to the west of the west necropolis.

⁸¹ SD 140/9, RIBA65811, it is recorded as drawn in 1812 but was certainly a drawing that was made for publication and was made long after the Mission’s return to Britain in 1813.

ding to the height of its entablature, one knows this building was dismantled after 1811, and probably after April 1812, the last time Captain Beaufort passed along this coastline. The detail of the engraving of John Peter Gandy's watercolour of September 1812 (Fig. 16) appears to show columns and large masonry blocks spread in a deliberate fashion over the slope below the western face of the remains of this building, prior to their removal. Noteworthy are what appear to be four lines of column drums (Figs. 16, 17).

As can be understood from Luigi Mayer's drawing, this building had two freestanding columns on the west face, as also implicitly on the east face, and consequently, what is represented in P. J. Gandy's view is not evidence of any collapse of this building from natural causes, as if this were the case, only the fallen drums from three or two columns would be recorded, and they would not be lying in the orderly rows that are recorded by J. P. Gandy on this steep slope. It is therefore evident, from the evidence recorded in the engraving of the drawing of September 1812, that this dismantling was on-going at the time this drawing was made. This seems to be the only plausible reason for these lines of column drums, showing the methodical orderly de-construction of this building, that is, for the building's orderly removal, to enable its subsequent re-erection elsewhere. Therefore what is depicted in this detail of this engraving is evidence of the quite deliberate and methodical dismantling of this structure in September 1812, clearly suggesting the subsequent removal from this hilltop of all the pieces of this entire building, down the landward slope to the Andraki River, for shipment and re-erection elsewhere.

The secondary sources

The presence of this structure on the hilltop continued to be repeated, even though the building no longer stood in this location. It is noteworthy that Captain Beaufort's Karamania and the British Admiralty Chart published respectively in 1817 and 1819 which record this building were, in fact, both published after this building had been physically removed from this location.

A translation into French of Beaufort's text (Beaufort 1820), with the passage concerning this small temple on page 29 of this translation: "*Au-dessus du grenier, sur le sommet d'une montagne aigüe, sont les ruines d'un petit temple en marbre très-blanc. La vue s'étend de la sur les rivages dentelés de Cacava, et sur la vaste plaine de Myra qui est bornée au nord par une chaîne de hautes montagnes noires.*"⁸²

In Condor 1824, 240 is the description of this building and the view from it, which has been taken directly from Beaufort 1817, 28: "*Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kaka-va, and of the extensive plains of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains.*" This is likewise the case for his updated version (Condor 1830), where this same passage is reprinted on p. 240.

⁸² <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=O4tTAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA5&dq=1820+beaufort+Nouvelles+Annales+Des+Voyages,+de+la+G%C3%A9ographie+Et+de+L%27histoire+Ou+Recueil+Des+Relations+Originales+In%C3%A9dites,&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiytrh4eDSAhWsJ5oKHSDDGQQ6AEIGTAA#v=onepage&q=1820%20beaufort%20Nouvelles%20Annales%20Des%20Voyages%2C%20de%20la%20G%C3%A9ographie%20Et%20de%20L%27histoire%20Ou%20Recueil%20Des%20Relations%20Originales%20In%C3%A9dites%2C&f=false>.

In the *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago ...Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas ...*, published by John William Norie & Company at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy in London in 1831, page 307 records this structure as “an old temple” that is located, “A little within the point (Andraki Point)”:

“Andraki River, which has already been noticed, is situated a little to the northward of Andraki Point: the water in summer is brackish, and, like every other river on this coast, has a shoal bar, over which only boats of very light draught can pass. Andraki Point bears from the eastern end of Kakava Island N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. (N.E.1/2E.), distant 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. A little within the point is an old temple, and near it a building called Trajan’s (sic.) Granary; there are also the remains of many ancient tombs scattered about the banks of the river and shore to the northward.”

However, as the horrea-granary is described in *The New Piloting Directions* of 1831 as being Trajan’s⁸³ rather than Hadrian’s, it seems most probable that this was not an entry written from any fresh observation but employed the record of this coastline that was provided by Beaufort’s 1819 Admiralty chart, as on Beaufort’s chart Hadrian’s horrea=depot, is recorded as *Trejan’s* (sic.) *Granary*, as noted above. Although these three publications date from 1824, 1830 and 1831 respectively, these three accounts of this ‘Temple’ at Andriake simply repeat the information acquired by Captain Beaufort in 1811-1812 and they add nothing further to our knowledge of the state of preservation of this building at Andriake in the period after 1812. However, in the 1841 revised and corrected edition of, *New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic, Or Gulf of Venice, the Black Sea, Grecian Archipelago, and the Seas of Marmara and Azov: Containing Instructions for Navigating the Various Coasts, Islands, Bays, Ports, and Harbours, and for Avoiding the Numerous Rocks, Shoals, and Other Dangers in Those Seas ...*, printed for Charles Wilson, written to accompany and illustrate a new general chart of the Mediterranean Sea by J. W. Norie, at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy, London, there is no mention of “an old temple” nor is there any description or note of this building in the *Andraki* entry.⁸⁴

In the 1826⁸⁵ and 1827,⁸⁶ 1832⁸⁷ editions of John Purdy’s, *The New Sailing Directory for the Strait of Gibraltar and the western division of the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, from Cape Trafalgar to Cape Spartivento; the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Maltese Islands; with the African coast, from Tangier to Tripoli*, R. H. Laurie, London, no notice is made of this building and the 1840 edition states, “*The Coasts of Anadoli and Karamania have been so well and fully described by Captain Beaufort as to require no further addition.*”⁸⁸ and this entire coastline is consequently unrecorded in these sailing directions of 1840.

⁸³ As likewise Cramer 1832, 253, cites Beaufort’s Karamania in attributing the ‘granary’ at Andriake to Trajan; which is also repeated in the translation from Beaufort in, Eyriès 1841, 219; Conybeare-Howson 1869, 316 and fn. 3, still records it as built by Trajan, citing Beaufort.

⁸⁴ Norie 1841, 237.

⁸⁵ Purdy 1826, 300.

⁸⁶ Purdy 1827, 300.

⁸⁷ Purdy 1832, 240.

⁸⁸ Purdy 1840, XXV.

The Rev. George Newenham Wright in his *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer*, in Volume 1 of 4, published by Thomas Kelly in London in 1834, on page 177 records of Andriake the “granary of the time of Adrian”, but makes no mention of any hilltop temple of white marble, either because it no longer stood at the time this entry was compiled, or because it was not regarded as noteworthy:

“ANDRAKI (anc. Andriace), the port of Myra, in Asiatic Turkey, prov. Anadolia, on the S. coast. Lat. 36. 13. N. Long. 30.0. E. The water of the river is very brackish during the summer months: like all other rivers on this coast, the Andraki has a shoal bar, over which only boats of light draught can pass. On its banks are several remains of antiquity, particularly the ruins of a granary, of the time of Adrian. The Turkish population in this neighbourhood are not hospitably disposed towards strangers.”

However, it is noteworthy that this navigational marker, the hilltop white marble temple-tomb at Andriake is not mentioned in the 1841 edition of the *New piloting directions for the Mediterranean sea, the Adriatic...*, published by John William Norie & Company at the Navigation Warehouse and Naval Academy in London, it has been removed from the Andriake entry on page 237, but it was recorded as a navigational marker on this coastline in the 1831 edition. Consequently, it would seem that this structure, which was certainly standing in 1812 and which is recorded in 1831, had perhaps been reported as no longer standing by 1841 for it to serve as a noteworthy navigational marker on this coastline, this even though the 1841 edition states Captain Beaufort’s description of this coastline requires no further addition.

Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802–1871), who briefly visited Andriake from Myra in 1836, provides neither record or any mention of this building, but records the horrea-*grenier* from Beaufort’s account, and so also with seven rather than eight storage rooms, although giving its construction to Hadrian rather than Trejan-Trajan on the basis of the published inscription:

“A notre retour a Andraki, je fis faire une reconnaissance aux abords du grand édifice décrit par le capitaine Beaufort, mais le marais qui l’entoure était impraticable.

*D’après l’inscription placée sur le frontispice (sic.), ce monument était un grenier bati par ordre de l’empereur Hadrien; il est d’une conservation parfaite et divisé en sept chambres ayant chacune une porte: celle du milieu est surmontée de deux bustes.”*⁸⁹ The absence of reference to this building on the hilltop may indicate, given his exhaustive and abiding interest in the ancient buildings and antiquities he saw in his travels through Asia Minor, being “sent by the French government in 1836 to procure antiquities for the French”,⁹⁰ with many of these recorded in his *Asie mineure: description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d’Asie*, first published by Didot frères in Paris in 1862, that perhaps this ‘Temple’-mausoleum tomb visible from over a wide area, no longer stood in 1836 on this hilltop behind the horrea-‘granary’ at Andriake.

In 1843 the French artist and archaeologist Ernest François Pierre Hippolyte Breton (1812-1875) produced the first volume of *Monuments de tous les peuples*, published by Librairie Ethnographique in Paris, which records the horrea and its inscription on page 265, taken from Luigi Mayer’s work, and has a wood engraved copy of the aquatint of Luigi Mayer’s view of the “granary at Cacamo”, which shows this hilltop “Temple”, Plate 51, engraved by E. Duverger, here entitled, “Grenier Romaine, à Cacamo (Asia Mineure)”, printed between pages 264 and 265. This volume was subsequently

⁸⁹ Texier 1862, Ch. XXI, 694.

⁹⁰ Hodoss 2015, 92.

translated into German by H. K. W. Berghaus and was published with the same wood engraving in 1849 (see below, Fig. 18). The engraving presents a somewhat simplified version of Mayer's aquatint.

Andriace is described in the 1845 *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*: “*The ruins of houses, sepulchres, and a spacious granary erected in the time of Hadrian, are evidently the remains of Andriaca, the port of Myra.*”⁹¹ but there is no mention of the ‘Temple’ on the hill.

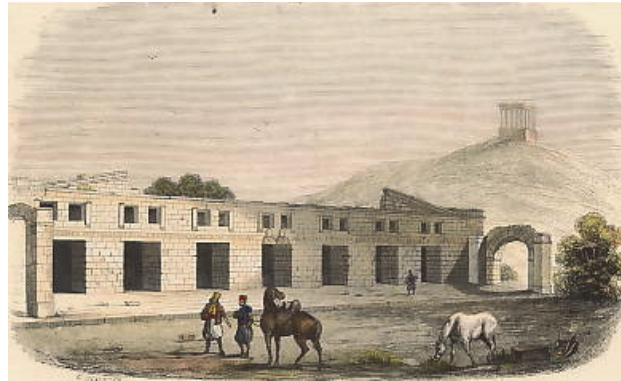


Fig. 18) A hand coloured copy of 1849 of the wood engraving made by E. Duverger in 1843 of the aquatint published in 1803 from the aquatint made from Luigi Mayer's 1792 view entitled “Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo” (for comparison see Fig.1).⁹²

E. Duverger's 1843 wood engraving (Fig. 18), republished in 1846 is a somewhat less than accurate copy of the aquatint of the ‘Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo’ by Luigi Mayer, showing this ‘Temple’ on the hilltop, republished in 1849 as Plate 55 (between pages 278-279) entitled “*Romanisch Speicher in Myra*” - Roman depot at Myra, and the inscription from the horrea is recorded on page 278 of H. W. K. Berghaus's, *Die Baudenkmäler aller Völker der Erde, in getreuen Abbildungen dargestellt und mit Hindeutung aus ihre Entstehung, Bestimmung und geschichtliche Bedeutung geschildert*, published in 1849 in Leipzig und Brüssel by Carl Kuquardt, translated from Ernest F. P. H. Breton's, *Monuments de tous les peuples*, 1, published in Paris by Librairie Ethnographique in 1843. However, Luigi Mayer recorded the pediment of the horrea on the left as rising from before the first window in the facade, in this copy it rises from above the outer upper corner of the window, and Luigi Mayer depicts the remains of the pediment to the right, as being broken above the third opening in the facade, in this copy, it is broken above the second opening in the facade which, in actual fact, is more accurate than in Luigi Mayer's depiction. This copy after Luigi Mayer has the addition of a flock of birds in the sky and different figures in the foreground and, while the spatial relationship between the horrea and this hilltop ‘Temple-tomb’ is clear, the difference between the rear wall and the side wall of this structure indicated by Mayer is not recorded on this copy, which has the same spaces between all the columns on the two visible sides, as with the Milas Gümüşkesen memorial tomb (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6), while the line of the hillside to the left of the ‘Temple-tomb’ is different in the copy from that recorded by Luigi Mayer in 1792.

There is further record of this temple, not in the first edition of 1840 entitled, *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for*

⁹¹ Smedley 1845, 620.

⁹² <http://www.antique-prints.de/shop/catalog.php?cat=KAT43&product=P014691>.

Travellers in the East; nor yet in the second edition of 1845; but in the third edition entitled, *A Handbook for Travellers in Turkey: Describing Constantinople, European Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Mesopotamia-With New Travelling Maps and Plans*, published by John Murray in London in 1854. In its description of Route 50, Adalia to Smyrna, which records of the route from Myra to Andriake:

*"The river is narrow, but navigable. On the rt. Bank are many sarcophag (sic.) of peculiar shapes, with tablets for inscription; but too much corroded to be legible. On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast. At the entrance to the river, on the same side, is an extensive Roman building, known by an inscription, which extends along the whole of the front, to have been a granary. Large beds of sand are deposited at the entrance of the river, as at Xanthus and Patara."*⁹³ This same text is reprinted unchanged in the description of Route 48, from Adalia to Makri, in the *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia: Including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, Plain of Troy, Isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c...*, with *General Hints for Travellers in Turkey, Vocabularies &c.* published by John Murray in 1878, 356.

Clearly described by Beaufort at Andriake in 1811, *"Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plains of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains."*, with its remains depicted by John Peter Gandy in September 1812, the problem with the scant subsequent published references to this building, that do not simply directly quote from Luigi Mayer's text or from Captain Francis Beaufort's text and/or chart in English or in translation, is that there is no certain evidence to suggest the sources employed by any of the authors of these later brief references, as in 1824, 1830 and 1831, that all record *"A little within the point is an old temple,"* or in 1854 and 1878 that record *"On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast."*, have employed any primary source that was later than that provided by Captain Beaufort in his *Karamania* of 1817 and on his chart of this section of the coastline published in 1819, both made from his 1811 observations; while much of the description given in Murray's *Handbook* in 1854 and repeated in the 1878 *Handbook*, *"On a high and well-wooded prominence, to the l. of the river, are the remains of a temple, which forms a pretty object in the scene and are (sic.) visible from Myra, although near the coast."*, could have been obtained from Beaufort's published record, if combined with Luigi Mayer's aquatint depiction entitled, *"Ancient Granary at Cacamo - Ancien Grenier A'Cacamo"*, although the visibility from Myra of the remains of a 'temple' on this hilltop seems to be otherwise unrecorded. This statement, that this hilltop and 'temple' was visible from Myra, might have been the result of reported observation subsequent to Beaufort's visit, but this seems unlikely (see below), or may have stemmed from the inaccurate summarising of Beaufort's observation that, *"this hill commands an interesting view...of the extensive plains of Myra."*, the latter being perhaps the more probable.

It is of note that Luigi Mayer in 1792 and J. P. Gandy in 1812 made drawings of both the theatre at Myra and of this temple-like mausoleum on this hilltop at Andriake and it seems possible, although by no means certain, that the first drawing to be made by a European artist of this temple-like mausoleum at the ancient port of Myra was taken by the French landscape painter, sculptor, architect,

⁹³ Murray's *Handbook* 1854, 247-248.

archeologist and antiquary, Louis François Cassas (1756-1827), one of several artists in the entourage of the Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier in 1776 and who, in travelling along this coastline, certainly visited Myra and drew the Myra theatre in 1776, but I have been unable to find his 1776 drawing of this temple-like structure at Andriake, if he made one. His drawing of the Myra theatre was an accurate depiction, from which, more than 30 years later, he developed this subject into the picturesque scene that is depicted in his water-colour version of this subject painted in 1808.⁹⁴

Dating the disappearance to September-early October 1812, the precedent, who was there when it was removed and some suggestions as to the present possible location of this Temple-like mausoleum

It can be stated with some certainty that this very white marble mausoleum had disappeared from this hilltop long before the 1841 edition of the New Piloting Directions for the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic..., published by John William Norie & Company, was being compiled. The 1831 edition of this work records this “temple”, presumably from the record of it provided on the British Admiralty chart of 1819, while the 1841 edition does not record it. That is, at some point in the period after September 1812 and before 1840, this structure ceased to be a sea-mark and it was no longer recorded as such on this hilltop location at Andriake at approximately 36°13' 26". 44 N., 29° 57' 10". 92 E. at a height of approximately 40 m. ASL, in the published sailing directions for the Mediterranean. At some point shortly after J. P. Gandy had completed his water-colour drawing of the riverine entrance to Myra showing the remains of this building on this prominent hilltop in the course of its dismantlement in late September 1812, when the last certain first hand record of this structure on this hilltop was made (Fig. 12), this prominent ‘ruin’ of white marble had been completely removed from its hilltop location.

There is no record of any major seismic event in the period from 1810 to 1840 on this seismically active coastline, adjacent to the southern Anatolian fault in the Mediterranean sea-bed, that could have caused the collapse of the remains of this Roman building, and although large pieces of very white marble may have been taken away to be burnt in lime kilns, small shattered fragments of white marble should have remained on site. But there seems to be no evidence *in situ* of any fragments from any ruined large white marble structure in this area, nor has there been any published archaeological evidence of such from this location, as noted above. In consequence of the absence of any physical remains of white marble from this structure on-site today, or published over the course of the last two centuries, it seems to be far more probable that this Roman tomb-mausoleum was quite deliberately and completely removed, its careful removal leaving no remains *in situ* on the slope or on the summit of this hilltop. That is, the removal of this entire stone building, including its fallen parts for its subsequent re-erection, rather than the removal of just some column drums and dressed blocks for re-use in local building, a practice which had been the case for centuries, and which was for example related by William Turner Esq. on his voyage to Syria and Egypt, who records the removal of marble columns from somewhere in Karamania, which had been brought to the Ottoman island of Symi before 1815: “*I had been once before deceived in Symi with respect to antiquities, seeing some great quantity of large broken marble columns lying about the*

⁹⁴ V&A London SD.214, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O142327/theatre-of-myra-now-demre-water-colourcassas-louis-francois/> Signed and dated L. F. Cassas f. 1808.; on the back inscribed *Vue du Theatre De Cacanien en Caramanie*.

town, I was in hopes to trace the remains of some temple, but found on enquiry that the Greeks had brought them over from Caramania to build themselves a church.”⁹⁵ A practice which Luigi Mayer had recorded in his drawing on Cyprus of 1792 entitled *Roadstead of Amathonda*, with the depiction of the transport of ancient stone blocks from the Hellenistic fortification wall being loaded onto a boat for transport and their re-use elsewhere.

The removal of this white marble temple-like tomb seems almost certainly to have happened in 1812 with J. P. Gandy’s record of this process, 24 years before Charles Texier visited Myra-Andriake, who does not mention this formerly highly visible white marble Roman mausoleum tomb-‘temple’ on this prominent hilltop; although the absence of remark upon it by Texier, is not itself of course, any proof of its absence in fact - as, for example, in 1811 Beaufort records it, in April 1812 the architect Charles Cockerell in the 1903 published passages from his journal does not mention it, nor does he mention Hadrian’s horrea-granarium; yet in September 1812 the architect John Peter Gandy does record it, and it seems to be the case that the engraving of the water-colour taken by J. P. Gandy entitled “*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*” records a stage in the deliberate dismantling of the stonework of this temple-like mausoleum in September 1812. It seems possible that further numbered record of the architecture of this monument is today with the Society of Dilettanti, a written document, as, after packing the marbles in wooden crates-cases⁹⁶ and their shipbourne passage to their destination, the proper reconstruction of this monument would require such documentation, including the numbering of the blocks and wooden chests, a list of them, an inventory, although this record may, in consequence of events, have been lost or been destroyed.

The Precedent

It seems probable that the precedent in general for such wholesale removal of an entire structure from Ottoman territory was provided firstly by the actions of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte from 1799-1803, Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who had removed with Ottoman permission⁹⁷ the “Elgin marbles” from the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens between 1801 and 1812⁹⁸, employing 300

⁹⁵ Turner 1820, 29. Also, for the removal of ancient stone-work to Cyprus, Beaufort 1817, 188.

⁹⁶ The marbles would have been packed in wooden cases, as John Galt records of the Elgin Marbles, “*It was near this village (on the island of Cerigo, then a part of the British protectorate of the United States of the Ionian Islands, today Kythira), that a vessel foundered, with a part of the Athenian marbles, the spoils of the temple of Minerva. The cases, though many were of a great weight, and sunk to the depth of fourteen fathoms, were, afterwards, raised by sponge divers (from Syme and Calymno after the passage of two years, Memorandum 1815, 22-23), and have since been transported to London. It is somewhat curious, that the vessel happened to bear the name Mentor. The pillage of the Parthenon...*” Galt 1812, 138; and, was likewise the case for the Bassai frieze, with the slabs, *boxed and bagged*, before transporting them (Cooper 1996, 22), and as is noted below for the Zanthian Marbles.

⁹⁷ “...in 1801, the Turkish government gave Lord Elgin permission to remove the sculptures from the Athenian acropolis and ship them to England.” Cohen-Joukowsky 2006, Preface. For the translation into English of the translation from Ottoman into Italian of this Ottoman firman see, Shaw 2003, 71.

⁹⁸ See the account provided by Smith 1916, as also in Memorandum 1815² (no author, but a work understood to be authored by W. R. Hamilton, see: Elwes 1876, 14, fn. §; Anderson DNB 24, 234.

men, both Greeks and Turks,⁹⁹ to remove, pack and transport hundreds of pieces of sculptured marble, including columns, sculpture, reliefs and inscriptions from the Parthenon, from the Temple of Athena Nike and from elsewhere, which were transported to London in British navy ships,¹⁰⁰ arriving from 1805 onwards. This action was, at least in part, a considered reply to French antiquity collecting activities, both in Ottoman Athens in the latter part of the 18th century and in Ottoman Egypt after the 1798 invasion, when one-hundred and fifty French savants descended upon the country and removed manuscripts, ancient Egyptian mummies, sculptures and statuettes. Perhaps above all, to the collecting activities of his perceived rival, the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, the Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817), author of *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie, de la Palaestine [sic] et de la Basse Aegypte*, published in Paris in 1799, whose personal collecting agent had arrived in Ottoman Greece in 1780, the painter Louis François Sébastien Fauvel (1753-1838), who subsequently became the French consul in Athens.¹⁰¹ James Stuart recorded that “*The inhabitants of Athens are between nine and ten thousand, about four fifths of whom are Christians.*”,¹⁰² where Louis F. S. Fauvel settled in 1786 and from where in 1787 alone, he sent 16 cases of marbles and 40 cases of plaster casts to the ambassador¹⁰³ and from where he continued collecting antiquities until 1801. He was in receipt of a letter of 1784 from the French Ambassador that read, “*Take everything you can. Do not neglect any opportunity for looting all that is loatable in Athens and the environs. Spare neither the living nor the dead.*”¹⁰⁴ Through his agent’s efforts based in and around Athens, the French Ambassador obtained a rich collection of antiquities, including a slab of the frieze and two metopes which had fallen down from the Parthenon, another metope was smashed when it was being lowered to the ground in the course of its removal,¹⁰⁵ the slab and one of the metopes are today in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The Commander in Chief of the British Mediterranean Fleet, Baron Nelson of the Nile, wrote to Joseph Banks concerning a French Republican ship loaded with Greek antiquities that had been seized in 1803, to establish the proper valuation of its cargo of antiquities for prize money.¹⁰⁶ They included marbles collected by the French Ambassador Comte M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier on board *L’Arabe*, which was taken at sea by Nelson and was sent, a prize to London.¹⁰⁷

The Earl of Elgin’s competitive response to the French collecting of antiquities in Athens,¹⁰⁸ as elsewhere, was the collection of the “Elgin Marbles”, and other antiquities secured by his agent in

⁹⁹ Mr Bankes, “*Not only the local authorities in Athens were favorable, but the natives, both Turks and Greeks, assisted as labourers.*” Hansard 1816, 1028.

¹⁰⁰ Including: HMS Pylades, HMS La Victorieuse, HMS Mutine, HMS Braakel and La Diane, a French frigate captured by the British off Valetta, Malta, 24th August 1800. Subsequently, in 1811 the R.N. brig Pauline was sent to collect the Aegina Marbles from Athens (Cockerell 1903, 103); in 1812 General Airey organised naval ships to transport the Bassai-Phigaleian frieze from Buzi-Elaia to Zante, (Cooper 1996, 18) where they were sold for 60,000 dollars on the 1st of March 1814; and R.N. vessels conveyed casts of antiquities from Italy to Britain for the Royal Academy Schools, London, in 1815 (Eustace 1997, 17-18).

¹⁰¹ He remained French vice consul in Athens until 1822.

¹⁰² Stuart 1762, x.

¹⁰³ Webb 1982, 199.

¹⁰⁴ Cited, Morris 1994, 24; Fagan – Beck 1996, 289; Shaw 2003, 70; Cohen – Joukowsky 2006, Preface.

¹⁰⁵ Memorandum 1815, 8-9.

¹⁰⁶ Chambers 2016, 33.

¹⁰⁷ Hooch 2007, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Memorandum 1815, 72-77.

Athens from 1801 to 1820, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, the Neapolitan painter (known to Sir William Hamilton on Sicily who was also a Member of the Society of Dilettanti¹⁰⁹). Initially in 1803 the Earl of Elgin's desire was that his collection of "*marbles should be handed over unconditionally to the British Government*,"¹¹⁰ he had desired casts for the embellishment of his Broomhall mansion in Fife,¹¹¹ with much of the Parthenon sculptures being first offered for sale in 1811, again in 1815, and finally purchased in 1817 for £35,000¹¹² from the Earl of Elgin by the British parliament, to much fanfare and some controversy in the British press. Thomas Bruce, Earl Elgin had become a Family Trustee of the British Museum in 1816¹¹³ and was elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1831, an election to the membership of which he declined.¹¹⁴

Subsequently the British Royal Navy would, with Charles Fellows direction,¹¹⁵ remove the Xanthian marbles from Lycia via the Xanthus-Esen river in 1841-44, with their removal pre-announced in the preface to Fellows' book, *A Journal written during an excursion in Asia Minor in 1838*, published in 1839: "*The Drawings introduced here have been selected from my sketchbook for the purpose of illustration only. Those which represent the sculptural remains found at Xanthus have been seen by the Trustees of the British Museum, and I hear that on their recommendation the Government has given directions for having these monuments of ancient art brought to this country; we may hope therefore to see them amongst the treasures of our National Institution.*";¹¹⁶ as again related in 1840 in the *Edinburgh Review*, "*that the government has given directions for this and other specimens of sepulchral art in the same locality to be added to our national collection.*"¹¹⁷ Through the urging of Charles Fellows and the auspices of Lord Ponsonby, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte 1832-1841,¹¹⁸ permission was granted for the removal of the "Zanthian Marbles". Charles Fellows records the use of a sledge to transport stone blocks overland from the base of the acropolis to the Zanthus/Esen river¹¹⁹ and, in the period from the 2nd of January 1842¹²⁰ to the 1st of March, over the course of 55 days with 15 working men, two carpenters, timbers, planks and ropes, 80 tonnes of carved stone, the largest pieces weighing 2 tons 1 cwt,¹²¹ including much of the Nereid Monument,¹²² were unhurriedly removed from the top of the Xanthus Acropolis and from, and beside the hill upon which the Nereid monument stood and were packed in 82 wooden cases which were removed to the bank of the Esen river. The Nereid monument, a somewhat larger 33 by 22 by approx. 50ft. high

¹⁰⁹ Cust 1914, 132. In 1812, 80 cases of antiquities for the Earl of Elgin arrived in Britain from Athens for decorating Broomhall in Scotland, Wroth 1886.

¹¹⁰ Cust 1914, 130-132.

¹¹¹ See for example, Mori 2010, 179.

¹¹² When the cost to the Earl of Elgin of their removal to London, including the recovery of some after three years from off the coast of Cerigo-Kythira when the *Mentor* sank in 1802, was calculated as being £62,440, Mori 2010, 179.

¹¹³ British Museum 1839, 43.

¹¹⁴ Cust 1914, 173-174.

¹¹⁵ See Charles Fellows record of this to December 14th, 1842, Fellows 1843, 5.

¹¹⁶ Fellows 1839, v-vi.

¹¹⁷ *Edinburgh Review* July 1840, Vol. 71, 409.

¹¹⁸ Edwards 1870, 646.

¹¹⁹ Fellows 1843, 33.

¹²⁰ Fellows 1843, 19.

¹²¹ Fellows 1843, 42.

¹²² Except for its foundation blocks weighing between 6 and 10 tonnes each, Fellows 1848, 4; 16.

(10 by 6.7 by 15 m.)¹²³ temple-like structure, in the Ionic rather than Corinthian Order, but a similar type of building to that which it is suggested here, was removed from the hilltop behind the horrea at Andriake. If Charles Fellows when he was deciding on the methods and means to be employed in the removal of marbles from Zanthus had any knowledge of the means and methods of removal employed in 1812 is today unknown. 78 cases containing a total of 80 tonnes of carved stone including much of the Nereid Monument, were brought to London in December 1843¹²⁴ by H.M.S. *Cambridge*, the remainder of the cases, including that containing the Lycian winged chariot-horse tomb were removed in 1844.¹²⁵ Likewise the 12 marble reliefs from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus-“the Budrum Marbles” were removed from the castle in 1846¹²⁶ to Britain through the auspices of Sir Stratford Canning, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte 1809-12, 1825-27 and 1841-58,¹²⁷ elected a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1834, and again, a further quantity of the Halicarnassian Marbles through the auspices of Sir Stratford Canning, and through the auspices of his successor Sir Henry Bulwer, who secured permission from the Porte in 1858,¹²⁸ for their excavator, the temporary British vice-consul in Mitylene, Charles Newton, seconded from the British Museum, including four more reliefs, colossal statues and architectural elements, “*in sufficient in quantity and diversity to warrant a faithful restoration of the ancient building by a competent hand.*”,¹²⁹ and for the removal in 1858 of 12 statues from the sacred way at Geronta-Ieronta¹³⁰ -Didyma-Didim which were brought by warship to Britain for the British Museum’s collection. These rather large statues, including the lion and the sphinx, were removed over a distance of three miles down the sacred way with the assistance of Corporal Jenkins of the Royal Engineers¹³¹ and 60 Turkish labourers, brought from Cnidus in August 1858, employing to transport them, on four wheeled wooden trucks and ropes.¹³² The Lion of Cnidus, a single block of stone weighing 6 tonnes, 2.9 by 1.8 m., found in 1858 was moved from its clifftop and brought on board H.M.S. *Supply* and delivered to the British Museum in the same year.

The much earlier more general precedent for the secret removal of antiquities without securing permission from the Ottoman authorities is recorded, and this was placed in the public record through the publication in London in 1740 of “*The negotiations of Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621-28 inclusive.*” In a letter of May 1624 from the English Ambassador to the Porte Sir Thomas Roe, to the Earl of Arundel, the ambassador states: “*I may also light of some pieces of marble by stealth; as now I am offered a lion to the waist, of pure white, holding a bull’s head in his claws; but the very nose and mouth is defaced, the rest very fair, and they say, a l’antiqua: I have not yet seen it, but expect it hourly, if the ship meet it not: it was taken up at*

¹²³ Fellows 1848, 4.

¹²⁴ Fellows 1843, 43; Edwards 1870, 651-652.

¹²⁵ Edwards 1870, 652.

¹²⁶ Newton 1865, 335.

¹²⁷ Edwards 1870, 663.

¹²⁸ Newton 1863, 537.

¹²⁹ Edwards 1870, 664.

¹³⁰ Described as such in the General Catalogue of views and maps, made by the Ionian Mission, Nos. 80, 87 and 92, *Antiquities of Ionia*, 1915, 9.

¹³¹ The group of Royal Engineers at the Cnidus excavations was commanded by Lieutenant Robert Murdock Smith (1835-1900).

¹³² Newton 1863, 538.

Lampsacum (Lapseki) in Natolia. On (the) Asia side, about Troy, Zizicum, and all the way to Aleppo, are innumerable pillars, statues, and tombstones of marble, with inscriptions in Greek; these may be fetched at charge and secretly; but if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained; therefore Mr. Markham will use discretion, rather than power, and so the Turks will bring."¹³³ In other words, the ambassador wrote, Mr John Markham, the Earl of Arundel's agent will use secrecy and money to secure antiquities from Ottoman territory. Ottoman law as recognised at that time in the 17th c., firmly objected to the removal of antiquities from Ottoman territory, in part doubtless because of the understood talismanic function of ancient inscribed stones and statues and, further, it can be understood there were at times, as under the Grand Vizier Pargarli Ibrahim Pasha (executed 1536), who brought by boat from Buda in 1526 three 15th c. bronze statues taken from the Budin-Buda royal palace representing Apollo, Hercules, and Diana, which were set them up in front of his palace in Constantinople, that, at times, there was an Ottoman interest in sculpture, for itself and well as publicly exhibited as military trophies. Consequently, "*The premise of Ottoman indifference served as justification for the removal of objects, even entire monuments, from Ottoman territory to western and central European collections*" was just a useful dishonesty, simply an articulated European premise in respect to the "Other", addressed to a European audience, as was noted in 2015 by Benjamin Anderson in a slightly different ethno-archaeological context, in the reaction of local populations in Ottoman territory to the removal by Europeans of antiquities.¹³⁴

Noteworthy is the fact that it was known to the English ambassador that the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) would certainly not permit the export of antiquities at this time, "*if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained.*" Consequently, although the 1884 Ottoman decree on antiquities, in which the Ottoman state declared itself the owner of all antiquities and therefore, there was an absolute prohibition on the sale or transfer of antiquities found anywhere within Ottoman territory;¹³⁵ it was the case that it was known 260 years earlier that if permission, "leave" was requested, it would not be granted by the sultan for the export of antiquities taken from Ottoman territory.

The example provided by The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends

It seems within the bounds of probability that the Society of Dilettanti expedition to Ionia of 1811-13, led by William Gell, Member of the Dilettanti Society since 1807, who is also recorded in April 1812¹³⁶ as a member of the *The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends* etc. (a group including Charles Robert Cockerell, involved in "archaeology" in Ottoman territory for financial profit after the removal from Ottoman territory and the public sale by auction of the finds they had made),¹³⁷ who was Knighted in 1816,¹³⁸ had as an objective in September 1812 at Myra-Andriake the dismantling and the complete removal of this prominent white marble Roman temple type mausoleum from its hilltop location above Hadrian's Horrea at Andriake. A course of action which the

¹³³ Roe 1740, 154.

¹³⁴ Anderson 2015, 450.

¹³⁵ Özel 2010, 179.

¹³⁶ Cooper 1996, 20.

¹³⁷ Cooper 1996, 13.

¹³⁸ In his obituary, published in Vol. 5 of the Gentleman's Magazine, Ed. Sylvanus Urban, June 1836, 665, it states he received a knighthood on return from a mission to the Ionian Isles, on May 14th 1803. But this knighthood would have been a foreign decoration, the Earl of Elgin addresses him as Mr. Gell and he is recorded in the 1814 List of Members of the Ionia Committee as Mr Gell Esq.

print made from J. P. Gandy's watercolour records, the progress of ordered dismantlement of this Roman monument (Figs. 15, 16, 17). The immediate precedent for this removal seems to have been provided by the actions of the *The Society of Travellers-the Society of Friends*, within the more general context set by the Earl of Elgin for the removal of major elements of ancient structures from Ottoman territory. The immediate precedent had been in the previous year, with C. R. Cockerell and his associates's (the *Society of Travellers*, the *Society of Friends*) removal of the Aegina Marbles in 1811, which are today in the Munich Glyptothek. These marbles were removed without any Ottoman official permission for their excavation and removal being obtained by Barons Stackelburg, Haller, Kestner, Mr Linckh and C. R. Cockerell.¹³⁹ The sale of the Aegina Marbles on British ruled Zante in 1812 was on behalf of J. Foster Jnr., C. R. Cockerell, Baron Haller and J. Linckh, members of the *Society of Friends*, and their agent, G. Gropius.¹⁴⁰ The fact that there was no Ottoman permission for the excavation and removal of the Aegina Marbles by the *Society of Friends* was known to William Gell and the other members of the Dilettanti Mission who in 1811 were on Aegina and they recorded the Aegina finds,¹⁴¹ and, as noted above, William Gell, the leader of the Dilettanti Mission was recorded as a member of this *Society of Friends* in April 1812.

The actions of the so-called *Society of Friends* or *Society of travellers* seems to have provided the immediate precedent as, unlike the Ottoman permission that seems to have been secured for the removal of the Earl of Elgin's Marbles from Athens, and which was certainly subsequently secured from the Porte for the removal of the Zanthian Marbles and for the Budrum-Halicarnassian Marbles, as noted above; there is no record whatsoever of any Ottoman official permission being given for the complete removal of this building from its hilltop location at Andriake in 1812 by William Gell's mission, as had likewise been the case for the Aegina Marbles in 1811. Nor apparently did the British *chargé d'affaires* from 1809 to 1812, Stratford Canning, nor the Ambassador Sir Robert Liston, Sir Robert Ainslie's successor from 1793-96 and again His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1812-20 employ their good offices in this respect.

It can be noted however, that the removal of any ancient buildings or major elements of ancient structures is not recorded amongst the articles of the "*Instructions for Mr. Gell, Mr. Gandy, and Mr. Bedford*," signed by Mr Gell on behalf of the Mission in 1811. These *Instructions* were written by a Member of the Society of Dilettanti, George Hamilton-Gordon, Lord Aberdeen (1784-1860), and forwarded to the Secretary of the Society of Dilettanti, Sir Henry Englefield on the 15th of September 1811. In Article 2 are listed the principle objects of research for the mission in their order of interest to the Society as being: Samos, Sardes, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, Tralles, Laodicea, Telmessus, Patara and Cnidus. Quite unmentioned as an objective of the mission at that time is either Myra-Andriake or Antiphellos-Kaş. However, Article 5 states: "*Having entire confidence in the knowledge and zeal of Mr. Gell, we hereby declare that the direction of the whole expedition is intrusted to his care, and state implicitly, that it is our intention he should be vested with the sole management of the undertaking, as well in the necessary expenses to be incurred as in the manner and time of*

¹³⁹ For further on this venture of the Aegina Marbles in 1811-12 and that of the sculptured frieze at Bassai in 1812, likewise excavated and removed from Ottoman territory for financial profit by the *Society of Travellers*, the *Society of Friends*, members who bought shares in a venture, see Cooper 1996, 12-18; Dilettanti 1855, 156.

¹⁴⁰ Cooper 1996, 15.

¹⁴¹ Cust 1914, 157.

carrying into effect the general objects of the Society.”¹⁴² George, fourth Earl Aberdeen founded the Athenian Society in 1803,¹⁴³ open only to travellers who had visited Athens, had been a Member of the Society of Dilettanti since 1806,¹⁴⁴ was elected Trustee of the British Museum from 1812,¹⁴⁵ and was President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1812 to 1846. He wrote *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture*, published by John Murray, London, in 1822, a text which was first published in 1812 as the introduction to the translation of *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius* by William Wilkins R. A., who since 1809 was also a Member of the Society of Dilettanti.

In May 1812 William Gell in Smyrna-İzmir obtained a further £1.500¹⁴⁶ from the Society of Dilettanti, a most considerable sum, initially advanced by the Secretary, Sir Harry Charles Englefield,¹⁴⁷ who was reimbursed after January 3rd 1813 when this advance for the Mission to Ionia was brought to the committee’s notice.¹⁴⁸ In the context of the removal of this small monument from Andriake, it is worth noting the language that was employed by the Society concerning the acquisition of the sculptures from a far larger structure, as on May the 17th 1812 the Society of Dilettanti requested the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Philip Yorke (1757-1834) Fellow of the Royal Society, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1790,¹⁴⁹ Trustee of the British Museum from 1803,¹⁵⁰ Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Cambridgeshire, High Steward of Cambridge University and First Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to lay the letter by William Gell and the drawings made by the Dilettanti mission concerning the Aegina Marbles before the Trustees of the British Museum, “and to inform them of the wish of the Society to encourage by any means in their power to the acquisition of the same for the Publick^(sic).”¹⁵¹ (These were the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia on Ottoman Aegina excavated by Charles Robert Cockerell and the other financial sponsors and active participants in the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends* in April 1811, which Cockerell “bought” from the villagers for 400 piasters-£40,¹⁵² and which, on the advice of the French consul in Athens, Louis François Sébastien Fauvel were rapidly taken from

¹⁴² Dilettanti 1855, 47-48.

¹⁴³ Venn 1947, 90.

¹⁴⁴ Dilettanti 1855, 125.

¹⁴⁵ British Museum 1839, 45.

¹⁴⁶ Cust 1914, 156. The initial budgeted cost for this Dilettanti Mission to Ionia was of £1.000. There are different ways of trying to understand what a budget of £1.000 represented, at a time when the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia, on Aegina were auctioned for £6,000. In 1812 the average family income for British agricultural labourers was £30 per year. The Manchester cotton spinning firm of McConnell & Kennedy, employing 1,000 workers, was valued in 1812 at about £20,000. The equivalent purchasing power of £1.000 in 1812 is, from the consumer price index, approximately £69,000 in 2018. <https://www.officialdata.org/1812-GBP-in-2018?amount=1000> Alternatively, in 1821, Britain was on the gold standard and one could exchange at the bank 20 shillings for a gold sovereign, with a value of £1 in 1821. Newly minted, the gold sovereign of today still has a nominal face value of £1, but to buy 1,000 sovereigns will cost about £210,000. The initial budget of the mission was therefore a most considerable sum of money, which was increased in May 1812, to reach at total of £2,500.

¹⁴⁷ Elected 1781, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society from 1808-1822, Dilettanti 1855, 122.

¹⁴⁸ Cust 1914, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 123.

¹⁵⁰ British Museum 1839, 44.

¹⁵¹ Cust 1914, 155.

¹⁵² Cooper 1996, 14, fn. 16.

Ottoman Aegina to British Malta, and which were bought at an auction held on the Island of Zante-Zakynthos, a part of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, on the 1st of November 1812 by the German agent of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, who secured the Aegina Marbles held on Malta for £6,000 which are today in the Munich Glyptothek. The representative from the British Museum sent to purchase the marbles, Mr. Coombe, went to Malta where the sculptures were, instead of to Zante where the auction was held, missing the auction.¹⁵³

William Gell wrote from Smyrna-İzmir to the Society of Dilettanti on the 14th of May 1812, “*setting forth the risk the mission ran from privateers and pirates in the seas near Asia Minor*,” and requested “*an application to Government for assistance*.”¹⁵⁴ There is clear collaborative evidence of the risk from privateers and pirates in the seas off Asia Minor that was recorded in 1812, for example by Charles Robert Cockerell who records of Hasan Bey, the Ottoman governor of Rhodes, “*He builds ships here for the government, and has one, a frigate, for his own behoof, which he uses himself for piratical purposes while with it he clears the neighbouring seas of all other pirates*.”¹⁵⁵

This request for Governmental (Royal Navy) assistance by William Gell for the Dilettanti’s Ionia mission was immediately acted upon by the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, “*who drew up a letter signed by the members present, was by the Earl of Hardwicke transmitted to the Admiralty, together with a note from his Lordship to the First Lord (of the Admiralty), and a note from the Secretary to Mr. Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty, enclosing Mr. Gell’s letter*.”¹⁵⁶ In consequence of the Earl of Hardwicke’s rapid response to this request, it seems reasonable to suggest, at a time of relative peace in the course of Mediterranean naval warfare in the Napoleonic wars, a British naval vessel from the Mediterranean fleet was allocated to provided security from pirates and privateers for the Dilettanti Mission as it went around part of the South-Western coastline of Asia Minor, after the party reached had Cnidus in July.¹⁵⁷ From Samos in June, they travelled via the Temple of Apollo near Miletus and Halicarnassus to Cnidus, Telmessus-Fethiye, Patara and then to Myra-Andriake in September and to Antiphellus-Kaş. From Antiphellos the mission would have parted company with British naval assistance when it moved inland, via Aphrodisias, to Magnesia, then Priene and the mouth of the Meander River, before the Mission departed Asia Minor for Athens at the end of 1812.

It seems J. P. Gandy’s watercolour of September 1812 depicting the “*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*” (Fig. 12), was probably made from the deck of a British warship escorting the mission and, if this was the case, naval ratings were doubtless employed under the supervision of the team of Society of Dilettanti architects in the careful dismantling (Fig. 16, 17) and transport of the

¹⁵³ Cockerell 1903, 213-214. The question of the mis-directing of Mr Coombes by the agent Mr. G. Gropius is raised in Cockerell’s work.

¹⁵⁴ Cust 1914, 156.

¹⁵⁵ Cockerell 1903, 163. See also, Lewis 1866, 517, quoted in fn. below.

¹⁵⁶ Cust 1914, 156.

¹⁵⁷ William Gell wrote to Miss Berry from Cnidus July 3rd 1812, “*This letter ought to be addressed to all lovers of retirement, for there is not a soul except our own party or its adherents within three hours, which may indeed be all the better for us, as the whole country has the plague, from Pergamo to Attalia...but that is not all: the Asiatic terra firma is plagued, the islands will not receive you for fear of the plague, you have French privateers in all the gulphs, and behind every rock you are in danger of pouncing upon the Mainiote pirates, - so I don’t know whether it will be possible to avoid such a series of plagues, or jockey such a variety of thieves*.” Lewis 1866, 517.

marbles from the hilltop down to the riverbank, packing them in wooden cases and their transport from the mouth of the Andraki River out to the British naval or other vessel moored in Cacava-Cacavo-Kekova Bay for the transportation of the dismantled temple-tomb from Andriake to its destination. There remains in the absence of confirmatory evidence, the possibility that William Gell employed other monies or a part of the additional funds sent to him to hire a vessel, perhaps from the Castell Rosso-Meis fleet, to transport the marbles to their destination, although this may seem improbable, not least with the precedent of Lord Elgin's misadventure with the *Mentor*, the polacre he purchased to transport marbles from Athens to London sinking off Cerigo in 1802, combined with the probability that William Gell had the assistance of a Royal Navy vessel at Andriake in September 1812, given the Earl of Hardwicke's communications with the Admiralty.

It seems probable that the removal of this building by the Society of Dilettanti expedition to Ionia in September 1812, prior to the publication of Captain Beaufort's Karamania in 1817 and the publication of the Admiralty chart of this coastline in 1819, both of which record this "Temple" of very white marble as standing on this hilltop, where, it is suggested by the time both Karamania and the Admiralty chart were published, it no longer stood; was largely inspired by the published aquatint of the drawing made of it by Luigi Mayer in 1792 for his patron, Sir Robert Ainslie, member of the Society of Dilettanti, and through the circulation of this image, together with the notice of it published in 1809 in France, and the possibility that the French may decide to remove it from the hilltop at any time, combined with its striking physical presence on this accessible hilltop at Andriake when the Society of Dilettanti mission led by William Gell's arrived at Myra-Andriake in September 1812.

Its dismantlement and removal seems to have been a work of a somewhat private enterprise, undertaken by the leader of the Society of Dilettanti expedition-Mission to Ionia, William Gell, and member of *The Society of Travellers*, although if its removal without Ottoman permission was on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti, on his own behalf as a Member of the *Society of Travellers*, or for another party, remains today altogether unknown. If it was subsequently sold, and this seems most improbable, it was not sold at any public auction, unlike the Aegina and the Bassai-Phigaleian Marbles, excavated and removed from Ottoman territory by the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends*.

The Members of the Ionian Committee of the Society of the Dilettanti responsible for supervising the expedition and for the relevant publications following the return of the Mission in 1813 were: the Earl of Aberdeen, the Earl of Hardwicke, Viscount Morpeth, Lord Northwick, Lord Selsey, Sir. H. C. Englefield, (secretary), William Gell, Thomas Hope, R. Payne Knight, Thomas Laurence, Benjamin West, Roger Wilbraham and William Wilkins.¹⁵⁸

"On the 6th of February, 1814, the thanks of the Society had been unanimously voted to Mr Gell for his great services to the Society and learning in general during his late voyage; and, on the motion of Mr. R. P. Knight, seconded by Mr. Wilbraham, it was Resolved, That the Secretary do direct Mr. Lawrence, Painter to the Society, forthwith to paint the picture of Mr. Gell, at the expense of the Society, and that the picture, when finished, be hung up in the room of the Society (The commission was never executed). The thanks of the Society were also voted to Messrs. Gandy (Deering) and Bedford, draughtsmen to the Society, "for their constant attention to the objects of the Mission, and their very

¹⁵⁸ Dilettanti 1915, 4.

*meritorious exertions of skill and talent in making measures and drawings of the several remains of antiquity met with in the course of their voyage.*¹⁵⁹

Some suggestions as to the possible location of the Andriake Marbles today

Sir Robert Ainslie had died in Bristol on the 21st of July 1812 before the expedition reached Myra-Andriake. There is no sign of this building catalogued as an 18th-19th c. Neo-Classical or Greek revival temple, nor yet recorded as Roman Imperial period monument of very white marble in the grounds of William James Hamilton's manor from 1812, Appledram,¹⁶⁰ with its landing at Dell Quay, by Chichester harbour in West Sussex, England. The residence of the Third Earl of Hardwicke, Wimpole House in Cambridgeshire was sold in 1897 and is today in the hands of the National Trust, and likewise there seems to be no evidence of any such temple-like building, catalogued as standing within the grounds of Wimpole House; and this is also the case for Haddo House, the Earl of Aberdeen's Palladian country seat near Tarves in Aberdeenshire, also today in the hands of the National Trust. The whereabouts of this Roman monument over the past 200 years since its removal from Andriake in 1812 seems to be altogether unrecorded.

The Society of Dilettanti expressed in 1801, in an important proposition concerning the reduction of the *ad valorem* tax of 33.3% then in force, a prohibitive duty on the import of works of sculpture into Britain, the aim that:

*"the native of England be enabled, without going abroad, to behold on his own native shore some of those celebrated monuments of antiquity, so highly attractive to the traveller, so interesting to the antiquarian and man of letters; and, above all, so very essential to artists, manufacturers, and artisans of every description..."*¹⁶¹

However, although *"The Society of Dilettanti has from time to time presented the original works of art which it had collected to the British Museum"*,¹⁶² including the marbles brought to England by the members of the Society's first Ionian Expedition, a fragment of the Parthenon frieze brought to England by Dr. Chandler,¹⁶³ two fragments of the Panathenaic frieze transferred in 1816,¹⁶⁴ inscribed marbles¹⁶⁵ and ancient busts;¹⁶⁶ and there were also the gifts made to the British Museum by individual members of the Society of Dilettanti, in the 19th century by Col. William Martin Leake who donated his collection of marbles, as well as the support of the Society for the purchasing for the British Museum of the Aegina Marbles in 1812, there is simply no record of the presentation by the Society of Dilettanti of this Roman "Temple" type building from Andriake to the British Museum.¹⁶⁷

In consequence of the above, there seem to be the following three possibilities as to the whereabouts of this Roman white marble monument after its deliberate removal from its hilltop location at An-

¹⁵⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 51.

¹⁶⁰ Elwes 1876, 14.

¹⁶¹ Dilettanti 1855, 98.

¹⁶² Dilettanti 1915, xi; Dilettanti 1855, 41.

¹⁶³ Cust 1914, 105.

¹⁶⁴ Dilettanti 1855, 102.

¹⁶⁵ Cust 1914, 106.

¹⁶⁶ Cust 1914, 105.

¹⁶⁷ See for example Dilettanti 1855; Cust 1914.

driake in its dismantled state at the time the Dilettanti Mission was at Myra-Andriake and which it is suggested was almost certainly removed by the Dilettanti Mission led by William Gell in late September-early October 1812.

Firstly, and this seems the most probable reason for its complete disappearance for more than 200 years, although there seems to be no record of any Royal Navy ship leaving the Mediterranean for London, loaded with a cargo of marbles or not, that sank, or was sunk or was captured between October 1812 and the spring of 1813, there is certainly the possibility, and perhaps the probability, that the ship that was being used to transport the Andriake Marbles removed by Dilettanti mission sank,¹⁶⁸ like the *Mentor* transporting some of the Elgin Marbles in 1802, but in a depth of water that made the recovery of the Andriake Marbles at that time entirely impossible. In this period shipwrecks were frequent and transported antiquities lost. About one third of Sir William Hamilton's prized second collection of vases were lost when the ship transporting it back to England, HMS *Colossus*, a 74-gun ship-of-the-line, struck a reef and sank off the Isles of Scilly in December 1798. The recovery of fragments of 115 of those vases, after almost 200 years on the seabed, took place between 1975 and 1979, with the fragments formally acquired by the British Museum in 1981;¹⁶⁹ while E. D. Clarke in November 1800 loaded a statue of Ceres from Eleusis, weighing two tonnes, onto a ship bound for Smyrna. At Smyrna the statue was loaded onto the *Princessa*, Captain Lee, which then set sail for England but she was wrecked off the Sussex coast, near Beachy Head, the statue of Ceres from Eleusis and other antiquities were salvaged, but E. D. Clarke's specimens were all lost in the wreck.¹⁷⁰ The recovered statue was placed in the vestibule of Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Likewise J. T. Wood dispatched a number of antiquities excavated at Ephesus in the vessel *Cornish Lass* in 1867 for England, including the upper part of a statue of Lucius Verres (the lower part is in the B.M., London) and a white marble life-size headless statue of the muse Erato, but the ship was wrecked off the coast of Syros.¹⁷¹ The statue of the muse was recovered from the seabed but the carved 7 string lyre was missing, broken off and the drapery badly damaged by the sea, with other antiquities not recovered.

¹⁶⁸ British transport ships that were lost in the period from October 1812 to December 1813 include: in 1812 the British merchant ship *Dispatch*, wrecked in the Bay of Trapani, Sicily in 1812, the *Tiger* on the 9th of January off the Tagus by Lisbon (Lloyd's List No 4742 Feb 2 1813), the *Manum Bonum*, Southampton, Harlequin and Alfred, all four of which were lost off the mouth of the Ebro in 1813 and the *Fox*, sunk by the French warships *Circé* and *Pallas* while sailing from Malta to London at some point between the 4th and the 16th of December 1813.

¹⁶⁹ CVA: Great Britain, XX; Morris 1979, *passim*.

¹⁷⁰ Clarke 1815, 241; Clarke 1809, frontispiece illustration (flaxman), 32-37. Some idea of the shipping losses per year only reported as having occurred on and near the coasts of the United Kingdom is provided in the Board of Trade Wreck Registers kept from 1854 to 1898. For 1861, 1,494 ships wrecked, 884 lives lost through drowning, losses exceeded £1,000,000; for 1871, the number of ships lost or damaged was 1927 from a total of 1,575 wrecks, casualties, and collisions, representing 626 lives lost and a loss of registered tonnage of upwards of 458,000 tons. Chambers Journal No. 466, Dec. 6, 1862, 368; Mechanics Magazine Nov. 2, 1872, 371-372.

¹⁷¹ Wood 1877, 50. The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1867 records that in January, "*The Cornish Lass, bound from Smyrna to London, has been totally wrecked near the island of Andreas, and we regret to state that the captain and two of the crew have been drowned.*"

There is the probability that the vessel that took the marbles from Andriake, if, as it probably was, a Royal Navy vessel belonging to the Mediterranean fleet, rather than a private transport vessel, off-loaded the marbles at Malta, or possibly Zante, for their onward transshipment else where. This was the case for some shipments of the “Elgin Marbles,” as also for the Aegina Marbles off-loaded in Malta in 1811, where they remained until the end of 1812, and for Charles Newton’s Halicarnassian Marbles off-loaded by the Royal Navy on Malta by H.M.S. Supply in 1857 and 1858, for their subsequent transshipment to London, a part of which, consisting of plain stone blocks from the Mausoleum wall, seem to have been re-used in the lining of Dock No. 1 in Bormla (Cospicua), Malta, rather than being forwarded to the British Museum.¹⁷² However, there seems to be no record of the arrival or the departure of this shipment of William Gell’s or of Dilettanti marbles in 1812 in the Maltese archives.

The loss of this entire ancient monument at sea would of course have been a most embarrassing turn of events for all concerned, for the members of the Ionia Mission and for the Members of the Ionian Committee of the Society and for both the individual Members and for the reputation of the Society of Dilettanti, and, as such, was an event that would not have been publicised by the Society, rather it would have been unmentionable.

This most unfortunate turn of events may have had resulted in the confusion, delays and the omissions from the subsequent publications of the Antiquities of Ionia, of any published record of and the measured drawings made of this “Temple” mausoleum at Andriake etc. Myra-Andriake was not included as a chapter in the 1840 publication having chapters on Cnidus, Aphrodisias and Patara; it was supposed to form a chapter in a supplementary volume, with the exception of the vignette (Fig. 12) depicting the mouth of the Andraki River, oddly misnamed the Myra River, which headed the chapter on Patara in the 1840 publication, as noted above.

Some of the measured drawings, plans and water-colour drawings taken in 1812 at Myra, of the rock-cut tombs and theatre, sarcophagus and part of a Roman baths at Andriake, were finally published in 1915 in Chapter III of Volume V of the Antiquities of Ionia entitled “*Myra and Lycian Sculpture*”, although Plate XI, a fine general view of the rock tombs and theatre at Myra by William Gell, together with the detail of the doorway of a mausoleum were published within the text of the previous Chapter, II, entitled, “*The Temple of Artemis at Magnesia and the Ionic Order*”. The 1812 Plan of Myra, numbered 165 in the General Catalogue of Architectural Drawings made by the Mission¹⁷³ which should provide record of this structure remains unpublished today. The 1812 Map of Myra, numbered 106 in the General Catalogue of Views and Maps made by the Mission,¹⁷⁴ was finally published in 1915 (Fig. 19) from the proof of an unfinished engraved plate from 1837,¹⁷⁵ which marks the location of the “*Horrea*”, Hadrian’s Horrea, but not its actual size, nor the location of this “Temple”-Mausoleum, nor the locations of the other two mausoleums as mausoleums that were drawn by the mission at Myra-Andriake that are recorded in the General Catalogue of Drawings of 1814, Nos. 186-188 and 195-199. Nor does this map mark the location of the fortification at Andriake Point, nor the position of the so-called Roman Baths by the medicinal springs at Andriake, baths which are illustrated in this volume by an engraving from a John Peter Gandy

¹⁷² See for example: www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/.../dock-1-made-from-ancient-ruins.266812.

¹⁷³ Dilettanti 1915, 8.

¹⁷⁴ Dilettanti 1915, 9.

¹⁷⁵ Dilettanti 1915, 16.

drawing, Plate XXXI. Andriake is not named on this plan and nor are the Andracus or the Myros Rivers that are depicted on this map named. The river recorded on this plan at Andriake is only labelled as being “*Navigable for Boats*”. There are numerous discrepancies, errors and omissions from both the 1840 and the 1915 publications of the *Antiquities of Ionia* by the Society of Dilettanti, with at least a part of this incomplete and misleading material perhaps attributable to the leader of the mission and member of the Ionian Committee, William Gell.¹⁷⁶



Fig. 19) *The incomplete Map of Myra published in Antiquities of Ionia, Vol. V in 1915 on page 17, from an incomplete page proof produced in 1837 of the map drawn from data collected at Myra-Andriake in September 1812. The Horrea is marked at the Port of Myra-Andriake but not to scale and the location of this hilltop Temple-mausoleum, marked on Beaufort's Chart published in 1819, together with another two mausoleum recorded in detailed drawings at Myra-Andriake, are not marked on this map. It is evident from the font employed for the legends on this map that most have been added to the 1837 proof for the 1915 publication, except for the legend, "navigable for boats" by the Andracus River, which appears to belong to the original 1837 engraving.*¹⁷⁷

Further, and somewhat extraordinarily, one reads, “*The original drawings made at the several sites, and the Journal of the Mission, have for the most part been lost. One or two sketches, now in the Institute of Architects, are all which are known to exist...*”¹⁷⁸ How the Society of Dilettanti’s own Journal of the Mission to Ionia of 1811 to 1813 was actually lost, together with almost all the original drawings made by the mission, given their importance to the Society, and with the reiterated stress laid by the Society in Article 4 of The Instructions for Mr. Gell, Mr. Gandy, and Mr. Bedford of 1811, upon the supply of regular record and documentation, which the Journal contained, as well as the drawings, that were to be provided by the members of the mission in the course of its work, is noteworthy. Article 4 of the Instructions reads: “*You are hereby requested to correspond with the*

¹⁷⁶ An article is in preparation concerning the Mission's work, actual at Patara in 1812, and the published results.

¹⁷⁷ <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dilettanti1915bd5/0046?sid=fa32b25c6293a9b0daec8a316cfe278a>.

¹⁷⁸ Dilettanti 1915, 6.

Secretary of the Society, stating at length, from time to time, your own proceedings; and although the principal view of the Society is directed towards the ancient state of those countries, it is not intended to confine you to that province; on the contrary, it is expected that you transmit, together with such drawing as you shall have made (all of which shall be considered the property of the Society), a full narrative of occurrences, with all the information you may be able to obtain, accompanied by such observations as you may consider to be worthy (of) the perusal of the Society."¹⁷⁹ The Editor of Vol. V, of 1915, R. A. Lethaby, records, "*The drawings given in 1912 to the Royal Institute of British Architects were the whole of those remaining in the possession of the Society so far as architecture is concerned. They comprise the originals (the finished drawings for publication) of most of the plates now published, the many others (architectural drawings) of Myra and Telmessus that have not been engraved,*"¹⁸⁰ which are recorded as given by the Society of Dilettanti to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Library in 1912 on Pages xi to xii of this work. Yet, concerning the record in drawings made on site by the mission, the sketchbooks with original drawings made in 1812, these are all lost, except for the "*One or two sketches, now in the Institute of Architects, are all which are known to exist,...*" recorded on Page 6 of this same 1915 work.¹⁸¹

Was there some disquiet concerning the activities of the Society of Dilettanti's Mission at Myra-Andriake in September 1812, by some of its members, leading to the subsequent disappearance of the Society of Dilettanti's *Journal of the Mission*, which would have recorded in detail the course of dismantling and the removal of this building from Andriake, today only otherwise recorded in a small detail of J. P. Gandy's view entitled: "*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*" (Fig. 12, 14), and which would have contained the record of the name of vessel onto which the wooden cases of marbles were loaded. Did this disquiet, not only lead to the excision of all record made of this monument at Andriake by the Mission, including from the General Catalogue of Drawings and Maps produced by the Mission published in 1814 and the non-publication of the Plan of Myra recorded in this list as No. 165? Did this disquiet, in part also lead to the long delays in publication of the work of the Mission, as also to the excision in the 1814 published account of the mission of its visit to Aegina, where the mission spent some time drawing, the copies of these drawings were sent by the Earl of Hardwicke to the British Museum in the attempt to obtain the Aegina Marbles for Britain in 1812 as is noted above? Was this disquiet in part due to the loss in the course of its passage of the ship that was conveying the wooden chests containing the parts of this very white marble late 2nd early 3rd c. A.D. Roman mausoleum from Andriake, when perhaps the ship employed for this task sank in very deep water or jettisoned its cargo at sea late in 1812 or 1813?

Secondly, although there seems to be no published evidence for this, there is the slight possibility that the Andriake Marbles were brought to Great Britain and they were re-erected in the grounds of a large estate, their origin unacknowledged and today forgotten, perhaps even catalogued as an 18th-19th c. Neo-Classical or Greek revival temple or folly, or, there is the possibility that the British naval or other vessel transporting the marbles from Andriake sailed to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies where this building may have been re-erected, perhaps in Naples, with its longstanding British connections and where two members of this Society of Dilettanti mission, its leader, Sir William Gell

¹⁷⁹ Dilettanti 1855, 47.

¹⁸⁰ Dilettanti 1915, xi-xii.

¹⁸¹ There is also J. P. Gandy's finished watercolour of the Myra theatre in the V&A Museum, London, SD.413, as noted above.

with his “*beautifully situated and elegantly arranged villa*,”¹⁸² and the Hon. William Keppel Craven had settled.¹⁸³ Both had been chamberlains to the former Princess of Wales, the exiled Queen Caroline who left Naples in 1815.¹⁸⁴ William Gell resided in Italy from 1814 and permanently from 1820 until his death in 1837¹⁸⁵ and, due to his limited financial resources, the Society of Dilettanti in a special reservation made to the Society’s rules, waived Sir William Gell’s fees to the Society from 1830 onwards, in exchange for regular information concerning the antiquities and ancient topography of the area¹⁸⁶ and the Society also arranged the publication and payment of copyright to him of £300 as well as a £200 gift for his map in his work entitled, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, in two volumes with a separate map¹⁸⁷ of 1834, published in London by Saunders and Otley. A visitor to Naples was Sir William James Charles Maria Drummond of Logiealmond (1777-1828), voted a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1800, the former Ambassador to the Sublime Porte in 1804, Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples in 1802-3 and again 1806-9, who in 1810, together with Mr Robert Walpole, published “*Herculanensia*,”¹⁸⁸ containing archaeological and etymological observations, partly directed towards the collection of charred inscribed papyrus rolls found in the ruins of Herculaneum,¹⁸⁹ that were brought from Palermo to London in 1808 through the Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples, under the auspices of the Prince of Wales.¹⁹⁰ Another member of the Society of Dilettanti, William Richard Hamilton was the Minister and Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from 1822 to 1825. J. P. Gandy Deering, voted a Member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1830,¹⁹¹ had worked again with William Gell, in both Rome and Naples after 1814, on the ruins of Pompei, resulting in the publication of their co-authored work: Sir W. Gell - J. P. Gandy, Esq., *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii, 81 plates on 77 leaves, Engravings from Drawings made on the spot*, Rodwell and Martin (issued in parts), London, 1821, Part I, although J. P. Gandy’s actual contribution to this volume remains somewhat unclear.

Thirdly, and this seems a very remote possibility, the cases of marbles may for some reason not have been loaded onto the vessel and were instead buried in the sand dunes at the mouth of the Andraki river for future collection, which for some unknown reason never happened. The precedent for this course of action, of burial of marbles in the sand for future collection was the consignment of Athenian Marbles loaded onto the *Mentor*, the polacre purchased by the Earl of Elgin to convey his marbles from Athens to England, as Royal Navy ships could not be spared from the

¹⁸² Madden 1855, 13; see also his obituary, published in Vol. 5 of the Gentleman’s Magazine, Ed. Sylvanus Urban, June 1836, 665-666. He had brought amongst other finds, examples of the Mycenaean bronze nails from the Treasury of Atreus at Mycene to Britain.

¹⁸³ From 1805 the Hon. Keppel William Craven had resided largely in Naples, Madden 1855, 130-131.

¹⁸⁴ Madden 1855, 8-9.

¹⁸⁵ With the exception of the trial of Queen Caroline, when both of these Chamberlains to the Queen came to London to give evidence in 1820.

¹⁸⁶ Dilettanti 1855, 175.

¹⁸⁷ Dilettanti 1855, 175-176.

¹⁸⁸ Drummond-Walpole 1810.

¹⁸⁹ Between fifteen hundred and eighteen hundred Mss. in Latin, but primarily in Greek, Gell-Gandy 1821, vii-viii.

¹⁹⁰ Drummond – Walpole 1810, xii.

¹⁹¹ Where his name is recorded as ‘J. Deering Esq.’, Dilettanti 1855, 126.

Mediterranean blockade at that time. The *Mentor* sank off the island of Cerigo-Kythira at a depth of 12 or 14 fathoms (22 to 26 m.) of water in 1802 and the cargo was brought to the surface with the aid of sponge divers brought from Syme and Calymno over the course of two years,¹⁹² with the cases of recovered marbles being buried in the sand of Cerigo until their final removal, to prevent their possible loss, if left on the beach, to French vessels. This rescue operation was supervised in part by William James Hamilton (1777-1859), private secretary to the Ambassador, the Earl of Elgin from 1799, and who served as Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1809 to 1822, and who played a considerable role in the 1815 legal restitution of works of art taken to France in the course of the Napoleonic wars,¹⁹³ and he was honoured for this with a pair of *rosso antico* Egyptian obelisks by Pope Pius VII (1742-1823)¹⁹⁴ and, while not being an artist, by being made a member of the Accademia di San Lucca in Rome.¹⁹⁵ He was an elected Member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1811 and became its Secretary from 1830-1859 and was elected a Trustee of the British Museum in 1838.¹⁹⁶ He had served in a diplomatic capacity in Egypt following the French surrender of Alexandria on the 2nd of September 1801 to General Abercromby's besieging forces and he, together with the Rev. Dr. E. D. Clarke, secured in 1801 the trilingual Rosetta Stone from a plague infested French ship in Alexandria harbour, to the consternation of General Menou¹⁹⁷ and ensured its secure transportation to Britain, and, with the artilleryman Captain William Martin Leake until March 1802 was compiling a general survey of Egypt, including mapping the course of the Nile from its mouth to the Cataracts. On their return from Egypt both had boarded the *Mentor* in the Piraeus, Athens, with its cargo of cases of marbles and its sinking off Cerigo resulted in the loss of Captain Leake's maps, papers and notes from the survey of Egypt, as also of numbers of ancient Greek papyrus rolls that had been taken from Egypt.¹⁹⁸ In consequence of the above, there seems little possibility that these cases of marbles were left abandoned buried under the sand at the entrance to Andriake in 1812. This, not least because if William James Hamilton with his abiding interest in works of art and antiquities, had known of the whereabouts of this 'Temple-Tomb' buried in the sand at the mouth of the Andraki River, there seems every probability that he would have ensured its collection and presentation to the British Museum.

Conclusions

This article shows that some reliance can be placed upon at least some of the drawings made by 18th and 19th century European artists tasked with making a record of the particularities of place in Ottoman territory; not least if there is also some corroborative written evidence, even if the depicted structure no longer stands and there are no surviving *in situ* archaeological remains of it visible today. The drawing made by Luigi Mayer in 1792 for the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte, Sir Robert Ainslie, was accurate in its depiction of a small, square in plan, temple-like Roman building in the Corinthian Order that

¹⁹² Memorandum 1815, 22-23; Galt 1812, 138.

¹⁹³ Eustace 1997, 12-13; 16.

¹⁹⁴ Eustace 1997, 28.

¹⁹⁵ Eustace 1997, 28.

¹⁹⁶ British Museum 1839, 45.

¹⁹⁷ Hamilton 1809, 402-3; see also, Thomson 1872, 230. The Greek text and an English translation of the Rosetta Stone inscription in Greek is published in Hamilton 1809, 431-439.

¹⁹⁸ Hamilton 1809, iv; 406; see also Wroth 1893, 324.

stood on the hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, this is shown on the basis of the surviving first hand published written, drawn and cartographic evidence, until the autumn of 1812, when it seems to have been deliberately dismantled and removed. This article also records repeated references in the literature to this structure standing in this location into the seventh decade of the 19th century, more than sixty years after this building seems to have been removed from this location, indicating the nature of the problem with employing only published secondary sources.

This article suggests that this small "very white marble" temple-like building was removed from its hilltop location without Ottoman permission at the time the Society of Dilettanti Mission to Ionia led by William Gell was at Myra-Andriake in September 1812. The absence of notice of it, or of its reconstruction in some other location over the course of the past 200 years would suggest that the ship that was transporting the Andriake Marbles was lost at sea, either late in 1812 or in 1813, or, that this cargo was cast overboard to preserve ship and crew. In the list of the measured architectural drawings made by the Society of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia at Myra-Andriake published in 1814 there is no record of this building and on the Map on Myra compiled from data collected by the mission, finally published in 1915 from an incomplete page proof of 1837, the location of this structure is not marked. Yet, given Luigi Mayer's depiction of it, Captain Francis Beaufort's written description and his cartographic record of it made in 1811, which clearly marked it as a contemporary coastal navigational marker, together with the record made of its dismantlement in 1812 in a detail of J. P. Gandy's work entitled, "*View of the entrance of the river of Myra (sic.)*", it seems certain that measured architectural drawings of this building would have been made, by either J. P. Gandy or by F. O. Bedford in September 1812. The Mission's 1812 Plan of Myra which should have recorded its position remains unpublished, and is presumably lost.

It is suggested that the reason why the Society of the Dilettanti's Mission to Ionia's record of this noteworthy building remained unpublished, except for a small, perhaps at the time un-noticed detail in a vignette published in 1840 heading a chapter which was itself entitled "Patara", while the Society's official Journal of the Mission of 1811-13 has been lost, together with all the sketchbooks containing the original drawings and notes made at Myra-Andriake, is that with the loss of the Andriake Marbles in 1812-1813, most considerable embarrassment to the members of this Mission to Ionia, to the members of the Ionian Committee and to the Society of the Dilettanti and its members would have been caused through its publication, and, in consequence, this building became unmentionable. Due to the loss of the Society's Journal of the Mission it is unclear if the dismantlement and removal of this structure from Andriake was on the initiative of William Gell for the Society of the Dilettanti, or for one of its members; or if it was undertaken as a private venture for its intended auction, as were the Aegina Marbles in 1811 and the Bassai Marbles in 1812 by the *Society of Travellers-Society of Friends*, of which society William Gell was a member.

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Andriake Mermerleri:

Lykia-Andriake'deki bir tepe üzerinde bulunmaktayken erken 19. yüzyılda kaybolan, İ. S. 1.-2. yüzyıla ait bir Roma anıt mezarı ve seyrüsefer işaretçisi olarak "yıkılmış, beyaz mermerden küçük bir tapınak"

Özet

Myra'nın limanı Andriake'de, Hadrian horreumu'nun arkasında, kıyıya yakın meşhur bir tepede beyaz mermerden Korinth düzeninde inşa edilmiş, kare planlı küçük bir Roma dönemi tapınak mezarının varlığının birinci el kaydı görsel, kartografik ve yayımlı metinlerde mevcuttur. Bu yapı, konumu itibarıyla yaklaşık 1600 yıllık bir süre boyunca sahil şeridinde seyirleri yönlendiren bir amaca da hizmet etmiş olmalıydı. Mevcut birincil belgelerin hepsi 1792 ile 1812 arasındaki zaman diliminden gelmektedir. 19. yüzyılın sonuna kadar yapıya ilişkin tüm referanslar bu birinci el kaynaklardan yapılmakla beraber, bina artık yerinde durmamaktadır. 1812 yılından sonra Andriake'deki tepede bu Roma yapısının var olduğunu gösteren birincil bir belge yoktur. Günümüzde, bu yerde söz konusu yapıya ait fiziki bir kalıntı olmaması yüzünden, bina yakın zamanda yayımlanan kaynaklarda göz ardı edilmiş ve ressam Luigi Mayer tarafından Myra-Andriake Limanı'ndaki Hadrian horreumu'nun 1792 bakış açısıyla tanıtılan bir *capriccio* olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Bu makale, söz konusu yapının Myra'nın limanı Andriake'deki bu tepede 1812 yılına kadar mevcut olduğunu göstermekte ve bu yapının Osmanlı otoritelerinden izin alınmaksızın 1812 yılı Eylül ya da Ekim başlarında, Dilettanti Cemiyeti'nin William Gell önderliğinde İonia'ya yaptığı görev ziyareti kapsamında Myra-Andriake'de oldukları sırada kasten ve metodik olarak tepedeki yerinden kaldırdığını işaret edecek belgeler sunmaktadır. Ayrıca, makalede bu yapının ölçülmüş mimari bir kaydının kesinlikle yapıldığı ama bu çizimlerin Dilettanti Cemiyeti tarafından 1814 yılında yayımlanmadığı düşüncesi de önerilmektedir.

Makalede bu yapının bugünkü olası yeri hakkında öneriler yapılmaktadır. Geçtiğimiz 200 yıllık süre boyunca Britanya'da ya da başka bir yerde parçaları yeniden bir araya getirilen bir Roma yapısının yokluğu da göz önüne alınarak, büyük olasılıkla parçaları ayrıştırılmış bir şekilde bu Roma yapısını taşıyan gemi batmış gibi görünmektedir ya da gemiyi kurtarmak için bu ağır kargo büyük olasılıkla 1812 sonunda ya da 1813 yılında suların derinliklerine bırakılmıştır. Eğer Andriake mermerleri sıkça olduğu üzere yükün aktarılması amacıyla Akdeniz'de boşaltıldıysa, William Gell tarafından nakliye amaçlı kullanılan bu geminin adı ya da belki de sayısı iki olan gemilerin adları bugün bilinmemektedir. Çünkü bunu kaydetmiş olması gereken ve 1811-1813 arası yapılan İonia görev gezisine ilişkin Dilettanti cemiyetinin zimmetinde olan el yazması bülteni, bu anıtlarla ilgili pek çok şeyle beraber, kaybolmuş durumdadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Likya; Andriake; Roma mausoleum'u; seyrüsefer işaretçisi; Dilettanti Cemiyeti.

The Andriake Marbles: record of “a small ruined temple of very white marble” -a Roman 1st-2nd century hilltop mausoleum and coastal navigational marker at Andriake, Lycia, that disappeared in the early 19th c.

Abstract

There is first hand record, pictorial, cartographic and in published texts of the presence of a small Roman square in plan temple-tomb in the Corinthian Order constructed of very white marble on a prominent coastal hilltop behind Hadrian's horrea at Andriake, the port of Myra. It was a structure that from its location would also have served as a coastal navigational marker over the course of about 1600 years. All of the surviving primary evidence for it dates from the two decades between 1792 and 1812. Although reference continued to be made to this structure from these first hand sources into the latter part of the 19th c., this building no longer stood in this location. There is no primary evidence for the presence of this Roman structure on this hilltop at Andriake after 1812. Due to the absence of visible physical remains in this location today, in the recent literature, the record made of it, has been regarded as an inaccurate record of a nearby Hellenistic tower, a caprice introduced by the artist Luigi Mayer into his view of Hadrian's horrea at the Port of Myra-Andriake of 1792, which, was then repeated by the British Admiralty hydrographer Captain Beaufort in his work, which seems inexplicable, or has been ignored.

This article shows this building stood in this hilltop location at Andriake the port of Myra until 1812 and provides record to indicate that this structure was deliberately and methodically removed without Ottoman permission from its hilltop location in September-early October 1812, at the time that the Society of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia led by William Gell was at Myra-Andriake. It also suggests a measured architectural record of this structure was certainly made, but note of these drawings was not published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1814.

Suggestions are made as to the possible location of this building today and it seems most probably the case, in the absence of record of this reassembled Roman structure in Britain or elsewhere over the course of the past 200 years, that the vessel transporting the disassembled parts of this Roman building sank, was sunk, or to save the ship, this heavy cargo was cast into deep water, most probably in late 1812 or in 1813. The name of the vessel used by William Gell for transport, or perhaps, two vessels, if the Andriake Marbles were offloaded within the Mediterranean for transshipment, as was often the case, is unknown today, as the handwritten Journal of the Dilettanti Mission to Ionia of 1811 to 1813, the property of the Society of Dilettanti, which would have recorded this, and much else besides concerning this monument, has been lost.

Keywords: Lycia; Andriake; Roman mausoleum; Navigational Marker; Society of Dilettanti.

Eine neue Inschrift der dionysischen Speira von Histria

Alexandru AVRAM*

Johannes Nollé zum 65. Geburtstag

Im September 2017 hat Dr. Iulian Bîrzescu im Hause von Vasile Ganea, einem Einwohner des unmittelbar neben der antiken Stadt Istros/Histria liegenden Dorfes Istria, eine fragmentarische, griechisch beschriftete Marmorplatte gefunden. Wo genau und wann das Monument entdeckt worden war, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Die Platte wurde kurz danach in das Museum von Histria gebracht, wo sie demnächst eine Inventarnummer bekommen wird.

Der Stein (Abb. 1) ist oben, rechts und unten abgebrochen, links ist der linke Rand mit einem 6 cm breiten Rahmen teilweise erhalten. Maße: H. 0,31 m; Br. 0,47 m; T. 0,12 m. Die tief, aber wenig sorgfältig eingemeißelten Buchstaben sind typisch für die severische Zeit: Lunarsigma (aber einmal, Z. 4, auch Σ) und kursives Omega. BH: 1,5-1,8 cm. In Z. 13 wird die Abkürzung des Wortes $\pi\omicron\nu$ (τάρχου) durch Pi und Ny in Ligatur mit einem kleineren Omikron dazwischen wiedergeben, andere Ligaturen fehlen.

Die Inschrift lässt sich um das Jahr 215 n. Chr. datieren, weil in Z. 7 der Name des am 13. Dezember jenes Jahres als Statthalter Niedermösiens bezeugten C. Iulius Quintillianus (Anm. 20), auftaucht. Davon sowie von den Resten der Z. 1-5 ausgehend, die auf eine kaiserliche Titulatur schließen lassen, schlage ich vor, den Wortlaut der Inschrift auf folgende Art und Weise zu ergänzen:

- [Ἀγαθῇ τύχη·]
 [ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας]
 [καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐ]-
 [τοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἄντω]-
 [νείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Παρ]-
 1 θ[ικοῦ μεγ., Βρεταννικοῦ μεγ., Γερμα]-
 νικοῦ μεγ., καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνης Σε]-
 βαστῆς, [μητρὸς κάστρων, καὶ τοῦ]
 4 σύνπαντ[ος αὐτῶν οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς]
 συνκλήτου [καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων]
 καὶ τοῦ λαμπρο[τάτου ὑπατικοῦ Γ. Ἰ]-
 ουλίου Κυντιλλία[νοῦ ὑμνωδοῖ]
 8 νεώτεροι οἱ περὶ [τὸν μέγαν θε]-

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ὄν Διόνυσον νεῖκ[ήσαντες ἀγῶνα]
 χορῶν καὶ τὸν κατὰ π[άντων στεφανῶ]-
 θέντες ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτ[ου - - - - -]
 12 Ἀρτεμιδώρου ~ προστ[ατούντων δὲ]
 Ἑκαταίου Εὐξενίδου πον(τάρχου), [- - 'Ρο]-
 γάτου [- - - - -]
 - - - - -

Z. 6: Das Praenomen ist entweder abgekürzt oder es fehlt. – Z. 8: Hedera nach νεώτεροι. – Z. 12: Trennungszeichen etwa wie ein liegendes S.

Die vorliegende Urkunde wurde von der – dank etlicher epigraphischer Monumente verschiedener Art – wohl bekannten Speira der histrianischen Dionysiasen erlassen. Sie wird im unteren fehlenden Teil ohne Zweifel die Namen der Sieger der musischen Agone, die zu Ehren des Dionysos abgehalten wurden, erwähnt haben, daher ist sie als eine Liste zu interpretieren. Die Zeilenlänge lässt sich auf Grund mehrerer Anhaltspunkte gewinnen. Einerseits ist in den Z. 1-3 die Reihenfolge der Siegestitel maßgebend, da Caracalla schon seit September 213 *Germanicus maximus* war¹, andererseits halte ich die Ergänzungen in den Z. 6-7 (λανπρο[τάτου ὑπατικοῦ (Γ.)'Ι]|ουλίου Κυντιλλια[νοῦ]) und 8-9 (οἱ περὶ [τὸν μέγαν θε]|ὸν Διόνυσον, d.h. wie ISM I 100 = Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 65, Z. 4) für sicher. Demnach rechne ich überall mit einer Abkürzung des Wortes μεγ(ίστου) in der Siegestitulatur Caracallas. Für [ἀγῶνα] χορῶν (Z. 9-10) siehe die hiernach behandelte Inschrift. Somit gibt es Parallelen in Histria für fast alle Ergänzungen.

Neu im inschriftlichen Formular der genannten Speira ist dagegen die Wendung in den Z. 10-11, die nach [ἀγῶνα] χορῶν folgt. Professor Angelos Chaniotis hatte die Güte, mir scharfsinnig κατὰ π[άντων στεφανῶ]|θέντες vorzuschlagen, insofern dieser Schlusswettkampf, eine Art ‚Finale‘ unter den Siegern einzelner Disziplinen², anderswo in musischen Agonen wohl bekannt ist: viel öfter allerdings als διὰ πάντων bezeichnet, manchmal aber auch als κατὰ πάντων wie in FD III.1 551, Z. 8-10 (νικ[ήσαντα] καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων καὶ αὐτὸ[ν τὸν] ἰσλαστικόν)³ oder in CIG 2810 = Roueché 1993, 193-194 Nr. 67 aus Aphrodisias, Z. 13, 15 und 19 (stets κατὰ πάντων)⁴. Trifft diese Ergänzung zu, so

¹ Kienast – Eck – Heil 2017, 157; Schillinger-Häfele 1986, 69.

² Dazu Mie 1909, der u.a. auf CIG 2810 aus Aphrodisias beruhend „den διὰ πάντων für identisch mit dem κατὰ πάντων“ hält; Almazova 1997 (SEG 47, 2352); und vor allem ausführlich Strasser 2006 (SEG 56, 2152). Strasser übersetzt ins Französische durch ‚épreuve toute(s) spécialité(s)‘, Roueché 1993, 194, ins Englische durch ‚overall contest‘. „À notre avis, il faut sous-entendre après ὁ διὰ πάντων le terme ἄθλημα, et la façon la plus probable de compléter l'expression est celle-ci: ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀθλημάτων ἀγών“ (Strasser 2006, 310).

³ Es handelt sich um einen Pantomimus, dessen Siege fast identisch in I.Ephesos 2070 und 2071 wiederholt werden. Dazu Slater 1995 (SEG 45, 1578); Strasser 2004, 177-188 (wo der Vf. u.a. in I.Ephesos 2071, Latus II, vor Z. 1, nach dem delphischen Muster überzeugend [νικήσαντα καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων] ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸν ἰσλαστικόν wiederherstellt; SEG 54, 1184); Strasser 2006, 302 und 321.

⁴ Hier geht es um einen Flötenspieler (Auletes). Dazu Strasser 2002 (SEG 52, 1034 ter), 132-134, mit Neuausgabe der verschollenen Inschrift (erhalten ist nur ein kleines Fragment), apparatus criticus und Kommentar. Vgl. Strasser 2006, 302 und 319.

haben wir einen weiteren Beleg für einen solchen Agon in Histria, wobei wir zudem erfahren, dass die Sieger dieses Wettkampfes mit einem Kranz geehrt wurden.

Ehe ich einiges zum Statthalter C. Iulius Quintillanus ausführe, möchte ich auf eine vor kurzem veröffentlichte Liste derselben histrianischen Speira aufmerksam machen, zumal nun die der neuen Inschrift entnommenen Angaben dort eine unerwartete Ergänzung möglich machen. Diese Inschrift war zunächst von Alexandru Suceveanu falsch und mit allerlei Missverständnissen publiziert worden⁵. 2015 habe ich eine verbesserte Edition geliefert⁶, indem ich u.a. durch meine Ergänzungen vorgeschlagen habe, die Inschrift in die Zeit des niedermösischen Legaten (198-201) C. Ovinus Tertullus (PIR² O 191)⁷ zu datieren. Ihren Wortlaut kann ich jetzt im Lichte des vorliegenden Neufundes an zwei Stellen ergänzen bzw. korrigieren:

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχη·]

[ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν θειοτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων - - - - -]

[(i.e. Septimius Severus and Caracalla) κτλ. - - - -]

- - - - *numerus versuum incertus* - - - - -

[e.g. τύχης τε καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς καὶ]

[ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ βουλῆς]

[καὶ δήμου καὶ τοῦ κρατίστου ὑπατικοῦ Ὀουσινίου]

[Τερτύλλου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δεῖνα τῆς - - - - -]

[... ο]ν ἀρχιερεῖα[ς - - - - -]

[... Πα]πας Ἀναξιμέν[ου καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν μέγαν θεὸν]

4 [Διόνυ]σον ὕμνωδ[οὶ πρεσβύτεροι *vel* νεώτεροι νεικήσαν]-

[τες ἀ]γῶνα χορῶ[ν καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων στεφα]-

[νωθέ]ντες ἐπ[ὶ ἀγνωθέτου - - - - -]

[προστ]ατούντω[ν δὲ - - - - -]

(Es folgen fragmentarische Namen der Sieger)

In Z. 4 hatte ich ὕμνωδ[οὶ πρεσβύτεροι] ergänzt, jetzt aber könnte man diese Hymnoden nach dem Muster der neugefundenen Inschrift eventuell ‚verjüngen‘, also ὕμνωδ[οὶ νεώτεροι], obwohl damit die Zeile vielleicht zu kurz wird. Desgleichen lassen sich auf Grund desselben Parallelstückes die Z. 5-6 – statt [ἀ]γῶνα χορῶ[ν - - νει|κήσα]ντες wie in der Edition von 2015 – wie hier vorgenommen ergänzen.

⁵ Suceveanu 2007, 149 Nr. 6 mit Foto. Dazu vorläufig A. Avram, BE 2008, 379 (6), wo ich mehrere Verbesserungen vorgeschlagen habe.

⁶ Avram 2015, 129-133 Nr. 5.

⁷ Zu ihm Stein 1940, 84-86; Leunissen 1989, 15, 155, 251, 365; Boteva 1996, 242; Żelazowski 2009, 143; Thomasson 2009, 53 Nr. 20:107.

Somit gewinnen wir auf einen Schlag zwei Belege für das Bestehen eines Wettkampfes der Chöre⁸ und vor allem eines Schlussagons, des sog. κατὰ πάντων, den einen aus der Zeit um 198-201, den anderen um 215. Diese σπείρα Διονυσιαστῶν (ISM I 99 = Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 64) ist, wie gesagt, außer durch die hier angeführten Listen durch mehrere andere Inschriften bekannt, welche ihre Organisation teilweise zu rekonstruieren erlauben: ISM I 57, 98, 99 (= Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 64), 100 (= Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 65), 167 (= Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 63), 196, 199 (= Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 66), 200, 207, 412⁹. Die älteste davon ist ISM I 207, eine Inschrift, die aus prosopographischen Gründen etwa in die Zeit des Antoninus Pius (wohl um 160) gehört; dort begegnen unter den Vorsitzenden (προστάται) ein gewisser M. Ulpius Artemidoros, πρῶτος ποντάρχης¹⁰, sowie ein anderer Pontarch, T. Cominius Euxenides νεώτερος¹¹. M. Ulpius Artemidoros trägt dort auch den von den staatlichen Behörden verliehenen Ehrentitel eines ‚Sohnes der Stadt‘, υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως¹². Die Präsenz der beiden Pontarchen unter den Mitgliedern des Vereins hat mich vor kurzem zur folgenden Erwägung bewogen: „The *catalogi* being rather rare at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, we are poorly informed about the Histrian elite during this period. Nevertheless, the presence of personalities like M. Ulpius Artemidoros among the *prostatai* of the association in the early years of its activity invites us to suppose that this *speira* was rather attractive for the Histrian elite. Since the competitions organized by this private association were, as it seems, open to non-members, the *speira* was of some help to the city’s officials: it organized, at least partially, contests which would normally have been staged by the city’s authorities“¹³. Diese Gedanken finden jetzt eine zusätzliche Stütze, soweit die neugefundene Liste unter den προστάται wiederum einen Pontarchen erwähnt: Ἐκαταῖος Εὐξενίδου (Z. 13). Dieser Pontarch, der u.a. die ziemlich lange Liste von Pontarchen ergänzt¹⁴, trägt zwar einen banalen Namen: sowohl Ἐκαταῖος als auch Εὐξενίδης kommen in Histria öfters vor. Jedoch gäbe es m.E. eine

⁸ Belege auf Delos (IG XI.4 1150), in Halikarnassos (GIBM 902; vgl. SEG 28, 839) und Termessos (TAM III 154 und 163, ἀγῶνα χορῶ). Siehe auch Plu., Alex. 67.8.2: ἀγῶνας χορῶν. Für den Agon der Chöre gibt es im Rahmen derselben histrianischen Speira einen indirekten Beleg in ISM I 100 = Jaccottet 2003, Nr. 65, Z. 8-14: νεικήσαντες ἀγῶνα ἐ[πὶ] ἀγωνοθέτου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Γρηγόρου τοῦ [[Ἀρ]τεμιδώρου καὶ πατρὸς Ἀχιλλέως Ἀχιλλᾶ, μεσοχόρου δὲ καὶ [[χο]ροστάτου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ηλίου τοῦ Ηλείμου μισάρχου Δημητρίου Δομετιαίου.

⁹ Dazu Pippidi 1959 = Pippidi 1962, 154-177; Jaccottet 2003, II, 130-137, Kommentar zu Nr. 63-66; Feraru 2004-2005, 248-250; Dana 2007, 193-195; Chiekova 2008, 74-79; Dana 2011, 80-83; Ruscu 2014, 146-147; Avram 2015, 131-133. Vielleicht gab es sogar gleichzeitig, wenigstens unter den Severern, zwei verwandte, jedoch unterschiedliche Vereine, den einen der ὑμνωδοὶ πρεσβύτεροι, den anderen der ὑμνωδοὶ νεώτεροι, also durch das Kriterium des Alters definiert (so vorsichtig Jaccottet 2003, II, 132, und Dana 2011, 81, an eine Hypothese von D. M. Pippidi anknüpfend). Auf diese Thematik hoffe ich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit zurückzukommen.

¹⁰ Vgl. Maurer 2014, 177-179 Nr. 20, mit Kommentar. Derselbe M. Ulpius Artemidoros begegnet auch in ISM I 137, 178-180 (mit Kommentar) und 193. Siehe Avram – Bărbulescu – Ionescu 2004, 360-361 mit Anm. 22.

¹¹ Zur Familie der Cominii in Histria siehe Ruscu 2004, 907-910 (SEG 54, 664); vgl. aber Dana 2011, 249.

¹² Dieselbe Inschrift auch bei Canali de Rossi 2007, 100-101 Nr. 207, allerdings mit der unrichtigen Herkunftsangabe: „proviene invece da Tomi“.

¹³ Avram 2015, 133.

¹⁴ Zum westpontischen Koinon und seinen Pontarchen siehe jetzt ausführlich Maurer 2014. Hinzuzufügen ist jetzt ein neuer Pontarch aus Tomis: Avram – Ciantă – Lungu 2016, 140-143 Nr. 1.

gewisse Möglichkeit, dass der Betreffende der Enkel eines gleichnamigen Priesters des Dionysos Karpophoros, etwa unter Hadrian oder Antoninus Pius¹⁵, war oder irgendwie mit dem oben erwähnten T. Cominius Euxenides νεώτερος in Verwandtschaft stand.

Mehr noch: Vielleicht wurden die oben genannten Agone im Rahmen des westpontischen Koinon veranstaltet, was das Vorkommen von Pontarchen unter den Vorsitzenden befriedigend erklären würde. Man vergesse nicht, dass unter den musischen Wettkämpfen, welche u.a. den Schlussagon διὰ πάντων vorsahen, die Koina Bithynias (Nikomedia) und Asias (Smyrna, Pergamon und Ephesos) vorzufinden sind¹⁶. Warum also nicht auch besondere Agone, u.a. διὰ (κατὰ) πάντων, für das westpontische Koinon¹⁷?

Soviel zur Speira der Dionysiasten. Befassen wir uns jetzt mit C. Iulius Quintillianus, dessen Bezeichnung als Statthalter, wie ich oben gezeigt habe, die Liste um 215 datiert. Vor allem möchte ich zunächst auf eine andere fragmentarische Inschrift, wo der Name desselben Legaten begegnet, hinweisen. Es geht um eine in der Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts ‚Vasile Pârvan‘ Bukarest aufbewahrte Marmorplatte (Inv.-Nr. L 849). Der an allen Seiten gebrochene Stein (Abb. 2) wurde laut der einst von Ștefan Constantinescu verfassten Inventarkarte wohl gegen Ende des 19. Jhs. in der Dobrudscha entdeckt, der genaue Fundort ist aber unbekannt. Maße: H. 0,24 m; Br. 0,225 m; T. 0,05 m. Die Schrift ist regelmäßig, die Buchstaben sind tief eingemeißelt und z.T. mit Apices versehen. Wiederum weisen die paläographischen Züge auf die severische Zeit hin, ihre Merkmale sind aber im Vergleich zu der zunächst angeführten Inschrift höchst unterschiedlich: Sigma diesmal als C, rautenförmiges Omikron, Omega in der Form eines W, aber mit senkrechten Rändern. BH: 0,028 m.

Ich schlage folgende Wiederherstellung vor:

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[ - - - - - καὶ Ἰουλί]ας [Δόμνης Σε]-
[βαστῆς, μητρὸς] κάστρω[ν, καὶ ἱερᾶς]
[συνκλήτου καὶ] ἱερῶν στ[ρατευμάτων]
4 [καὶ δήμου Ῥω]μαίων κα[ὶ] κρατίστου]
[ὑπατικοῦ Γ. Ἰ]ουλίου Κυιν[τιλλιανοῦ]
----- ΜΑΥΤ -----
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Z. 3: Ligatur Omega und Ny. – Z. 4: [κρατίστου] eher als [λαμπροτάτου], weil etwas kürzer, daher für die Lücke passender. – Z. 6: nur der obere Teil der transkribierten Buchstaben ist sichtbar, die Lesung scheint mir aber sicher zu sein.

Offenbar haben wir es mit einer Präambel desselben Typs wie im vorigen Fall zu tun. Die Urkunde wird entweder von den Behörden einer unbekannten Stadt (vielleicht Histria) oder von einem Verein

¹⁵ Avram – Marcu 1999 (SEG 50, 683B).

¹⁶ Strasser 2006, 307.

¹⁷ Agone kennen wir dank einiger Münzprägungen in Tomis, Odessos und Anchialos (dazu Dana 2011, 121-123), die Angaben über ihre Natur bleiben im Moment jedoch spärlich.

publiziert worden sein. Nicht völlig ausgeschlossen scheint mir die Möglichkeit, dass hier tatsächlich mit einer neuen Urkunde derselben histrianischen Speira der Dionysiasen zu rechnen ist. Wie dem auch sei, die vorgeschlagene Ergänzung setzt voraus, dass vor dem Namen der Kaiserin Iulia Domna der eventuell von Siegertiteln begleitete Name ihres Sohnes Caracalla stand, wie z.B. in der Inschrift IGBulg V 5659 (SEG 28, 560; AE 1999, 1368) aus Bizye: ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκη[ς] | τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνης | Σεβ(αστῆς) καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων κτλ. Die Ergänzung des Namens des Statthalters (Z. 5) stellt keine besonderen Probleme: das Praenomen wird aus räumlichen Gründen abgekürzt worden sein.

Demnach haben wir nun zwei zusätzliche epigraphische Belege für die Statthalterschaft des C. Iulius Quintillianus in Moesia inferior. Bis vor kurzem war dieser Quintillianus wenig bekannt¹⁸ und seine Statthalterschaft in Moesia inferior nur durch eine Reihe in Markianopolis geprägter Münzen belegt¹⁹. Erst 1998 wurde eine Entlassungsurkunde unbekannter Herkunft veröffentlicht²⁰, in der erwähnt wird, dass C. Iul(ius) Quintillianus²¹ am 13. Dezember 215 als *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* in Niedermösien tätig war (Tabella I, Außenseite): *idibus Decemb(ribus) Laeto II et Ceriale co(n)s(ulibus)*²². Zudem hat dieser Neufund erlaubt, diesen Statthalter mit dem *praefectus vigilum* ritterlichen Ranges C. Iulius Quintilianus der Jahre 208-211²³ zu identifizieren²⁴. Daher zwei wichtige Schlüsse: Erstens „geschah die Aufnahme in den Senat nicht mehr durch die *adlectio inter praetorios*, worauf sodann ein Suffektkonsulat gefolgt wäre, sondern durch *adlectio inter consulares*“²⁵, was also Quintil(i)anus' Sprung direkt zur Statthalterschaft befriedigend erklärt. Zweitens gehörte er sicher

¹⁸ Von einer falschen Interpretation einer Münze aus Markianopolis ausgehend hat einst A. Stein vermutet (1940, 90), dass die Statthalterschaft des Quintil(i)anus „an den Anfang der Regierung Caracallas“ zu setzen wäre (ihm folgend auch Leunissen 1989, 165 f. und 252; dagegen aber zu Recht Boteva 1996, 245). Fitz 1966, 50, entschied sich für 212/3–215, ohne aber seine Meinung mit chronologisch aussagekräftigen Anhaltspunkten zu untermauern. Misslungener Identifizierungsvorschlag mit einem vermutlichen Bononius Quintilianus, Statthalter von Asia (an sich korrekt Quintilianus) bei Stein 1940, 90 (ihm folgend und mehr oder weniger zurückhaltend Barbieri 1952, 104 Nr. 442; Hanslik 1963; Leunissen 1989, 201).

¹⁹ Dazu Pick 1898, 218-220 Nr. 635-648; 222–231 Nr. 653, 654, 656, 658-661, 663-667, 669-695 (vgl. 655, 657, 662, 668); SNG Coll. Evelpidis I (1970), Nr. 811-812; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. 6 (1942), Taf. 4, Nr. 216, 219, 220 (stets ὑπα(τεύων) oder ὑπα(τεύων) Κωνιτιλιανοῦ, also mit einfachem Konsonant). Vgl. Stein 1940, 90; Boteva 1996, 245.

²⁰ Eck – Roxan 1998, 96-100 Nr. 1 (AE 1998, 1618; RMD IV, 609-610, App. I.1; Pferdehirt 2004, 189-190 Nr. 73).

²¹ Hier also wird das Cognomen, wie in unserer ersten Inschrift, mit Doppelkonsonant geschrieben, zudem erfahren wir auch das Praenomen und Gentiliz des Trägers.

²² Vgl. Salway 2006, 123 mit Anm. 42; Thomasson 2009, 54 Nr. 20:112; Speidel 2009, 336 mit Anm. 109.

²³ Cod. Iust. 7.45.1 (Reskript der Kaiser Septimius Severus und Caracalla); CIL VI 1058 (ILS 2157; vgl. CIL VI, p. 4320) vom 7. Juli 210 aus Rom; CIL VI 1059 (vgl. p. 4321) aus den Jahren 209-210 aus Rom; CIL XIV 4388 vom 4. April 211 aus Ostia. Vgl. Stein 1919; PIR² I 511; Sablayrolles 1996, 497-498 Nr. 25.

²⁴ Eck – Roxan 1998, 98: „Es liegt mehr als nahe, angesichts der Namensgleichheit und der zeitlichen Nähe ihn mit dem konsularen Statthalter von Moesia inferior am 13. Dezember 215 zu identifizieren“. Daher die dem neuesten Forschungsstand entsprechende Notiz Q 17 von M. Heil im 1999 erschienenen Faszikel der PIR².

²⁵ Eck – Roxan 1998, 98. Zu dieser unter den Severern in Gang gebrachten Tendenz siehe Salway 2006.

zu Caracallas treuen Anhängern, sonst hätte ihm der Kaiser nicht die Statthalterschaft einer solch wichtigen Provinz übertragen²⁶.

Die Angaben, die der genannten Entlassungsurkunde und den Münzprägungen von Markianopolis zu entnehmen sind, werden also durch die beiden hier edierten Inschriften bekräftigt. Neue chronologische Anhaltspunkte ergeben sich hingegen nicht. Alles was man in Moment sagen kann, ist, dass C. Iulius Quintillianus wohl im Jahre 212 oder 213, als er höchstwahrscheinlich Flavius Ulpianus²⁷ ersetzt haben wird, die Statthalterschaft von Niedermösien übernommen und irgendwann vor 217, vermutlich 216, wieder abgegeben hat²⁸. Der für die erste Hälfte des Jahres 217 sicher belegte Legat Niedermösiens ist M. Statius Longinus²⁹. Ob C. Iulius Quintillianus nach seiner Statthalterschaft an der unteren Donau noch weitere Ämter übernahm, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis³⁰.

²⁶ Christol 1974 hatte vermutet, dass die Ersetzung des C. Iulius Quintillianus durch Q. Cerellius Apollinaris als *praefectus vigilum* etwas mit der Absicht des Kaisers Caracalla, einen Vertrauensmann in dieser Position zu installieren, zu tun gehabt hätte, da die *vigiles* vorher Geta unterstützt hätten (ihm folgend auch Sablayrolles 1996, 498). Eine gewisse Säuberung dieses Korps nach der Ermordung Getas bleibt zwar möglich, jedenfalls wird sie C. Iulius Quintillianus kaum betroffen haben. Als M. Christol seinen Aufsatz schrieb, wusste man noch nicht, dass Quintillianus kurz darauf Statthalter Niedermösiens wurde. Siehe Eck – Roxan 1998, 100.

²⁷ Stein 1940, 89-90 („von spätestens 209-212“); Boteva 1996, 244-245 (von 210 bis vermutlich 213); Eck – Roxan 1998, 97 (von 210 bis ca. 213).

²⁸ Boteva 1996, 245: „thus, Quintilianus began his term in Lower Moesia when Caracalla was sole *Augustus*, but after 212/early 213. With triennial tenure, he would have stepped down sometime in 216“; Eck – Roxan 1998, 100: „doch könnte er dort im Jahr 212 oder 213 der Nachfolger von Flavius Ulpianus gewesen sein; auf ihn müsste sodann vermutlich im Jahr 216 M. Statius Longinus gefolgt sein“.

²⁹ Stein 1940, 90-91 („zwischen April 217 und Mai 218“); Boteva 1996, 246 (vermutlich schon 216 bis Juni/August 217).

³⁰ Glaubwürdig ist dagegen die Vermutung von Eck – Roxan 1998, 100, laut der der 249/250 erwähnte Prokonsul Asiens C. Iulius Fl(avius) Proclus Quintillianus (PIR² I 502) „mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit“ sein Sohn war.

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Histria'dan Yeni Bir Diyonizyak Speira Yazıtı**Özet**

Yazar bir Roma askeri belgesi (RMD IV, 609-610, App. I.1: *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*) ve Marcianopolis'ten bir sikke serisi aracılığıyla İ. S. 215 yılı civarında Moesia inferior valisi olarak belgelenmiş C. Iulius Quintillianus (isim sikkelerde Quintilianus olarak hecelenmiştir) hakkında olan iki fragman biçimindeki Yunanca yazıtı yayımlamaktadır. İlki kısa süre önce (2017) şans eseri Istros/Histria yakınlarında bir köyde bulunmuştur (Fig. 1). Bu, *[agon] choron*'u ve 'genel müsabakayı' (*kata p[anton]* tamamlama olarak) kazanan *[hymnodoi] neoterōi*'u kaydeden meşhur *speira Dionysiastōn* tarafından yayımlanan bir albüm niteliğindedir. Bu yeni belge aynı dernek (Avram 2015, 129-133, no. 5) tarafından yayımlanan başka bir albümün daha iyi bir şekilde tamamlanmasına olanak tanımakta ve aktiviteleri hakkında da yeni bilgiler sunmaktadır. Vali C. Iulius Quintillianus'un ismi ayrıca kökeni bilinmeyen (Dobrudja bölgesi, olasılıkla Histria) Bükreş Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'ne ait başka bir yazıt fragmanında da tespit edilebilmektedir (Fig. 2). Bu Quintil(l)ianus, Eck ve Roxan'ın (1998) daha önce gösterdiği gibi 208-211 yılında *praefectus vigilum* olarak belgelenmiş olan C. Iulius Quintilianus ile aynı kişidir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: C. Iulius Quintillianus; Moesia inferior; Histria; *speira Dionysiastōn*; 'genel müsabaka'.

A New Inscription of the Dionysiac Speira from Histria**Abstract**

The author publishes two fragmentary Greek inscriptions mentioning C. Iulius Quintillianus, attested as governor of Moesia inferior c. 215 AD through a Roman military diploma (RMD IV, 609-610, App. I.1: *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*) and a series of coins from Marcianopolis (where the name is spelled Quintilianus). The first one was recently found by chance (2017) in the village lying near Istros/Histria (Fig. 1). It is an album issued by the well-known *speira Dionysiastōn* recording the *[hymnodoi] neoterōi* who won the *[agon] choron* and the 'overall contest' (*kata p[anton]*, with commentary). This new document allows a finer restoration of another album issued by the same association (Avram 2015, 129-133, no. 5) and furnishes new data on its activities. Furthermore, the name of the governor C. Iulius Quintillianus can be also identified in another fragmentary inscription of unknown provenance (region of Dobrudja, possibly Histria) belonging to the collection of the Institute of Archaeology at Bucharest (Fig. 2). This Quintil(l)ianus is, as already demonstrated in Eck – Roxan 1998, the same as C. Iulius Quintilianus attested as *praefectus vigilum* in 208-211.

Keywords: C. Iulius Quintillianus; Moesia inferior; Histria; *speira Dionysiastōn*; 'overall contest'.



Abb. 1 Inschrift aus Istros/Histria. Foto Dr. Iulian Bîrzescu.



Abb. 2 Inschrift aus einem unbekannten Ort der Dobrudscha. Foto Dr. Iulian Bîrzescu.

Timbriada et son territoire

Guy LABARRE*

Introduction

Au nord de la cité de Selgè, la vallée de l'Eurymédon se resserre en des gorges étroites pour traverser les massifs montagneux du Sarp dağı et du Dumanlı dağı. En remontant la vallée vers sa source, l'espace s'ouvre peu à peu sur la "plaine" d'Aksu où se trouvait l'antique cité de Timbriada. Deux publications récentes mettent en lumière cette région: celle de Cl. Brixhe qui s'attache à rassembler la documentation épigraphique sur la langue "pisidienne", analyse sa structure et cherche à comprendre les raisons de son apparition dans l'épigraphie des II^e- III^e siècles de notre ère¹, et celle d'H. Bru, qui établit une géographie historique et une sociologie culturelle de la Pisidie septentrionale au contact avec la Phrygie Parorée². Plusieurs aspects abordés par ces auteurs concernant Timbriada méritent d'être à nouveau discutés. Ce sont les questions de la localisation de la cité, du conflit territorial avec la cité d'Apollonia qui se trouvait au nord-est du lac d'Eğirdir et des limites que l'on peut assigner au territoire de Timbriada.

La cité et sa localisation

Très peu de sources littéraires évoquent Timbriada. Strabon (XII, 7, 2) donne son nom (Τυμβριάδα) dans une liste de cités de Pisidie qu'il tire d'Artémidore d'Éphèse. Pline l'Ancien (V, 24-25) évoque ses habitants (*Tymbriani*), mais l'inclut à tort avec la Lycaonie dans la juridiction de la province d'Asie. Il faut ensuite attendre le *Synecdèmos* d'Hiéroclès³ et les listes épiscopales pour que soit de nouveau mentionné le nom de Timbriada⁴. Les monnaies frappées par la cité datent toutes de l'époque impériale. Une seule émission ne porte pas au droit le buste de l'empereur, mais celui du dieu Men. Les autres séries s'étendent de l'époque d'Hadrien à celle de Maximin. Elles font connaître l'ethnique de la cité.

W. M. Ramsay a cherché à la localiser dans la vallée au Sud-Est du lac d'Eğirdir, la "Yılan Ovası", et plus précisément sur les rives du fleuve Eurymédon (aujourd'hui nommé Köprüçay ou Aksu çay), parce que le nom du fleuve apparaît sur les monnaies⁵. Mais J. R. S. Sterrett a proposé d'identifier des ruines trouvées dans le village d'Imrohor ou Mirahor avec la cité de Timbriada. Il a découvert, réemployé dans la mosquée du village une base de statue consacrée par le *dèmos* à l'empereur Hadrien⁶:

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C'est un plaisir, par cette contribution, d'honorer le Pr. Johannes Nollé qui a tant apporté à la connaissance des cités d'Asie Mineure et de leur épigraphie.

¹ Brixhe 2016a et 2016b, p. 29-36. Voir notre compte rendu de l'ouvrage, Labarre 2017, p. 295-299.

² Bru 2017.

³ Honigmann 1939, p. 27 (673,9).

⁴ Darrouzès 1981, p. 212 (I, 384), p. 226 (II, 450), p. 239 (III, 458), p. 258 (IV, 399), p. 282 (VII, 459), p. 302 (IX, 342), p. 322 (X, 399), p. 360 (XIII, 406).

⁵ Ramsay 1885, p. 345 et Ramsay 1890, p. 406. Sur les monnaies représentant le dieu fleuve Eurymédon, von Aulock 1979, p. 47-50, p. 169-174 n° 2106-2192.

⁶ Sterrett 1888, n° 399.

[Αὐτ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊ-
 [άν]ου Ἀδριάνου Σεβαστοῦ [...]
 [κα]τατ[ε]ταγμένον [...]
 ὁ δῆμος.

Cette cité de Timbriada apparaît aussi dans trois autres inscriptions:

- Une première, trouvée à Adada, donne le nom d'un agonothète, membre du conseil de Timbriada et d'Adada. Elle prouve que la communauté avait le statut de cité⁷.
- Une deuxième, à Sagalassos, mentionne le nom d'un citoyen de Sagalassos et de Timbriada, qui est *bouleutikos*⁸.
- Une troisième est un fragment trouvé à Apollonia rappelant un règlement territorial entre la cité de Timbriada et celle d'Apollonia, sur laquelle nous allons revenir⁹.

En 1930, W. M. Ramsay a également publié une inscription funéraire fragmentaire d'un citoyen de Timbriada et d'Adada trouvée dans "the ancient cemetery below Timbriada"¹⁰. Il s'agit certainement du cimetière qui se trouve le long de la route moderne qui mène à Aksu. Lors de nos prospections avec M. Özsait près du village actuel d'Akçaşar, nous avons trouvé quelques vestiges, près du village moderne, en contrebas: un fragment de statue et un bloc sculpté d'un masque ou d'une tête de lion dans une guirlande, remployés dans un mur, ainsi qu'un bloc mouluré dans une fontaine. Au-dessus du village d'Akçaşar, nous avons pu étudier, sur l'Asar Tepesi au sud de l'Akpınar Dağ qui domine la vallée d'Aksu, les vestiges d'une citerne (10,70 m x 7,40 m; profondeur 4,20 m)¹¹. Ces éléments complètent les informations données par Sterrett et Ramsay pour indiquer que le siège de la cité pouvait se trouver en ces lieux.

Cette localisation est remise en cause par H. Bru. Selon quels arguments? L'inscription publiée par Sterrett mentionne un *dēmos* qui pourrait être, non une cité, mais un *chôrion*. Certes, le terme *dēmos* peut désigner un village, mais il est plus vraisemblable que cette statue d'Hadrien ait été consacrée par le peuple de la cité que par un village. De plus, on ne peut accepter ce qui est retranscrit de notre interprétation. Selon l'auteur, nous plaçons Timbriada près d'Akçaşar, mais "en outre", nous évoquons Timbriada "en rapport avec des lieux situés plus au sud, près du village d'Imrahor", "sur un site dépourvu de terres arables et très isolé qui devait se trouver sur la partie méridionale du territoire"¹². Il est clair que la carte que nous avons publiée est ignorée¹³: elle montre qu'Akçaşar et Mirahor sont deux toponymes pour un même lieu. La localisation du site où se trouve la citerne dominant la plaine cultivée de la haute vallée de l'Eurymédon et la situation de la grande route reliant le lac d'Eğridir à Aksu ne le sont pas davantage (**fig.1 et 2**). Une autre localisation est-elle proposée? Non. Des hypothèses sont-elles formulées? Pas plus. Deux nous paraissent pourtant possibles. Ou

⁷ Sterrett 1888, n° 420.

⁸ Lanckoroński 1893, n° 194.

⁹ Sterrett 1888, n° 548; cf. Ramsay 1918, p. 139-150.

¹⁰ Ramsay 1930, p. 246-247 (SEG 6, 1932, n° 454).

¹¹ Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2009, p. 199-201.

¹² Bru 2017, p. 107.

¹³ Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2009, p. 211 Fig. 1.

bien la cité se trouvait en un autre lieu, mais pour soutenir une telle hypothèse, il faudrait disposer au moins d'éléments archéologiques, ce qui n'est pas le cas. Ou bien la cité se trouvait effectivement près d'Akçaşar et a été fortement détruite. La situation près de la grande route d'Aksu peut expliquer ces destructions et la dispersion des vestiges. C'est l'hypothèse que nous avons défendue, mais qui est tenue sous silence¹⁴. Ajoutons qu'il est sans doute vain de chercher un site urbain majeur en plaquant sur ces cités anatoliennes une image traditionnelle de la cité grecque avec son centre urbain et son acropole.

Le conflit territorial avec Apollonia

La question de la dispute territoriale entre Timbriada et Apollonia doit être traitée avec prudence¹⁵. Ce qui s'est écrit récemment à ce sujet pose problème du point de vue méthodologique. Reprenons rapidement le dossier. Une inscription fragmentaire copiée par J. R. S. Sterrett (**Fig. 3**)¹⁶, aujourd'hui perdue, a fait l'objet de plusieurs propositions d'établissement du texte par G. Hirschfeld et A. Wilhelm, puis par J. G. C. Anderson et W. M. Buckler, mais aussi W. M. Calder. Les différentes interprétations ont été rassemblées par W. M. Ramsay qui en a fait le commentaire¹⁷. La pierre est semble-t-il une base de statue pour un éminent personnage. Celui-ci modifie la décision royale qui donnait possession de différents lieux à Timbriada et les attribue aux Apolloniates. W. M. Ramsay remet en cause la datation haute de G. Hirschfeld, après 189 av. J. -C., et propose le contexte de la création de la province de Galatie en 25 av. J. -C. La décision royale serait celle du roi de Galatie, Amyntas, et l'éminent personnage réglant le problème territorial serait le gouverneur romain, Gaius Lollius.

G. Hirschfeld – A. Wilhelm

[-----] κα-
τὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέ-
ως [διά]τα[ξ]ιν πρὸς
4 Τυμβριαδέ[α]ς πο?
ραμμα? χώραν καὶ ὄ-
φρος κεφαλὴν [λ]ε-
γομένην καὶ αὐλῶ-
8 [ν]α τὸν κατάγον-
[τ]α [πρ]ὸς Μισύλῳ
καὶ προσνείμ[α]ν-
[τ]α [α]ὐτοῖς καὶ [ό]-
12 [ρ]ο[θ]ετήσαντα
[π]ί[σ]τεως [ξ]νε-
κεν καὶ μ[εγ]αλο-
φροσύνης

J. G. C. Anderson

τὸ[ν] με[ταστήσαν]-
τα τῇ[ν] τοῦ βασιλέ-
ως [διά]τα[ξ]ιν προσ-
4 [ορίσαν] τοῖς
Τυμβριαδέσ[ιν] Ο[ὕ]-
ραμμα χώραν καὶ ὄ-
φρος Κεφαλὴν [λ]ε-
8 γομένην καὶ Αὐλῶ-
[ν]α τὸν κατάγον-
[τ]α [πρ]ὸς Μισυλῳ κτλ.

W. M. Buckler

τὸν μεταστήσαν-
τα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέ-
ος διάταξιν πρὸς
4 Τυμβριαδέσι τ' Ο[ὕ]-
ραμμα χώραν καὶ ὄ-
φρος Κεφαλὴν λε-
γομένην καὶ Αὐλῶ-
8 να τὸν κατάγον-
τα πρὸς Μισυλῳ κτλ.

¹⁴ Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2009, p. 200-201.

¹⁵ C'est l'idée que nous avons défendue au colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve organisé par Jan Tavernier les 27-28 février 2014. Voir Labarre – Özsait 2018, p. 67-69.

¹⁶ Sterrett 1888, n° 548.

¹⁷ Ramsay 1918, p. 139-150.

W. M. Ramsay s'attache aussi à résoudre la question de l'identification des trois lieux nommés dans l'inscription: le premier est une *chôra* dont le nom semble être Ouramma (Ο[ὐ]ραμμα χώραν); le deuxième est un lieu-dit dont le nom est imagé, la Tête de Serpent (Ὀφεως Κεφαλὴν λεγομένην); le troisième est une vallée conduisant à un lieu nommé Misyllos (Μυσιλῶνα τὸν κατὰγοντα πρὸς Μισύλωι). L'hypothèse qui est proposée est que la Tête de Serpent formerait l'ensemble du lac d'Hoyran, c'est-à-dire la partie septentrionale du lac d'Eğirdir au nord du Bülbül Boğazı. H. Bru, qui se démarque de Ramsay¹⁸, écrit *"il est à mon sens visuellement incontestable que l'appellation renvoie à la forme de l'ensemble de l'Hoyran gölü: cela pouvait se distinguer assez nettement des montagnes environnantes parcourues depuis de hautes époques comme lieux potentiels de refuge et d'observation, mais aussi de passage par certains chemins suivant les lignes de crête. De nos jours, l'apparition est bien sûr plus saisissante d'avion ou grâce à des clichés pris de l'espace"*. Aucun argument n'est vraiment avancé: on demande au lecteur de prendre en compte également des aspects religieux, mais rien de solide n'est avancé à ce sujet. Et l'auteur de conclure: *"le territoire de la Tête de Serpent intéressant les Apolloniates est à notre sens à situer au Nord-Est du lac de Hoyran, donc sur la rive opposée de leurs principales possessions de la vallée de l'Hippophoras, à l'endroit (Hoyran Ova) où une langue de bonne terre arable jouxte le plan d'eau et constitue en quelque sorte la langue de cette créature mythique"*¹⁹.

Mais doit-on considérer la Tête de Serpent comme un espace ou un élément-repère dans le paysage? Flavius Josèphe indique que deux chemins conduisaient à la citadelle de Massada et que le premier s'appelait le Serpent, pour marquer sa ressemblance avec ce reptile, à cause de son étroitesse et de ses multiples lacets²⁰. Si l'on souhaite suivre cette comparaison, on pourrait penser alors au territoire le long d'un chemin qui franchissait les premières crêtes de l'Anamas Dağı et menait à la cité de Timbriada dans la haute vallée de l'Eurymédon, comme le fait la route actuelle lorsque l'on va d'Eğirdir à Aksu. L'*aulon* pourrait correspondre à la vallée située au sud d'Eğirdir dans laquelle le lac déverse son trop plein par une rivière – sans doute l'ancien Tioulos²¹ – alimentant le lac de Kovada. Mais la Tête de Serpent pourrait être aussi un paysage réinterprété par l'imaginaire populaire ou bien encore un toponyme lié à un mythe local sans qu'un lien puisse être établi avec l'environnement. On ne peut pas, en tout cas, se fonder sur des impressions liées à un point de vue subjectif. D'abord, le lac vu du ciel n'a pas du tout la forme d'un serpent (**fig. 4**). Une telle interprétation peut éventuellement se concevoir à partir du sommet du Barla Dağı qui domine la cité d'Apollonia (**fig. 5**), mais rien ne permet de penser que c'est de ce point de vue précisément que, dans l'Antiquité, les hommes ont donné cette image animale au lac – si jamais il s'agissait de cela – et qu'elle fut ensuite partagée par tous. Dans cette discussion, il est important de rappeler que la petite cité de Timbriada est située dans les terres et éloignée du lac d'une quinzaine de kilomètres du lac d'Eğirdir. À la différence d'Apollonia dont le territoire s'ouvrait progressivement sur le lac, Timbriada est en retrait derrière des contreforts montagneux qu'il faut franchir avant d'entrer dans la haute vallée de l'Eurymédon dont le bassin versant est orienté au sud, non à l'est vers le lac d'Eğirdir. Aussi maintenons-nous ce que nous avons

¹⁸ Ramsay 1918, p. 144-146 situe les trois districts sur la côte est, sur une bande de territoire à la jonction du lac de Hoyran et du lac d'Eğirdir. H. Bru 2017, p. 106 s'en différencie en situant l'*aulôn* au sud du lac d'Eğirdir.

¹⁹ Voir le chapitre 5 sur "La Tête de Serpent, l'Aulôn et le pays d'Ouramma", Bru 2017, p. 89-104 et le début du suivant p. 106 et 112. Les citations se trouvent p. 93 et 94.

²⁰ *Bellum Judaicum*, VII, 8, 3.

²¹ Il apparaît sur les monnaies de Prostanna frappées sous Iulia Mamaea, Philippe II et Claude II, von Aulock 1979, n° 1811-1813, 1823-1825, 1847.

écrit: sans que l'on puisse localiser précisément les trois lieux mentionnés par l'inscription, il est logique, au vu de la situation géographique des deux cités et de l'importance prise par Apollonia au moment de la provincialisation, de les placer sur la rive sud-est du lac d'Eğirdir, soit dans le couloir de Gelendost qui mène à la plaine Cillanienne, soit au sud-est du lac d'Eğirdir dans la vallée située entre Timbriada et Prostanna. Si les Apolloniates voulaient les exploiter, il leur fallait traverser le lac. C'était la voie la plus courte plutôt que d'emprunter les routes le contournant. On se doit également dans cette enquête, se poser la question de l'extension du territoire de la cité de Timbriada.

L'extension du territoire de Timbriada

Cl. Brixhe évoque à ce sujet un quadrilatère de 25 km de côté entre les lacs d'Eğirdir et de Beyşehir, le territoire d'Antioche et celui de Selgé, et souligne la modestie des terres cultivables réduites à la plaine de Yılan (Yılan Ovası)²². Cependant, il ne fournit pas d'éléments venant démontrer la question, ni archéologiques, ni épigraphiques²³ et le territoire indiqué apparaît certainement trop modeste pour la cité aux II^e-III^e siècles ap. J.-C. Quelques jalons permettent de le montrer. Sur le territoire de la cité, se trouvaient des villages comme celui de Tynada. Son existence a été révélée par la découverte par F. Sarre en 1895 dans le cimetière du village d'Afşar d'une base de statue inscrite²⁴. Elle mentionne deux magistrats éponymes qui exercent la *kômarchia*. Sarre lisait *Gunadeôn*²⁵, mais le nom a été corrigé ensuite par W. M. Ramsay et il faut retenir *Tuvaδέων*²⁶. Les prospections sur le site, localisé à 2 km à l'ouest du village moderne de Terziler, au pied du Sivri Dağ, faites par F. Sarre et les nôtres, montrent de nombreux vestiges dont un temple *in antis*, une citerne ronde, une nécropole, de la céramique, un tombeau rupestre, plusieurs inscriptions grecques, mais aussi latines, ce qui montre que les colonies d'Antioche et de Parlais ont rayonné au-delà de leur propre territoire. Notre prospection la plus récente a permis de découvrir à Terziler de nouvelles inscriptions, notamment une base de statue que la communauté villageoise a érigée, à l'instar d'une cité, en l'honneur d'un de ses membres, sans doute un bienfaiteur. La langue est grecque. Les noms Philetairos et Attale rappellent la présence attalide dans la région après la paix d'Apamée en 188 av. J. -C. En revanche, Orokendeas, forgé sur Kendeas est anatolien, tout comme Kralos²⁷. C'est aussi une base de colonne érigée par deux frères Abbas et Abas. Ces noms sont anatoliens, mais le patronyme, Sôsipatros, et le nom d'un troisième frère, Conon, cités dans l'inscription sont grecs²⁸. La *kômè* de Tynada à l'époque impériale était donc comparable à une petite cité sans en avoir le statut. Ces inscriptions honorifiques sont dans la tradition civique. Cela montre que le territoire rural de Timbriada était hellénisé. L'onomastique témoigne d'une mixité culturelle que l'on retrouve au niveau des cultes. La dédicace à Meter Oreia que nous

²² Brixhe 2016a, p. 135.

²³ Labarre 2017, p. 296-299.

²⁴ Sarre 1896, p. 52 n° 29 (Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2009, p. 198-199): Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κλεανδριανὸν | Γάιον Ἀντίοχον φιλόπατριν ὁ Τυναδέων δῆμος τὸν ἐαυτῶν κτίστην καὶ ἐργετήν, χωμαρ(χίας Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντιόχου | τρις Κοτέους καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Κωνωνιανοῦ Τηλεμάχου.

²⁵ Interprétation que l'on retrouve encore dans Belke – Mersich 1990, p. 264-265 et Arena 2005, p. 261-262.

²⁶ Ramsay 1898, p. 96 et 98, lecture confirmée par E. Kalinka après examen de l'estampage. Voir aussi Labarre – Özsait – Güceren – Çomak 2015, p. 96-97 n° 4: Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Τυ|ναδέων κτλ.

²⁷ Labarre – Özsait – Güceren – Çomak 2015, p. 96-97 n° 4. Inscription datée du II^e-III^e s. d'après l'écriture.

²⁸ Labarre – Özsait – Güceren – Çomak 2015, p. 97-98 n° 5. Du II^e-III^e s d'après l'écriture. Pour le premier des deux, on pourrait restituer un autre nom comme Bas, Babas, Labas, Obas, mais le parallèle avec une inscription de Tynada sur un fragment de colonne (Özsait – Labarre – Özsait 2009, p. 202-203 n° 2 et fig. 14 p. 214.) permet de proposer les mêmes noms et de supposer que le bloc appartient au même monument.

avons retrouvée à Bağıllı montre, par exemple, une onomastique significative (latine, grecque et sans doute iranienne), de même que le culte à une Mère de la Montagne qui a ses racines dans le monde phrygien et sans doute hittite-louvite²⁹. L'esclave à l'origine de cette dédicace a visiblement maintenu des liens avec l'environnement social et culturel dont il était originaire. Quant aux stèles funéraires de la région, elles sont également plus variées que l'ouvrage de Cl. Brixhe ne le laisse penser³⁰. On en trouve quelques-unes à Terziler³¹, mais aussi dans le village de Yakaafşar³². Dix stèles représentent des hommes en toge et des femmes vêtues du *chiton* et de l'*himation*, autrement dit selon les standards de la société gréco-romaine. Toutefois, on aperçoit aussi des hommes armés et un berger qui correspondent davantage à une frange de la population qui avait conservé ses traditions³³. Sur les hauts plateaux (yaylas) se trouvaient aussi des villages comme celui de Senitli. Une inscription trouvée en ce lieu, remployée au pied du mur d'une cabane de berger, témoigne de cette présence d'une population de culture anatolienne: les noms et leurs flexions révèlent cette langue dite pisidienne, avec des nominatifs au thème nu (Papa, Eiè, Nò) et des génitifs avec des sifflantes (Tas, Ougoidis, Pigerdotaris)³⁴. Mais à côté de cette inscription, près des vestiges du village antique et de sa nécropole, se trouvent aussi des inscriptions grecques³⁵. Cette émergence d'une épigraphie de type et de langue grecques aux II^e-III^e s dans les montagnes est significative de la progression de l'hellénisation au moins dans les couches sociales les plus aisées du monde des villages. Elle se propageait de la cité proche, sans doute par l'intermédiaire du sanctuaire qui se trouvait au pied de l'Anamas Dağı. Consacré au dieu fleuve Eurymedon et à la déesse Meter Theôn Veginos, il était sous contrôle de la cité de Timbriada puisqu'une dédicace de la cité est gravée sur la statue du dieu Eurymédon trouvée à 20 m de la caverne de Zindan Mağarası³⁶.

Cette hellénisation qui venait de la cité proche correspond-elle à une domination politique? Ce n'est pas certain, mais on en trouve la trace en revanche au sud de la cité. L'étude des cartes au 25 000^e a révélé près du village de Yuvalı, par son toponyme Eskihisar, l'existence d'une ancienne forteresse que les habitants nomment aussi Yuvalı Kale. Sur les pentes du Kuzbeleni Tepe (1483 m) des vestiges du fortin sont visibles de loin³⁷. Deux périodes de construction peuvent être distinguées. Des tours romaines sont de structures quadrangulaires (5,80 x 4,80 m) et construites en gros blocs quadrangulaires. La tour sud est mieux préservée que celle au nord, tandis que les autres disparaissent sous la

²⁹ Labarre – Özşait – Güçeren – Çomak 2015, p. 99 n° 6.

³⁰ Brixhe 2016a.

³¹ Sarre 1896, p. 55 fig. 12 (stèle trouvée à Kurcova, sur la rive ouest du lac de Beyşehir). Özşait – Labarre – Özşait 2009, p. 204 stèles n° 6-9 et p. 216 fig. 22-24.

³² Özşait – Labarre – Özşait 2009, p. 204-206 et p. 217-219 (photographies) dans la maison de l'ögretmen Bekir Karakoç.

³³ Bru 2015, p. 167-173. Voir aussi Labarre 2016, p. 52-58 (sur les Pisidiens: images et réalité) et Labarre – Özşait – Güçeren 2016, p. 171-175 (sur le brigandage).

³⁴ Brixhe – Özşait 2001, p. 156-166 n° 1 distinguaient treize individus, mais cinq auraient portés le même nom et le même patronyme. En lisant Pigerdotaris, I. X. Adiego élimine cette anomalie: on a donc une liste de huit individus (considérés comme des défunts) répartis en deux fratries de cinq et de trois individus avec même patronyme et même papponyme. Voir Brixhe 2016a, p. 91-92 n° 37.

³⁵ Özşait – Labarre – Özşait 2007, p. 206 n° 1, p. 207-208 n° 2.

³⁶ Kaya 1985, p. 49-50 et Mitchell (*Appendix*), p. 51. Sur le sanctuaire de Zindan Mağarası, voir aussi Brixhe – Hodot 1988, p. 27-32, Dedeoğlu 2005, p. 95-102, Takmer – Gökalp 2005, p. 103-113, Alp 2013, p. 119-140, Bru 2017, p. 130-141, Labarre 2018, p. 52-56 et 62-63.

³⁷ Labarre – Özşait – Güçeren 2016, p. 167-171.

végétation. Entre les deux tours romaines, s'étend un mur formé de petits blocs polygonaux d'époque byzantine. Vu les dimensions de la fortification, elle abritait une petite troupe armée. C'était un *phrourion* qui servait à surveiller le territoire cultivable environnant et la route secondaire qui, d'est en ouest, menait à la vallée en direction soit de Prostanna au nord, soit à la vallée du Kestros au sud en passant près du lac de Kovada. Les céramiques trouvées sur le site témoignent d'une occupation aux époques romaines, de l'Antiquité tardive et de l'époque byzantine. Ainsi ce fortin de Yuvalı permet de définir les limites méridionale du territoire de Timbriada, d'autant plus qu'il fait face au territoire d'Adada. Grâce au fortin et aux sanctuaires d'Apollon trouvés sur le territoire d'Adada, les limites du territoire de cette cité sont fixées aux pentes du Koca Dağ (1742 m), entre le village d'Ayvalı et le lac de Kovada³⁸. Au nord, se trouve précisément le fortin de Yuvalı qu'il faut attribuer au territoire de Timbriada.

Conclusion

Les conclusions peuvent donc s'inscrire sur une carte (**fig. 6**). Si l'on ajoute à la forteresse de Yuvalı les autres jalons évoqués, à savoir le centre civique de Timbriada, les villages de Tynada et peut-être de Senitli, et le sanctuaire de Zindan Mağarası, alors se révèle l'étendue du territoire. Il était limité à l'est par la passe qui menait au lac de Beyşehir (Caralis), l'Anamas Dağ au nord, et les territoires des cités de Prostanna et d'Adada à l'ouest et au sud.

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³⁸ Labarre – Özşait 2014, p. 363-367.

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Fig. 4 – Situation d'Apollonia et de Timbriada autour du lac d'Eğridir.

Fig. 5 – Vue du Barla Dağı sur le lac d'Eğridir.

Fig. 6 – Le territoire de Timbriada.

Timbriada ve Teritoryumu

Özet

İki tane yakın tarihli yayında (Cl. Brixhe 2016; H. Bru 2017) tartışılmış olan Timbriada ve bölgesi ile ilgili çeşitli bakış açıları bu makalede işlenmiştir: kentin konumunun sorunları, Apollonia kenti ile yaşadığı teritoryal çekişme ve kent teritoryumunun yayılımı. Timbriada'nın Akçaşar yakınlarında olduğu fikri halen geçerlidir. Apollonia ile olan teritoryal anlaşmazlıkların analizinin dikkatli ve metodik yürütülmesi gerekmektedir ve bu da Eğirdir gölünün oldukça güney doğusunda bir yeri işaret etmektedir. Kent teritoryumunun yayılımı yeni epigrafik ve arkeolojik keşifler ile aydınlatılmıştır (bkz. harita).

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kent; Teritoryum; Teritoryum Anlaşmazlıkları; Arazi sınırlandırılması; Tarihi Coğrafya.

Timbriada and its Territory

Abstract

Several aspects concerning Timbriada and its territory, discussed in two recent publications (Cl. Brixhe 2016; H. Bru 2017), are treated in this article: the questions of the location of the city, the territorial conflict with the city of Apollonia and the extension of the territory of the city. The idea that the site of Timbriada was near Akçaşar is maintained. The analysis of territories disputed with Apollonia must be conducted with caution and method, and indicates a location rather southeast of Lake Eğirdir. For the extension of the territory of the city, it is highlighted by recent epigraphic and archaeological discoveries (*cf.* map).

Keywords: City; Territory; Territorial Conflict; Territorial Delimitation; Historical Geography.

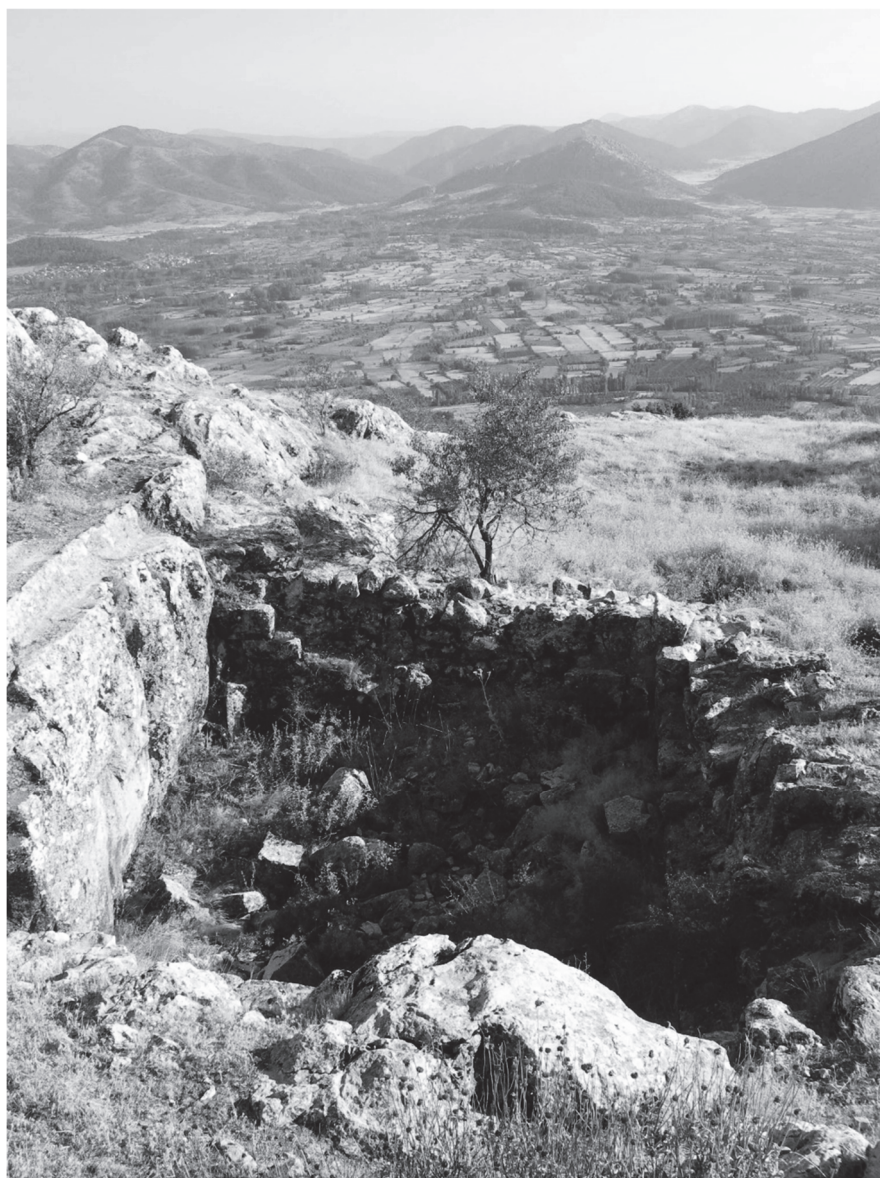


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Sterrett.

ΤΟΥΜΛ/////////////////
 ΤΑΤΗ///ΤΟΙΒΑΣΙΛΕ/
 ΟΣ////////ΤΑΣΙΝΠΡΟΣ
 ΤΥΜΒΡΙΑΔΕΣΠΟ///
 5 ΡΑΜΜΑΧΩΡΑΝΚΑΙΟ
 ΦΕΩΣΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΑΕ
 ΓΟΜΕΝΗΝΚΑΙΑΥΛΩ
 ///ΙΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΓΟΝ
 ///ΑΣ'ΟΣΜΙΣΥΛΩΙ
 10 ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΝΕΙΜΑΝ
 ///ΑΛΥΤ:ΟΙΣΚΑΙΟ
 ///CΟΕ:ΤΗΣΑΝΤΑ
 ΙΙΙ-ΤΕΩΣ///ΝΕ
 ΚΕΝΚΑΙΜΠΑΛΟ
 15 ΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ²⁹

Fig. 3

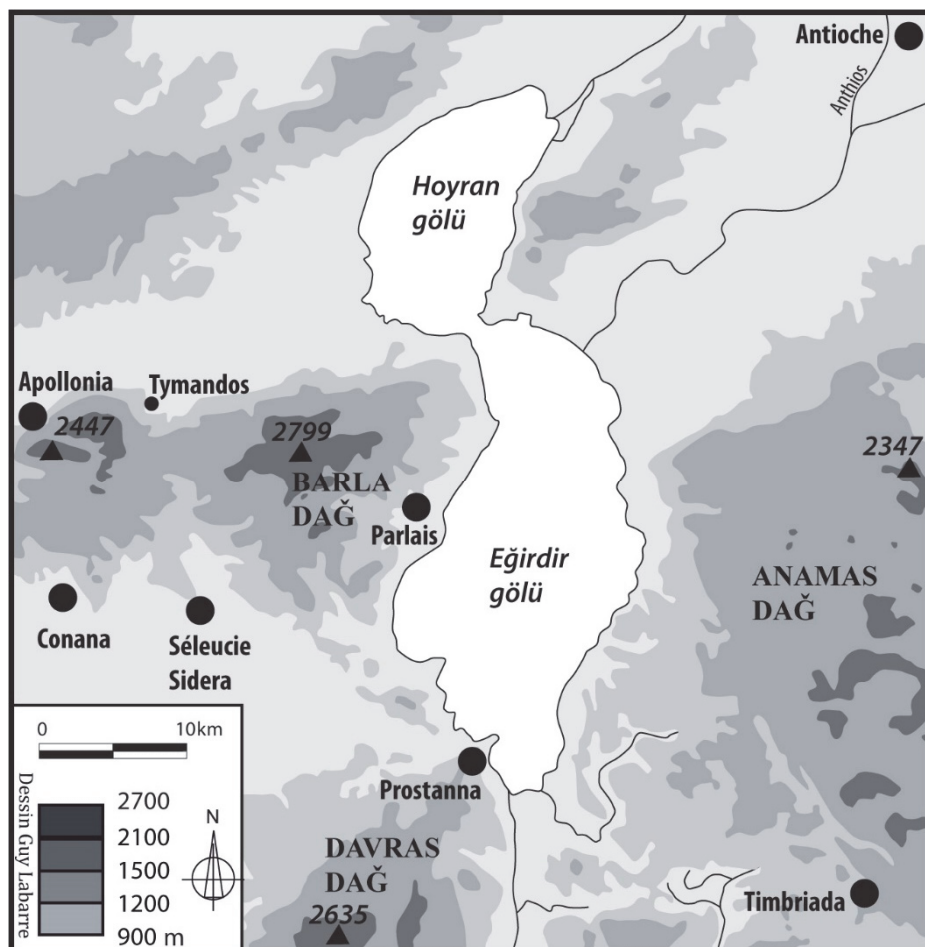


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

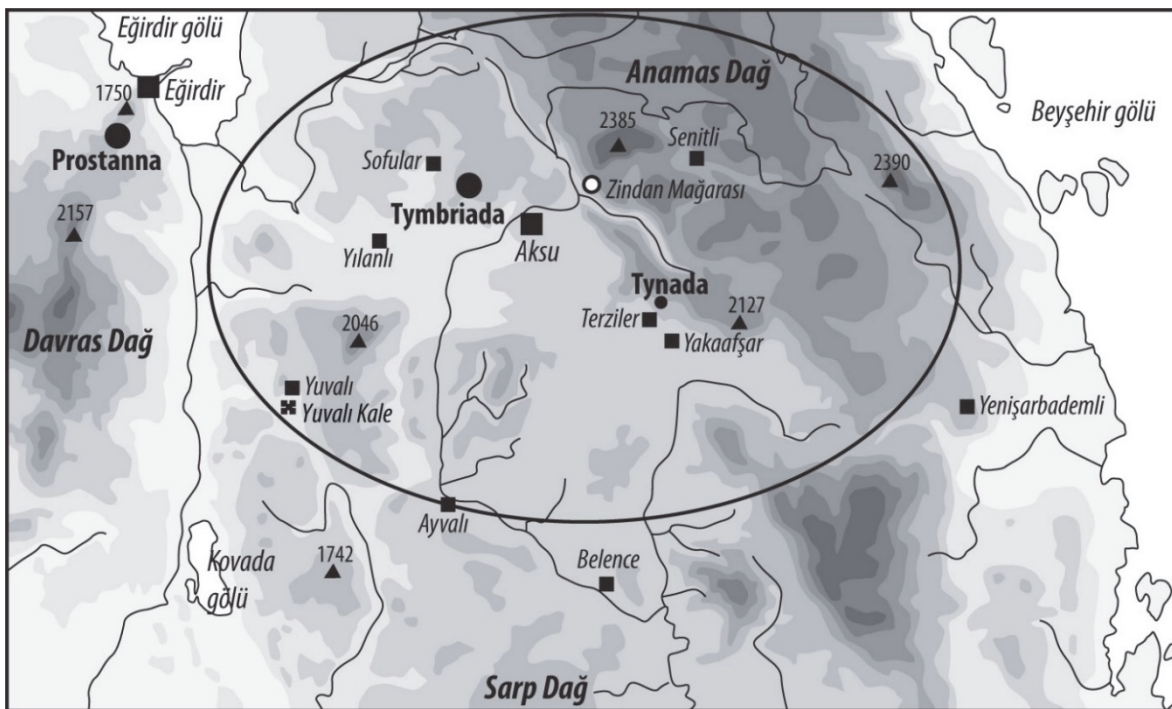


Fig. 6

Crops and Envy in Cilicia

Robert PARKER*

Günder and Ender Varinlioğlu have recently published the following short verse text from rough Cilicia.¹

Δεσπόταις καρπ/οὺς κομίζω, τοῖς/ δὲ βασκάνοις/ πέος

It was found at a location ten kilometres north east of Seleucia ad Calycadnum, 600 metres high, ‘in a semi-arid zone with limited pockets of soil suitable for dry farming, particularly olives and vines’. The text was written across the short face of a quadrangular block of limestone 2.2 metres high and 57 cms across; it will have been approximately at eye level when the block, which the editors identify as a doorpost, stood upright. The text is arranged in four lines, but the last contains one word only, πέος, under and around which curves an erect phallus with scrotum. It consists of what is probably best taken as a single catalectic trochaic tetrameter. The editors tentatively date it on the basis of letter forms to the 3rd/4th centuries AD.

The translation of these apparently simple lines is not straightforward. About the verb Chantraine writes ‘L’évolution du sens de κομίζω est remarquable; la notion de ‘s’occuper de, veiller sur, soigner’ a donné le sens de ‘sauver, emmener’ et, finalement, ‘transporter’, cf. Wackernagel [Wackernagel 1916], *Spr. Unt.* 219sq., Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, 1950, 103sq.² Thus, if the verb has its older sense, the phrase δεσπόταις καρπ/οὺς κομίζω will translate as ‘I watch over my masters’ produce’ (so roughly the editors);³ if the newer, ‘I bring produce to my masters’. Wackernagel notes that the older sense survives into Ionic prose and tragedy (he might have added Pindar), but implies that it disappears thereafter.⁴ And this is to a large extent the case: from prose it vanishes completely, and though one might have expected the authority of Homer to have preserved the older sense at least in hexameter verse, I have found only two examples in Apollonius Rhodius (1. 166, 2. 1129) amid eighteen occurrences of the verb; none are registered in W. Peek’s *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos*.⁵ Gregory Hutchinson, however, points out to me that Oppian almost always uses both the verb (*Hal.* 1.298, 5. 249, 336) and the related noun κομιδή (3. 260, 275; 5. 619, 621) in the old Homeric sense (so

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I hope that this contribution may interest Johannes Nollé, a scholar whose works are constantly in the hands of anyone concerned with the cults of Greco-Roman Anatolia.

¹ Varinlioğlu – Varinlioğlu 2016 (BÉ 2017, 572). Correspondence with Gregory Hutchinson has transformed this article, beyond the ways explicitly mentioned in the text; I thank him warmly. My thanks too for advice to Peter Thonemann.

² Chantraine 1968-1980, s.v. κομέω, 560.

³ δεσπόταις will be *dativus commodi*. I can offer no parallel for this construction with κομίζω in the Homeric sense, but it is surely possible with any verb of appropriate meaning.

⁴ Ionic prose: he was probably thinking of Hippocrates, e.g., *De Affect.* 58. In tragedy I have found only Aesch. *Cho.* 262, Eur. *Hipp.* 1069; Ellendt 1872, s.v. κομίζω, explicitly notes its absence from Sophocles. Pindar: e.g. *Ol.* 2.14, and four more instances cited in Slater 1969.

⁵ Peek 1968-1975. But I note an instance in the ‘new Posidippus’ (Austin – Bastianini 2002, nr. 56.8).

too the pseudo-Oppian for κομίδη, *Cyn.* 2.349, 3.113). Oppian, like our inscription, came from Cilicia.

I turn to the second phrase. If κομίζω means ‘bring’ it can be taken as also governing πέος: ‘to my masters I bring produce, to the envious a phallus’. πέος κομίζω taken on its own is, it is true, an odd expression, but when a verb governs two objects it may fit better with the first than the second. But τοῖς δὲ βασκάνοις πέος could no doubt also be a phrase without a verb expressed; I lack an exact parallel, but such omission is typical of imprecations in many languages, as for instance in Greek ἐς κεφαλὴν σοί.⁶ The main force of the phrase is the same on either view.

The editors take the speaker of the lines to be the god Priapus, represented by the phallus. A different view is possible (see below), but I will first consider the sense of the lines if the god indeed speaks them. If κομίζω means ‘guard’, he is referring to his familiar function as ὁπωροφύλαξ τῶν ἀμπελώνων καὶ τῶν κήπων (Diod. 4.6.4), a function he exercised by threatening extreme sexual violence against intruders (so the Roman *Priapea*, and already e.g. Leonidas of Tarentum LXXXIII-IV in Gow/Page, *HE*). If it means ‘bring’, he is also claiming to be responsible for the growth of crops or fruits. For κομίζω in this sense compare Menander *Mon.* 539 χθὼν πάντα κομίζει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται; Dionysius Periegetes 1102, of the Arienoι, who flourish despite infertile soil: ἄλλον γὰρ σφισιν ὄλβον ἀκήρατον αἶα κομίζει (jewels). Such a claim on the part of Priapus would square well with the understanding of his nature found in all the standard works of reference: he is, for instance, introduced as ‘deus ithyphallicus terrae animaliumque fecunditatis auctor’ in the first sentence of Herter’s still indispensable monograph of 1932.⁷ Students of ancient religion have, it is true, become suspicious of easy appeal to the concepts of ‘fertility’ and (still more) ‘fertility god’ which were so over-used in works that shaped the discipline in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth. But past excesses should not lead us to over-compensate. A link between phalli or phallic deities and fertility is found not only in what may be ancient predecessors to modern theorizing (such as Augustine’s characterisation of Priapus as *fecunditatis deus*)⁸, but in sources closer to cult realities. A dedicator in Acarnania in (perhaps) the third century BC gives thanks to Priapus for his sexual potency (*IG IX I*² II 253). A character in Virgil’s *Eclogues* looks to Priapus to ensure successful breeding of his flock (7.35-6). A chaste prayer for fruits even finds its way into the sleazy environment of the Roman *Priapea* (42).⁹ These three examples take us from the human phallus to the fertility of animals and then of fields; they justify a concept of fecundity covering all three spheres. A myth (of uncertain origin) tells how the baby Priapus was exposed by its mother because of its deformity (grotesque genitalia) but was preserved by a shepherd who judged its deformity propitious for εὐκαρπία of the earth [and herds, added in some mss].¹⁰ Above all there is the iconographic type in which Priapus draws up his tunic (in the gesture of *anasyrma*) to reveal his giant erect member; the fold of his tunic

⁶ Hutchinson compares Ar. *Ach.* 446 εὐδαιμονοίης· Τηλέφωι δ’ ἀγὼ φρονῶ.

⁷ Herter 1932.

⁸ Augustine, *De consensu evang.* 1.25 (Herter 1932, 202).

⁹ See further Herter 1932, 206-7. He is *frugifer* in Columella, *Rust.* 10. 108.

¹⁰ Nonnus, *Narratio ad Greg Naz. Invect.* 2.32 p. 170 hist. 34, Migne XXXVI col. 1053 (Herter 1932, 70). On this text see Brock 1971, 3-4; Brock’s app. crit. to his translation of the Syriac, 147 no. 29, gives new information about the Greek mss: it emerges that the strange detail that Priapos’ phallus was ‘above his buttocks’ (ἐπάνω τῆς πυγῆς) is not in all.

straight above the phallus is full to bursting of fruits.¹¹ ‘Super hoc, propter hoc’ seems to be the logic of the image.

For a god to have ‘masters’ is striking, but not impossible. The speaker of the Roman *Priapeum* 56 hopes for the help of his ‘dominus’ against thieves. Priapus can speak of ‘owners’ (i.e. owners of the territory on which he is sited) because he is a ‘small god’, ‘interque cunctos ultimum deos numen’.¹²

The *baskanoi* against whom the phallus is directed are not identifiable persons, but unknown individuals who are imagined as, knowingly or unknowingly, turning the evil eye against the protected object; envy and the evil eye are for the ancients synonymous. The ancients’ belief in the power of the phallus against the evil eye and related dangers is well attested,¹³ even if its basis is open to dispute; most conspicuously, *fascinum*, originally bewitchment, comes to mean also ‘charm in form of phallus worn against bewitchment’ and thence even simply ‘phallus’. Priapus’ phallus accordingly protected against the evil eye as well as against thieves: Diodorus assigns him both functions explicitly, and two reliefs show him aiming his phallus at a large representation of an eye.¹⁴ Whether vineyards, orchards and gardens, the province of Priapus, were felt to be especially subject to the eye is uncertain. Any allotment holder whose promising crop has succumbed to a blight overnight could certainly sympathise with such a belief; Victor Hansen writes vividly of the envious eye with which the raisin-growers of modern California look over the fence at neighbouring holdings;¹⁵ at Rome the belief that crops could be lured from one plot to another by spells was strong enough for the practice to be actually legislated against in the Twelve Tables;¹⁶ but I can find no evidence that makes the eye a threat specifically to garden crops.¹⁷ It was a danger always and everywhere; no special connection is necessary.

So much for interpretation if Priapus speaks. But Hutchinson has suggested to me an alternative which is highly attractive if we translate κομίζω in the old Homeric sense as ‘guard, watch over’: the speaker would be the building, on this view a storehouse (or ὄριον, the late Greek rendering of Latin *horreum*),¹⁸ on which after all (not on an image of Priapus) the line is inscribed. Buildings, unlike

¹¹ Megow 1997, nos. 68-95; or the phallos can point at a fruit basket, ib. nos. 107, 112.

¹² *Priapea* 63.11, cf. 14.6-7, 53.5 ‘dive minor’. For the concept cf. Perses VIII in Gow-Page, *HE (Anth. Pal.* 9. 334). Jahn 1855, 69, has fine remarks on the underlying psychology.

¹³ Jahn 1855, 67-79; Herter 1938, 1734.

¹⁴ Diod. 4.6.4: τὰς δὲ τιμὰς οὐ μόνον κατὰ πόλιν ἀπονέμουσιν αὐτῷ [ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς], ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀγροικίας ὀπωροφύλακα τῶν ἀμπελώνων ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ τῶν κήπων, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασκαίνοντάς τι τῶν καλῶν τοῦτον κολαστὴν παρεισάγοντες; Herter 1932, 111, nos. 81-82 (the latter = Megow 1997, 1037 no. 107), and cf. pp. 232-3.

¹⁵ Hanson 1995, 101-102.

¹⁶ Table 8 in Ernout 1957; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 99; Tib. 1.8.19; Ov. *Rem. am.* 255; Pliny *HN* 18.41-3.

¹⁷ Livestock and children are especially at risk: Jahn 1855, 40, with sources. Pliny *HN* 7. 16 (cf. Aul. Gell. 9.4.7-8) reports threats to crops and trees, but in Africa.

¹⁸ See Lampe 1961 s.v. ὄριον. Such archaeological literature as I have found on food storage in the Greek world predictably concerns larger, usually public buildings than that perhaps at issue here: Patrich 1996; Cavalier 2007; several papers in Chankowski – Lafon – Virlouvet 2018. Granaries needed divine protection: dedications are common within Roman granaries, particularly to the genius of the *horrea* and Heracles (Rickman 1971, 312-5, who writes ‘it seems clear that such small shrines and altars could be expected in every warehouse’).

gods, uncontestably have owners. The evidence of Oppian shows the old sense for the verb to be conceivable at this date. (The ‘caring for’ expressed by the verb in Oppian concerns animate, not inanimate, beneficiaries, but that distinction is scarcely decisive.) Even with the modern sense of κομίζω, the speaker could be a storehouse if we allowed it to claim that it gathered produce for its masters or brought it to them. But speaking barns are too rare to allow that likelihood to be assessed! As for averting the evil eye, the editors of the new inscription helpfully collect many further examples of phalli inscribed on doorposts or lintels in the same region. Good luck phalli are so common and occur in so many contexts in the ancient world¹⁹ that the majority doubtless have nothing to do with Priapus.

If the speaker is Priapus, the line is out of place: it stands on a door, not on the image carved from fig-wood which is Priapus’ ideal form. It surely becomes likely in that case that the line was not composed for this context. An obvious parallel for a transferable formula laying claim to divine protection is the famous

ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς Καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς
ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, μὴδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν

known both from literary sources and (often in abbreviated form) on stones from numerous sites between Pompeii and Kurdistan.²⁰ But it remains plausible that the line pre-existed its inscription on this particular stone even if it was composed for a storehouse. We can hope that new examples will eventually emerge that will allow the speaker to be conclusively identified.

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¹⁹ See e.g. Herter 1978, 16-18.

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Kilikia’da Hasat ve Haset

Özet

Günder ve Ender Varinlioğlu yakın zamanda Dağlık Kilikia’dan kısa bir şiir metni yayınladı. Şiir anlaşıldığı kadarıyla bir kapı dikmesine kazınmıştır ve İ. S. 3./4. yüzyıla tarihlenmektedir. Çevirisi şu şekildedir: “Efendilerim için tarım ürünleri getiriyorum [veya koruyorum: κοµίζω], ama kıskançlara, bir penis!”. Altına bir phallos kazınmıştır. Editörler konuşanı tanrı Priapos olarak tanımlamıştır. Makale κοµίζω’nun tercüme edilmesindeki sorunu tartışmaktadır ve Priapos’un kıskançların kem gözlerine karşı olan gücünü açıklayarak devam etmektedir ve bahçe ürünleri ile olan bağını tartışmaktadır: onları sadece koruyor mu, yoksa büyümelerine de mi yardım ediyor? Makale, daha sonra G. O. Hutchinson tarafından önerilen alternatif bir yorumu sunmaktadır: Konuşan bu bakış açısından Priapos değil de satırın yazılı olduğu binanın ta kendisi, yani bir tür ambardır. Phallik semboller Priapos ile bağı olsa da olmasa da kem gözleri defedebilmektedir. Yeni yazıtın editörleri faydalı olarak aynı bölgede (burada Priapos öbür türlü hiç belgelenmemiştir) çok sayıda daha başka kapı dikmesine veya lentolara kazınmış phallos örnekleri toplamıştır. Her durumda şiir olasılıkla bu durum için oluşturulmamış, yaygın olarak belgelenmiş olan ‘Zafer kazanmış Zeus oğlu Herakles burada yaşıyor. Hiçbir kötülük içeri girmesin!’ ifadesindeki gibi daha geniş bir kullanıma sahip koruyucu bir formül niteliğindedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Priapos; Dağlık Kilikia; phalloslar; doğurganlık; koruma formülü; depo.

Crops and Envy in Cilicia**Abstract**

Günder and Ender Varinlioğlu have recently published a short verse text from Rough Cilicia, apparently engraved on a door post and dated to the 3rd/4th c. AD. It reads ‘For my masters I bring [or, protect: κομίζω] produce; but to the envious, a penis!’. A phallus is carved below it. The editors identify the speaker as the god Priapus. This article discusses the problem of translating κομίζω, and goes on to illustrate Priapus’ power against the evil eye of the envious, and to discuss his relation to garden produce: does he merely protect it, or also help it to grow? But it then presents an alternative interpretation suggested by G. O. Hutchinson: the speaker on this view would be not Priapus but the building itself on which the line was inscribed, a warehouse of some kind. Phallic symbols could avert the evil eye whether associated with Priapus or not: the editors of the new inscription have helpfully collected many further examples of phalli inscribed on doorposts or lintels in the same region (where Priapus is otherwise unattested). On either view it is likely that the verse was not composed for this context but was a protective formula of broader use like the widely-attested ‘Victorious Heracles son of Zeus lives here. Let no evil enter!’.

Keywords: Priapus; Rough Cilicia; phalli; fertility; protective formulae; warehouse.

The Late Milestones of Asia Minor

Sylvain DESTEPHEN*

In honour of Prof. Dr. Johannes Nollé

In the last few years we have gained a thorough knowledge of the milestones preserved in Asia Minor thanks to field research conducted during decades by the epigraphist and archaeologist David Henry French, who passed away in 2017. Of course, other researches have been carried out in different parts of the Roman Empire, such as Caria, Transpadana, Africa Proconsularis, Narbonensis, Raetia or modern Switzerland, but no one has collected so many milestones on such a scale as French.¹ This impressive ten-volume corpus, published online by the British Institute at Ankara, is now at the disposal of all scholars interested in the administrative and geographical history of Roman Asia Minor.² The corpus represents the ultimate database to study the geographical and chronological distribution of milestones and roads in Asia Minor from the Roman Republic to the end of Antiquity (second century BC to the early sixth century AD). In addition, surveys and excavations carried out by national, foreign and joint teams of archaeologists and epigraphists bring to light new milestones every year, particularly in areas which have more recently aroused the interest of the international scholarly community such as Northern Asia Minor.³

We should note that milestones are the commonest display of power in the Roman world, even if their quantity depends less on the ancient road network than on modern activity, since the latter tends to obliterate epigraphic remains. The volume of milestones collected throughout the Roman Empire has considerably increased with the progress of knowledge through archaeological excavations: 4000 Roman milestones were known in the early twentieth century, 6000 at the beginning of the next.⁴ In the case of Asia Minor, where French collected more than 1200 milestones, the unbalanced distribution of milestones results mainly from the reuse or destruction of stones. The unequal size of the six volumes of milestones published by French – with the exception of the first volume dedicated to the milestones of the Republican period and the last three volumes of indices, maps and itineraries – reflects this uneven geographical distribution. A few inscriptions have been discovered in regions now densely populated such as Bithynia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.⁵ Conversely, many milestones have been preserved on the Anatolian plateau, particularly in Galatia and Cappadocia where

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¹ See Hild 2014; Banza 1999; Salama 1987; Walser 1983; König 1970; Walser 1967.

² French 2012-2016.

³ Marek 2015, 316-318.

⁴ Lafaye 1877, 1897; Schneider 1935, 428; Chevallier 1997, 63; Kolb 2004, 137-138; Bekker-Nielsen 2012, 5855.

⁵ French 2012-2016, vol. 3.4, 3.6 and 3.7.

the density is significantly lower than in the coastal plains above.⁶ Here and there local exceptions exist and new archaeological surveys complete the picture, but without changing the overall distribution. In other words, the uneven distribution of milestones in Asia Minor, as exemplified by French's corpus, will not be drastically modified by new epigraphic discoveries.

In contrast, the unbalanced chronological distribution of milestones is more striking and requires more attention and caution as well. This paper aims at understanding the sudden rise and rapid decline of milestones in Asia Minor, although the whole region was subjected to Roman authority long before Late Antiquity. The Roman conquest of Asia Minor was mainly undertaken at the end of the Roman Republic, roughly from the late second to the end of the first century B.C. As the Republic's rule over Asia Minor was short, milestones erected during this period are fewer than those of the imperial era.⁷ The first major transformation took place during the High Roman Empire, when the texts inscribed or painted on milestones changed. Henceforth the Roman magistrates who supervised the construction or repair of public roads, i.e. provincial governors, are mentioned after the emperor,⁸ whose official titulature appeared at the beginning of the principate of Augustus. Indications of places, people and functions are extremely valuable for the administrative history of Asia Minor and the prosopography of the Roman ruling class.⁹

The second major change in the epigraphic formula used on milestones, already apparent in the days of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, developed clearly from the reign of Septimius Severus onwards and became the standard way of inscribing milestones for centuries: the indicative and practical value of milestones was superseded by a dedicatory and votive character. Emperors' names were still followed by titles, functions and dignities related to magistracies, priesthoods and victories, but milestones also recorded salutations sent by cities to the emperor.¹⁰ Mention of local acclamations upon milestones proves that municipal authorities funded the repair of roads. The erection or renovation of milestones was also a duty of subject peoples, and maintaining the road network was a compulsory service for the cities whose territories were crossed by public roads.¹¹ However, each milestone did not record the construction or renovation of a road – far from it! – despite the occasional mention of distances and directions. Besides this information has often disappeared since it was frequently noted in paint, whereas the authorities' names and status were inscribed. Milestones were mostly symbolic landmarks erected by central or local authorities along main roads. As milestones were still tools of propaganda as well, they reminded bystanders and travellers of the public nature of the road and enhanced the pervasive presence of imperial power.¹²

⁶ French 2012-2016, *passim*.

⁷ French 2012-2016, vol. 3.1.

⁸ See Rathmann 2006, 206-212 and also 235-247 with a list of Roman governors and magistrates related to the construction of roads in Asia Minor.

⁹ Schneider 1935, col. 396-7; Pekáry 1968, 16-22.

¹⁰ E.g. French 2012-2016, vol. 3.2, 158-159, no. 94(A): milestone found on the Via Sebaste some 20 km south-east of Pisidian Antioch and used several times between Hadrian and Constantine's dynasty.

¹¹ Kolb 2004, 141 and 148-149.

¹² König 1973, 419-427; Schneider 1982, 106-110; Chevallier 1997, 61-67; Eck 2004, 6; Laurence 2004, 46-47; Mrozewicz 2004, 356-359.

As noted above, Asia Minor occupies a special place in the field of Roman studies because of the high volume of epigraphic monuments. Consequently, a large array of scholarly publications has for years been dedicated to collecting and editing inscriptions in regional, municipal and thematic corpora, as French has done for milestones. Furthermore, Asia Minor gained a special strategic importance from the third century onwards because of the increasing threats to the eastern frontier of the Roman empire and the need to maintain the road network and thus facilitate the circulation of troops and supplies in the face of the Parthian and later Sassanian empire.¹³ It is important to recall that erecting or updating milestones does not imply a systematic renovation of a public road, nor is it evidence that an emperor was on the move nearby. One should not consider milestones as compelling proof of public work or imperial travels. Many surviving milestones found in Asia Minor were definitely related to local or provincial authorities and cannot be associated with troop movements or emperors' journeys in Late Antiquity.¹⁴

Late Antiquity differentiated itself from the previous period by the multiplication of imperial residences: Diocletian built his favourite palace at Nicomedia, in north-western Asia Minor, and Constantine settled his headquarters on the Bosphorus. The foundation of Constantinople, its upgrading to the rank of capital and the strategic importance of Antioch caused Late Roman emperors to use more frequently the Anatolian road network connecting the Bosphorus with Syria. It constituted a 1.050km route and ideally should have counted as many milestones as its 675 miles in length.¹⁵ This track, hereafter called the Transanatolian highway, has provided only some 130 milestones. Chronological and geographical distribution gives evidence for the transformation of milestones in Late Antiquity. As already noted, the preserved milestones are mainly located in the north-western part of the Anatolian plateau whereas they have almost vanished from Cilicia and Bithynia, both regions densely inhabited during the Medieval and Modern era. Dedicated to one or several emperors, milestones found along the so-called Transanatolian highway span the late-first to the late-fourth centuries. The epigraphic habit of inscribing or painting milestones does not imply that milestones multiplied over time, particularly in Late Antiquity when it was frequent to reuse, erase or place upside down milestones which had been previously erected. In a few cases milestones could even be used six, seven or eight times.¹⁶

Regardless of the duration of their reign, brief or long, not all Roman emperors are mentioned on the late milestones of Asia Minor, nor are they mentioned with equal frequency. One third of the milestones along the Transanatolian highway connecting Constantinople with the Syrian Gates was

¹³ For instance Frye 1983, 124-131; Potter 2004, 213-228; Herrmann 2013, 155-160.

¹⁴ For instance French 2012-2016, vol. 3.3, 45-46, no 18: milestone erected in the vicinity of Amasea by Aurelius Priscianus, who was governor of Pontus during the Tetrarchy. See also Marek 2015, 324-326.

¹⁵ Overview in French 1981.

¹⁶ E.g. French 2012-2016, vol. 3.2, 158-159, no 094: milestone found in Northern Galatia on the road from Ancyra to Gangra and used six times between Hadrian and Constantine's sons; vol. 3.3, 40-43, no 015: milestone discovered between Amasea and Neocaesarea in Pontus and inscribed seven times from Diocletian to Honorius; vol. 3.4, 39-41, no 08(C): milestone found near Sinope in Pontus and used seven times between Constantius I and an emperor posterior to Arcadius whose name is illegible; vol. 3.5, 262-264, no 142(C): milestone discovered on the Via Sebaste, midway between Laodicea on the Lycus in Phrygia and Sagalassus, and inscribed eight times from Domitian (hypothetically) to Theodosius II.

erected or reused under Diocletian or Constantine.¹⁷ Both emperors are overrepresented in this medium not only in Asia Minor but also in other parts of the Roman Empire such as Northern Africa.¹⁸ The mention of Diocletian and Constantine on milestones in these regions is proof that these latter did not commemorate an emperor's passage and thus cannot provide evidence of logistical preparation for a military campaign commanded by the emperor himself. Indeed, the milestones found along the Transanatolian highway exclude their connexion with imperial journeys: even if Diocletian crossed over Anatolia five or six times, in 285, 286, 287 (?), 290, 296 and 302, Constantine never traversed this region during his reign (306-337).¹⁹ Even after Licinius's defeat and the annexation of his domains in 324, Constantine never ventured beyond Bithynia and the city of Nicomedia. Conversely, only a few milestones mention Constantius II (337-361) although he crossed over Anatolia seven or eight times, in 337, 342, 344 (?), 345, 346, 349, 350 and 360. After the Constantinian dynasty and the advent of the Valentinian dynasty milestones definitively diminished in Asia Minor, despite the fact that Valens (364-378) crossed through the region several times to reach the Danube and the Euphrates in order to repel invasions or launch offensives.²⁰ The physical presence of an emperor was not required for the erection or renovation of milestones since they were not related to the journeys of the emperor with his court and army. Late milestones should rather be regarded as public monuments – votive or dedicatory – which fall into the category of honorific inscriptions. Just as a statue and pedestal dedicated to an emperor did not suggest the emperor's presence in the city which offered the monument, in the same way the renovation or reuse of a milestone in honour of a fourth-century peripatetic emperor was a token of loyalty, submission and gratitude given by local communities to a mostly absent ruler. Besides imperial titulature was much simplified in Late Antiquity: victory titles disappeared as well as mentions of the major Roman civic priesthood (*pontifex maximus*), magistracy (consul) and competence (tribunician power) formerly assumed by emperors.

Insofar as late milestones hardly mention the distance to be travelled from one city to another and were not related to imperial journeys or renovation work, one wonders about their real function in Asia Minor. It should be noted that itineraries and official maps conserved or produced in this period, such as the Antonine Itinerary or the Tabula Peutingeriana, had no practical, but rather an administrative purpose.²¹ Likewise, we can assume that late antique milestones were no longer mile-markers erected here and there to guide voyagers. Their purpose had shifted and this could explain their diminution and disappearance. They were already rare in the Valentinian dynasty (364-378) and vanished from the Transanatolian highway during the Theodosian dynasty (379-450). It is tempting to assume that the centralisation of the Theodosian emperors caused the disuse of milestones, but we have seen that new or renovated milestones appear to become scarce already under

¹⁷ List of milestones found alongside this road is given by French 2016-2016, vol. 3.2, 174-222; vol. 3.3, 263-277; vol. 3.4, 111-146; vol. 3.7, 56-60. See also French 1980, 720-1; Kolb 2004, 139.

¹⁸ Salama 1987, 56 and 83-84.

¹⁹ On the chronology and geography of Diocletian and Constantine's journeys see Seeck 1919 [1984], 159-184 (from 312 onwards); Barnes 1982, 49-56 and 68-80; Wilkes 2008, 719-720 and 722-723; Destephen 2016A, 355-357 (from 330 onwards).

²⁰ On Constantius II's and Valens's journeys see Seeck 1919 [1984], 184-208 and 215-251; Barnes 1993, 218-224; Pergami 1993; Cuneo 1997; Barnes 1998, 247-254; Schmidt-Hofner 2008; Destephen 2016A, 357-364 and 366-371.

²¹ Dilke 1987, 236 and 239; Herrmann 2007, 74; Talbert 2010, 142-157.

Constantius II and Valens who crossed though Asia Minor extensively. Thus, there was no relation between imperial mobility and milestones; nor would it have been the progressive settling of the emperors in Constantinople which led to the gradual and definitive disappearance of milestones.²²

Milestones related to Constantius II give a clue to the different nature of late milestones. The milestones in French's catalogue mention Constantius II only in association with his father Constantine and when he ruled with his two brothers Constantine II and Constans, between 333 and 340. No milestone is personally dedicated to Constantius II, but to the imperial college formed by Constantine and his three sons.²³ In other words, milestones commemorated the political unity embodied by the two generations of emperors belonging to the same family rather than honouring Constantius II's personal rule or his relations with cities scattered along the roads of Asia Minor. Moreover, the chronological distribution of milestones on the Transanatolian highway belong to the very beginning of Constantius II's reign, when he was based on the Danube frontier or in Syrian Antioch.²⁴ It is puzzling that not a single milestone was dedicated to Constantius II when he became sole ruler of the Roman Empire in 350. Provincial governors and municipal authorities – responsible for erecting or reusing milestones – did not regard it as necessary to assert the full legitimacy of Constantius II, who exercised undivided rule in Asia Minor immediately upon Constantine's death in 337. In the same way, milestones mentioning Valens date from the beginning of his reign, when he was co-emperor with his brother Valentinian I, and some milestones were completed when Gratian, Valentinian's elder son, was associated with his father's and uncle's rule in 367. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that most of the twenty-odd milestones found across Asia Minor which are contemporary with Theodosius I date from 379-383, when he was co-ruler with Gratian and Valentinian II.²⁵ By all accounts, in the time of the Constantinian, Valentinian and Theodosian emperors, milestones constituted only a political message, not a road sign. Throughout the Roman Empire, milestones displayed a new dynasty or imperial college's legitimacy, they were not intended to extol any long-established individual ruler.

Milestones tended to multiply in the first years of a new emperor or dynasty and become scarce after the beginning of a reign or dynasty, regardless of the actual impact of the new ruler. The decreased interest in military action and the consecutive demilitarisation of the emperors, whose travels greatly diminished in the first half of the fifth century,²⁶ did not cause the disappearance of milestones since this had begun with Constantius II and Valens, both bellicose emperors. Moreover, the gradual disappearance of milestones along the Transanatolian highway was contemporary with the reduction

²² On the sedentarisation of the emperors in Constantinople under the Theodosians, see Destephen 2016B.

²³ French 2012-2016, *passim*. It is worth noting that the name of Dalmatius, Constantine's nephew and co-ruler, was erased from milestones after his murder in Constantinople in summer 337, shortly after Constantine's death near Nicomedia. On the chronology of this event see Burgess 2008 [2014]; Maraval 2013, 24-34.

²⁴ On the chronology and geography of Constantius II's travels see above n. 15, and also Maraval 2013, 21-22 when he was Caesar and not Augustus yet.

²⁵ French 2012-2016, vol. 3.2, 36, no 016(A)5 in Phrygia Pacatiana; 157-158, no 093(B) in Pisidia; vol. 3.4, 38-40, nos 008(B) and 008(C) in Helenopontus; vol. 3.5, 72 and 74, nos 024.2 and 025.7 in Northern Asia; 86, no 039.6 in Phrygia Pacatiana (hypothetical); 101, no 048.6 and 187-188, no 101(B)3 both in Phrygia Pacatiana; 260 and 263, nos 142(A) and 142(C)6 again in Phrygia Pacatiana.

²⁶ On the gradual reduction of imperial mobility during this period, see Destephen 2016A, 84-109; Destephen 2016B.

of milestones found in other regions of Asia Minor which had no strategic value. Consequently, the rarefaction of milestones on the major road connecting Constantinople to Antioch and the Eastern frontier had nothing to do with the reduction and later cessation of hostilities with the Sassanian Empire in the fifth century.²⁷ In sum, the chronological and geographical distribution of late milestones in Asia Minor was dependant neither on military deployments nor logistical imperatives. The last milestones of late antique Asia Minor had lost any practical value to the point that the few preserved inscriptions mention no distance or destination.²⁸ Earlier mile-markers had become material supports for inscribing dedications and acclamations in honour of emperors who were rarely on the move and whom local communities of Asia Minor saw only in exceptional circumstances.

It is important to recall that the demilitarisation of Late Roman emperors was not exactly contemporary with their settling down in Constantinople.²⁹ At the end of the fourth century, Theodosius I was the last emperor of the eastern half of the Roman world to lead an army personally on the battlefield until Heraclius did this again in the early seventh century. Yet the emperors settled in Constantinople continued journeying routinely every summer in the Eastern Balkans and Western Asia Minor until the middle of the fifth century.³⁰ Even after the Theodosian dynasty, some emperors made occasional trips for diverse reasons – administrative tours, military reviews, inspections of fortifications, pilgrimages – to central Anatolia and the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Though the emperor became a distant political figure from the fifth century onwards, the paucity of milestones in Asia Minor is observed as early as the mid-fourth century and rapidly increases from the last quarter of the fourth century, as French's corpus contains only some thirty milestones dated from the late fourth to the early sixth century. The tradition of carving milestones became so unusual that the last milestones of Asia Minor were not original, but reused stones, on which the new ruler's name was added to an extended list of emperors.

The ten milestones dated to the reign of Theodosius II (408-450), the longest in Roman history after Augustus,³¹ exemplify the decline of milestones in Asia Minor at the end of Antiquity. A notable peculiarity is the very limited geographical distribution of these milestones in French's corpus. As in the case of milestones pertaining to Theodosius I, none of those associated with his grandson Theodosius II has been found along the Transanatolian highway. While Theodosius I's milestones are scattered, albeit in small quantities, throughout Asia Minor, Theodosius II's few milestones are all concentrated in south-western Asia Minor. Even regions where milestones are abundant, such as the centre and north of the Anatolian plateau, have provided no milestone contemporary with Theodosius II. The few which are dedicated to him originate in Hellespontus, Phrygia Pacatiana, Lycia and

²⁷ Greatrex – Lieu 2002, 31-62.

²⁸ E.g. ISide 176, 177 and 179. All the three references deal with a single milestone found in Side and inscribed three times. The first inscription was a Greek dedication in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta (the latter's name was erased after his assassination) and indicated a distance; the second inscription, now largely illegible, was written in Latin under Diocletian and the other members of the tetrarchic college and also provided a distance; the third text was a dedication in Greek to Constans and did not mention any distance.

²⁹ See Destephen forthcoming.

³⁰ On the geography and chronology of Arcadius and Theodosius II's journeys, see Seeck 1919 [1984], 285-387; Destephen 2016A, 382-397.

³¹ On this emperor see the proceedings of a conference edited by Kelly 2013.

several provinces created after the dismemberment of the former province of Asia Proconsularis, namely Asia, Caria and Lydia.³² Although we have seen that the erection of milestones was not related to imperial journeys, we nevertheless find the last milestones of Asia Minor in the few regions traversed or visited by Theodosius II. However, the small number of preserved milestones suggests caution: this unexpected distribution might be fortuitous. Moreover, an epigraphic phenomenon previously seen with Constantine and his sons also appears in the case of Theodosius II: milestones dedicated to this emperor do not provide any geographical information and are basically public inscriptions in honour of emperors of the same kin who ruled jointly. As in the Constantinian era, the last milestones of late Asia Minor were casual dynastic monuments whereby Theodosius II was associated with his father Arcadius, his uncle Honorius and his son-in-law Valentinian III.³³ Milestones almost vanish from Asia Minor after the Theodosian dynasty.

Besides their large quantities, the Constantinian milestones discovered in Asia Minor differ from those of the Theodosian period in another way: Constantinian milestones are written in Latin, but nearly all Theodosian milestones are in Greek. This change of language is an additional proof that late milestones were erected or reused by local authorities, for in the fifth century local administrations, represented by civic magistrates, used only Greek, whereas the central administration continued to use Latin as official language and the provincial administration still favoured Latin or at least bilingualism in public inscriptions.³⁴ Hellenisation of the last milestones of Asia Minor reveals a lack of interest on the part of central and provincial authorities in old stones which had become obsolete political landmarks. Once systematic, now episodic, the last milestones were no longer public displays of central power upon territories, but anecdotal evidence of loyalty given by a few local communities.

The gradual vanishing of milestones throughout provinces did not imply that the central administration loosened its grip on cities and individuals or lost interest in the road network, for maintenance costs still burdened communities settled along it. As is clearly demonstrated by a law enacted in 423 by Honorius and Theodosius II, every subject of the emperors, whatever his condition or privilege, was expected to contribute to the maintenance of public roads under the supervision of governors.³⁵ The law states that inscriptions should commemorate road works carried out in the name of the rulers. However it is difficult to regard these inscriptions as milestones since these latter had become scarce when the law was passed; nor were milestones erected by the central or provincial authorities. Perhaps this law refers to dedicatory inscriptions carved on buildings erected along roads such as bridges or gates since this epigraphic habit continued in Late Antiquity and beyond.

In the provinces where Roman rule collapsed the road network began to deteriorate rapidly and milestones became curiosities for travellers such as Sidonius Apollinaris in his poetical descriptions

³² French 2012-2016, vol. 3.5, 107, no 052(B)6 in Hellespontus; 132, no 066 in Phrygia Pacatiana; 196, no 107(B)2 in Asia; 177, no 095(A)4 in Caria; 261 and 263, nos 142(B)3 and 142(C)8 in Asia; 265, no 144(A)3 in Lydia; 275, no 152 in Caria; vol. 3.6, 69 and 70, nos 32(A)3 and 32(B)2 in Lycia.

³³ One exception is provided by French 2012-2016, vol. 3.5, 132, no 066: milestone written in Latin, not Greek, and discovered south of the city of Sebaste in Phrygia Pacatiana.

³⁴ On the use of Latin as an administrative language in the late Roman East see Millar 2006, 20-25 and 84-93; Feissel 2006 for the epigraphic aspects.

³⁵ *CTh* 15.3.6.

of them in fifth-century Gaul.³⁶ Conversely, in Asia Minor where Roman rule prevailed over Barbarian invasions and political demise, the regional road network was maintained, although even in Asia Minor roads underwent substantial changes. For instance, in south-west Cilicia, steps were built into a road connecting the cities of Corycos, Olba and Corasion.³⁷ Due to the limited importance of this road, this modification was without doubt decided by local authorities. Henceforth the road was traversable only by pedestrians, riders, muleteers and light carriages, but inaccessible for heavy carriages.³⁸ Structural alterations of the road network also affected the Transanatolian highway. In the early sixth century, the whole aspect of this major road was definitively altered, with a narrower path in some sections and the addition of steps in others.³⁹

Although the erection of milestones ceased in Asia Minor by the mid-fifth century, a handful of them unexpectedly appear in the early sixth century. But this resurgence of a few milestones and the transformation of the road network must be coincidental since, as we have seen, the erection or renovation of milestones was not related to road maintenance or the journeys of emperors in Late Antiquity. French's catalogue lists only four milestones reused under Anastasius (491-518). Two milestones found close to Halicarnassus in Caria mention the emperor but also a governor named Iohannes, although milestones rarely mention provincial governors after the mid-fourth century.⁴⁰ A third milestone, discovered between Tralles and Antioch on the Meander, also mentions the same emperor and governor.⁴¹ It would appear that all three milestones should be attributed to the personal initiative of a governor eager to spread the name of the ruling emperor and his own along the roads of the province. Despite the fact that inscribing milestones was completely anachronistic for a governor at the end of Antiquity, this unusual epigraphic behaviour was imitated by another governor of Caria: in Bargylia, a fourth milestone was renovated under Anastasius by the governor Procopius. The emperor's name was partially erased by that of his successor, Justin I (518-527), whilst the governor's name was fully preserved.⁴² This governor Procopius apparently served under both emperors.⁴³

Against all odds, then, these last milestones in late Asia Minor were reused by governors, whereas since the end of the Theodosian period milestones had become rare monuments dedicated to the ruling dynasty by only a few local communities. We see in French's catalogue that the last milestones of Asia Minor were indeed very rare, both in time and space, and resulted from the personal involvement of two governors of the same province, the second of them apparently following the example of his predecessor. Devoid of any practical utility since they mentioned neither destination nor distance, these milestones merely displayed an isolated act of allegiance from a governor to an emperor. But however anecdotal they may appear, these last milestones expressed once again the undisputed authority of Rome in Asia Minor.

³⁶ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 24.4-5.

³⁷ Hild - Hellenkemper 1990, vol. 1, 129.

³⁸ Belke 1998, 276-279; Belke 2010, 49-50. See also Külzer 2018A, 84-85; Külzer 2018B.

³⁹ Belke 2008, 305.

⁴⁰ French 2012-2016, vol. 3.5, 207-209, no 114; 212-213, no 117 (and hypothetically 66-67, no 017(F) on the road between Pergamum and Smyrna). See also Hild 2014, 14, no 7; 16, no 14.1.

⁴¹ French 2012-2016, vol. 3.5, 281-282, no 159.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 221, no 119.

⁴³ Blümel 1995, 39; Bull. ép. 1998, no 647; Hild 2014, 13-14, no 3.

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Küçük Asya'nın Geç Dönem Miltaşları

Özet

Merhum David Henry French tarafından yakın zamanda edisyonu yapılan ve Ankara'daki İngiliz Enstitüsü tarafından online ortama konulan etkileyici miltaşları corpus'u, Geç Cumhuriyet'ten Geç İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne kadar Roma yolları boyunca dikilmiş 1200'den fazla taşın derinlemesine ve kapsamlı bir bilgisini sunmaktadır. Miltaşları, Roma dünyasının gücünün en yaygın epigrafik görünümü olsa da, modern aktiviteler onları yok etme eğilimindedir ve sonuç olarak onlar ortadan kaybolmadan bu kalıntıları toplamak her zamankinden daha acil bir durumdur. Bu makale, miltaşlarının

dengesiz coğrafik ve kronolojik yayılımını incelemektedir. Bunlar, hemen hemen tüm Küçük Asya boyunca dağılmış görünmektedir ve temel olarak Anadolu platosunun kuzey batı bölümünde yoğunlaşmıştır. Ayrıca, birçoğu Geç Antik Çağ'da, özellikle de geç 3. yüzyıl ile erken 4. yüzyıl arasında, yani Diocletianus'dan Constantinus'a kadar geçen dönemde yapılmış, kazınmış ve sık sık yeniden kullanılmıştır. Bu iki imparator, Küçük Asya'da nadiren seyahat etmesine rağmen bu yolla aşırı şekilde temsil edilmişlerdir. Bölgede bulunan Geç Antik Dönem miltaşları hakkında yapılan çalışmaya göre, bir yöneticinin gelişiyle miltaşlarının artması arasında yakın bir ilişki mevcuttu. Bu miltaşları, yalnızca yeni bir imparatorun onuruna yerel topluluklar tarafından dikilen hanedanlığına ait eserlerdi. Bu sebepten pratik amacını kaybederek 6. yüzyılın başında tamamıyla Küçük Asya'dan kayboldular.

Anahtar Sözcükler: miltaşları; Anadolu boyunca anayol; Tetrarkhi; Constantinus; Theodosius Hanedanlığı; Geç Antik Dönem.

Tha Late Milestones of Asia Minor

Abstract

The impressive corpus of milestones recently edited by the late David Henry French and set online by the British Institute at Ankara provides an extensive and in-depth knowledge of more than 1200 stones erected alongside the Roman roads of Asia Minor from the late Republic to the Later Empire. Even if milestones were the commonest epigraphic display of power in the Roman world, modern activity tends to obliterate them, and consequently it was more than urgent to collect the remains before they vanish. This paper studies the unbalanced geographical and chronological distribution of milestones. They seem to be more or less scattered throughout Asia Minor, but they are mainly concentrated in the north-western part of the Anatolian plateau. Besides most of them were built, inscribed or frequently reused in Late Antiquity, especially between the late third century and the early fourth century, that is from Diocletian to Constantine, both emperors overrepresented in this medium although they rarely journeyed in Asia Minor. According to the study of late milestones found in the region, it did exist a close relation between the advent of a ruler and the multiplication of milestones, which had merely become dynastic monuments erected by local communities in honour of a new emperor. For this reason, they lost any practical purpose and completely disappeared from Asia Minor at the beginning of the sixth century.

Keywords: milestones; Transanatolian highway; Tetrarchy; Constantine; Theodosian dynasty; Late Antiquity.

Germanen in frühbyzantinischen Inschriften: Vom Namen der Person zur Identität der Gruppe

Ulrich HUTTNER*

1. Zur Frage nach einer germanischen Identität

Identitäten gewinnen vor allem dann Konturen, wenn sie in der Fremde sind, also dort, wo sie eigentlich nicht hingehören. Dabei geht es um die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Kollektiv,¹ das nicht identisch ist mit der Gesellschaft, in der man lebt. Wenn Germanen unter Griechen leben, stellt sich die Frage, wie und wodurch sich diese Germanen von den Griechen unterscheiden. Was man unter Germanen zu verstehen hat, mag aus der antiken Perspektive der Römer halbwegs deutlich gewesen sein, da sie den Begriff zur Kennzeichnung fremder Volksgruppen aus dem Norden selbst prägten. Die Wissenschaft sieht jedoch weit weniger klar, so daß der Germanenbegriff sukzessive neu gefaßt werden muß, um einer logischen Argumentation dienlich zu sein.²

Eine wichtige Quellengattung, um Identitäten auf die Spur zu kommen, sind Inschriften, und zwar deswegen, weil sie meist Texte offerieren, die einer Selbstwahrnehmung entspringen und zugleich mit der Fremdwahrnehmung der Passanten konfrontiert werden.³ Tauchen darin Personennamen germanischer Provenienz auf, darf man zwar nicht automatisch auf eine ethnische Zugehörigkeit schließen.⁴ Dennoch trägt die Namengebung zu einer deutlichen Abgrenzung der betreffenden Personen bei, und zwar um so mehr, als es unter den griechischen – oder konkreter: frühbyzantinischen – Inschriften nur wenige gibt, die germanische Personennamen dokumentieren. Eine Zahl mag die Relation veranschaulichen: Denis Feissel publizierte 2006 eine Übersicht über Neufunde und Publikationen, die im Laufe von 18 Jahren der Wissenschaft präsentiert worden waren; insgesamt umfaßte sie über 1200 Einträge. Nur neun von diesen Einträgen bieten Aufschlüsse zur germanischen Onomastik.⁵

2. Die Inschriften

In der Folge wird eine Spurensuche in Kleinasien und Konstantinopel einschlägige epigraphische Belege daraufhin untersuchen, ob sich germanische Identitäten auch jenseits der Personennamen fassen lassen und inwieweit Ab- und Ausgrenzungen durch Assimilationsmechanismen kaschiert

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¹ Zum Zusammenhang zwischen Identität und Kollektiv vgl. Stachel 2005, S. 397.

² Zur Problematik des Germanenbegriffs vgl. Bleckmann 2009, S. 11-47.

³ Zum Konflikt zwischen Fremd- und Selbsttitulierung in der Identitätsdiskussion vgl. Stachel 2005, S. 403f. u. S. 422f.

⁴ Vgl. etwa die Vorbehalte von Amory 1994, S. 3 und Haubrichs 2002, S. 267f. Zur problematischen Korrelation zwischen Namengebung und ethnisch-kultureller Zugehörigkeit auch Dondin-Payre 2011, S. 25-36. Johannes Nollé ist mehrmals auf die Problematik zurückgekommen: vgl. etwa Nollé – Nollé 1996, S. 199-201 (zum Namen Gamerses); Nollé 1997, S. 273f. (zur Einordnung des „dakischen“ Namens Itaxa).

⁵ Vgl. Feissel 2006, S. 414: Index s.v. „germaniques (noms)“.

werden.⁶

a) Aitherichos, Erzbischof von Smyrna

Südlich von Smyrna war die Grabinschrift eines Erzbischofs der Stadt in einer Moschee vermauert, ehe sie ins Archäologische Museum von Leiden gebracht wurde. Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

„Herr, gedenke deines Dieners Aitherichos, unseres Erzbischofs.“⁷

Dieser Aitherichos, von dem offensichtlich das Gerücht ging, er sei ein Eunuche,⁸ nahm an den Konzilien von Ephesos und Chalkedon in den Jahren 449 und 451 teil.⁹ Einige seiner Diskussionsbeiträge sind in den Akten notiert.¹⁰ Daß er den Titel eines Erzbischofs beanspruchte, signalisiert ein ausgeprägtes Machtbewußtsein und zeigt ihn in Konkurrenz zum Metropoliten der Provinz Asia, der seinen Sitz südlich in Ephesos hatte.¹¹ Folgt man der Autorität Alexander Demandts (und anderer), so dürfte der Bischof von Smyrna während der Konzilssitzungen wegen seiner Herkunft auf Vorbehalte gestoßen sein - als Germane unter lauter Griechen.¹² Zwei Indizien scheinen eine germanische Herkunft des Bischofs zu bestätigen: Zum einen sorgte die römische Gesetzgebung dafür, daß Eunuchen eigentlich von jenseits der Reichsgrenzen kommen mußten. Dabei bestätigen allerdings Ausnahmen diese Regel.¹³ Das zweite Indiz ist sein Name: Selbstverständlich ist es verführerisch, im Namen des Bischofs den bei den Germanen gängigen Bestandteil „-rich“ zu erkennen, wie

⁶ Methodisch einen ähnlichen Weg geht Terrien 2007, die sich v.a. auf das spätantike Mittelrheingebiet konzentriert. - Die Grabinschrift des Gepidenkönigs Thrasarich aus Konstantinopel (SEG 59 nr. 728, D. Feissel, BE 2009 nr. 608) soll hier wegen ihrer Komplexität nicht diskutiert werden. - Die Ergänzung des Namens Valmeriakos in SEG 15 nr. 818 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene) durch Laniado 1999 scheint mir zu wenig abgesichert. - Der Untersuchungsradius ließe sich generell ausdehnen. Vgl. etwa die griechische Grabinschrift für Anthousa, die Tochter des Comes Gibastes in Axiopolis (Provinz Scythia Minor): Popescu 1976, S. 206-208 nr. 195 (AE 1976 nr. 630); dazu der Kommentar von Wiewiorowski 2008, S. 60-63.

⁷ Κ(ύρι)ε, μνησθήτῃ τοῦ δούλου σου Αἰθερίχου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶ(ν).

Hier seien nur einige wichtige Editionen genannt: Grégoire 1922, S. 19 nr. 66; Pleket 1958, S. 43 nr. 47 (mit Photo Taf. IX); Robert 1960, S. 244-246 (ausführliche Rezension zu Pleket); IvSmyrna, nr. 559.

⁸ Der einzige Beleg findet sich an einer nicht ganz eindeutigen Textstelle des *Heracleides* aus der Feder des Nestorios. Der Dialog *Heracleides* liegt nur in einer syrischen Übersetzung vor. Die einschlägige Passage beinhaltet eine Polemik gegen Aitherichos (im syrischen Text als Atticus bezeichnet), der als Dummkopf vorgestellt wird und anfänglich ein Sklave gewesen sei. Vgl. Driver – Hodgson 1925, S. 356 mit Anm. 1.

⁹ Grundlegend zu den biographischen Informationen Destephen 2008, S. 84-88.

¹⁰ ACO I 308-327 = ed. Schwartz 2,1,1, p.118-119. Zu weiteren Erwähnungen in den Konzilsakten vgl. ed. Schwartz 2,6, p.9 (Index, s.v. Αἰθέριχος).

¹¹ Vgl. Feissel 1989, S. 810f.; Destephen 2008, S. 87; Huttner 2014, S. 224.

¹² Demandt 2007, S. 382 Anm. 29. Siebigs 2010, S. 359 Anm. 324 vermutet gotische Herkunft. Vgl. schon Schwartz 1934, S. 212 Anm. 1 über den Patriarchen Fravitta: „Der Name verrät, daß er gotischer Herkunft war, wie Fritila, der Metropolit von Heraklea in der Provinz Europa zur Zeit des ersten ephesischen Konzils ..., und Aitherich von Smyrna, der auf der ἐνδημοῦσα von Konstantinopel 448 und den Reichskonzilien von Ephesus und Chalkedon 451 eine nicht besonders rühmliche Rolle spielte.“ Destephen 2008, S. 85 über die Kastration des Aitherichos: „Son origine, probablement germanique d'après son nom, explique sa castration car le droit romain interdit cette pratique sur les sujets de l'Empire.“

¹³ Das konstantinische Gesetz CJ 4,42,1 bestraft denjenigen mit dem Tod, der *in orbe Romano* einen Sklaven zum Eunuchen macht. Dazu Scholten 1995, S. 28-30 (auch zu den Ausnahmen).

man ihn in Hunderten von Anthroponymen registriert: Es sei an Alarich erinnert, um nur ein prominentes Beispiel zu nennen.¹⁴ Allerdings läßt sich der Namensbestandteil -ριχος ohne weiteres auch mit den Mechanismen der griechischen Onomastik vereinbaren, wie etwa der gängige Namen Σωτήριχος belegt.¹⁵ Vor diesem Hintergrund läge es nahe, daß der Bischof von Smyrna die Klarheit des griechischen Himmels, des αἰθήρ, in seinem Namen trug.¹⁶ Eine griechische Provenienz des Namens läßt sich jedenfalls nicht ausschließen. Dennoch scheint die Frage berechtigt, ob nicht schon Zeitgenossen, eben wegen der Vielzahl germanischer „-rich“-Namen, zu demselben Schluß kamen wie Alexander Demandt und den Bischof von Smyrna in eine Ecke stellten, in die er womöglich nicht gehörte. Hier deutet sich eine Frage an, deren Relevanz bei der Untersuchung der folgenden Inschriften noch deutlichere Konturen gewinnen wird: nämlich wie eindeutig und wie prägnant die vom Personennamen vermittelte Identität eigentlich ist.

b) Ourfilas, ein Offizier in Pessinous

Mit einem eindeutig germanischen Namen konfrontiert ein Neufund aus Pessinous, Standort eines alten Heiligtums der phrygischen Muttergottheit und seit Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit ausgestattet mit allen Komponenten einer griechischen Stadt.¹⁷ Pessinous liegt etwa 150 km südwestlich des heutigen Ankara. Im Jahr 2010 wurde ein bei Raubgrabungen zu Tage gekommener wuchtiger Marmorgrabstein publiziert, dessen Inschriftenfeld von einem schlichten Kranz gerahmt wird und folgenden Text präsentiert:

„Denkmal im Besitz des Ourfilas, des Primicerius. (Amen).“¹⁸

Ein Kreuz schließt den Text ab und kennzeichnet das Grab als christlich. Der Titel des „Primicerius“ weist auf den Status des Verstorbenen hin und bestätigt die Datierung der Inschrift in die Spätantike. Allerdings ist dieser Titel, der in Pessinous auch auf einem weiteren Grabstein belegt ist,¹⁹ in unterschiedlichen Ressorts zuhause: Vor allem kennzeichnet er einen hohen Offiziersrang in der Armee,²⁰ aber auch Chefposten in diversen *officia* sowie ab dem 5. Jhdt. auch Posten in der Kirchenverwaltung.²¹ Zwar läßt die Inschrift des Ourfilas keine eindeutige Spezifizierung seines Sachgebietes zu. Da aber seit dem Ende des 3. Jhdts. bekanntlich immer mehr Germanen in die Offiziersränge

¹⁴ Vgl. etwa auch Malarich (Amm. 15,5,6), Agenarich (Amm. 16,12,25). - Der Anglist John Insley bestätigt mir mündlich, daß „Aitherich“ in jedem Fall als germanischer Name gedeutet werden kann.

¹⁵ Vgl. die Belege für auf -ριχος endende Namen bei Latte 1913, der allerdings auf den dorischen Ursprung solcher Namen verweist, und Locker 1934, S. 57f., der ab der Zeit um 400 v. Chr. einen Schwerpunkt solcher Namen in Boiotien feststellt. Vgl. auch Zucker 1952, S. 25, Robert 1960, S. 238f. und Robert 1963, S. 343 (zu weiblichen Namen auf -ριχα). G. Petzl verweist in IvSmyrna, nr. 559 auf den Beitrag von Latte.

¹⁶ Seit dem 4. Jhdt. n. Chr. ist der ebenfalls von αἰθήρ abgeleitete Name Aetherius im lateinischen Westen belegt. Vgl. Schmitz 1995, S. 710.

¹⁷ Vgl. Claerhout – Devreker 2008, S. 34-39.

¹⁸ Devreker – Laes – Strubbe 2010, S. 69f. nr. 7: [Μνη]μα / διαφέρον / Οὐρφίλα πριμικηρί/ου + Ἀμήν. Das abschließende „Amen“ ist nicht deutlich zu erkennen und könnte ein späterer Zusatz sein. Avram 2012, S. 273 weist darauf hin, daß er von dem abschließenden „Amen“ keine Spur auf dem Stein erkannt habe.

¹⁹ Devreker – Laes – Strubbe 2010, S. 68f. nr. 6.

²⁰ Le Bohec 2010, S. 102-105.

²¹ Vgl. Hauton 1927, S. 119; Wallner 2011, S. 93f. Zu den *primicerii* in den Büros am Kaiserhof vgl. Delmaire 1995, S. 197 (Index). Vgl. auch LBG, s.v. πριμ(μ)ικήριος (mit späteren Belegen).

aufstiegen,²² liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß es sich bei Ourfilas um einen hochrangigen Militär handelt. Der Name gibt die vor allem in der älteren Forschung als „vulgärgriechisch“ bezeichnete Version von Wulfila wieder.²³ Daß allerdings der Buchstabe Λ durch ein P ersetzt wird, läßt sich in den griechischen Inschriften Kleinasiens und gerade in der Spätantike öfter belegen.²⁴

Da unbekannt ist, wer den Inschriftentext für den *primicerius* fertigte, bleiben Überlegungen über eine etwaige Autorisierung durch germanischsprachige Personen Spekulation. Die griechische Version Ourfilas für Wulfila ist – abgesehen von der handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Kirchengeschichte des Philostorgios²⁵ – auch auf einem frühbyzantinischen Bronzestempel belegt: Ob dieser Stempel, der 1875 auf Korfu erworben wurde, tatsächlich dem Gotenmissionar Wulfila zuzuordnen ist, wie immer wieder angenommen wurde,²⁶ sei dahingestellt.²⁷ Egal in welcher Version, Ourfilas oder Wulfila, auf der Basis der jetzigen Kenntnis ist der Name nur selten – und zwar abgesehen vom Gotenbischof erst im 5. und 6. Jhdt. – bezeugt.²⁸ Auch deswegen wird man nicht ausschließen, daß der Gotenbischof, mit dem sich die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung seit dem 5. Jhdt. Auseinandersetzt, zum Namenspatron avancierte.²⁹ Dieser Bezug auf kirchliche Prominenz bleibt letztlich Spekulation, so daß sich die Identität des in Pessinus bestatteten Ourfilas im wesentlichen auf fünf Komponenten reduziert:³⁰ den Namen, der sich mit germanischer Provenienz assoziieren läßt; den Amtstitel, der Ourfilas in die auf der Basis von Leistung und Ehrung aufbauende römische Administrationshierarchie einordnet; die griechische Sprache, die den östlichen Horizont des Imperium kennzeichnet; die Zugehörigkeit zum christlichen Bekenntnis, die mittlerweile weithin zum Standard

²² Vgl. Jones 1964, S. 619-623; Southern – Dixon 1996, S. 50-52; Demandt 2007, S. 320f.; Bleckmann 2009, S. 200-209, der in Konstantin einen wichtigen Impulsgeber erkennt.

²³ Vgl. Schönfeld 1911, S. 272; Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 89; auch Wolfram 2001, S. 402f. Anm. 15. Zur gotischen Namensform „Wulfila“ vgl. Ebbinghaus 1991, S. 236f. Schäferdiek 1990, S. 275 hält Οὐρφίλας für eine „sekundäre Form der griechischen Namenüberlieferung“. Vgl. auch Faber 2014, S. 76.

²⁴ Brixhe 1987, S. 44: „Dès l'époque impériale, en Anatolie comme du reste dans les autres régions hellénophones, le passage de [l] à [r] s'observe assez fréquemment devant consonne, plus particulièrement devant bil-abiale.“ Vgl. auch schon Henning 1908, S. 149; ferner Ebbinghaus 1991, S. 236; Devreker – Laes – Strubbe 2010, S. 70. Relativ verbreitet ist in griechischen Inschriften die Version ἀδερφός für ἀδελφός (keineswegs nur in Kleinasien): Z.B. Drew-Bear 2006, S. 436 u. S. 441 (Photo); TAM V2 nr. 1085; IG II/III² 5, nr. 134928 (Athen). Vgl. auch Robert 1963, S. 109 (zum Ortsnamen Balbura).

²⁵ Philost. h.e. 2,5.

²⁶ Vgl. Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 89; auch noch Wolfram 2013, S. 28 („possibly once belonging to Wulfila“). Nicht ganz einleuchtend erscheint mir die Auflösung des Monogramms, das der Namenszug umschließt, zu ἐπισκόπου. So nach Gardthausen 1924, S. 118 („Meine Lesung kann wohl als sicher angesehen werden.“) Fiebiger 1939, S. 23 nr. 31.

²⁷ Die Buchstabenformen, vor allem das gerundete Rho, könnten eine Datierung nach dem 4. Jhdt. nahelegen. Schäferdiek 2007, S. 318 stuft dagegen das Siegel als Fälschung ein. Indes dürfte gerade die sekundäre bzw. vom Standard abweichende Namensform für die Echtheit des Siegels sprechen.

²⁸ Avram 2012, S. 273 nennt abgesehen vom Gotenbischof drei Personen des 5. und 6. Jhdts. Besonders prominent ist ein Offizier (*magister equitum*) des Honorius, von dem Olympiodoros frg. 16 (Müller) und Soz. h.e. 9,14 berichten (Οὐρφίλας).

²⁹ So die Schlußfolgerung von Avram 2012, S. 274. Zahlreiche Ansätze zu einer Wirkungsgeschichte Wulfilas bei Faber 2014, S. 76-127.

³⁰ Vgl. zur Relevanz multipler Identitäten im Imperium Romanum Mattingly 2014, p. XXVII.

zählte; und schließlich den Ort der Grabstätte, Pessinus, ab dem 5. Jhdt. Residenz der neuen Provinz Galatia Salutaris, als sich dort – wie in anderen Provinzhauptstädten auch – im Umkreis der Statthalter zahlreiche Profilierungsmöglichkeiten boten.³¹ Mehr Facetten lassen sich in einer lapidaren Grabinschrift kaum zusammendrängen.

c) Die Familie eines germanischen Unteroffiziers in Dorylaion

Gut 100 km nordwestlich von Pessinus liegt Dorylaion. Wer auf der antiken Direktverbindung die Reise unternahm, überschritt die Grenze zwischen den Provinzen Galatia Salutaris und Phrygia Salutaris. Der Statthaltersitz von Phrygia Salutaris, Synnada, lag weiter im Süden.³² Im Unterschied zu den anderen hier behandelten Zeugnissen handelt es sich nicht um eine Grabinschrift, sondern um eine Bauinschrift, die dokumentiert, daß ein Germane in die monumentale Ausgestaltung der griechischen Stadt investierte. Der Text steht auf einem Säulenkapitell, das im Bereich einer offensichtlich frühchristlichen Nekropole gefunden wurde. Ein Kreuz zu Beginn des Textes, dessen Ende verloren ist, signalisiert den religiösen Kontext:

„Auxiagathon mit dem Beinamen Arintheos, Soldat im Rang eines Biarchos, (errichtete) zusammen mit seiner Gemahlin Alexa und seinen Kindern Severos und Kometas das Gebetshaus ...“³³

Welche architektonische Struktur sich hinter dem „Gebetshaus“ (εὐκτήριος οἶκος) verbirgt, läßt sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit sagen, da der archäologische Kontext unklar ist. Immerhin läßt sich nahe dem Fundort ein Kirchenbau nachweisen, und überdies zeigen frühchristliche Bauinschriften aus anderen Regionen, daß der Terminus nicht selten monumentale Kirchen kennzeichnet.³⁴ Egal wieviel Auxiagathon der Bau kostete, er nutzte die Gelegenheit, sich und seine Familie der städtischen Öffentlichkeit als finanzstarke Wohltäter und Förderer des christlichen Gemeindelebens zu präsentieren. Letztlich bewegt er sich mit diesem Gebaren in den Bahnen des Euergetismus der griechischen Poliskultur, der auf der Gegenseitigkeit von kommunaler Leistung und kommunaler Ehrung beruht. Daß dabei nicht nur das Familienoberhaupt in den Focus tritt, sondern auch die Familienmitglieder aufgezählt werden, kommt in der Spätantike nicht selten vor.³⁵ Auxiagathon verweist stolz auf seinen militärischen Status: Daß sich Soldaten beim Kirchenbau engagierten, ist nur sporadisch belegt, auch wenn man die Prägung christlicher Milieus durch das Militär gerade in Anatolien

³¹ Zur Entstehung der Provinz Galatia Salutaris vgl. Mitchell 1993, Bd. II, S. 160 (vgl. auch S. 127 zur Rolle von Pessinus als Statthaltersitz).

³² Zu den administrativen Strukturen vgl. Belke – Mersich 1990, S. 78f.; Huttner 2013, S. 276f.; Huttner 2017, S. 143.

³³ Frei 1983, S. 59 (Fundort) u. S. 62 nr. 5 (mit Photo); dazu SEG 34 nr. 1292; Feissel 2006, S. 119 nr. 372: + Αὐξιαγάθων ὁ καὶ Ἀρίν/θεος στρατιώτης βίάρχος / σὺν τῇ γαμετῇ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ / κὲ τῶν πεδίων αὐτῶν / Σευ-
ήρου καὶ Κομητᾶ τὸν / εὐκτήριον οἶκον ΗΠ / [---]PAN[---].

³⁴ Vgl. etwa IvMilet 1007 (die Michaelskirche als εὐκτήριον). Zu εὐκτήριος οἶκος vgl. etwa IvEphesos 2936; IG II/III² 5 nr. 13255; auch Meimaris 1986, S. 146 nr. 752.

³⁵ Vgl. die von Huttner 2014 diskutierte Kirchenbauinschrift aus Hierapolis. In zahlreichen Offerenteninschriften auf Mosaikfußböden des nördlichen Adriabogens findet sich der Zusatz *cum suis*. Dieser kollektive Akzent könnte mit Mechanismen des Gebetgedenkens zu tun haben, die Zettler 2001, S. 151-164 herausarbeitet. Vgl. auch die im Gebetsduktus (εὐχή ...) gehaltenen Mosaikinschriften aus einem Kirchenbau in Lydien: Scheibelreiter 2006, S. 69-72 nr. 32.

nicht unterschätzen sollte.³⁶ Der militärische Rang eines *biarchos* ordnet den großzügigen Stifter denjenigen Chargen zu, die sich mit modernen Unteroffiziersdienstgraden vergleichen lassen.³⁷

Auxiagathon legte Wert darauf, mit einem Doppelnamen verewigt zu werden, er trägt also – in gängiger onomastischer Terminologie – zu seinem *nomen* zusätzlich ein *agnomen* oder *supernomen*.³⁸ „Auxiagathon, der auch Arintheos (heißt).“ Die Kommilitonen in der Truppe werden den Biarchos bei seinem griechischen Namen gerufen haben, der Zusatznamen mag im engeren Familienkreis Verwendung gefunden haben. In jedem Fall zelebrierte der Träger seine Herkunft aus der Fremde. So entstand eine exquisite Kombination, bestehend aus einem durchaus seltenen griechischen Rufnamen und einem germanischen Zusatz,³⁹ der die Person aus dem kulturellen Milieu von Dorylaion heraushob. Während des 4. Jhdts. war ein erster germanischer Repräsentant namens Arintheus weit in der römischen Militärhierarchie zum Posten des Heermeisters aufgestiegen. Seine militärischen Aktivitäten führten ihn auch nach Kleinasien:⁴⁰ Basileios von Caesarea richtete nach dessen Tod einen Kondolenzbrief an die Gattin.⁴¹

Was die Gemahlin des Auxiagathon Arintheus angeht, so könnte es sich um eine Einheimische handeln: Alexa ist zwar kein häufiger, aber in jedem Fall ein gutgriechischer Name.⁴² Die Namen der Söhne, Severus und Kometas, verraten nichts mehr von germanischer Herkunft: Severus ist ursprünglich ein lateinisches *cognomen*, das während der Kaiserzeit oft von Griechen als Namen genutzt wurde,⁴³ während sich „Kometas“ offensichtlich erst in der Spätantike nachweisen und vermutlich mit dem lateinischen *comes*-Titel assoziieren läßt.⁴⁴ Die Namen dieser Familie spiegeln somit zum einen die Bereitschaft des germanischen Aufstiegers wider, sich in die Gesellschaft einzufügen, die ihm die Karriere möglich gemacht hatte, zum anderen aber ein Verblässen germanischer Identitäten über die Generationen hinweg. Allerdings lassen sich diese Prozesse nicht weiter verifizieren, weil nichts über die Enkel des germanischen Großvaters bekannt ist.⁴⁵ Immerhin spricht viel

³⁶ Vgl. zu den Mosaikinschriften in Anemurion (Russell 1987, S. 82-88 nr. 21-23) Huttner 2017, S. 164.

³⁷ Vgl. Le Bohec 2010, S. 102-106.

³⁸ Zur Terminologie vgl. Solin 2002, S. 14; Riel 2010, S. 548. Auch Chaniotis 2013, S. 207f.

³⁹ Der Name Auxiagathon scheint bislang sonst nicht belegt zu sein (kein Beleg in LGPN). Zur germanischen Provenienz des Namens Arintheus vgl. Schönfeld 1911, S. 26; dazu die Belege bei Reichert 1987, S. 65-68.

⁴⁰ Z.B. Philost. h.e. 8,8,4 (Nikaia).

⁴¹ Basil. ep. 269: Es ist bemerkenswert, daß in dem keinswegs knapp gehaltenen Brieftext, die germanische Herkunft des Arintheus keine Rolle spielt. Weiterführend zur Person PLRE I (1971), S. 102f.; von Haehling 1978, S. 258f. - Zu einem Offizier gleichen Namens in der Armee des Theodosius II. vgl. Steinacher 2016, S. 141.

⁴² Gängig ist der Männernamen Alexas (etliche Belege z.B. in LGPN V A/B). Auf Alexa (Ἀλεξα) verweist LGPN III A, S. 23 (Kerkyra).

⁴³ Zu lateinischen *cognomina* in Kleinasien Robert 1963, S. 41-44; auch S. 194-196; S. 220-223; S. 246. Vgl. auch Rizakis 1996, S. 21-23.

⁴⁴ Belege für Kometas / Komitas in Inschriften: LGPN IV, S. 197; V B, S. 241; ferner Kiourtzian 2000, S. 168 nr. 98; Feissel 2006, S. 423 (Index). - Oder leitet sich der Name von κομήτης („der Langhaarige“) ab? Vgl. frühe Belege in LGPN I, S. 269. - Zur Problematik der Deutung Solin 2004, S. 168 (Zusammenhang mit dem Beamtentitel); dazu Solin 2005, S. 163; Solin 2009, S. 165.

⁴⁵ Robert 1963, S. 512f. macht darauf aufmerksam, daß sich kulturelle Tendenzen nicht ohne weiteres an

dafür, daß die Familie des Auxiagathon Arintheus mit ihrem großzügigen Engagement für den Kirchenbau endgültig in der kommunalen Gesellschaft von Dorylaion angekommen ist.

d) Germanische Soldaten in Konstantinopel

Eine bemerkenswerte Konzentration germanischer Personennamen findet sich auf frühbyzantinischen Grabsteinen aus Konstantinopel.⁴⁶ Sechs dieser Grabsteine verzeichnet schon die alte Standardsammlung von Inschriften zur Geschichte der Ostgermanen, die 1917 von den Dresdner Bibliothekaren Otto Fiebiger und Ludwig Schmidt publiziert wurde.⁴⁷ Vier weitere Texte sind seither hinzugekommen.⁴⁸ Eine der Inschriften blieb bislang fast unbemerkt: Sie wurde an der Stadtmauer von Konstantinopel entdeckt und kam in den 60er Jahren des 19. Jhdts. nach Nürnberg, wo sie heute im Germanischen Nationalmuseum ausgestellt ist.⁴⁹ Nur der obere Teil des Marmorkreuzes, auf dem die Inschrift angebracht war, hat sich erhalten.⁵⁰ Der Beginn des Epitaphs entspricht dem Duktus spätantiker christlicher Inschriften:

„Hier liegt begraben der Diener des Gottes, Arfrid ...“⁵¹

Die germanische Provenienz des Namens ist unstrittig: Im altdeutschen Namenbuch von Ernst Förstemann ist er mit frühesten Belegen aus dem 8. Jhd. verzeichnet.⁵² Ins 5. Jhd. gehört das Grab des Arifrid in der Hauptkirche von Thuburba Maius, in dem sich noch Beigaben fanden.⁵³ Etwas später dürfte das Arfrid-Epitaph aus Konstantinopel einzuordnen sein, zumal die kreuzförmigen Grabsteine offensichtlich erst im 6. Jhd. aufkommen.⁵⁴ Das eingravierte Kreuz am Beginn des Textes, die Buchstabenformen der Inschrift, etwa die Ligatur aus Omikron und Ypsilon, sowie die Abkürzung des Nomen sacrum Θεός entsprechen den epigraphischen Usancen, die sich etwa seit dem 5. Jhd. im griechischen Osten beobachten lassen.⁵⁵ Die Titulierung als Gottesdiener läßt nicht darauf schließen, daß Arfrid beim Klerus oder einer monastischen Gemeinschaft einzuordnen ist.

den Namen von nur zwei Generationen ablesen lassen (am Beispiel von kappadokischen und griechischen Namen). Insbesondere sei zu berücksichtigen, daß für die nachfolgende Generation oft die Namen der Großvätergeneration genutzt wurden.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Feissel 1995, S. 371f. Zum Grabstein des Gepidenkönigs Thrasarich vgl. o. Anm. 6.

⁴⁷ Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 128-133 nr. 273-278.

⁴⁸ Schneider 1937; dazu Meyer-Plath – Schneider 1943, S. 135 nr. 41a; Mango – Ševčenko 1978, S. 6 nr. 6 u. S. 20f. nr. 25 (vgl. auch den Föderatengrabstein S. 7 nr. 7, wo allerdings der Personennamen verloren ist). Zur vierten Inschrift vgl. das Folgende.

⁴⁹ Zur Herkunft der Inschrift aus der Stadtmauer von Konstantinopel vgl. Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit 1869, Sp. 352 nr. 119; auch von Bezold 1895, S. 80.

⁵⁰ Vgl. zur Form Kalkan – Şahin 1995, S. 137f.

⁵¹ Springer 2014, S. 96 (mit Photo) u. S. 215 Kat. 202: + ἐνθάδε κατάκτε ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θε(εο)ῦ Ἀρφριδ Vgl. zu dem Formular z.B. Wallner 2011, S. 63; Walser 2013, S. 563 u. S. 567.

⁵² Förstemann 1900, Sp. 136. Vgl. Reichert 1987, S. 34: ALCFRIP.

⁵³ Vgl. zu AE 1917/18 nr. 25 Francovich Onesti 2002, S. 148; Reichert 2009, S. 59 (mit Namensanalyse); Steinacher 2016, S. 273.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Kalkan – Şahin 1995, S. 137f. (6.-8. Jhd.); Zuckerman 1998, S. 380.

⁵⁵ Zu den Kreuzen in Inschriften vgl. Wallner 2011, S. 62. Zur Abkürzung von *nomina sacra* in den Inschriften vgl. Huttner 2014, S. 216.

Vielmehr handelt es sich um eine gerade in Inschriften vielfach bezeugte Demutsformel.⁵⁶

Der kulturelle und soziale Kontext, in den die Bestattung des Arfrid einzuordnen ist, gewinnt erst vor dem Hintergrund der anderen frühbyzantinischen Germanengrabsteine aus Konstantinopel deutlichere Konturen. Einige von ihnen sollen hier näher besprochen werden. Zu einer Gruppe von Inschriften, deren Texte exakte Sterbedaten bieten, zählt das Epitaph des Sephnas, das ebenfalls im Bereich der Landmauer des Theodosius II. gefunden wurde:

„Hier liegt begraben Sephnas, seligen Angedenkens, der treue *foederatus* in kaiserlichen Diensten. Er starb im Monat November, am 24. Tag, am 2. (Wochen-) Tag, im 2. Jahr der Indiktion.“⁵⁷

Die Kombination aus Tagesdaten und Indiktionsangabe erlaubt eine deutliche Eingrenzung der Datierung. Letztlich spricht einiges dafür, die Inschrift dem 24. November des Jahres 598 zuzuweisen, wenngleich eine spätere Einordnung nicht auszuschließen ist.⁵⁸ Der Name Sephnas läßt sich nicht ganz eindeutig klassifizieren, aber einige Indizien sprechen für eine germanische Provenienz.⁵⁹ Den Status des Mannes umschreibt die Kennzeichnung als δεσποτικός πιστός φοιδεράτος. Die Geschichte der *foederati*, denen sich Sephnas zurechnete, nachzuzeichnen, ist schwierig, zumal die rechtliche Konnotation des *foedus*-Begriffes in der Stellung der als *foederati* gekennzeichneten Reitereinheiten des oströmischen Kaisers diffus bleibt. Soviel steht indessen fest, daß sich die *foederati* während des 6. Jhs. vorwiegend aus germanischen Soldaten zusammensetzten und zunächst vor allem in den Grenzregionen des Balkan stationiert waren, dann aber gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts in den Osten verlagert wurden.⁶⁰ Als *foederatus* trägt Sephnas gängige Loyalitätstitel (δεσποτικός πιστός), die seine Treue dem Kaiser gegenüber zum Ausdruck bringen.⁶¹ Möglicherweise wird dadurch eine Kaisernähe suggeriert, die gar nicht den reellen Kommandostrukturen entsprach, und zugleich die Distanz zu den kaiserlichen Gardesoldaten, also den *excubatores* und den *scholarii*, vermindert, deren Präsenz in Konstantinopel vorauszusetzen ist.⁶² Sollte die genannte Datierung stimmen, so regierte damals Maurikios, der den Titel eines *comes foederatorum* getragen hatte, ehe er im Jahr 582 Tiberius II. in der Herrschaft ablöste.⁶³

⁵⁶ Vgl. Grosso Gondi 1968, S. 159-162; Haensch 2015, S. 319-324.

⁵⁷ Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 129 nr. 274; Meyer-Plath – Schneider 1943, S. 143 nr. 74 (mit Verweisen auf ältere Editionen); Scharf 2001, S. 93f. nr. 2: Ἐνθάδε κατὰ(κεῖται) ὁ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Σέφνας δεσποτικός πιστός φοιδεράτος. Ἐτελεύτισεν δ' μην(ὶ) Νοεμβρίῳ κδ', ἡμέρᾳ β', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'.

⁵⁸ Nach Scharf 2001, S. 93, der auch die Möglichkeit des Jahres 643 erwähnt.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 129; Reichert 1987, S. 594. Unter den gotischen Namen bei Köbler 1989, S. 699.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Scharf 2001, S. 69-104. Dazu Laniado 2015, S. 35-127.

⁶¹ Vgl. Scharf 2001, S. 93-95; dazu Feissel 2006, S. 63 nr. 195. Zu δεσποτικός vgl. auch Mango – Ševčenko 1978, S. 7 („devoted to his Overlord“). Aus der Grabinschrift des Anilas in Konstantinopel in Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 132 nr. 278 (mit Korrekturen in Fiebiger 1939, S. 40-42 nr. 67) geht hervor, daß der δεσποτία-Begriff auch verwendet wurde, um Gefolgschaftsverhältnisse unterhalb der kaiserlichen Spitze zu kennzeichnen (... ὑπὸ δεσποτίαν βαδουαρ[ίου ...]). Vgl. u. Anm. 79.

⁶² Zu den Gardesoldaten Pfeilschifter 2013, S. 206f. (zur Regierung Iustinians) u. S. 239-251. Zu den *scholarii* auch Jones 1964, S. 613f. und Dagron 1984, S. 113-115 (mit Schwerpunkt auf dem 4./5. Jhdt.). Vgl. u. bei Anm. 85.

⁶³ Vgl. Scharf 2001, S. 80 u. S. 132.

Sephnas ist nicht der einzige *foederatus*, der in den Inschriften Konstantinopels dokumentiert ist: Estotzas, Kandik (dessen Gattin Ebnogonda heißt) sowie Valdarich lauten die Namen der anderen.⁶⁴ Nicht alle diese Namen lassen sich auf germanische Wurzeln zurückführen,⁶⁵ griechische oder lateinische kommen jedenfalls nicht in Frage. Welche Rolle im Selbstbild und Selbstbewußtsein des Sephnas seine ethnische Zugehörigkeit spielte, ist schwer zu sagen. Wenig spricht dafür, daß er sich als Teil einer verschworenen germanischen Rotte sah? Denn Prokop weist schon gegen 550 darauf hin,⁶⁶ daß die als „Föderaten“ bezeichneten Kavallerieeinheiten sich früher nur aus Barbaren rekrutierten, mittlerweile aber könne jeder den Titel für sich in Anspruch nehmen.⁶⁷

Um die Botschaft der Föderatengrabsteine aus Konstantinopel noch etwas auszudifferenzieren, soll ein zweites Exemplar näher in Augenschein genommen werden. Es handelt sich um das Epitaph des Estotzas (Istotzas), das 1993 ebenfalls im Bereich der Theodosianischen Landmauer entdeckt wurde. Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

„Hier liegt begraben Estotzas, ein *foederatus*, Mann der Dodon (des Dodo). Er starb im Monat Juni, im achten Jahr der Indiktion, in einem Alter von 50 Jahren.“⁶⁸

Der Name entspricht - ungeachtet des prothetischen Vokals⁶⁹ - dem eines berühmten Rebellenführers aus den Vandalenkriegen des Prokop: Stotzas, der seinerseits unter dem Oberkommando Belisars als Angehöriger einer Föderateneinheit 533 in den Krieg gezogen war,⁷⁰ entpuppte sich als führungsstarker Befehlshaber, der mehr als ein Jahrzehnt lang in unterschiedlichen Konstellationen seine Machtansprüche gegen die Truppen Justinians verfocht.⁷¹

„Stotzas“ ist offensichtlich kein germanischer Name,⁷² eine genauere Einordnung erscheint jedoch aus Mangel an Parallelen und Analogien nicht möglich: Der Balkan käme als Herkunftsgebiet im-

⁶⁴ Vgl. Scharf 2001, S. 91-99; dazu Feissel 2006, S. 63 nr. 195.

⁶⁵ Zum Namen Estotzas vgl. u. bei Anm. 72. Die Namen Valdarich und Ebnogonda sind eindeutig germanisch. Vgl. Förstemann 1900, Sp. 693f. (-gund) u. Sp. 1511 (Waldarich). Ob ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Personennamen Kandik und dem germanischen Ortsnamen Κάνδουον (Ptolem. 2,11,28) besteht, sei dahingestellt. Hier noch der Hinweis auf Macandicus (?) in HEp 16 (2007) nr. 127 (Norba/Lusitania). Laniado 2015, S. 100 mit Anm. 324 hält den Namen Kandik nicht für germanisch. Feissel 1995, S. 372 erwägt alanische Herkunft.

⁶⁶ Zur Datierung von Prokops Kriegsgeschichte Veh 1971, S. 370f.; Cameron 1985, S. 8f.

⁶⁷ Procop. Vand. 1,11,3f.: ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο ... τὸ δὲ νῦν ἅπανι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμῃ ἐστὶ, ...

⁶⁸ Kalkan – Şahin 1995, S. 139 nr. 1 (mit Taf. 15 Abb. 1); Scharf 2001, S. 91f. nr. 1: ἐνθάδε κατάκιτ<ε> Ηστοτζας φεδερᾶτος ἀνὴρ Δόδου· τελευτᾷ μη(νὶ) Ἰουνίου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η' ἐτῶν ν'.

⁶⁹ Der vorgeschaltete Vokal (insbesondere I-Laute) bei Vokabeln, die mit στ- beginnen, ist in spätantiken Inschriften nicht selten. Allgemein zur Vokalprothese bei s + Konsonant Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994, S. 237f. Zum kleinasiatischen Griechisch Brixhe 1987, S. 115f. Vgl. zu στρατιώτης Tabbernee 1997, S. 379; auch Feissel 2006, S. 60 nr. 185.

⁷⁰ Procop. Vand. 1,11,30; dazu 1,11,6 (zu Martinus, Vorgesetzter des Stotzas).

⁷¹ Zur Karriere des Stotzas in Africa vgl. Rubin 1995, S. 38-47; auch Vössing 2010, S. 210f. Quellenverweise in PLRE III B (1992), S. 1199f. (s.v. Stotzas).

⁷² Vgl. Schönfeld 1911, S. 211; Reichert 1987, S. 626. Immerhin sei auf den hochmittelalterlichen Personennamen „Stoto“ verwiesen, der sich laut Förstemann 1900, Sp. 1365 aus einem Ortsnamen ableiten lasse.

merhin in Frage.⁷³ Den einzigen aussagekräftigen Vergleich bietet Estotzas, der Foederat in Konstantinopel. Was die Einleitungsformel und die Datierung angeht, so entspricht dessen Grabinschrift dem üblichen Duktus, den man in Konstantinopel um das 6. Jhdt. auch sonst beobachten kann.⁷⁴ Irritierend wirkt allerdings der Hinweis, Estotzas sei ein Mann, der einer Person namens Dodon (oder ähnlich) zugeordnet sei. Bei Grabinschriften von Frauen ist ein Hinweis auf den Ehemann in der Form „γυνή mit männlichem Personennamen im Genitiv“ keine Seltenheit;⁷⁵ aber ein entsprechender Zusatz auf einem Männergrabstein in der Form ἀνὴρ mit weiblichem Personennamen im Genitiv bleibt eine Ausnahme.⁷⁶ Daher ist der bisherige Vorschlag, eine Dame mit Namen Dodon oder Dodous zu identifizieren, die für ihren Ehegatten den Grabstein aufstellte,⁷⁷ zu überdenken. Ernst Förstemann verweist in seinem Lexikon auf einen seit dem 6. Jhdt. belegten germanischen Männernamen „Dodo“;⁷⁸ mit dem sich die griechische Genitivform Δοδου gut vertrüge. Die Deutung als Männernamen ergibt allerdings nur einen Sinn, wenn man die Relation der beiden Personen als ein Gefolgschaftsverhältnis deutet,⁷⁹ das sich zumindest für die Anfänge des 5. Jhdts. bei den Förderaten auch anderweitig nachweisen läßt. In einem im Codex Theodosianus überlieferten Gesetz des Honorius aus dem Jahr 406, das auf die Dringlichkeiten der Reichsverteidigung reagiert, ist auch von den Förderaten die Rede, von denen doch bekannt sei, „daß sie zusammen mit ihren Herren in den Krieg zögen“.⁸⁰ Ob sich die Bemerkungen des Tacitus zum germanischen Gefolgschafts-

⁷³ Skutsch 1900, S. 153 behandelt Στότζας / *Stutias* unter den „Berbernamen“. Leppin 2011, S. 258 bezeichnet Stotzas als Mauren. Man vergleiche hier Inschriften aus Karthago: CIL VIII 13610 (Tzozus); CIL VIII 25293 (Tzoza). Francovich Onesti 2002, S. 181f. erwägt bei diesen Namen afrikanische oder alanische Tradition. Möglicherweise stammt der Name jedoch aus dem thrakischen Raum. Dana 2014, p. LXXXV zählt -σας zu den Suffixen, die für thrakische Personennamen typisch sind, auch wenn sie nicht sehr häufig vorkommen. Zu thrakischen Namen auf -ζας vgl. Dana 2014, S. 447. Zum thrakischen Namen Oastozeis vgl. Corsten 1990, S. 262f.; zum thrakischen Namen Dorzas LGPN IV, S. 110. Eine Thrakerin namens Tataza in CIL VI 2954, dazu Detschew 1957, S. 494; Dana 2011, S. 53; Dana 2014, S. 354. Relativ oft ist der Männername Dizas / Diza belegt: Dana 2011, S. 64 u.ö. u. Dana 2014, S. 146-151. - Zum dardanischen Namen Tzitzis CIL III 1682; dazu Šašel 1977, S. 374. - Hier noch der Hinweis auf den Bruder des Vandalenkönigs Gelimer, Tzazon (z.B. Procop. Vand. 1,11,23). Dazu Francovich Onesti 2002, S. 181, die germanische, alanische und afrikanische Wurzeln in Rechnung stellt.

⁷⁴ Zu dezidiert Scharf 2001, S. 92, der die Irregularität, von der im folgenden die Rede ist, nicht beachtet.

⁷⁵ Das Suchwort γυνή in der Datenbank „Searchable Greek Inscriptions“ (Packard Humanities Institute) ergibt zahllose einschlägige Treffer.

⁷⁶ Vgl. etwa TAM II 450, eine Grabinschrift aus Patara, die ein Bürger der Stadt unter anderen für seine Tochter Pardalion und seinen Schwiegersohn Philemon setzt, und zwar mit der folgenden Formulierung: ... καὶ θυγατρὶ Παρδαλίῳ καὶ Φιλήμονι ἀνδρὶ Παρδαλίῳ ... Hier geht es also um die Einordnung des Philemon in die Familie des Grabinhabers. Vgl. auch IG II² 9752 (Maes, Gatte der Anthouse), dazu die Erklärung von Robert 1963, S. 521 Anm. 7.

⁷⁷ Dodon: Kalkan – Şahin 1995, S. 139; Scharf 2001, S. 91f. Dodous: Feissel 2006, S. 60 nr. 185.

⁷⁸ Förstemann 1900, Sp. 412f. Vgl. auch Reichert 1987, S. 238. Dazu die Belege auf merowingischen Mone-tarmünzen: Eufe – Selig 2017, S. 147 u. S. 150; Pitz – Stein 2013, S. 409.

⁷⁹ Ein vergleichbares Gefolgschaftsverhältnis dürfte in Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917, S. 132f. nr. 268 (dazu Schneider 1937, S. 176f.; Fiebiger 1939, S. 40-42 nr. 67) mit der Formulierung ὑπὸ δεσποτίας umschrieben sein. Es handelt sich um den Grabstein des Anilas. Vgl. o. Anm. 61. Auch in Kalkan – Şahin 1995, S. 143f. nr. 9 wird ein solches Gefolgschaftsverhältnis angedeutet, wie Zuckerman 1998 durch seine Neulesung des Textes zeigen kann: Der verstorbene Theodoros wird dem nordafrikanischen *praefectus gentis* Zar zugeordnet (Anfang 7. Jhdt.).

⁸⁰ Cod. Theod. 7,13,16: ... , *foederatorum nihilo minus dediticiorum, quoniam ipsos quoque una cum domi-*

wesen auf die Verhältnisse der Spätantike übertragen lassen, erscheint demgegenüber sehr vage.⁸¹ Für das Verständnis der Identität des Estotzas in der Wahrnehmung der Zeitgenossen bedeutet es selbstredend einen entscheidenden Unterschied, ob durch ἀνὴρ Λοδοῦ ein mit den konventionellen griechischen Familienstrukturen vereinbares Eheverhältnis oder ein aus der Sozialisierung jenseits der Grenzen des Imperium herrührendes Gefolgschaftsverhältnis formuliert wird. Die Lösung muß letztlich offenbleiben.

Daß die Epitaphien des Sephnas und des Estotzas allein wegen der Personennamen von den Passanten als Fremdkörper empfunden wurden, scheint wenig wahrscheinlich, weil sich Konstantinopel seit der Zeit um 400 an die Präsenz fremdländischer Soldaten hatte gewöhnen müssen.⁸² An der Herkunft der Militärs wird im 6./7. Jhdt. kaum noch jemand Anstoß genommen haben.⁸³

Unstrittig ist die germanische Provenienz der beiden Personennamen in der Grabinschrift für eine Soldatengattin, die ihre letzte Ruhestätte offensichtlich ebenfalls im Bereich der Stadtmauer gefunden hatte, wo das beschädigte Marmorkreuz gefunden wurde:

„Hier liegt begraben Oulifrida seligen Angedenkens, die Gattin des Scholarius Thioudas.“⁸⁴

Die Scholarii gehörten zur kaiserlichen Ehrengarde und standen rangmäßig haushoch über den Föderaten, auch wenn ihre Kampfkraft nicht unbedingt ihrem Prestige entsprach.⁸⁵ Ganz in antiker Tradition definiert sich die Bestattete über den Status ihres Mannes. Oulifrida trägt einen germanischen Namen, dessen weibliche Form ansonsten nicht weiter bezeugt ist.⁸⁶ Lateinische Inschriften mit dem Männernamen „Teuda“ oder „Theuda“ bestätigen einen germanischen Kontext zwar nicht,⁸⁷ dennoch hat die Herleitung des Namens in der Scholariusinschrift aus Konstantinopel vom gotischen „thiuda“ (was etwa soviel wie „Volk“ bedeutet) viel für sich.⁸⁸

Alles in allem ist der Grabstein ein weiterer Beleg dafür, daß dem militärischen Korpsgeist eine bedeutendere Rolle zugeordnet wurde als der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit.⁸⁹ Denn diese verrät sich allein demjenigen, der die Personennamen zu klassifizieren weiß, während der militärische Rangtitel des Gatten ausdrücklich Erwähnung findet und somit den Passanten den Rahmen bietet, um Oulifrida einzuordnen.

nis constat bella tractare.

⁸¹ Vgl. zu Tac. Germ. 7,1; 13,3; 30,2 Bleckmann 2009, S. 96-99.

⁸² Vgl. Albert 1984, S. 130-136; zahlreiche Hinweise auch bei Pfeilschifter 2013, S. 225-251.

⁸³ Vgl. hierzu die klärenden Ausführungen von Pfeilschifter 2013, S. 245f. Anfangs kam es freilich wegen des homoiischen Bekenntnisses der Goten zu religiösen Konflikten, etwa während der Intervention des Gainas im Jahr 400 (ebd., S. 497-507).

⁸⁴ Schneider 1937; Fiebiger 1939, S. 40 nr. 66; Meyer-Plath – Schneider 1943, S. 135 nr. 41a: ἐνθα κατάκτε ἡ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Οὐλιφρίδα γυνὴ εἰχολαρίου Θιοῦδα.

⁸⁵ Zur Rolle der Scholarii Pfeilschifter 2013, S. 239-245 u. S. 328f. Vgl. auch o. bei Anm. 62.

⁸⁶ Vgl. Schneider 1937, S. 176; Fiebiger 1939, S. 40.

⁸⁷ Z.B. ILS 4878b (Dalmatien); AE 1995 nr. 835 (Gades). Verweise bei Schönfeld 1911, S. 227 und Meyer-Plath – Schneider 1943, S. 135. Ebenso wenig hat die Häufung des Namens Θεωδᾶς in Karien mit germanischen Einflüssen zu tun. Dazu die Belege in LGPN V B, S. 199.

⁸⁸ Vgl. zu „thiuda“ Wolfram 2005, S. 73; auch Fiebiger 1939, S. 40.

⁸⁹ Vgl. wiederum Pfeilschifter 2013, S. 245f.

3. Fazit: germanische Heimatlosigkeit

Keine der Germaneninschriften aus dem griechischen Osten verrät, in welcher Sprache sich die in den Texten genannten Personen im Alltag unterhielten,⁹⁰ aber alle machen sie deutlich, daß sie ihr Andenken in der griechischen Sprache gesichert haben wollten, also in der Sprache der Mehrheitsgesellschaft, die sich aus einer traditionsstarken Zivilisation herleitet. Diese Adaptions- oder Assimilationsleistung dürfte für die Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung jener Personen mindestens ebenso wichtig gewesen sein wie ihre in den Ohren jener Mehrheitsgesellschaft fremd klingenden Namen.

Die Herkunft des Bestatteten läßt sich in Grabinschriften nicht selten auch topographisch, also konkret durch die Notierung des Heimatortes, fassen. Jedoch von dieser Möglichkeit, von der in der Spätantike Syrer in Germia, Concordia und Trier ebenso Gebrauch machten wie Phryger und Galater in Konstantinopel,⁹¹ findet sich auf den Grabsteinen der Germanen keine Spur. Sicher spielt hier auch der Mangel an politischen und administrativen Strukturen in den Regionen östlich des Rheins und nördlich der Donau eine Rolle.⁹² Die Germanen erwecken somit den Eindruck, als könnten sie keinen Heimatort oder keine Heimatregion ihr eigen nennen. In ihren Inschriften geht es demzufolge um die Identität von Heimatlosen. Namen, Familienzugehörigkeit und Status genügen ihnen, um sich zu identifizieren.

Diese Überlegungen dürfen freilich nicht vergessen lassen, daß die einschlägigen Inschriften keine Angehörigen von Unterschichten erfassen. Offensichtlich ist gerade in Kleinasien während der Spätantike mit der Präsenz von Goten zu rechnen,⁹³ aus denen sich gegebenenfalls der Sklavenmarkt speiste.⁹⁴ Auch sie waren Heimatlose. Wie auch immer sich die Anschlußmöglichkeiten dieser Entwurzelten gestalteten, der Weg über die Memorialkultur blieb ihnen verschlossen. Die Eliten fanden demgegenüber auch Eingang in die von der Literatur getragenen Erinnerung: Prokop berichtet, der letzte Vandalenkönig Gelimer habe samt seiner Familie von Iustinian in Galatien seinen

⁹⁰ Vict. Vit. 2,4 zeigt, daß es im griechischen Osten arianische Gottesdienste in germanischer Sprache gab.

⁹¹ Beispiele aus Germia: Walser 2013, S. 569-571 nr. 21; Concordia: Lettich – Zovatto 2007, S. 79-85 nr. 39-47; Trier: M. Pryomska, J. Leicht, und S. Lawall – S. Spindler in Siede – Schwinden 2012, S. 25-33 nr. 2f. und S. 68-76 nr. 7f.; aus Konstantinopel Feissel 1994, S. 277-283 und Feissel 1995, S. 373. Syrer etwa auch in Korykos. Dazu Robert 1963, S. 114f.

⁹² Die bestenfalls rudimentäre Urbanisierung der Germanen ist allerdings nicht allein ausschlaggebend, zumal sich die Syrer und Kleinasiaten in den Inschriften auch über die χωρία, also die Heimatdörfer, definieren (vgl. die vorhergehende Anm. 91); ähnlich auch Einwanderer aus dem Territorium von Hadrianoupolis in Thrakien: die Belege bei Feissel – Kaygusuz 2010 (1985), S. 235 mit Anm. 33.

⁹³ Zur Ansiedlung von Goten unter Tribigild in Phrygien (Nakoleia) vgl. Philost. h.e. 11,8; Zos. 5,13,2. Dazu Albert 1984, S. 90; Cameron – Long 1993, S. 114f. Belke – Mersich 1990, S. 80 schließen aus Themist. or. 16, 210d-211b, daß „gotische (skythische) Bevölkerungsgruppen ... nach Phrygien und in die angrenzenden Landschaften verpflanzt“ worden seien. Aus Themist. or. 16, 211a-b ist aber lediglich der Hinweis zu entnehmen, daß es besser gewesen sei, die besiegten Goten für ein Siedlungsprogramm in Thrakien einzusetzen, als Bithyner und Phryger umzusiedeln: πότερον οὖν βέλτιον νεκρῶν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Θράκην ἢ γεωργῶν; ... καὶ μετοικίζειν, εἰ τύχοι, Φρύγας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς ἢ συνοικίζειν οὓς κεχειρώμεθα;

⁹⁴ Vgl. Amm. 22,7,8, wonach Händler aus Galatien (*mercatores Galatae*) gotische Sklaven auf den Markt gebracht hätten. Der Aktionskreis der sprichwörtlichen *mercatores Galatae* beschränkte sich allerdings nicht auf Kleinasien: zu Africa vgl. Steinacher 2016, S. 98. Zu gotischen Sklaven vgl. Faber 2014, S. 55.

Alterssitz erhalten.⁹⁵

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Erken Bizans Yazıtlarında Germen Şahıs Adları. Özel İsimler ve Kollektif Kimlik

Özet

Erken Bizans yazıtları Germen uyruklu kişilerin kimliklerini Konstantinopolis ve Küçük Asya'nın ortamına uydurduklarını göstermektedir: Onlar Yunan dilini, Hristiyan sembollerini ve imparatorluk unvanlarını toplumdaki konumlarını göstermek için kullanmaktalardı. Genellikle şahıs isimlerinde sadece Germen kimliğinin izlerini bulabilmekteyiz.

450 civarı Smyrna episkoposu olan Aitherikhos, şüpheli olarak Germen bir kökenle ilişkilendirilebilecek bir isimdir. Pessinus'ta yeni bulunan bir yazıtta belgelenen Ourfilas (= Wulfila) bir *primicerius*'un unvanını taşımaktadır. Dorylaion'da yaşayan Germen bir çavuşun ailesi Yunan ve Latin isim geleneğine alışmıştır. Hristiyan topluluğu için bir hayırsever olarak kendi kentlerinde üne sahip olmuşlardır. Konstantinopolis'te bulunan Germen askerlerinin arasında ordudaki rütbe, etnik kökenden daha büyük bir önem taşımaktaydı. Konstantinopolis mezar şiirlerinden bir tanesi Nürnberg'deki "Germen Milli Müzesi'nde"de sergilenmesine rağmen bugün kadar neredeyse tamamen göz ardı edilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Konstantinopolis; Erken Bizans Yazıtları; Germen Şahıs İsimleri; Onomastik.

Germanic Names in early Byzantine Inscriptions. Personal Names and Collective Identity

Abstract

Early byzantine inscriptions show that germanic people assimilate their identity to the environment in Constantinople and Asia Minor: They use Greek language, Christian symbols, and imperial titles to present their position in society. Generally the only hints of a germanic identity we find in their personal names.

Aitherichos, bishop of Smyrna about 450, has a name that can be assigned to germanic origins only with some doubts. Ourfilas (= Wulfila), documented in a newfound inscription of Pessinous, wears the title of a *primicerius*. The family of a germanic sergeant living in Dorylaion has been accustomed to Greek and Latin name-traditions. They got some prominence in their hometowns as euergets of the Christian community. Among the germanic soldiers in Constantinople the rank in the army plays a major role than ethnic origin. One of the Constantinopolitan epitaphs remained almost completely unnoticed till now, as it is exhibited in the „Germanic National Museum“, Nürnberg.

Keywords: Constantinople; early byzantine inscriptions; germanic names; onomastics.

Nicht hinter jeder griechischen Signatur muss ein Grieche stecken. Pseudonyme unter Bildenden Künstlern des antiken Italien

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τὸν τῆς ΓΕΦΥΡΑΣ συγκτίστην*

Ein Teil der antiken Objekte des Kunsthandwerks trägt Signaturen, mit denen - wie auch in der Neuzeit - die Atelierbesitzer gemeint sein dürften; diese müssen nicht notgedrungen mit den ausführenden Künstlern/Handwerkern identisch sein¹; die beiden Hauptgründe, den Namen der Ateliereigner anzugeben, waren der Stolz über die gelungene Herstellung² und eine mögliche Werbungsintention³. Warum allerdings manche Werke signiert sind, viele andere dagegen nicht, ist eine bis heute ungeklärte Frage.

Im Folgenden sollen schwerpunktmäßig die Quellen zu den Bildhauern und Bronzegießern betrachtet werden, da diesbezüglich die Überlieferungslage aufgrund der vielen literarischen und epigraphischen Nachrichten befriedigend ist⁴ - ganz im Gegensatz zu den übrigen Gattungen des Kunsthandwerks⁵. Obwohl zahlreiche Bildhauer mit römischen Namen durch Literatur und Inschriften überliefert sind⁶, ist auffälligerweise die überwiegende Mehrzahl der aus Italien stammenden Signaturen im Zusammenhang mit Werken der Stein- oder Bronzeplastik in griechischer Sprache gehalten⁷; zumindest die Auftraggeber derartiger meist kostspieliger Opera gehörten zu einer

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¹ Donderer 2011, 186-189. – Aus sprachlichen Gründen wird im Folgenden betreffs der Signaturen keine Differenzierung zwischen ausführendem Künstler und Atelierbesitzer vorgenommen, genau so wenig wie zwischen einem Bildhauer und einem Bronzegießer.

² Cic. Tusc. 1, 15, 34: Sed quid poetas? Opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. Quid enim Phidias sui similem inclusit in clupeo Minervae, cum inscribere <nomen> non liceret? (*Aber warum von den Dichtern sprechen? (Auch) die Handwerker wollen nach ihrem Tod berühmt werden. Warum sonst hat Phidias sein ihm ähnliches Abbild auf dem Schild der Athena angebracht, da er seinen Namen nicht daraufsetzen durfte?*).

³ Donderer 2011.

⁴ Loewy 1885; Marcadé 1953/1957; Stewart 1979, 101-103; Osborne 2010; Donderer 2011; Kreikenbom 2013; Hurwit 2015, 101-143; Vollkommer 2015, 111-117.

⁵ Maler: Borda 1958, 382 f.; Hurwit 2015, 56-61. – Mosaizisten: Donderer 1989; 2008; Hurwit 2015, 64-70. – Toreuten: Künzl 1978; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 48-50; Thomas 2002. – Gemmenschneider: Vollenweider 1966; Richter 1973/74, 631-638; Zwierlein-Diehl 2005; Berthold 2013, 146-179; Hurwit 2015, 33-38.

⁶ Calabi Limentani 1958 a, bes. 75-77. 111-119. 159-166; Andrae 1973, 633-634.

⁷ Loewy 1885, 238-246. 257-270; Richter 1951, 45-50; Duthoy 2012, 32-35. 160-164.

sozialen Schicht, die im Rahmen ihres Bildungsideals des Griechischen in Schrift und Sprache mächtig waren⁸. In der Forschung galt es lange Zeit als *communis opinio*, die entsprechenden Namen würden beweisen, dass überwiegend Griechen in der Bildhauerkunst tätig gewesen seien⁹. Offen blieb, ob sie als Sklaven, Freigelassene oder Peregrine in Italien oder in ihrem Heimatland wirkten, von wo die signierten Werke fertig ausgearbeitet nach Italien exportiert wurden. Für letzteres könnte sprechen, dass z.B. in der Plastik die Künstlernennungen nicht - wie bisher meist üblich - auf den separat gefertigten Basen erfolgten, sondern zunehmend am Werk selbst angebracht wurden¹⁰. Zudem stehen den zahlreichen Bildhauer-Signaturen nur wenige aus Italien stammende Grabinschriften dieser Handwerker gegenüber¹¹, von denen die meisten zudem in lateinischer Sprache verfasst sind; dadurch war es möglich, sowohl ein größeres als auch ein sozial anders zusammengesetztes Publikum anzusprechen. Hier, in der Heimat vieler Auftraggeber, dürften jedoch in der Regel Monumente mit Bildnischarakter hergestellt worden sein¹², auch wenn die Zahl der aus Italien stammenden signierten Porträts(tatuen) äußerst gering ist¹³. Die Frage, wo ein Marmorwerk geschaffen worden ist, ließe sich zumindest partiell beantworten, wenn die Herkunft des verwendeten Steines aus den Brüchen von Luni - Carrara zweifelsfrei bestimmt werden könnte¹⁴; andererseits gibt die Herkunft des Marmors aus dem Osten des Imperiums keinen Hinweis darauf, dass das Werk auch dort gearbeitet worden ist, denn natürlich können auch entsprechende Marmorblöcke oder Halbfabrikate nach Italien transportiert worden sein¹⁵.

Ausschließlich Sklaven, die naturgemäß nur äußerst selten dauerhafte Grabdenkmäler besaßen¹⁶, können nicht hinter den Signaturen vermutet werden, auch wenn nicht auszuschließen ist, dass sich hinter manchem Namen ein Unfreier verbirgt¹⁷. Sichere Belege dafür gibt es nur vereinzelt unter den Mosaizisten¹⁸ und Koroplasten¹⁹ sowie in großer Menge unter gallischen²⁰ und italischen Töpfern (calenischer Keramik²¹ und arretinischer Sigillata²²); sogar als Werkstattbesitzer lassen sich

⁸ Boyancé 1956; Kajanto 1963, 5 f.; Kaimio 1979, Kajanto 1980, 96; Zgusta 1980; Weis 1992.

⁹ Richter 1951, 52 f.; Toynbee 1951, 24-26; Smith 1981, 29; Squire 2015.

¹⁰ Donderer 1988, 66 mit Lit.

¹¹ Calabi Limentani 1958 a, 159-166.

¹² Anders Lippold 1923, 187 und Toynbee 1951, 23 f., die meinten, dass sich z.B. die Römer des 1. Jh. v. Chr. in Athen haben porträtieren lassen. Dies ist kaum vorstellbar angesichts der großen Menge der überlieferten Bildnisse, auch von Frauen und Kindern.

¹³ Richter 1951, 53 f.

¹⁴ Die Herkunftsbestimmung der verwendeten weißen Marmore findet zwar immer häufiger statt, doch ist die Menge des vorhandenen Materials einfach unüberschaubar. Mitunter lässt sich aufgrund von ähnlichen Isotopenwerten keine eindeutige Entscheidung zwischen verschiedenen Herkunftsorten fällen, zumal selbst Proben des gleichen Bruches nicht homogen sein müssen.

¹⁵ Vgl. dazu Fittschen 2008, 326 f.

¹⁶ Ausnahmen bilden z.B. die Columbarien der Freigelassenen und Sklaven des Kaiserhauses vor den Toren Roms.

¹⁷ Štaerman 1969, 103; dies. 1976, 109-113.

¹⁸ Donderer 1989, 49.

¹⁹ Susini 1965, 303.

²⁰ Marichal 1988, 93 f.; Galsterer 1992, 378.

²¹ Oxé 1903; Pagenstecher 1909, 147-159; Gummerus 1916, 1450; Prachner 1989; Palombi 1992.

Sklaven nachweisen²³, auch wenn dies sicher nicht die Regel war²⁴. Ausschließlich Freigelassene und Peregrine können sich epigraphisch nicht hinter den Bildhauer- und Mosaizistensignaturen²⁵ verbergen, da sich Grabdenkmäler für diese beiden Personengruppen seltener finden lassen als Namensnennungen auf ihren Opera; anders sieht es hingegen bei Malern²⁶ und Toreuten/Juwelieren²⁷ aus, doch mag dies daran liegen, dass sich in diesen Gattungen weitaus weniger Werke erhalten haben, auf denen ehemals eine Signatur angebracht worden war. Gerade die beiden letztgenannten Bevölkerungsgruppen haben – im Gegensatz zu den *Ingenui*²⁸ – auf Sepulkraldenkmälern bevorzugt ihren Beruf angegeben, da sie in der Regel auf keine prestigeträchtigen öffentlichen Ämter verweisen konnten; sie befriedigten ihren Stolz dadurch, dass sie den Beruf nannten, der sie in die Lage versetzte, sich ein steinernes Grabmonument leisten zu können²⁹. Das bedeutet nicht notgedrungen, dass dem Verstorbenen oder seiner Familie ein Grabmal zu kostspielig war, sondern dass in Bezug auf etliche handwerklich tätige *Ingenui* deren Beruf in den Sepulkralinschriften verschwiegen wurde, da diese Information bei den Zeitgenossen bei weitem nicht so positiv konnotiert war wie eine öffentliche Funktion. Allerdings konnten Bezeichnungen des Métiers, darunter auch solche des Kunsthandwerks, bei den Römern als lateinische Cognomina dienen³⁰, ein auch heute noch geläufiges Phänomen unter den Familiennamen; teils wurden Beinamen in der römischen *Gens*³¹ vererbt, teils nicht. Die Folge: Berufsangaben als Cognomina können – wenn überhaupt – mit einiger statistischer Wahrscheinlichkeit nur beim ersten Träger wörtlich verstanden werden, ähnlich den von geographischen Namen gebildeten Cognomina. Eng verwandt mit diesem Usus sind griechische Namen, die von Wörtern des Handwerkermétiers abgeleitet sind oder eine positiv konnotierte beruflich bedingte Eigenschaft ausdrücken³², z.B. unter Vasenmalern Ergoteles³³, Ergotimos³⁴, unter Bildhauern Cheirisophos³⁵, Euglyphis³⁶, Xysticus³⁷, unter Toreuten Cheirisophos³⁸ und in verschiedenen

²² Gummerus 1916, 1487 f.; Westermann 1935, 1029; Dragendorff 1938; Prachner 1980, passim.

²³ Prachner 1980, 196.

²⁴ Zu Werkstattbesitzern im Bildhauergewerbe vgl. Donderer 2011, 186–189.

²⁵ Donderer 1989, 47–49.

²⁶ Giuliano 1953; Calabi Limentani 1958 a, 153–158; dies. 1965, 156–159.

²⁷ Gummerus 1915; ders. 1918; Calabi Limentani 1958 a; dies. 1958 b; Zimmer 1982, 37–39.

²⁸ Huttunen 1974, 121–124.

²⁹ Zanker 1975, 279 f.; Zimmer 1982, 6–7.

³⁰ Gummerus 1913, 90 f.; ders. 1926; Calabi Limentani 1958 a, 19; Kajanto 1965, 82–84. 316–324; Kajanto 1968.

³¹ Gummerus 1926, 51.

³² Philipp 1968, 78; Himmelmann 1994, 10; Koch 2000, 95.

³³ KLA I 2001, 213 f. s.v.

³⁴ KLA I 2001, 214 s.v.

³⁵ KLA I 2001, 136 s.v. Nr. I. – Zum Suffix -sophos bei Handwerkern vgl. Robert 1992, 383 Anm. 24. – Zur Vorsicht bei der Interpretation mahnt allerdings ein gleichnamiger spartanischer Feldherr vom Ende des 5. Jh. v. Chr.: Xen. an. 1, 4, 3.

³⁶ KLA I 2001, 224 s.v.

³⁷ CIL XIII, 6428; Calabi Limentani 1958 a, 164 Nr. 97; Mattern 2005, 171 f. Nr. 316.

³⁸ Richter 1955, 58 f. 63. 71 Abb. 190–192; Poulsen 1968; Müller 1994; Donderer 1995, 119 f. Nr. 8 Taf. 5; Thomas 2000; KLA I 2001, 136 s.v. Nr. II.

Handwerkszweigen Eucheiros³⁹ bzw. Eucheir⁴⁰; hinsichtlich des zuletzt erwähnten Namens ist bemerkenswert, dass der Träger inschriftlich mehrfach mit einer verwandten Person kombiniert ist, die bezeichnenderweise Euboulides heißt⁴¹.

Sklaven, deren Muttersprache der sie besitzende italische Patron nicht beherrschte, erhielten der leichteren Merkfähigkeit wegen meist einen lateinischen oder griechischen Rufnamen, der sich z.B. an Äußerlichkeiten, Herkunftsregionen oder auch an beruflichen Fähigkeiten orientieren konnte⁴²; dies trifft auch auf die Angehörigen der germanischen Leibwache der frühen römischen Kaiser zu⁴³. Analog dazu übernahmen viele aus den Provinzen stammende Soldaten anlässlich des Eintritts in eine Legion bzw. die Flotte⁴⁴ oder bei der Verleihung des römischen Bürgerrechts nach Beendigung ihres Dienstes in den Hilfstruppen⁴⁵ einen lateinischen oder lateinisch klingenden Namen. Unter fiktiven lateinischen oder griechischen Namen konnten zudem Athleten⁴⁶, Gladiatoren⁴⁷ und Wagenlenker⁴⁸ auftreten, unabhängig davon, ob ihr Besitzer ihnen das Pseudonym aufgezwungen hat oder ob sie es sich selbst zugelegt haben; grundsätzlich war es nämlich zumindest den freien oder freigelassenen Römern durchaus möglich, ihre Namen nach Bedarf zu ändern⁴⁹, den letzteren wohl nur mit Zustimmung ihres Patrons⁵⁰. Andererseits übernahm aus Prestige Gründen mancher gebildete Römer – trotz Verwechslungsmöglichkeit – mit einer Herkunft aus dem Freigelassenenstand⁵¹ ein griechisches Cognomen, um sein Faible für diese Sprache, das Land und dessen Kultur zu demonstrieren⁵².

Mit ihren aus dem Griechischen entlehnten Namen stellten sich zudem Flötenspieler⁵³ und zahlrei-

³⁹ KLA I 2001, 221 s.v. Nr. I-II.

⁴⁰ KLA I 2001, 220 f. s.v. Nr. I-IV.

⁴¹ Becatti 1940, 14-16. – Allg. Solin 1990; ders. 1996 b.

⁴² Ein Koch unter den Sklaven des Trimalchio wurde wegen seines Erfindungsgeistes von seinem Herrn «Dädalus» gerufen, ein Toreut hieß «Corinthus», so dass Trimalchio zu Recht behaupten konnte, er besitze echte «Korintherbronzen» (Petron. 70,2; 50). Selbst wenn dies als literarische Übertreibung gewertet wird, zeigt es doch, dass eine vergleichbare Benennung möglich war. – Allg. zur Namengebung römischer Sklaven: Kajanto 1968; Kiechle 1969, passim; Solin 1977 a, 164; ders. 1977 b; ders. 1994/1995, 96 f.; ders. 1996 a, Bd. II; Bruun 2013.

⁴³ Bang 1906, 63-65; Chantraine 1967, 138 f.; Bellen 1981, 30. 68. 71. 76.

⁴⁴ Dean 1916, 8-11.

⁴⁵ Galsterer 1992, 378 f.

⁴⁶ Solin 1999, 22; Decker 2008.

⁴⁷ Robert 1940, 297-302; Junkelmann 2000, 28; Schäfer 2001, 257 f.

⁴⁸ Alföldi 1990, 203; Cameron 1973, 172-175; Solin 1999, 21 f. – Einschränkung Horsmann 1998, 22 mit Anm. 31; 335 Index s.v. Namen/Künstlernamen.

⁴⁹ Chantraine 1967, 4 mit Anm. 2; Treggiari 1969, 252; Solin 1971, 134 f.; Christes 1979, 44 f.; Solin 1989; ders. 1995 b; Bruun 2013, 32 mit Anm. 50.1.

⁵⁰ Lambert 1906/1907, 4 Anm. 2.

⁵¹ Falls gewünscht konnte der soziale Stand durch Filiation und Tribusnennung unzweideutig mitgeteilt werden.

⁵² Kajanto 1980, 96.

⁵³ Solin 1999, 20 f.

che Bühnenkünstler⁵⁴ in die angesehene Tradition dieses Landes. Unter ihnen waren Bathyllos und Pylades besonders beliebt, was die wiederholte Wahl dieser Pseudonyme durch spätere Epigonen belegt⁵⁵. Vergleichbares trifft auch auf die römischen Ärzte zu⁵⁶; auf der iberischen Halbinsel hatten nach Aussage mehrerer Inschriften sogar arabische und punische Vertreter dieses Berufes einen griechischen Namen übernommen⁵⁷. Dieser war jedoch oft nicht beliebig, stattdessen fiel die Wahl bevorzugt auf eine Zusammensetzung mit dem theophoren Namensbestandteil *Asklepi-*⁵⁸, eine Anspielung auf den „Berufspatron“ der Ärzte, die wohl auch von Leuten verstanden wurde, die des Griechischen nicht mächtig waren. Daraus schloss man zu Recht, dass sich auch frei geborene Römer diesem Modetrend der griechischen Namensgebung angeschlossen haben⁵⁹, was durch einige Inschriften nahegelegt wird⁶⁰.

Ähnlich dürfte es sich mit den griechischen Pseudonymen Bildender Künstler der Antike verhalten haben⁶¹. So war der Forschung schon seit langem aufgefallen, dass in den antiken Quellen mehrfach gleichlautende Künstlernamen erscheinen⁶², die sich jedoch nicht auf nur eine Person beziehen lassen⁶³; hinzu treten Signaturen griechischer Vasenmaler der klassischen Zeit, die sich trotz Übereinstimmung im Namen angesichts der unterschiedlichen Handschrift oder Pinselführung auf mehrere Personen beziehen müssen⁶⁴. Die Schlussfolgerung, die daraus gezogen wurde:

Entweder gehörten die Genannten zu verschiedenen Generationen derselben Familie⁶⁵ oder spätere Handwerker legten sich aus werbetaktischen Gründen verstärkt ab hellenistischer Zeit als Pseudonym den Namen eines allseits bekannten Fachvertreters früherer Zeit zu⁶⁶; überraschend ist, dass offenbar

⁵⁴ Cic. Phil. 2, 58 (*nomen mimicum*). – Hist. Aug. Ver. 8, 10. – Allg. s. Cultrera 1915, 161-164; Drexel 1921, 197-201; Robert 1930, 111 f.; Bonaria 1959; Chantraine 1967, 380-384; Leppin 1992, 181-183; Solin 1999, 15-20; Easterling 2002, 333 f.

⁵⁵ Friedländer 1859, I; Easterling 2002, 334.

⁵⁶ Drexel 1921, 201; Korpela 1987, 54 f.; Solin 1995 a; Solin 1998/99, 199.

⁵⁷ Schulten 1936, 341.

⁵⁸ Kudlien 1986, 17. 22. 49.64. 74. – Auch der Name Hippokrates begegnet unverhältnismäßig oft: Drexel 1921, 201.

⁵⁹ Baader 1973, 279; Kudlien 1986, 17. 22. 49. 64. 74.

⁶⁰ Gummerus 1932, 26 Nr. 43; 29 Nr. 61; 46 Nr. 158. – Contra Solin 1995 a, 137 f.

⁶¹ Ja sogar von griechischen Statuen, z.B. Diadoumenos oder Diskophoros, konnte man Personennamen übernehmen: Wesenberg 1997, 59 f.

⁶² Von den Bildhauern seien hier als besonders bekannte Beispiele genannt: Boethos, Euphranor, Kalamis, Kallimachos, Kephisodoros, Kephisodotos, Leochares, Lysippos, Myron, Paionios, Pheidias, Polykleitos und Praxiteles (Lit. jeweils im KLA I/II s.v.). – Allg. Kroker 1883; Stewart 2008, 30 f.

⁶³ Dies ist offenbar auch die Quelle einiger Missverständnisse und Verwechslungen schon bei manchen antiken Autoren.

⁶⁴ Douris und Polygnotos: Squire 2013, 375 f.

⁶⁵ Donderer 2011, 189 mit Anm. 74 (Lit.).

⁶⁶ Friedländer 1859, II 6 f.; Drexel 1921, 201 f.; Hug 1929; Poeschel 1925, 19; Lippold 1954, 1787; Calabi Limentani 1958 a, 33; Chantraine 1967, 380-382; Calabi Limentani 1974, 163; Hafner 1978, 30; Rice 1986, 247 Anm. 86; Simon 1986, 141; Mielsch 1995, 777; Koch 2000, 64 f.; Thomas 2002, 242. 247; Schalles 2004, 423. – Anders Loewy 1885, 318 f.

auch auf berühmte Namen aus anderen Handwerkszweigen zurückgegriffen werden konnte⁶⁷.

Bei der Namenswahl könnte das Genre und/oder der Kunststil des Vorbild gebenden Meisters die entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben, wenngleich sich dies infolge der schlechten Quellenlage bisher meist nicht nachweisen lässt. In vielen Fällen kann nicht entschieden werden, ob die Übernahme eines bekannten Namens aufgrund verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung beruhte - zumal Namensgebung und Ausbildung weitestgehend der Familientradition folgten⁶⁸ - oder ob rein berufliche Gründe der Anlass dazu waren.

In der römischen Kaiserzeit wird man eher an eine Namensokkupierung denn an ein Jahrhundert zurückreichendes Verwandtschaftsverhältnis glauben. In drei Inschriften erscheint nachvollziehbar, warum ein bestimmtes Pseudonym gewählt wurde. Ein Sepulkraltitulus der frühen Kaiserzeit aus Verona (**Abb. 1**) nennt die *tria nomina*, den sozialen Stand und den Beruf des Verstorbenen⁶⁹. Der Genannte war demnach ein Freigelassener und hieß vormals wohl Myro(n); den Sklavennamen erhielt er von einem Besitzer oder er legte sich diesen nach der Freilassung aus Werbezwecken zu. Mit dem Rückgriff kongruiert konsequenterweise die Berufsangabe *statuarius* (Bronzebildner)⁷⁰, war Myron doch vor allem durch seine Bronzewerke berühmt⁷¹. Ob auch der Stil an den originalen Namensinhaber der frühen Klassik erinnerte, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis.

Beim zweiten Beleg handelt es sich um ein ebenfalls frühkaiserzeitliches Grabrelief in der Villa Albani zu Rom⁷², das einen sitzenden Mann in Tunica und Mantel zeigt (**Abb. 2**); in der Linken hält er eine Knabenbüste und in der Rechten einen Griffel oder Modellierstecken; ihm gegenüber steht eine Frau *capite velato*, die gerade ein Weihrauchopfer darbringt. Dieses gilt dem sitzenden Mann und dem in der Büste dargestellten Knaben, die demzufolge als die Verstorbenen anzusehen sind, wobei die Differenzierung wohl so zu deuten ist, dass der Junge vor dem Vater das Zeitliche gesegnet hat. Da der genaue Fundort des Reliefs unbekannt ist, wurde Lollius aufgrund der genannten Ämter (Ratsherr und Bürgermeister)⁷³ meist für einen Freigeborenen gehalten. Dagegen spricht nicht nur die Darstellung des Berufs trotz Nennung der lokalen Ämterlaufbahn, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass die Angabe der Filiation und der Tribuszugehörigkeit fehlt⁷⁴. Demnach war der Verstorbene, so dürfte es ein damaliger Leser verstanden haben, ein handwerklich tätiger *libertus*⁷⁵; ein

⁶⁷ z.B. von Vasenmalern: Polygnotos (Philipp 1968, 80; Scheibler 1978, 664; Rice 1986, 247 Anm. 86; KLA 2004, 274 f. s.v. Polygnotos II). – von Silberschmieden: Apelles, Polygnotos, Pythias und Zeuxis (Lapatin 2015, 326).

⁶⁸ Donderer 2011, 189 mit Anm 74.

⁶⁹ *Q(uintus) Dellius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / Myro(n) / statuarius*: Buonopane 1998; AE 1998 (2001), 591; KLA 2001, I 163 s.v.; Stewart 2008, 22; Donderer 2011, 191 Abb. 9.

⁷⁰ Calabi Limentani 1966; von Petrikovits 1981, 115; Andreae 1987, 10 f.; ders. 1989. – contra Zwierlein 1989, 437-441.

⁷¹ KLA 2001, I 96-103 s.v. Myron I; DNO 2014, II Nr. 720-840.

⁷² *Q(uintus) Lollius Alcamenes / dec(urio) et duumvir*: CIL VI 29707; Zimmer 1982, 156 f. Nr. 79 Abb.; Lahusen 1989 (Lit.); Picozzi 1993, 76 Abb. 16; KLA 2004, II 20 f. s.v.; Thomas 2007, 329 Anm. 32 Abb. 4; Fejfer 2008, 308 mit Anm. 83.

⁷³ Bei dieser Interpretation ist eine stadtrömische Provenienz des Reliefs ausgeschlossen.

⁷⁴ Taylor 1961; Kajanto 1968, 528 f.; Solin 1971, 136. – Contra Solin 1997, 141.

⁷⁵ Ohne eine Autopsie durchführen zu können, wird hier vorausgesetzt, dass das Relief antiken Ursprungs ist.

solcher saß nur selten im Stadtrat⁷⁶ und wurde in der Regel nicht zum Amt des Bürgermeisters zugelassen⁷⁷. Zu erklären sind die aus den politischen Institutionen übernommenen Funktionsangaben als leitende Ehrenämter in Berufs- oder Begräbnisvereinen, wo sie sich tatsächlich nachweisen lassen⁷⁸. Auch hier gilt wiederum, dass der Freigelassene der frühen Kaiserzeit nicht zur Nachkommenschaft des klassischen Vorläufers Alkamenes⁷⁹ gehört haben kann.

Der dritte eindeutige Fall betrifft eine postume Ehrung der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit aus Aphrodisias⁸⁰ (**Abb. 3**). Demnach hat ein römischer Bürger mit den *tria nomina* eine Statue erhalten, für deren Aufstellung der Sohn Sorge getragen hat. Bemerkenswert sind sowohl der Beiname (Kolotes), der in diesem offiziellen Titulus nicht statt des Geburtsnamens erscheint, sondern zusätzlich zu diesem, als auch die Berufsangabe (Hersteller von Sakral- und Sepulkralplastiken)⁸¹; Künstlernamen und bevorzugtes Genre passen wiederum gut zueinander⁸² und dürften - zusammen mit dem Stil (?) des Vorläufers im klassischen Athen - die Erklärung für die Wahl des Pseudonyms gewesen sein, das in dieser Inschrift als Agnomen fungiert⁸³. Die Beispiele zeigen, dass in offiziellen bzw. halbamtlichen Inschriften das Hauptaugenmerk verständlicherweise auf dem Geburtsnamen lag, das inoffizielle Pseudonym konnte hinzutreten oder die Stelle des Beinamens übernehmen.

Dass die griechische Sprache bevorzugt in Signaturen Verwendung fand - unabhängig davon, ob der Ateliereigner wirklich aus dem griechischen Osten stammte oder den Namen okkupiert hatte -, bewiesen mehrere Votive, in denen die Inschrift in lateinischer, die Künstlernennung aber in griechischer Sprache vorgenommen worden ist⁸⁴ (**Abb. 4 a.b**). Mehrfach entschied man sich sogar dafür, in

⁷⁶ Kübler 1901, 2327; Rupprecht 1975, 85 mit Anm. 76.

⁷⁷ Liebenam 1900, 268 Nr. 1; ders., 1905, 1807.

⁷⁸ Decuriones: Liebenam 1890, 191; Waltzing 1895, I 379-383; 1900, IV 304-309; Tran 2006, 568 Index s.v. Décurion d'un collège. – Duumviri: Waltzing 1895, I 405; 1900, IV 336 Nr. 44 (Lit.); Liu 2013, 361.

⁷⁹ KLA 2001, I 24-26 s.v. Alkamenes I; DNO 2014, II Nr. 1106-1136.

⁸⁰ [ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος] | [ἐτείμησαν] | [M]ἄρκον Αὐρήλιον [---] | [-]νον Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ | [K]αλλικλέους ἐπὶ κλην | Κωλώτην ἀγαλματοποιὸν | ζήσαντα ἐδημόνως | καὶ σωφρόνως πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα | ἀρετῆς | τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ | ἀνδρείαντος ἐποιήσατο | Ζηναῖς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

[Die Ratsversammlung und das Volk (von Aphrodisias) ehrten] Marcus Aurelius (...)nus, den Sohn des Artemon und Enkel des Kallikles, mit dem Beinamen Kolotes, der Sakralplastiken hergestellt sowie bescheiden und zurückhaltend als Vorbild für bürgerliche Tugend gelebt hat; die Aufstellung der Statue aber hat sein Sohn Zenas veranlasst.]: Erim – Rouché 1982, 113; Erim – Reynolds 1989, 533-535 Nr. 19 Taf. 206; Sève 1992, Nr. 101; SEG 40, 1990 (1993), 942; Donderer 1996 b, 336; Bourtzinaku 2012, 352 Nr. 85.

⁸¹ Donderer 1996 b, 336.

⁸² KLA 2001, I 422 s.v. Kolotes I; DNO 2014, II Nr. 1423-1429.

⁸³ Zweimal begegnet unter den Inschriften von Aphrodisias nach dem Individualnamen als zweiter Name Skopas. Beide Träger wurden vermutlich mit einem dortigen Bildhaueratelier in Zusammenhang gebracht: Chaniotis 2013, 210 f. 221. 224 Nr. 15; 226 Nr. 66. – Nicht nur der Name, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass Skopas fast ausschließlich in Marmor gearbeitet hat, passen zu dieser Interpretation: KLA 2004, II 391 s.v. Skopas II; DNO 2014, III Nr. 2286-2335.

⁸⁴ Signatur auf der rechten Plinthenschmalseite einer hunds-köpfigen Granitstatue aus dem Iseum Campense in Rom (Vatikanische Museen 22833): Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφότεροι | Φιδίου ἐποίουν. (Phidias und Ammonios, die beiden Söhne des Phidias, schufen [die Statue]): IG XIV 1264; Loewy 1885, Nr. 382, Botti – Romanelli 1951, 114 f. Nr. 181 Taf. 78; Moretti 1990, 82 f. Nr. 1588; Solin 1999, 21; Donderer 2004, 88 Abb. 10.

Signaturen die griechische Form des Verbuns durch die lateinische Transkription zu ersetzen⁸⁵, z.B. auf einem der beiden Silberbecher von Hoby⁸⁶, auf tönernen Architekturterrakotten⁸⁷ sowie in Stempeln des römischen Sigillatagewerbes⁸⁸ und der calenischen Reliefkeramik⁸⁹. Sogar in Gallien schloss man sich dem Griechisch-Trend in Signaturen an⁹⁰. Aus dem Heiligtum an der Seine-Quelle stammt ein Weihrelief, auf dem die Votivinschrift in keltischer Sprache, aber in lateinischen Buchstaben erscheint, während die Künstlernennung zwar ebenfalls in keltischer Sprache, aber in griechischem Alphabet geschrieben steht⁹¹.

Sind die aus den oben geschilderten Beobachtungen abgeleiteten Folgerungen korrekt - sprechende Namen, Rückgriff in der Onomastik auf bekannte Vorläufer, starke Bevorzugung der griechischen Sprache -, stellt sich die Frage, ob griechische Bildhauernamen grundsätzlich auf die Herkunft aus dem Osten weisen müssen⁹², oder ob es nicht zulässig ist, angesichts der zahlenmäßigen Diskrepanz zwischen wenigen lateinischen⁹³, aber zahlreichen griechischen Signaturen - zumindest in Italien - hinter vielen der letztgenannten nicht in erster Linie eine ethnische Gruppe, sondern einheimische Handwerker zu vermuten. Diese hätten sich aus Modegründen nur entsprechender Pseudonyme bedient, obwohl griechische Namen in der römischen Nomenklatur sehr oft als Hinweis auf *peregrine* oder gar unfreie Geburt angesehen wurden und somit eigentlich einen abwertenden Beigeschmack besaßen. Dies nahmen manche Bildende Künstler wohl in Kauf, wenn damit damit zu rechnen war, dass es sich geschäftlich buchstäblich in barer Münze bezahlt machte. Voraussetzung war, dass damit ein Zeichen gesetzt wurde, eine lange, im Osten begründete Tradition weiterzuführen.

11; DNO 2014, V Nr. 4234. – Signatur auf Plinthe einer Dadophoros-Statue aus Mérida (Museo Arqueológico 581): Δημήτριος ἐποίησεν: García y Bellido 1949, 120 f. Nr. 120 Taf. 94; Merkelbach 1984, 116. 326 Abb. 75; Ramírez Sádaba 2009, 63 f. Nr. 6, 2, 3; DNO 2014, V Nr. 4243; Paz de Hoz 2014, 423-425 Nr. 393 Abb. – Signatur auf Votivaltar aus Kovačevo (Sandanski, Archäologisches Museum 11): Γελασεῖνος | ἐποίησεν: Mihailov 1966, 269 f. Nr. 1304 Taf. 151; Düll 1977, 321 f. Nr. 96. – Signatur auf Votivaltar aus Kunino (Sofia Archäologisches Nationalmuseum 2174): Ἀγαθοκ(λῆς) ἐπο[ι]- | ἐι: AE 1902, 123; Mihailov 1968, 34 f. Nr. 503; Velkov 1968, 387 Nr. 27. – Signatur (?) auf Votivaltar vom Mons Claudianus: Ἀμμώνιος Μαλλίτης Κησωνίου (*Ammonios, der Sohn des Caesonius, aus Malli [bei Meroe?] hat den Altar geschaffen*): CIL III 24; Bernand 1977, 84-86 Nr. 37 Taf. 41; Donderer 1996 a, 284-286 Nr. C 2; Hellmann 1999, 94 Nr. 34.

⁸⁵ Donderer 1995, 106 f.

⁸⁶ s. oben Anm. 38.

⁸⁷ *Dionisios* (sic) *Coloponios epoi*: IG XIV 2406,6; CIL IX 6078,75 (Cupra Marittima, Marken). – *Dionysios Coloponios epoi*: CIL I² 1814; IX 3906 = ILS 4022; Picard 1965; Susini 1965.

⁸⁸ Oxé – Comfort 1968, Nr. 47. 297. 645. 686. 1174. 2502. 2512; Prachner 1980, 205 f.

⁸⁹ Pagenstecher 1909, 152.

⁹⁰ Darüber berichtet Caesar, Gall. 1, 29, 1: In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae. (*Im Lager fand man Täfelchen der Helvetier, die in griechischen Buchstaben beschrieben und zu Caesar gebracht worden waren.*) – 6, 14, 3: Neque fas esse (Druides) existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Graecis utantur litteris. (*Die Druiden glauben, es sei Unrecht, dies schriftlich zu formulieren, während sie in fast allen übrigen Situationen, den öffentlichen wie auch den privaten Angelegenheiten, die griechische Schrift verwenden.*) – Vgl. auch Lejeune 1985.

⁹¹ Dijon, Musée Archéologique: Δαγολιτους α{υ}βοτ: Deyts u.a. 1995, 38 Abb.

⁹² So Richter 1955, 102 f.

⁹³ Toynbee 1951, 26 f.

Derartige Phänomene trafen nicht nur auf die Bildhauerkunst und Bronze gießerei zu, sondern auch auf die Glyptik⁹⁴ und die Toreutik⁹⁵, Kunstarten, in denen ebenfalls vorwiegend griechische Signaturen begegnen⁹⁶. Es ist nämlich nicht einzusehen, warum in römischer Zeit z.B. der Vater, ein Freigelassener mit griechischem Cognomen, in griechischer Sprache signiert hat, einer der Söhne oder Enkel, der dem Vater oder Großvater in der Regel im Beruf folgte und der dann als Freigeborener meist ein lateinisches Cognomen wählte, um den Makel des Libertinenstandes seiner Vorfahren zu verschleiern, nun aber nicht mehr signiert haben sollte.

Überraschenderweise soll die große Mehrheit der in Italien belegten Bildhauer der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit, die ein Ethnikon angeben, aus Athen⁹⁷, in der späteren Antike aus Aphrodisias⁹⁸ stammen. Nach dem bisher Gesagten ist damit zu rechnen, dass nicht jede Herkunftsangabe wörtlich zu verstehen ist: Steckt hinter dem Genannten wirklich ein Grieche, dann gibt das Ethnikon womöglich den Sitz des Ateliers an, ist hingegen der Name ein Pseudonym für einen Einheimischen, könnte ein fiktives Qualitätssiegel gemeint sein⁹⁹. Eine aktuelle Entscheidung zwischen beiden Alternativen ist vielleicht dann möglich, wenn der Vatersname innerhalb der Signatur erscheint; unwahrscheinlich ist nämlich, dass es sich dabei um eine Erfindung handelt. Gab es keinen griechischstämmigen Vater, konnte die Angabe seines Namens einfach unterbleiben, zumal dies in etlichen griechischen Signaturen Italiens so gehandhabt wurde, wohingegen im Osten das Patronymikon mehrheitlich angegeben wurde¹⁰⁰. Der Handwerker stand dann vor der Wahl, entweder durch die Vatersangabe darauf zu verweisen, dass die Werkstatt in einer Familientradition steht, in der bereits der Vater im gleichen Metier tätig war, oder er stellte sich in die Jahrhunderte dauernde Kontinuität der griechischen Kunst.

Als negatives Unterscheidungsmerkmal kann darüber hinaus die Beobachtung dienen, dass das Werk, das den Namen eines berühmten Künstlers der Antike trägt, weder im Motiv noch im Stil zu diesem altvorderen Meister passt. So dürfte der oben bereits genannte kaiserzeitliche Phidias¹⁰¹ (**Abb. 4**) kaum auf ein selbstgewähltes Pseudonym zurückgehen, da der Bildhauer dem Betrachter nicht nur seinen gleichnamigen Vater mitteilte, sondern er auch damit rechnen musste, dass ein Kenner der griechischen Kunstgeschichte den Namen des weltbekannten Phidias weder mit einem Werk aus Basalt noch mit dem Motiv eines Affen assoziierte, geschweige denn, mit einem gleichnamigen Vater. Denkbar wäre allerdings auch, dass der kaiserzeitliche Phidias im vorliegenden Fall von seiner „Machart“ abgewichen ist, weil er den Auftrag nicht einem Konkurrenzatelier überlassen wollte.

Bei einem Überblick über die Gattung der antiken Mosaiken stellt man erstaunt fest, dass aus Italien

⁹⁴ Vollenweider 1966; Richter 1973/74; Hurwit 2015, 33-38.

⁹⁵ Künzl 1978; Simon 1986, 141 f.; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, 48-50; Thomas 2002.

⁹⁶ s. oben Anm. 5. – Betreffs der Tafelmaler liegen zu wenige Werke mit Signaturen vor, um eine Entscheidung treffen zu können. – Vgl. immerhin die beiden Marmorgemälde aus Herculaneum mit der Signatur Ἀλέξανδρος | Ἀθηναῖος | ἔγραψεν: Mielsch 1979; Schwanzer 1985; KLA 2001, 20 f.

⁹⁷ Loewy 1885, 238-246; Richter 1951, 45-54; Toynbee 1951, 24-26; Moretti 1990, 56-84; Cain – Dräger 1994, 815-819.

⁹⁸ Roueché – Erism 1982; Erism – Reynolds 1989.

⁹⁹ Donderer 2011, 189-192.

¹⁰⁰ Loewy 1885, 223-235.

¹⁰¹ s. oben Anm. 84.

nur auffallend wenige Künstlerinschriften auf Tessellatpavimenten vorliegen, vom Festland - mit Ausnahme Unteritaliens einschließlich Siziliens - bisher nur drei lateinische¹⁰² und zwei griechische, eine davon in doppelter Ausführung¹⁰³. Die beiden pompejanischen Emblemata des Dioskourides aus Samos zeigen Szenen aus Menanderkomödien, können allerdings auch nach Italien importiert sein, da es sich um in Rahmen gefasste, in der Werkstatt separat gearbeitete Einzelstücke handelt, die an den Bestimmungsort verbracht und dort in das Paviment eingesetzt worden sind¹⁰⁴. Das von Heraklitos signierte Paviment aus Rom (**Abb. 5a**) besteht an einer Seite aus einem Maskenfries sowie an den übrigen drei jeweils aus einer Zone mit Darstellungen von Speiseresten, innen folgt ein ägyptisierender Landschaftsfries (**Abb. 5b**).

Zumindest die beiden letztgenannten Rahmenmotive sind östlichen Ursprungs, ja der ungelegte Speiseraumfußboden (ἀσάρωτος οἶκος) wird mit Sosos verbunden, dem einzigen uns literarisch überlieferten Mosaizisten, der das Motiv in Pergamon verlegt hat¹⁰⁵. Zwar kamen die Kieselmosaiken im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf¹⁰⁶, die Bildmosaiken ebendort oder auf Sizilien¹⁰⁷. Allerdings fand die Gattung der Mosaiken offenbar keinen Niederschlag in den Werken der griechischen Kunstgeschichtsschreiber, weshalb Plinius auch nur auf die Techniken dieses Boden- und Wand schmucks eingeht, nicht aber auf die Vertreter dieses Handwerks¹⁰⁸; bezeichnenderweise fehlt denn auch bis weit in die Kaiserzeit ein griechischer Fachterminus für ein aus Mosaiksteinchen gebildetes Paviment¹⁰⁹. Der Mangel an griechischsprachigen Signaturen auf Böden Roms sowie Mittel- und Oberitaliens könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass keine den anderen Kunstgattungen entsprechende östliche Tradition mit namentlich bekannten Meistern vorlag, die Vorbildcharakter hatten.

Fassen wir zusammen. In Griechenland begegnen schon seit der Klassik, vermehrt aber seit dem Hellenismus Bildende Künstler mit berühmten Namen, die als Epigonen berühmter Vorläufer anzusehen sind. Meist ist es nicht möglich zu entscheiden, ob der Name traditionsgemäß in einer Bildhauerfamilie weitergegeben oder ob er ohne Verwandtschaftsbeziehung vom späteren Träger aus geschäftlichen Gründen okkupiert worden ist. In der Antike konnte man sich nicht nur althergebrachter Motive und eines vergangenen Stils bedienen, sondern die Illusion, ein Werk sei besonders alt, ließ sich noch durch griechische Signaturen (Sprache, Wortwahl, Buchstabenform etc.)¹¹⁰, ja sogar durch die Nennung eines allseits bekannten Namens eines längst verstorbenen Künstlers deutlich steigern. Daher muss nicht hinter jedem Bildenden Künstler mit einem griechischen Namen –

¹⁰² Falerone: Donderer 1989, 89 f. Nr. A 56 Taf. 34,2; 2008, 128 Nr. A 56. – bei Nemi, loc. S. Maria: Poulsen 2015. – Rom: Donderer 1989, 85 Nr. A 48 Taf. 29,1; ders. 2008, 125 f. Nr. A 48.

¹⁰³ Pompeji, Villa di Cicerone: Διοσκουρίδης Σάμιος ἐποίησε: Donderer 1989, 59-61 Nr. A 11 Taf. 9; ders. 2008, 109-111 Nr. A 11; Andreae 2012, 219-227 Farabb. 218-221. – Rom: Ἡράκλιτος ἡργάσατο: Donderer 1989, 63 Nr. A 16 Taf. 13; ders. 2008, 113 Nr. A 16; Andreae 2012, 47-51 Farabb. 46-51.

¹⁰⁴ Zu. Emblemata allg. s. Zapheirou 2006. – Zum Handel mit Emblemata s. Donderer 2001.

¹⁰⁵ Plin. nat. 36, 184: Donderer 1987; Moormann 2000; Andreae 2012, 47-51 Farabb. 47-51 mit unzutreffender Rekonstruktion des Originalbodens in Pergamon; vgl. Donderer 2007, 165 f.

¹⁰⁶ Salzmann 1982, 4-8.

¹⁰⁷ Salzmann 1982, 75-77; Dunbabin 1999, 18-22.

¹⁰⁸ Vgl. allg. Brendel 1979, 94-97.

¹⁰⁹ Bruneau 1988, bes. 53-55.

¹¹⁰ Donderer 1995, 113-115.

vorwiegend in Mittel- und Oberitalien zur Zeit der späten Republik sowie des frühen und mittleren Prinzipats - ein Mann stecken, der aus der Magna Graecia oder dem Osten des Mittelmeerbereichs stammt. Zwar müssen Name und Machart (Stil und Motiv) nicht zwingend übereinstimmen, doch darf man in der Regel davon ausgehen, dass gerade die spätere Übernahme eines bestimmten Meisternamens nicht ohne Grund erfolgte.

Der Schritt zur Fälschung ist, was hier nicht weiter ausgeführt zu werden braucht, unter diesen Umständen nicht mehr weit¹¹¹.

Abschließend sei darauf hingewiesen, dass das Phänomen der Pseudonyme auch in der neueren Kunstgeschichte vorliegt, und zwar vorwiegend bei italienischen Malern¹¹², z.B. Botticelli (eig. Alessandro Filipepi), Masaccio (eig. Tommaso di Giovanni di Simone Guidi) und Pinturicchio (eig. Bernardino di Betto di Biagio), viel seltener bei Malern anderer Regionen, z.B. Juan Gris (eig. José Victoriano Gonzalés) und Lorrain (eig. Claude Gellée). Während die Gründe für die Wahl des Pseudonyms meist unbekannt sind, lassen sich in wenigen Fällen eindeutige Erklärungen geben:

Nach ihren Lehrern haben sich benannt Canaletto¹¹³ (eig. Bernardo Bellotto), Piero di Cosimo (eig. Piero di Lorenzo) und Andrea del Verrocchio (eig. Andrea del Cione). Nach seiner Ausbildungszeit als Maler und Architekt in Italien und der Rückkehr in seine Heimat legte sich der Böhme Johann Santin Aichel den Namen Giovanni Santini zu und stellte sich dadurch auch formal in eine allgemein anerkannte ausländische Kunsttradition - vergleichbar so manchem Bildenden Künstler in der Antike.

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¹¹¹ Andrén 1986, 52-56; Gill – Wiseman 1993; Fuchs 1999, 39-52; Donderer 2011, 192 mit einem signifikanten Beispiel (Apoll von Piombino). – Zur Sitte, antikisierende Gemmen seit dem 18. Jh. mit einem fiktiven antiken Künstlernamen zu signieren s. Berthold 2009.

¹¹² Vgl. die entsprechenden Lemmata in den Bänden des AKL.

¹¹³ Canaletto, der Name des Lehrers, ist auch schon ein Pseudonym für Antonio Canal.

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**Her Yunanca Sanatçı İmzasının Ardında bir Yunanlı Beklenemez.
Antik İtalya'nın Sanatçı İmzalarındaki Takma İsimler (pseudonim'ler)**

Özet

Orta ve Kuzey İtalya'da özellikle Roma Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin sonlarında ve aynı zamanda İmparatorluk Dönemi'nin başlarında ve ortalarında sanatçıların birçoğu eserlerini Yunan dilinde imzaladıkları için bu durumun sanatçının etnik kökenini gösteren bir işaret olduğu düşüncesi bilim dünyasında bugüne kadar ortak bir kanaat (*communis opinio*) olarak algılanmıştır. Fakat en azından İtalya'da kölelerin ve azatlıların Yunan isimleri ve lakaplarının (*cognomina*) onların doğum yerlerini istisnasız olarak göstermediği gerçeği dikkatli olmamızı gerektirmektedir. Ayrıca çok sayıda belge bazı meslek gruplarında (örneğin atletler, gladyatörler, at arabası sürücüleri, doktorlar ve sahne sanatçıları) Latince ve Yunanca takma isim (pseudonim) kullanılmasının olağan bir durum olduğunu göstermektedir. Bunun nedeni ise uzun ve pozitif anlam taşıyan bir geleneğe dahil olma isteğidir. Aynısı sanatçılar için de geçerli olmalıdır. Bu bağlamda bilim dünyasında uzun süredir farkedilen bir gerçek vardır ki, o da, bazı kereler ünlü birisinin taşıdığı bir takma ismin sonraki taşıyıcısı tarafından açıkça üstlenilmiş olmasıdır. İsim tabi ki akraba bağlarının bir göstergesi de olabilir, fakat bu yüzyıllarca geriye giden alıntılar her örnekte ikna edici değildir.

İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait üç örnek yazıt (iki mezar ve bir bağış yazıtı) sayesinde takma isim seçimine açıklık getirilebilir. Takma ismin alınmasının nedenleri, örnek aldıkları kişilerin temsil ettikleri (rol model oldukları) sanat türünde, sanat konusunda veya sanatsal stilde yatıyor olmalıdır. Ama sadece ünlü temsilcilerin isimleri seçilmiyordu; görünüşe göre hayali bir Yunan ismi ve/veya bu dildeki bir imza reklam karakterli pozitif bir ifade olarak yeterliydi. Bu durum sadece heykeltıraşlık sanatı için değil, özellikle metal ve taş işleme sanatları için de geçerlidir; bu sanatlar Antikçağ'ın sanatla ilgili tarihi bibliyografyası aracılığıyla günümüze birçok ünlü ismin ulaştığı sanat alanlarıdır. Bu söylenenlere uygun olarak, Orta ve Kuzey İtalya'da -iki gerekçelendirilmiş örnek haricinde- bir mozaik sanatçısına ait hiç Yunanca imza bulunmamaktadır. Çünkü antik sanat tarihinde -bir istisna

hariç- bu tekniğin hiçbir temsilcisi adlandırılmamaktadır. Bu durumdan çıkan şaşırtıcı sonuç ise, her Yunanca imzanın ardında bir Yunan'ın olmasının gerekmediğidir. Sanatçı isimlerine bakarak, bir sanatçının adının ne zaman o kişinin memleketine yönelik bir gösterge olduğu veya ne zaman olmadığı maalesef kesin olarak söylenememektedir. Ayrıca Yeniçağ'ın erken dönemlerinden beri benzer bir durum İtalya'da bazı ressam imzalarında da gözlemlenmektedir. Bu da bu olguda bir süreklilik olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Tabi Yeniçağ için tarihi kaynak durumu çok daha iyi olduğundan takma isim (pseudonym) konusuyla ilgili sorunlar daha kolay çözülebilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: sanatçı imzaları; takma isimler/pseudonimler; lakaplar/cognomina; meslekler.

Behind every Greek signature there is not necessarily a Greek.

Pseudonyms of visual artists in ancient Italy

Abstract

Because the vast majority of visual artists signed in Greek especially in the late republic as well as in the early and middle imperial period in central and northern Italy, it is considered as *communis opinio* in modern research that this is a sign for their ethnic origin. However, the fact that, at least in Italy, Greek names and cognomina of slaves and freedmen do not always indicate their region of birth, urges us to be cautious. Furthermore, there are numerous testimonies demonstrating that it was common in some professional groups (e.g. athletes, gladiators, charioteers, doctors and stage artists) to acquire Latin or Greek pseudonyms. The reason for this is that one wanted to join a long and positively connoted tradition.

The same should apply to visual artists. In this respect, it has already been noticed in research for a long time that younger representatives apparently occupied the name of a famous predecessor in some cases. The name can by all means indicate also family relationships, but this is not always convincing in each case due to dating back hundreds of years. The choice of pseudonyms can be illustrated by three examples from the imperial period (two grave inscriptions and one honorary inscription). The reason for the adoption of the pseudonym might lie in the art form, the theme or the style which their role models represented. But not only the names of well-known representatives could be chosen; apparently a fictitious Greek name and/or a signature in this language were sufficient as a positive statement of advertising character. This can apply not only to sculpture, but can also be applied to toreutics and stone cutting. These are the genres in which many famous names survived in the art-historical literature of antiquity. Accordingly, there are no Greek mosaicist signatures from central and northern Italy - with the exception of two justifiable cases- because, apart from one exception, apparently no representatives of this technique were mentioned in ancient art history.

The surprising conclusion in view of this situation is that every Greek signature does not necessarily stand for a Greek. Regrettably, it is not possible to differentiate certainly if the mentioning of the artist indicates his homeland or not. In the meanwhile, there has been a comparable phenomenon with some Italian painter signatures since the early modern period, implying that there has been continuity in this phenomenon. However, the problem of pseudonyms can be more easily solved here, since the situation of the historical sources is incomparably more favorable.

Keywords: signatures; pseudonyms; cognomina; professions.



Abb. 1: Verona, Sepulkralinschrift



Abb. 2: Rom, Villa Albani, Grabrelief

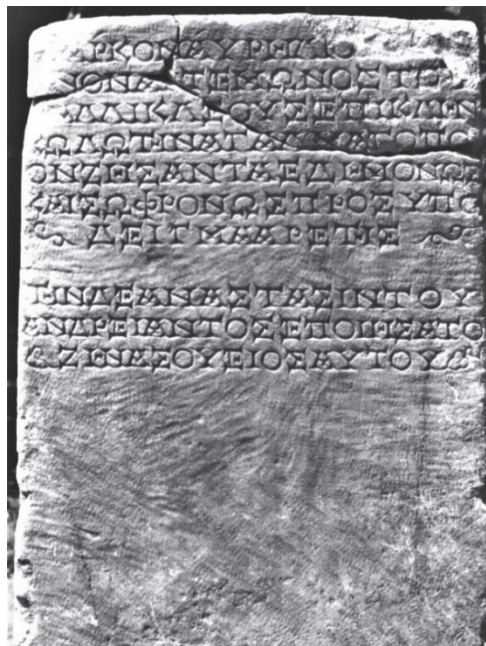


Abb. 3: Aphrodisias, Ehreninschrift

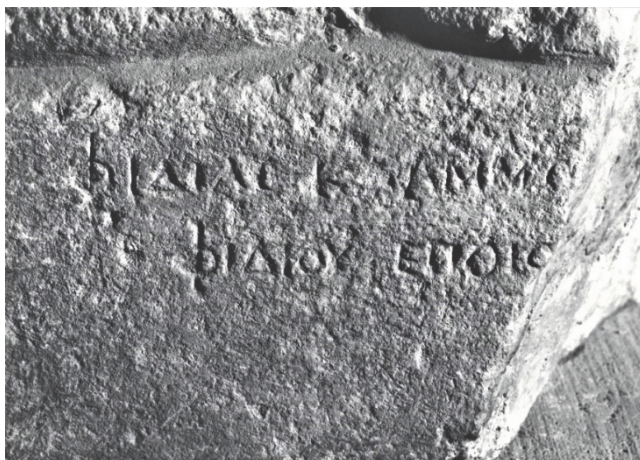


Abb. 4 a. b: Rom, Vatikanische Museen, Votivgabe

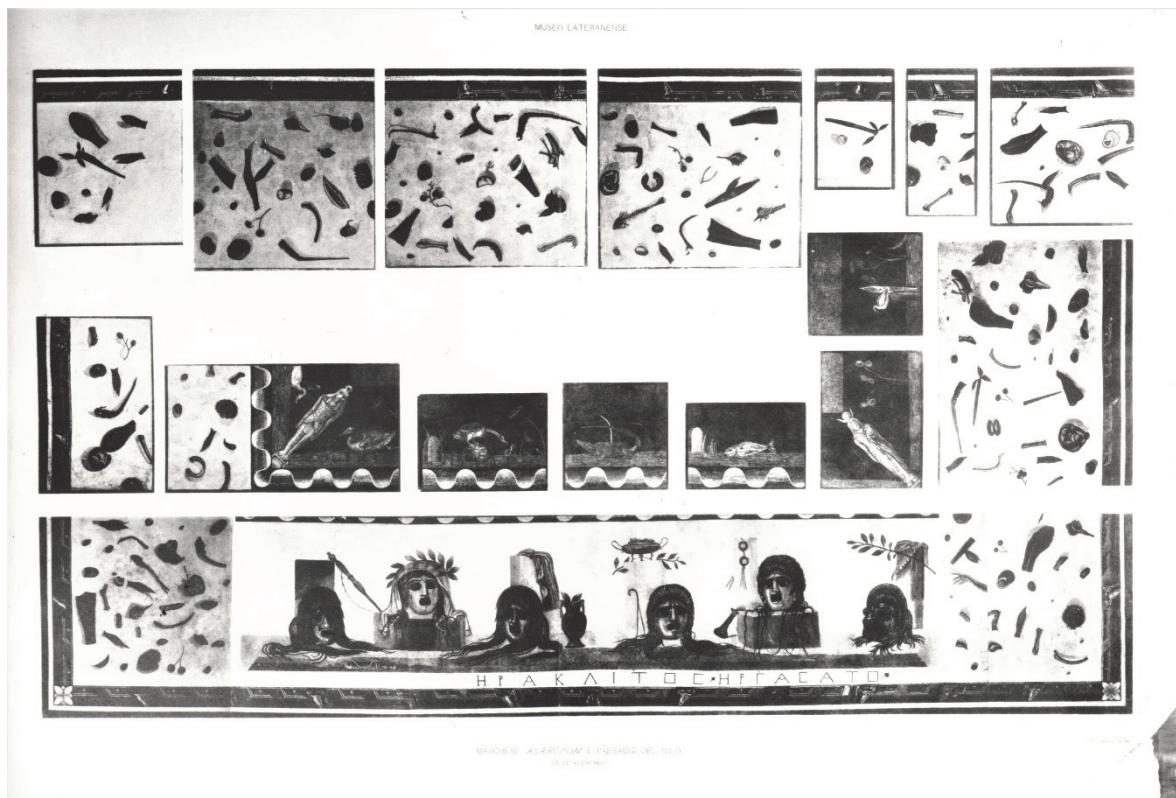


Abb. 5 a. b: Rom, Vatikanische Museen, Mosaik eines Speiseraumes

Abbildungsnachweise

Abb. 1: Photo der Soprintendenza Archeologica, Verona.

Abb. 2: nach Lahusen (1989) Taf. 162.

Abb. 3-5: Museumsphotos.