

Introduction

Death is a universal calamity, and a funerary monument is “something that exists to preserve memory.”¹ Often decorated in relief, and sometimes featuring portrait images of their patrons, marble sarcophagi were among the most distinctive funerary monuments in Roman Asia Minor. A sarcophagus was a liminal object that provided a bridge between the living and the dead through its decoration and commemorative function. The design and iconography of a sarcophagus chest, therefore, was important.

Many different factors determined sarcophagus iconography, including, but not limited to memory preservation and elevation, cultural and social choices, religion, fashion, and available budget. Mostly commissioned by the deceased in their lifetime, or by their surviving heirs, the decoration of a sarcophagus may have reflected a wish to have lived a life full of happiness and earthly successes. In addition, sarcophagus decoration probably reflected high hopes for whatever the deceased believed existed after death, if anything. This multifaceted expression, including both elevated and mundane elements, was acknowledged both by the patrons, so that they might move into death and leave a laudable memory behind, and by the bereaved, so that they might achieve closure after a tragic family loss.

Two assumptions form the basis of the arguments in this book. The first one is the anthropological tendency that in death people become what they were not in life. Death is not the time for frank confessions about the person who passed away; it is the time for the family to contemplate, to praise and elevate the earthly successes and social status of the dead, and to immortalize their memory. The second assumption is that death was by no means a great equalizer; on the contrary, social distinctions in life persisted into death. The iconography of a Roman sarcophagus had undeniable links with social history and hierarchy. The major concern of this book is to interpret how these social codes and distinctions were also carved in relief on sarcophagi.

A. SCOPE AND DEFINITION

The present volume publishes all the surviving remains of the columnar sarcophagi from Aphrodisias—some 228 items. The columnar sarcophagi, all made of marble, were typically decorated in relief with five paratactical arches supported by columns. The five bays under these arches have standing human

figures set in them, such as citizens, Muses, allegories and mythological figures.

The columnar sarcophagi from Aphrodisias are important for several reasons. First, sarcophagi of Asia Minor saw their golden age of production and aesthetic quality in the first half of the third century AD, and continued to be produced till the end of the century. The third century has a poor written and visual record, especially in the second half, which saw major political, economic and social challenges. Because of an overall decline and eventual transformation of material culture, sarcophagus chests remain one of the most important media through which the historical circumstances of the century can be understood.² These circumstances are relatively better known in the western Empire compared with the east; therefore, the corpus of Aphrodisian sarcophagi is an invaluable material to fill a serious lacuna in our evidence.

Second, the epitaphs, some of which are inscribed on the sarcophagus lids and chests, and others on individual marble blocks, are both well preserved and well published. These inscriptions aid in understanding the historical and social contexts that include, but are not limited to, social status and class of the owners, general habits and customs of burial, hierarchy of individuals to be buried in the sarcophagi, and the general prosopography of the city’s residents.

Third, the Aphrodisian sarcophagi were produced almost entirely for the local demand of a single city. This state of preservation allows a better-documented social profile of the patrons, something that is more difficult in the case of sarcophagus chests, for example, from Dokimeion and Proconnesus, which were exported to numerous cities in Asia Minor.

Aphrodisian sarcophagi differ from those in Rome or Athens in terms of display contexts and iconography. For instance, unlike the majority of metropolitan Roman sarcophagi, Aphrodisian sarcophagi were mostly displayed in the open air so that their decoration was not solely reserved for the relatives of the deceased. This difference is significant, as it most likely determined Aphrodisian iconographic choices, which are less emotional and less private, and more publicly charged, as compared to metropolitan sarcophagi. The Aphrodisian sarcophagi were more concerned with contemporary civic life than with private matters.

Sarcophagi from Aphrodisias can be classified in five main groups by their relief decoration on the front side of the chest: garland, columnar, fluted, frieze, and other types. The surviving numbers of these groups are given in Table 1.

1 Ulpian, *Dig.* 11.7.2.6.

2 Borg 2013, 1–5.

Type of sarcophagus	Extant number	Percentage
Garland	348	55 %
Columnar	228	36 %
Fluted	11	2 %
Frieze	22	3.5 %
Other	21	3.5 %
Total	630	

Fig. 2: Table showing numbers of extant sarcophagi from Aphrodisias according to type.

Garland sarcophagi constitute the largest group and are well published.³ They are also the earliest group, with production beginning in the first century AD. The earliest garland sarcophagi have thin, shallow garland swags with hanging bucrania, Erotes or gorgoneia.⁴ The later garland sarcophagi became common in the late second century and continued to be produced till the late third. They have increasingly thick and elaborate fruit garlands that hang down from the top of the chest to the bottom and terminate with a hanging grape bunch. There might be three garlands on the chest, but more commonly two, with a tabula in the center. The tabula is sometimes filled with an inscription. Nike figures often support the garlands in the corners, and Erotes turn towards each other in the center of the chest. The lunettes of the garlands are occupied by portrait busts of the deceased, flower rosettes, or the mythological scene of Ganymede abducted by the eagle.

Aphrodisian columnar sarcophagi can be classified into three sub-types based on their design: Main group, Dokimeion-style, and composite columnar sarcophagi (Fig. 3).

The Main group (Chs. 3 and 4) is the largest sub-group with 183 fully or partially preserved chests. A typical chest of this group has five paratactical arches supported by columns. Human or divine figures stand under these arches. While the back sides of the sarcophagi are usually left plain, the short sides were often decorated, either with two arches, or by one or two garlands hanging from columns.

Dokimeion-style sarcophagi (Ch. 5) are a smaller group of 27 extant items, which refer in form and decoration to Dokimeion sarcophagi produced in Phrygian marble, yet differ from them in several respects. These local sarcophagi have a central triangular pediment flanked by a broken pediment on either side. One short side is decorated with a door, and the other short side is most likely decorated with three aediculae.

Composite columnar sarcophagi (Ch. 6) are a small group of 18 sarcophagi and fragments. As the name implies, the group has mixed decorative elements combining columns with garlands (garland-columnar), frieze panels (frieze-columnar), or decorative flutes (fluted-columnar).

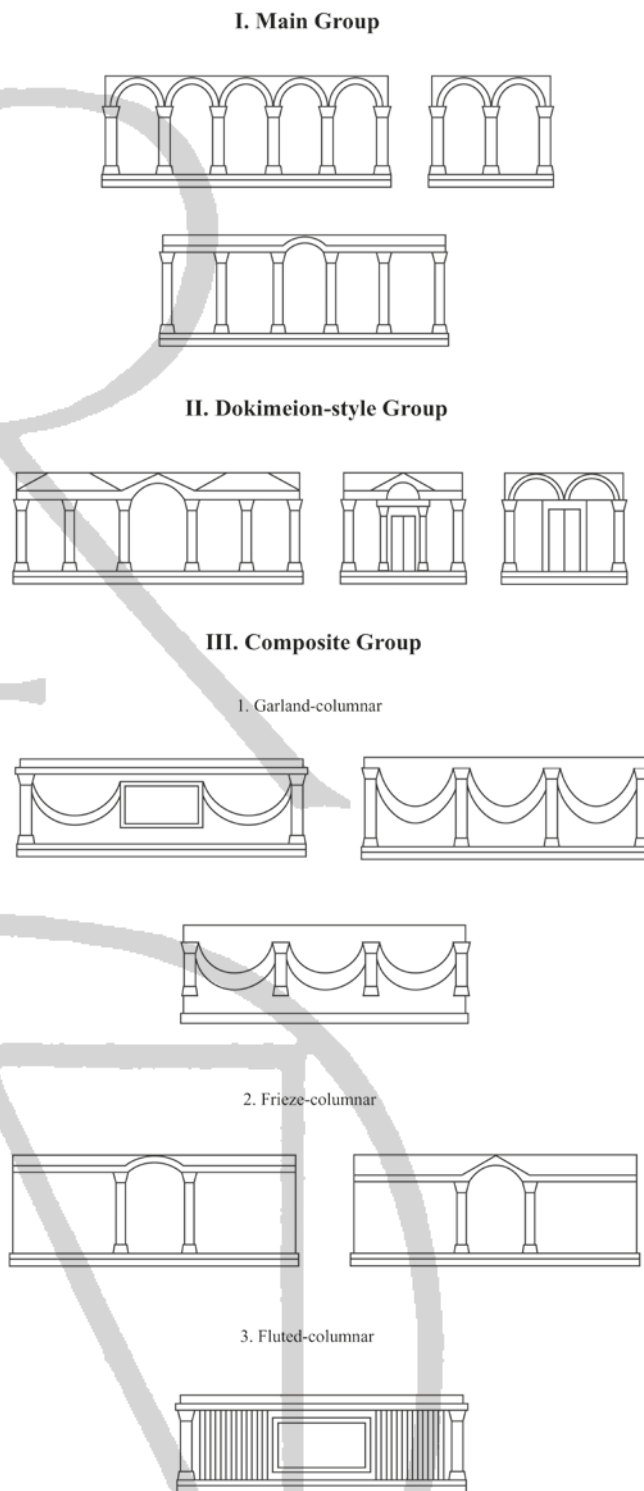


Fig. 3: Diagram showing types of Aphrodisian columnar sarcophagi.

3 Işık 2007.

4 Berges 1993; Strocka 1996; Işık 2007, 101–104.

B. AIMS AND METHODS

The main aim of this study is to organize and present the available archaeological, epigraphic and stylistic evidence for the columnar sarcophagi of Aphrodisias. The main method of study is careful archaeological taxonomy through study of the chests and fragments preserved at the site. The present book is the end product of a several-year project of depot and field work conducted by the author and other members of the New York University Aphrodisias excavation team during which the material was studied, measured, photographed and recorded in a database.

Funerary inscriptions are evaluated as a whole, because few columnar sarcophagi are inscribed. The same broader consideration applies to the discussion of archaeological context, aspects of use, chronology and social history. The conclusions of this study, then, are based not only on what the columnar sarcophagi, but also on what the broader corpus of Aphrodisian sarcophagi and funerary inscriptions, can provide.

Dating of individual sarcophagi is precise only through datable portrait heads or inscriptions. Otherwise, the chronology is established in broad relative terms. It is the broader chronological accumulation of sarcophagi in the early third century that is important for the arguments of this study.

The main theoretical substrate of this book is that sarcophagus iconography tends to combine factual or lived reality with figurative imagery. This hybrid nature of the narrative has been suggested and demonstrated for metropolitan Roman sarcophagi of mythological subject matter.⁵ On these sarcophagi, mythology plays the role of a bridge between reality and allegory.⁶ Aphrodisian columnar sarcophagus chests also display a set of binary aspects—eschatological and practical; civic and allegorical; somberness and festivity, but especially, elevated and mundane. The motifs draw on the double nature of a sarcophagus as both an inhumation chest and a public monument.

In addition to this hybrid imagery, the iconography on the sarcophagi tends to express the social values and cultural standards of the time period in which they were produced, the *Mentalitätsgeschichte*, more than they represent specific individual lives.⁷ This particular reading is especially prominent on Aphrodisian columnar sarcophagi, as the imagery chosen by patrons often makes a sharp contrast with who they really were, as we learn from the inscriptions. Depictions of patrons were accompanied by an army of idealized and divine figures, which were highly charged in their specific social and historical circumstances. Overall, the sarcophagi say more about the society in which they were most abundantly produced than about individuals, and illuminate the specific social, political and economic circumstances of the contemporary Severan society.

5 Giuliani 1989, 38–39; Bielfeldt 2005, 277; Lorenz 2011, 309–11.

6 Zanker and Ewald 2004, 69.

7 Suggested in Ewald 2004, 230; Huskinson 2011.

C. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The study of Roman sarcophagi as a specific field of research (*Sarkophagstudien*) was started in the 1870s by Friedrich Matz and Carl Robert, who established the *Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (*ASR*) series. This corpus project has gathered and studied mostly metropolitan Roman sarcophagi (*Stadtrömische Sarkophage*) that were produced in the city of Rome and Attic sarcophagi that were made in workshops at Athens. It focused on stylistic, iconographic and chronological issues, and, most importantly, the publication of descriptions and images of the vast amount of material.⁸ Recent edited volumes have studied newly discovered Roman and early Christian sarcophagi, and have offered new interpretations of old sarcophagi.⁹ Other recent scholarship has focused on the broader picture of sarcophagus production and on the interpretation of sarcophagus iconography. These works have aimed to interpret sarcophagus reliefs, particularly of mythological content, parallel to recent paradigms in sociology, psychology and other humanistic disciplines, highlighting, for example, original display contexts, economy of production, and the role of sarcophagi in ancient society.¹⁰

Asiatic columnar sarcophagi were studied in the early 20th century in the works of D. Ainalov and J. Strzygowski, who suggested that they were precursors of early Christian and Byzantine art.¹¹ Later, the famous Melfi sarcophagus was interpreted as a clear sign that the origin of columnar sarcophagi was in the west.¹² Asiatic columnar sarcophagi were first recognized as a group distinct from metropolitan Roman sarcophagi and as peculiar to Asia Minor by E. Wiegand, who categorized them into two groups, Lydian and Sidamaran, based upon the style of ornamentation.¹³

In the meantime, several columnar sarcophagi were discovered in Asia Minor, including the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina from Sardis, which was published in a monograph by C. Morey.¹⁴ Morey classified the figure types on the columnar sarcophagi and localized the production of the Lydian group in Ephesos and the Sidamaran group in northwestern Asia Minor.¹⁵ Later, H. Wiegartz and G. Ferrari suggested that the Lydian and Sidamaran groups are in fact a single class, and that the so-called Lydian sarcophagi merely predate the so-called Sidamaran group.¹⁶ Finally, the production center of the columnar sarcophagi, which had earlier been assigned to a coastal city in Pamphylia, was established by M. Waelkens to be Dokimeion in Phrygia, from where the sarcophagi were transported to a

8 *K & S*; also Koch 2000.

9 Koch 1993b; Koch et al. 1998; Koch and Kirchhainer 2002; Koch 2007. Also Andreae 1984a.

10 For instance Koortbojian 1995; Ewald 1999; Zanker and Ewald 2004 (translated into English in 2013); Bielfeldt 2005; Elsner and Huskinson 2011; and most recently Borg 2013.

11 Ainalov 1901, 160–64; Strzygowski 1901; Ainalov 1961, 216.

12 Altmann 1902.

13 Wiegand 1914, 73.

14 Morey 1924.

15 Morey 1924, 73–77. Also see Lawrence 1951, 162–66, who accepted Morey's classification and suggested a chronology of the columnar sarcophagi according to the ornamental distinction between Lydian and the Sidamaran groups.

16 Wiegartz 1965, 26; Ferrari 1966, 83–86.

variety of locations around the Empire, including Italy and Athens, but mostly around Asia Minor.¹⁷ It is still a matter of dispute whether Dokimeion was the only production center of Asiatic sarcophagi.¹⁸

Scholarship on Aphrodisian sarcophagi in particular began as early as the 1930s when G. Rodenwaldt published a handful of examples he saw at the site, but failed to recognize them as a distinct group produced locally.¹⁹ Later, H. Wiegartz recognized the columnar sarcophagi as a separate class, but published them selectively in his *Kleinasiatische Säulensarkophage*, which remains the only major treatment of the body of Asiatic columnar sarcophagi.²⁰ Since then, F. Işık has done considerable work on Aphrodisian garland and, to some extent, columnar sarcophagi.²¹ His monograph on the garland sarcophagi included an invaluable study of their epitaphs by J. Reynolds and C. Roueché.²²

More recently, A. Chaniotis has published a number of sarcophagus inscriptions,²³ and the Aphrodisias regional survey project, carried out between 2005 and 2009, recorded and published sarcophagus fragments from the environs of the site. This work led to an article and a dissertation on the archaeological context of the sarcophagi.²⁴ The present author wrote a dissertation on the subject of this monograph, and has published several preparatory articles.²⁵ The available body of evidence has grown significantly in recent years.

17 Waelkens 1982a, 105–109, and fig. 7 for a distribution of sarcophagi around the regions.

18 Contested by, for example Işık 2002, 135–36. An important volume on Dokimeion columnar sarcophagi appeared unfortunately too recently to take account of here: Strocka 2017.

19 Rodenwaldt 1933a; 1933b.

20 Wiegartz 1965.

21 Işık 1982; 1984; and 2007.

22 Section on epitaphs in Işık's monograph: Reynolds and Roueché 2007; Aphrodisias inscriptions: *IApb*.

23 Chaniotis 2004; 2008; and Smith and Chaniotis 2016.

24 Turnbow 2011 and 2012.

25 Dissertation: Oğus Uzun 2010; articles: Öğüş 2014a; 2014b; 2016; 2017.

Definition: Context, Production and Use

This chapter examines the original display context of the Aphrodisian sarcophagi as well as aspects of their production and use. The first section presents extant epigraphic and archaeological evidence for intramural and extramural tombs, including a survey of terminology used in the funerary inscriptions to define tomb structures. The second section focuses on the chronology of the sarcophagi. The third section introduces other topics regarding the use and re-use of sarcophagi.

A. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

So far, there has been no systematic excavation in the cemeteries of Aphrodisias, and the extant sarcophagi are mostly either stray finds re-used in the city center or accidental finds from outside the city walls that were discovered during agricultural work. As funerary inscriptions indicate, the sarcophagi were originally associated with tomb structures that had additional burial spaces. As in many other cities of Asia Minor, most of the tombs at Aphrodisias were outside the borders of the 'city of the living,' along the roads out of town. Intramural burial was also possible, but it was a right and privilege rarely granted by the Council, and then only to the most distinguished citizens and benefactors.²⁶ It is important to review here the extant evidence for both intramural and extramural burials at Aphrodisias to draw a complete picture of local funerary culture.

26 Some examples of other intramural burials in Asia Minor: (1) *herōon* at the Agora at Assos: Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey 1902, 109–17; Coulton 1982, 58; Berns 2003, cat. 7A; (2) *herōon* by the West Market at Miletus: Kleiner 1968, 131–32; (3) Hellenistic *herōon* by the Theater and the Roman *herōon* by the Baths of Faustina at Miletos: Kleiner 1968, 132–34; (4) Octagon and the Tomb/Library of Celsus at Ephesos: Keil 1944, 81–84; Thür 1990; Kader 1995, 214–15, figs. 1.2, 2.2, 8.2; (5) Oinoanda tomb Mk 2: Coulton 1982; Berns 2003, cat. 31 A1; (6) *herōon* at the Agora of Aezonai: Naumann 1973–1974; Berns 2003, 160; (7) pseudomonopteral tomb in the temenos of the temple at Termessos: Lanckoronksi 1892, 105–107, fig. 30; Berns 2003, cat. 40 A1 (8) the monopteral tomb in the gymnasium at Termessos: Lanckoronksi 1892, 88, figs. 43–45, 118; Berns 2003, cat. 40 A2; (9) the honorific monuments on the Lower Agora and Upper Agoras at Sagalassos: Fleischer 1979, 273–307; Vandepuit 1997, 195, pls. 10.1–3, 11.1, 12.1–3, 13.1; Kosmetatou et al. 1997, 353–66; (10) monument of Skythinos in Pergamon: Berns 2003, cat. 33 A 2; (11) *herōon* at Limyra for C. Caesar: Berns 2003, cat. 25 A1; (12) an aedicular structure in the temenos of Artemis at Magnesia-on-the-Meander: Berns 2003, cat. 26 A1.

Intramural burials

Archaeological and epigraphic evidence attests to the burial of privileged individuals in the city center in the late Republican and early Imperial period. One inscription declares that the right of burial in the gymnasium was granted to one Kallikrates (?), son of Pythodoros, a member of the triumviral period elite, who was a *gymnasiarchos* during the wars of the late Republic.²⁷ The gymnasium has not yet been located at Aphrodisias, but was almost certainly in the city center.²⁸ A second inscription is an honorific decree of the first century AD that grants the right of intramural burial to Adrastos, "because of his generosity (*philoteimia*) towards the People, for behaving with goodwill (*eunoia*) for the common interest and for having continuously provided everything that was deserving of honor."²⁹ Adrastos was honored with permission to be buried in the public *ergasteria* opposite the Bouleuterion. According to the inscription, however, upon hearing the honors, Adrastos came forward, concerned that the income of the city would be reduced by such a burial, and requested that he be buried at his own *ergasteria* instead. The Council eventually allowed him to have the *herōon* on his own land, the location of which is not mentioned.

An example of such a *herōon* survives in a circular three-stepped tomb near the Sculptor's Workshop to the north of the Bouleuterion. The workshop dates to the third-fourth centuries AD.³⁰ Inside the tomb, there is a recess in which a half-finished garland sarcophagus with a flat lid was fitted (Pl. 51 A). Next to the tomb structure, the excavators discovered a hollowed out round altar decorated with Eros carrying garlands (Pl. 51 B).³¹ The *krepis* of the monument is partially under the outer wall of the Bouleuterion on the north side, hence it must be dated

27 *A & R* Docs. 28–31; Chaniotis 2008, 70–73; *CIG* 2796 = *I Aph* 12.402. Although his name is missing in the original document (*I Aph* 12.402), it has been suggested that he should be identified with Kallikrates in *A & R* Doc. 31.

28 The gymnasium is mentioned in the following inscriptions: *I Aph* 1.174, 2.507, 12.27, 12.103.

29 Reynolds 1996, 120–26 and *MAMA* 8.484, also *I Aph* 11.16. Burial in an *ergasterion* is recorded at Smyrna for a [...]nikos son of Glykon. See *IK* 23,265; and van Nijf 1997, 41, note 49. A *mnemeion* in Pisidian Apollonia was close to *oikemata* and *ergasteria* (*MAMA* 6.171).

30 van Voorhis 1998; forthcoming.

31 Erim 1986, 64. Asgari 1977, 347, 362 dates the sarcophagus and the tomb structure to first century AD. Işık 1992, 143 and 2007, 17–19, cat. 1 suggests that the sarcophagus cannot be earlier than the late Trajanic period. Strocka 1996, 461, 464 dates the sarcophagus, the altar, and the tomb to the first century AD. For the dating of the altar see Berges 1986, 179, no. 102.

before the second century AD, when the present phase of the Bouleuterion was constructed.³² While there has been no consensus on the dating of the half-finished garland sarcophagus inside the tomb, the altar probably dates to the first century AD, the likely date of the tomb.³³ The date and location of the tomb is consistent with the honor granted to Adrastos by the Council, but it is likely that this tomb belonged to someone else, because it is exactly at the spot where Adrastos was not to be buried.

A third inscription referring to a probable intramural burial is the consolatory decree of Tatia Attalis, the granddaughter of the aforementioned Adrastos. She was a priestess of the Imperial cult, and when she died prematurely in the late first or early second century, she was honored with a burial in her grandfather's tomb.³⁴

In addition to these secure cases, the original location of the tomb of C. Iulius Zoilos could have been inside the city.³⁵ Zoilos was the Aphrodisian-born freedman of Octavian and one of the major benefactors of the early Imperial period, who returned to his city and dedicated the stage and *proscenium* of the theater, and gave financial support to the Temple of Aphrodite and the colonnade of the North Agora.³⁶ Relief panels belonging to his tomb were discovered out of context in a later water channel.³⁷ It has been tentatively suggested that the large platform excavated in the North Agora once carried his tomb monument.³⁸

Extramural burials

No epigraphic and archaeological evidence after the first century AD refers to an intramural burial, and the extant sarcophagus fragments come from the public *necropoleis* outside the ancient city walls. The vicinity of roads outside the walls was the essential site for Roman cemeteries in Asia Minor in general.³⁹ The Aphrodisias Regional Survey, conducted between 2005 and 2009, as well as various rescue excavations carried out by the Aphrodisias Museum have provided information about the location and physical characteristics of the site's tomb structures.⁴⁰

Extant tombs are located on roads leading out of the city gates (Fig. 1).⁴¹ The West and Southeast gates were the most important; the rest were secondary.⁴² Tomb structures are dense in two more areas that are not immediately accessible from the preserved gates: in the southeast sector between the Southeast

and South gates; and in the east, between the Northeast and Water Channel gates. Two gates (Tower 20 gate and East gate) leading to these cemetery areas have been hypothesized in the city walls, which would make access to the tombs easier.⁴³

During rescue excavations, most of which were conducted in the west and southeast sectors outside the walls, some sarcophagi were discovered intact with burials and offerings.⁴⁴ However, many of these sarcophagi were found lying on bare earth or rubble, without any correlation to an architectural context. This means probably that they were taken down from tomb platforms after the associated tomb buildings were dismantled in the mid-fourth century AD for the city-wall project, which re-used ashlar blocks from tombs and other spolia from the city center.⁴⁵ The aforementioned inscription narrating the burial of Adrastos shows that burial on one's own estate was possible.⁴⁶ Given that many inscriptions locate the sarcophagi on a particular element of funerary architecture, which is now lost, it is likely that the extant sarcophagi were later dissociated from tombs. For instance, the excavation in 1993 in the East necropolis unearthed a plain inscribed sarcophagus (S-419) on rubble, whose inscription originally locates it on a *speira* (a round and molded base?).⁴⁷ The same applies to 213, which was discovered on bare earth, but whose inscription places it on a *bathrikon* (a stepped base).

Funerary monuments in the vicinity

Other than the tomb structures just outside the walls of Aphrodisias, there are tombs extending along the valley of the Dandalaz River (ancient Morsynus) in which Aphrodisias is situated.⁴⁸ These take the form of tumuli, rock-cut tombs, vaulted chamber tombs and cist graves. Most of these tombs were located during an initial survey in 1968,⁴⁹ an informal regional survey of the Dandalaz valley in 1993,⁵⁰ and the more systematic regional survey between 2005–2009.⁵¹

The tumuli are the most visible monuments in the surrounding landscape. In the lower Morsynus valley, the tumuli of Yumratepe (A & B), Çamlıbel and Yertepe have been dated to the late first century BC and early first century AD by the architecture and small finds.⁵² In the same areas, Göktepesi, Güzelbeyli and Karınderesi tumuli could not be securely dated.⁵³ The

32 *AJA* 1996, 9; Reynolds 1996, 125.

33 The intricately carved small fruits and the multiple layers of ribbons hanging from the garlands are stylistically similar to the Julio-Claudian statue bases from the Sebasteion, for example, the garlands of the North Portico 'ethnos' bases. See, for instance, Smith 2013, 90–108, pls. 26–28, 30, 32, 39–43.

34 *I Aph* 12.205.

35 *A & R Docs.* 33–40.

36 *A & R Docs.* 36–37, 39.

37 Smith 1993.

38 *AJA* 2004, 157.

39 Toynbee 1971, 73; *K & S* 478.

40 Ratté 2001, 125; de Staebler 2007, 203–204; Turnbow 2012. Rescue excavations: Tulay 1991; Atıcı 1994.

41 De Staebler 2007, 162–73.

42 The West gate was also called 'Antioch Gate' in antiquity, as it leads to Antioch on the Meander. See *CIG* 2837 or *I Aph* 12.1015.

43 De Staebler 2007, 171–72.

44 For instance, 213 in SE of Aphrodisias Ozanlı Cemetery; Mus. inv. 6620 A-B (S-525) in ENec; Mus. inv. 6031 (S-418) in SNec; Mus. inv. 5624 (S-11) in Geyre Sütülü Beylik Mevkii.

45 Two inscriptions dating to the AD 350s and 360s name the governors responsible for the project: Eros Monaxius and Flavius Constantius. *ALA* no. 19 (Eros Monaxius); *ALA* no. 23 (Fl. Constantius). The walls are discussed in detail in Ratté 2001; De Staebler 2007; 2008.

46 Reynolds 1996, 120–26 and *MAMA* 8. 484, also *I Aph* 11.16.

47 The excavation was conducted in Bağyeri, 2.5 km away from the city wall. *I Aph* 13.203.

48 *AJA* 1995, 37.

49 Atasoy 1974.

50 *AJA* 1995, 37–40.

51 Ratté and De Staebler 2012.

52 Atasoy 1974.

53 *AJA* 1995, 39.

upper Morsynus valley has recently been surveyed, and eleven tumuli were recorded. These were broadly dated to the Persian period, mid-sixth to late fourth centuries BC.⁵⁴

There are other types of tombs at the necropolis near the Göktepesi tumulus in the lower valley, only a few kilometers north of Aphrodisias. Among these tombs are a monumental stepped structure of Hellenistic or Roman date and a chamber tomb built of mortared rubble near which a marble block with an engraved menorah was found.⁵⁵ In addition, rock-cut tombs were discovered on the east slope of Göktepesi in the nearby Sıra İnler area.⁵⁶ There are funerary finds near the modern village of Bingeç, usually identified as the city of Plarasa, which formed a *sympolity* with Aphrodisias in the first century BC.⁵⁷ A single vaulted chamber tomb to the south of the village and a large necropolis to the north have been discovered. The necropolis includes several rock-cut tombs and some tombs surrounded by low circular stone walls, perhaps indicating that they belonged to the Hellenistic period.⁵⁸ Finally, cist graves with stone borders and lids were discovered in the modern town of Kuyucak.⁵⁹

The association of any of these *necropoleis* with the population of Aphrodisias is unclear, although the tumuli in particular seem to indicate the presence of landed aristocracy in the valley.⁶⁰ Other types of modest tombs were probably associated with independent villages that shared the same valley as Aphrodisias.

Funerary terminology and display context

Much information on the tomb structures and original locations of the sarcophagi can be gathered from epitaphs, which are either inscribed on the sarcophagi themselves or on individual marble tomb blocks, a considerable number of which survive in the city walls.⁶¹ These are ashlar blocks from tombs that were taken down in the fourth century AD to be re-used for the construction of the city walls.⁶² The re-used blocks are mostly rectangular, but some are bench-shaped, perhaps to be placed in front of the tomb for visitors.⁶³ About 50% of all Aphrodisian

sarcophagi are inscribed.⁶⁴ The epitaphs were probably carved on the sarcophagus itself if the chest was meant to stand alone on a burial platform (*platas*).

Aphrodisias shares the majority of its funerary terminology with other sites in Asia Minor, particularly Hierapolis, where not only the inscriptions, but also the associated tomb monuments survive. The word most commonly used to denote a sarcophagus at Aphrodisias is ἡ σορός (*Soros*). Most of the epitaphs refer to the sarcophagus and its rightful owner.⁶⁵ The sarcophagi are frequently mentioned with regard to adjacent or underlying funerary structures, for example, ἡ σορός καὶ ὁ τόπος, indicating the sarcophagus and the land, or the plot of land on which it stands.⁶⁶ The most commonly used funerary terms are:

εἰσώστη (*eisōstē*). This term for 'burial niche' was used only at Aphrodisias.⁶⁷ Epigraphic evidence suggests that a burial niche (*loculus*) in different kinds of funerary monuments, with the exception of a sarcophagus chest, could be called an *eisōstē*.

μνήμα (*mnēma*) and μνημεῖον (*mnēmeion*). The two terms seem to have been used synonymously at Aphrodisias to refer to the memorial function of the monument rather than to the specific type of physical monument itself.⁶⁸ Although widely used in Asia Minor, *mnēma* refers to different types of tomb structures, including sarcophagi, tombs hollowed in the bedrock, or platforms, in different cities.⁶⁹ It is attested in various sites in Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Isaura, Lycaonia, and Bithynia, in addition to the Carian sites of Iasos, Halicarnassus, and Aphrodisias.

πλάτας/πλάτος/πλάτης (*platas/platos/platēs*). The three terms are used synonymously at Aphrodisias to designate a platform.⁷⁰ Outside of Aphrodisias, the term *platos* is attested at Hierapolis and Laodicea, and appears in a single case at Patara.⁷¹

54 Ratté 2012, 41, fig. 1, for the locations of the tombs.

55 *AJA* 1995, 37–38.

56 Museum excavations conducted in 1983 discovered the rock-cut tombs and several lamps, most of which are decorated in relief with gladiators, Erotes, and mythological scenes, such as Leda and the Swan.

57 *A & R*, 108. Civic decrees discovered in Bingeç show that the city elite of Plarasa acted as part of the city elite of Aphrodisias as late as the second century AD.

58 *AJA* 1995, 41.

59 In Yumurta Çağlı Mevkii. Museum excavations conducted in 1987 uncovered five cist graves close to a tumulus.

60 Ratté 2012, 43.

61 Funerary inscriptions on various architectural elements of tomb structures at other sites in Asia Minor: Ritti 2006, nos. 5–9; Cormack 2004, 184, 186, 188, 190, 201, 209, 226, 234–5, 242, 254, 257, 272, 283, 296–7, 303, 308, 311, 313, 315, 318, 320.

62 *ALA*, no. 19 and 23. Also see De Staebler 2007; 2008; and Ratté 2001.

63 Bench shaped inscription block, for example: *I Aph* 11.512. In addition to the intramural tomb at Aphrodisias, the benches are found at: South Tomb I at Adada (Büyükkolancı 1998, 40–41; Cormack 2004, 161–62); Tomb ST1 and ST6 in Ariassos (Lanckoronki 1892, fig.

98, pl. 22 C & D; Cormack 1996, 20–25; Cormack 2004, 178–80); the Tomb of Aquila at Assos (Clarke et al. 1902, 226–39; Stupperich 1996, 5, fig. 3; Cormack 2004, 190–91); Tomb no. 1 at Cambazlı (Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 33–36, pl. 17, figs. 53–54; Cormack 2004, 197–99); T3, T5, T 7–9 at Elaiussa Sebaste (Machatschek 1967, 91–94, pls. 40–44, 48–50, figs. 61–62, 64, 66, 70; Cormack 2004, 213–16); the tomb of Licinnia Flavilla at Oinoanda (Hall et al. 1996, 111–14; Cormack 2004, 253–55); the tomb of Trokondas at Saraycık (Spratt and Forbes 1847, 202–205; Petersen and von Luschan 1889, 151–52, figs. 67, 69–70; Kovacovics 1983, 107–108, fig. 22; Cormack 2004, 280–84); Tomb of Nanne at Sia (Bean 1960, 74–75, pl. XI d, no. 128; Mitchell 1996, 19–21; Cormack 2004, 295–97); and at Termessos, the Tomb of Aurelia Artemeis (Heberdey and Wilberg 1900, 201–4, figs. 73–78; Cormack 2004, 314–15), Tomb of Armas-ta Otanou (Lanckoronki 1892, 118, figs. 88–89, pl. XX; Cormack 2004, 321–23).

64 Fifty out of 103 of the garland sarcophagi, and ten out of twenty-four of the columnar sarcophagi are inscribed. Note that the latter figures represent the total number of sarcophagi that are well-preserved enough to have been inscribed, but were not.

65 The term *Soros* refers to a sarcophagus everywhere in Asia Minor, but is most particularly used in Hierapolis in Phrygia, and Aphrodisias. Kubińska 1968, 32–35.

66 Kubińska 1968, 32–33.

67 Kubińska 1968, 104–107.

68 *I Aph* 13.406 (S-495) or *CIG* 2826=*I Aph* 12.526.

69 Kubińska 1968, 15–17.

70 At Aphrodisias, *platas* is attested in 24 inscriptions, whereas *platos* and *platēs* are attested in two inscriptions each.

71 Kubińska 1968, 73, 79–81.

The most basic funerary formula at Aphrodisias announces the owner of the *platas*.⁷² Other inscriptions suggest that a *platas* acted as the base under a sarcophagus,⁷³ and sometimes had individual burial niches (*eisōstai*) inside.⁷⁴ The surviving triclinal-shaped platforms were likely called *platas* (see below).

βωμός (*bōmos*). Although the term is more widely used for an altar or an altar-shaped statue base in Asia Minor, it is also used for altar-shaped bases that carry *ostothekai* or sarcophagi at Apamea, Elaiussa Sebaste, Ephesos, Nikomedia, Philadelphia, Termessos, Xanthos,⁷⁵ and especially at Aphrodisias and Hierapolis.⁷⁶ At Hierapolis, *bōmos* is the name given to a built tomb structure (or house-tomb) that has a flat roof, upon which one or multiple sarcophagi were placed.⁷⁷ This tomb structure houses a chamber with a door. Inside the chamber, there were kline benches surrounding the interior space on three sides. At Aphrodisias, inscriptions indicate that a *bōmos* was a kind of built monument that had a sarcophagus on top and had one or more *eisōstai* inside, therefore probably a structure similar to those at Hierapolis.⁷⁸

βαθρικόν (*bathrikon*). The term is only used at Aphrodisias and at Hierapolis in Asia Minor.⁷⁹ At Aphrodisias, there is no evidence regarding the appearance of a *bathrikon*. At Hierapolis, however, the word *bathrikon* seems to have been used for a raised and stepped base, both for a large tripartite base to carry three or four sarcophagi,⁸⁰ and for a smaller base to carry a single sarcophagus.⁸¹ One of the steps of a *bathrikon* at Hierapolis was often designed like a bench, sometimes with lion's-paw feet, to accommodate visitors to the grave.⁸² Stepped bases that carry multiple sarcophagi are also attested in Elaiussa Sebaste, Cretopolis, Termessos, and Onobara in Lycia.⁸³

At Aphrodisias, epitaphs that mention a *bathrikon* indicate that this type of base had a single burial niche or multiple burial niches inside.⁸⁴ Another epitaph inscribed on a bench or step-shaped block suggests that there was a single burial niche inside the *bathrikon*, rather than several.⁸⁵ It is quite likely, therefore, that at Aphrodisias the term was also used to mean a stepped base that carried sarcophagi and held additional burial places underneath.

ἡρώων (*herōon*). Some funerary inscriptions from Aphrodisias employ the word *herōon* for the tomb structures.⁸⁶ The cultural significance and the increased frequency in the usage of *herōon* and *herōs* in the Roman period will be discussed below.

Other less commonly used terms are:

ὑποσώριον (*hyposorion*). Only one epitaph at Aphrodisias mentions this term, where it was most likely used synonymously with *bōmos* or *mnēma*.⁸⁷ Elsewhere in Asia Minor, such as in Adanda, Ariassos, Elaiussa Sebaste, Hierapolis, Selge, Sidyma, and various sites in Lycia, *hyposorion* indicates a tomb in the base underneath a sarcophagus with one or more spaces for burials.⁸⁸

θώρακεῖον (*thōrakeion*). This term is used abundantly at Smyrna and a few times at Aphrodisias and indicates some kind of a base under the sarcophagi with additional burial space inside.⁸⁹

εἰδόφορος (*eidophoros*). It is not absolutely clear what kind of monument is meant by *eidophoros*, a word that seems to derive from εἰδοφορέω, to represent. A few epitaphs⁹⁰ at Aphrodisias mention burial niches (*eisōstai*) in the *eidophoros*, which has been interpreted as an ornamental frieze with a utilitarian function.⁹¹

A lengthy tomb inscription from Aphrodisias, particularly rich in the terminology, helps us reconstruct the structure's original appearance (Fig. 4).⁹² There was a memorial (*mnemeion/mnēma*) on a platform (*platas*) composed of an altar-shaped monument (*bōmos*) with burial niches (*eisōstai*) inside. On top of the *bōmos*, there was a sarcophagus. A second sarcophagus was on the same platform, but to the left of the *bōmos*. The sarcophagus on top of the *bōmos* was reserved for the owner of the tomb, Apollonios and his family, while the sarcophagus to the side was for another family, presumably their relatives. The epitaph also mentions statues of Apollonios, his wife, and son, erected on the left of the road that leads from his workshops to the basilica, perhaps the Flavian Civil Basilica.⁹³ The family donated 5,000 'old' denarii to the Council on the occasion of the setting up of the statues, so that it would maintain the tomb.⁹⁴

The tomb buildings surviving in the necropoleis today are hypogeum-type vaulted structures with one or more chambers opening onto each other.⁹⁵ Similar underground tomb chambers

72 *LPh* 1.130, 4.305, 11.10, 11.11, 11.103, 12.527, 12.211, 13.303.

73 *LPh* 12.212.

74 *LPh* 12.321.

75 Kubińska 1968, 75–78.

76 Coulton 2005, 137–42.

77 Kubińska 1968, 78, 79, pls. VII–XI; Equini Schneider 1972, 101, 111–21, pls. XI–XVII. See De Bernardi Ferrero, 1990, 248 (a *bōmos* in Hierapolis surmounted by a Dokimeion sarcophagus), and Ritti 2006, 54–55 (Tomb 148B), and 58–59 (Tomb 114).

78 For example, Reinach 1906, no. 158; *LPh* 12.525, 12.308. Typical formula involving a *bōmos*: *LPh* 12.6.

79 Kubińska 1968, 91.

80 Kubińska 1968, 91–92; Equini Schneider 1972, 106–107, pl. VIII b.

81 Equini Schneider 1972, pls. VI b, VII a. Reinach 1906, 265 suggests a 'stairway' for the term of *bathrikon*.

82 Equini Schneider 1972, 106.

83 Elaiussa Sebaste: Equini Schneider 2003, 439–40, fig. 419. Cretopolis: Lanckoronski 1892, 125, fig. 98, pl. XXII. Termessos: Lanckoronski 1892, 72, pl. XXI. Onobara: Çevik 1995, 42–43, table 9, 12, 13.

84 *LPh* 13.201, inscribed on the sarcophagus S-309.

85 *LPh* 11.512.

86 *LPh* 8.904, 12.714, 13.612. Also Paton 1900, no. 5.

87 *LPh* 12.526. The same meaning is also assumed in Kubińska 1968, pl. 1.

88 Adanda: Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 155–58, figs. 35–39, 165–66. Ariassos: Cormack 1996, fig. 2. Elaiussa Sebaste: Equini Schneider 2003, 438–39, figs. 416–18. Selge: Lanckoronski 1892, 184. Sidyma: Dardaine and Longepierre 1985, 226, fig. 8, pl. IV 1,2. Examples from Lycia come from Andriake, Hoyran, Isinda, Patara, Phaselis, Phellos, Pınara, Sura, Telmessos, Tlos, Trysa and Xanthos. See İdil 1985, 11; pls. 1, 3–6, 20–22, 43, 45, 48, 52–54, 68, 74, 76, 80–83, 89.

89 *LPh* 12.320; unpublished inscription on S-804; Kubińska 1970, 115.

90 Paton 1900, no. 5; *MAMA* 8.560.

91 Kubińska 1970, 116.

92 *CIG* 2826=*LPh* 12.526.

93 Chanotis 2008, no. 12.

94 The specific mention of old denarii is probably a reaction to the debasement of coinage in post-Severan era. Reynolds and Roueché 2007, 151.

95 For example, B001 in the North necropolis has two chambers, one of which is bi-partite, divided by an archivolt.

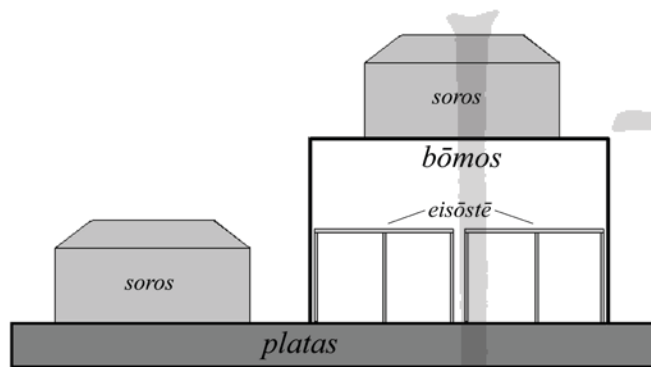


Fig. 4: Hypothetical reconstruction of tomb (based on *IAph* 12.526).

surmounted by sarcophagi are seen in Ariassos and Balboura.⁹⁶ One rescue excavation at Aphrodisias in the southeast necropolis in 1989 unearthed a hypogeum-type tomb with two chambers.⁹⁷ A five-stepped descending entrance provided access to one of the two vaulted chambers. Inside each of the chambers, there were three burial niches (*eisōstai*) carved in the bedrock. The marble platform in front of the entrance to the chamber tomb carried four marble sarcophagi (1, 68, S-8, S-10). Three of them (68, S-8, and S-10) were placed as a group in triclinium form. According to the inscriptions on the chests, two of them (S-8 and S-10) belonged to cousins.⁹⁸

Other extant tombs at Aphrodisias also have triclinium-shaped marble platforms (probably called *platas*) surmounting vaulted chambers (Fig. 5).⁹⁹ Some of these could have had an upper chamber closed on three sides with a columnar front to house the sarcophagi, but there is no evidence to prove this.¹⁰⁰ The triclinium arrangement resembles the 'exedra-shaped' tombs at Elaiussa Sebaste, Patara and Hierapolis.¹⁰¹

When the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is taken together, it is clear that the necropoleis of Aphrodisias once had various kinds of monuments including: 1) flat-roofed ashlar tombs (*bōmos*), which were later dismantled and built into the city walls; 2) vaulted underground chambers, above which triclinium-shaped or square platforms (*platas*) were situated; and 3) stepped bases for sarcophagi (*bathrikon*) with or without burial chambers inside, which were also re-used in the city walls. The sarcophagi seem to have been displayed 'on' these different types of tombs rather than inside. Even if the tomb platforms had above-ground chambers with columnar facades to house the sarcophagi, these probably did not entirely conceal the sarcophagi, but rather displayed their front sides, at least, to the public. This outdoor display context is also clear from the language of the epitaphs, which uses the word 'under' (ὑπο) for the tomb beneath, as well as from the findspots of sarcophagi

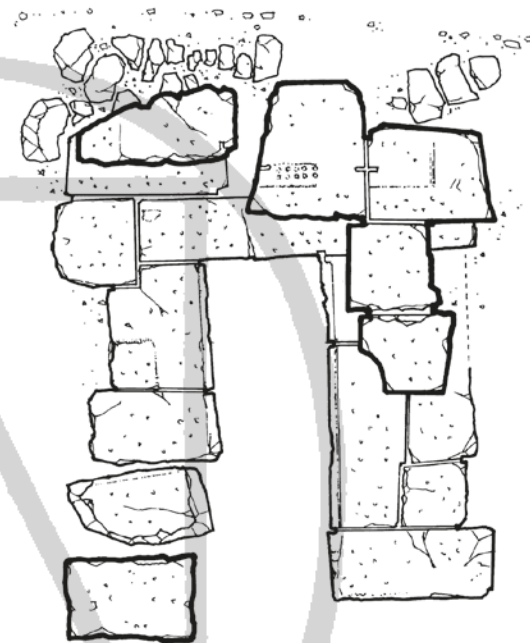
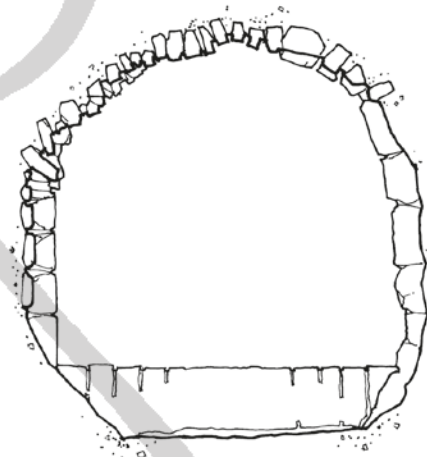
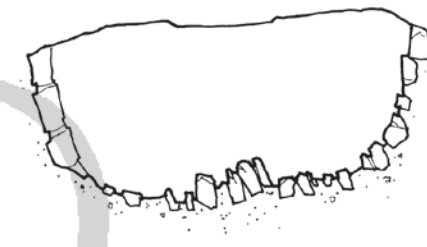


Fig. 5: Plan of Tomb 095, Southeast necropolis, with triclinium-shaped marble platform and sections of the tomb interior (above).

96 For Ariassos underground chamber tombs, see Cormack 1996, 5, figs. 9–20. Balboura: Hallett and Coulton 1993, 41, figs. 5–6, pl. VIIIA.

97 In Kabalar near Aphrodisias. See Tulay 1991.

98 S-8: *IAph* 13.602 and Işık 2007, no. 81. S-10: *IAph* 13.603 and Işık 2007, 127.

99 For example, D095 in Southeast (Turnbow 2012, 324, figs. 23–24).

100 A similar arrangement is seen at Termessos: see Lanckoronksi 1892, figs. 70, 72, 75–76, 81, 83, 86–87.

101 Elaiussa Sebaste: Equini Schneider 2003, figs. 423–24. Patara: Aktaş 2008. Hierapolis: Equini Schneider 1972, 106–107, pls. VIIb, VIIIb.

in rescue excavations. The only attested case of a sarcophagus inside a tomb is that in the circular *herōon* next to the Bouleuterion. In two other cases, rescue excavations noted fragmentary,

but freshly broken, sarcophagi inside tomb chambers. These fragments may have been thrown into the tombs by looters.¹⁰² Even if there were exceptional chamber tombs where sarcophagi were displayed inside, they are unattested today.

The outdoor display context of Aphrodisian sarcophagi leads to a number of questions. First, how does this context relate to the three-sided relief decoration of the chests? It has been demonstrated for Roman metropolitan sarcophagi that three-sided chests were not necessarily made to be placed in *arcosolia*, where the unworked rear side was obscured from view.¹⁰³ In fact, some tomb buildings of the third century AD were so crammed with sarcophagi that even the relief decoration on the front side would have been hardly visible at all. Some earlier sarcophagi in Rome were treated like coffins and buried in pits.¹⁰⁴ There are several examples in the eastern world, for instance at Kephissia in Athens or at Ladochori near Igoumenitsa, where sarcophagi were fully finished on all four sides, but were placed against a wall or in an *arcosolium*.¹⁰⁵ The tomb of Claudia Antonia Tatiana at Ephesos also had three sarcophagi inside, two Attic and one Dokimeion-type that were all fully finished on all four sides but were most likely placed in the *arcosolia*.¹⁰⁶

All these examples show that there is not necessarily a direct link between the decoration and display context of a chest. Some Aphrodisian sarcophagi may have been displayed back-to-back on the roofs of ashlar tombs, or on platforms with the decorated side facing the main road. This arrangement is certainly attested for sarcophagi from Hierapolis, where chests stand back-to-back on the flat roofs of house-shaped tombs, on triclinium-shaped platforms, or on platforms on their own.¹⁰⁷ In the case of a single sarcophagus standing on a platform, viewing the plain back side from one of the viewpoints would be inescapable.

A second question brought forth by the outdoor display context is who the intended audience of the sarcophagi was. The audience must have been not only the bereaved family, but also the general public. In that sense, Aphrodisian sarcophagi were sharply differentiated from metropolitan Roman sarcophagi. Any traveler passing through the roads out of town could have viewed the sarcophagi and have perhaps also read the inscriptions. This 'public' context is important to bear in mind when assessing the iconography of the sarcophagi.

Heroa and heroization of the dead

Several inscriptions at Aphrodisias mention a *herōon* (ἡρώων) and refer to the heroization of the deceased. Therefore, it is important to understand the meaning of the *herōon* at Roman Aphrodisias and to ask whether it refers to a particular cult related to the dead. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, warriors, leaders, city founders, and other distinguished citizens were honored with burial in a *herōon* inside the walls of the city. Cultic activities such as offerings, sacrifices, eulogies, or games were established in their memory.¹⁰⁸ Heroa ranged in form from a pyramid-roofed monument (Mylasa) to a columnar facade rising on a high podium (the Nereid Monument at Xanthos). The late Hellenistic *herōon* for Diodorus Paspáros at Pergamon showed no sign of a burial, but had an odeion, cisterns, and a room decorated with marble reliefs, all of which denoted a space of congregation and cultic activities in memory of the deceased.¹⁰⁹

In the Roman Imperial period, on the other hand, the term *herōon*, and other terms, such as *herōs*, began to be used more widely in various funerary contexts, and even for undistinguished individuals in their lifetime, or in Christian inscriptions.¹¹⁰ Heroic cult places, however, are differentiated by a number of characteristics — intramural location, demarcated by an enclosure wall, location in a landscape setting with access to water, or with altars for offerings.¹¹¹ Examples include the tomb/library of the benefactor Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus at Ephesos and the *herōon* of Aristis and Kallisthenes at Assos.¹¹²

At Aphrodisias, most of the evidence regarding *herōa* or heroic cult comes from inscriptions, some of which commemorate elite individuals. One such *herōon* belonged to Adrastos, who was honored with the right of burial in the public *ergasteria* opposite the Bouleuterion.¹¹³ Another inscription mentions a *herōon* with two sarcophagi and several *eisōstai*. Its owners were a high priest and a priestess, and the 10,000 denarii fine for violating the sarcophagus was one of the highest attested in the city.¹¹⁴ The inscription also declares that the People and the Council will have the care of the *herōon*, thus showing that it was a tomb of distinguished individuals.

At Aphrodisias, certain funerary inscriptions, dated between the first and third centuries AD, employ the word *herōon* for their corresponding tomb structures.¹¹⁵ All of the relevant epi-

102 One of them is Tomb A026 in the Southeast necropolis, which contained 16 burial niches, a sarcophagus chest, and pieces of another columnar sarcophagus. The tomb is inaccessible today (Turnbow 2012, 323). The second tomb is also in the Southeast (parcel no. 1208), with which two sarcophagi were associated (222 and S-548), and inside which fragments of sarcophagi were found.

103 Borg 2013, 224–29.

104 Borg 2013, 230.

105 Kephissia: Flämig 2007, 133–35, pls. 15–19 (no. 10); Ladochori: Flämig 2007, 145–46, pls. 40–43 (nos. 21a–b).

106 Keil 1929, 45–51; Keil 1930, 7–12, figs. 2–4; Rudolf 1992, 11–15; Cormack 2004, 219–21.

107 For instance, Ritti 2006, 54–55, 58–59.

108 For Classical and Hellenistic cult activities in honor of the dead, see Rohde 1925, 527–33; Nock 1972, 575–77; Kearns 1989; Ekroth 2002, esp. 91–105, 233–35; and Larson 2007, 196–207.

109 Filgis and Radt 1986.

110 General discussion of the term *herōs* in the Roman period is in Jones 2010, 48–65; Hughes 1999, 170. For examples, see Rohde 1925, 531, 560, notes 68, 69; Lattimore 1942, 97, note 77; Fraser 1977, 76–81. For living individuals in the Imperial period: Lyttos, Crete: *CIG* 2583. Kyzikos: *CIG* 3665. Christian inscriptions: see for example an inscription of the fourth century AD from Phrygia (*SEG* I, 453, 1): Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει ἡρώα σώφρονα κέ [π]ολύεσθλον; *MAMA* 6.224.

111 Cormack 2004, 154–60.

112 Assos: Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey 1902, 109–17; Coulton 1982, 58; Berns 2003, cat. 7A.

113 *LPh* 11.16, also *SEG* XLVI 1393 and Reynolds 1996.

114 *LPh* 12.322 = *MAMA* 8.546.

115 *LPh* 8.904, 12.714, 13.612. Also Paton 1900, no. V.

taphs were carved on marble blocks, while one of them was inscribed on a columnar sarcophagus and associated this sarcophagus with a *herōon* (92).¹¹⁶ *Herōa* in some of the inscriptions belong to middle-level citizens with the nomina Marcus Aurelius and Aurelia, enfranchised by the Edict of Caracalla in AD 212.¹¹⁷ Therefore, some of the *herōon* owners did not belong to the traditional city elite. A few funerary inscriptions designate the individuals as *herōs*.¹¹⁸ One such inscription dating to the second century AD presents an Eupeithios not only as a hero (*herōs*), but also as 'pious' (*eusebēs*) and 'pleasing to the gods' (*theoterpēs*).¹¹⁹ The widespread use of the term *herōon* at Aphrodisias and elsewhere in Roman Asia Minor, not necessarily for demarcated intramural 'temple-tombs,' but also for tombs in the public necropoleis, suggests that the word had lost its original meaning reserved for prominent individuals and was used simply to mean 'tomb'.¹²⁰ However, since the word 'hero' was used only in a small percentage of all funerary inscriptions, it might still have been a mark of distinction to be defined as such.¹²¹

Some inscriptions declare that after the consecration of the tomb as a *herōon*, no one was allowed to exhume or inhumate the bodies.¹²² According to these inscriptions, the tomb to be consecrated is referred to either as a *mnemeion*¹²³ or as a sarcophagus.¹²⁴ It is possible that some tombs gained the status of a *herōon* after a certain ritual as yet unknown.

Further evidence comes from four epitaphs that range in date from the second to early third century AD and refer to the *apotheosis* of the deceased.¹²⁵ They are all inscribed on marble blocks, except for one, which was carved on a garland sarcophagus.¹²⁶ The formula is quite similar: they forbid potential violators to remove any bodies from the tomb or bury anyone inside 'after the *apotheosis* of the owners.' The individuals honored this way seem to come from modest backgrounds.¹²⁷ The word *apotheosis* in essence implies gaining divine status upon death.¹²⁸ There are inscriptions elsewhere in the Greek world that imply the 'deification' of the deceased, although they do not use the

word *apotheosis*.¹²⁹ Some of these inscriptions are explicit about the proper ways of worshipping deified individuals.¹³⁰ At Aphrodisias, however, the common aspect of these inscriptions is that the word *apotheosis* was used in a prospective sense during the lifetime of the individuals ('after the *apotheosis* of so-and-so'). The actual *apotheosis* of a person may not be predicted before one is dead, unless one is a Roman emperor or an epic hero like Achilles, so the word seems to have been used as a euphemistic expression, perhaps synonymous with 'die'.¹³¹ Another reason for this usage is to compare mortal citizens, ideally and hypothetically, to the favorable characteristics and power of the divinities, although in reality no one actually considered them as divinities. The same inherent aspiration to be venerated like deities is expressed on the reliefs representing Ganymede carried off by an eagle found on garland sarcophagi or on acroteria of lids.¹³²

In sum, more and more families used terminology related to *herōa*, heroes and *apotheosis* at Aphrodisias in the Imperial period, and this terminology was used in most cases for undistinguished people. For these citizens, the language of heroism remained a potent medium.

B. CHRONOLOGY

The majority of sarcophagi produced at Aphrodisias can be dated to the late second and early third centuries AD. Inscriptions and hairstyles of portrait heads provide the two most secure criteria for precise dating. If a sarcophagus has neither, the dating can still be narrowed down to a century or half-century based on stylistic criteria, including the proportions of the figures and the nature of the architectural ornamentation. The figures depicted on second century columnar sarcophagi are small in proportion to the architecture, with ample background space. By contrast, those on third-century sarcophagi increasingly occupy most of their intercolumniations. Likewise, as generally in architectural ornamentation under the Empire, the drilling of moldings, especially those on the Corinthian capitals or bordering the pediments, is much more detailed on third century sarcophagi.

Inscriptions provide secure dating mainly based on nomenclature. Many patrons adopted the Roman nomina of Aurelius

116 *I Aph* 13.612.

117 *I Aph* 8.904, 12. 714 and Paton 1900, no. V.

118 *I Aph* 13.125, 13.401, 12.1004, 2.508, 12.104.

119 *I Aph* 13.125.

120 For examples elsewhere for the use of *herōon* to mean a tomb, see Lattimore 1942, 99, note 89, also Kubińska 1968, 28–29. See also the argument in Waelkens 1983, 275–78 that the terminology related to *herōa* and heroism became routine and formulaic in the Imperial period.

121 For the meaning of 'hero' in the Imperial period, see Lattimore 1942, 97; Jones 2010, 48–65; Wypustek 2013, 81–95. For a survey of the meaning of hero in Greek culture from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, see Rohde 1925, 11–38. Hughes 1999, 170, note 22 deals with the percentage of inscriptions with the word 'hero.' For example, in Rhodes, only two of hundreds of funerary monuments announce the deceased as heroes. See Fraser 1977, 78.

122 ἀφῆρωισθηῖναι: *I Aph* 12.909, 12.526, 12.524, and 12.322.

123 *I Aph* 12.526 and 12.524.

124 *I Aph* 12.909, 12.322, and 13.203.

125 *I Aph* 11.52, 12.1108, 12.320, 12.908.

126 *I Aph* 11.52 (S-214).

127 For instance, an agent—thus a slave—of Tiberius Claudius Attalos, a senator. *I Aph* 12.908: πραγματευτῆς συνκλητικῶ.

128 Radin 1916, 44–46.

129 For example, *EG* 243, 7–8 (Pergamum): "Be gracious and grant me relief from disease, as you did before; for now your destiny is nearer the gods than it was in life." *MAMA* 4.362 (Apamea, second and third century AD): "I, Philoxenus, laid Gaius my father and Ammia my mother in this tomb. They are in all ways equal of the gods. I hope you fare well, as gods among gods, with the earth light upon you." Also *IG* II²1380, 1–2 (Athens); *EG* 368, 8 (Cotiaeum); *MAMA* 7.232 (Mesembria), which identifies the dead woman with Hecate. Also, Rohde 1925, 561, note 76; Deneken 1886–1890, 2588; Lattimore 1942, 100–106.

130 *SEG* 8, 473–75 (Egypt) gives an account of sacrifices, libation, flowers, wine and honey to be offered to the dead girl, who was likened to a nymph.

131 Radin 1916, 46. For other examples of the Roman period with the meaning 'to bury,' *CIG* 2831 and 2832. See also Wypustek 2013, 30–35 for examples of epitaphs with *apotheosis*.

132 Sichtermann 1981–1983.