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A NEW FUNERARY EPIGRAM FROM LAODICEA AD LYCUM

For Alan Cameron

In view of a hitherto unreported squeeze available to me I discuss here a relatively new but difficult metrical inscription. It is an undated funerary epigram from Laodicea on the Lycus River in Asia Minor. In the 1990s Thomas Corsten copied the inscription in Turkey and first published a provisional text and photograph of it in Arkeoloji Dergisi 3 (1995), 217–218, no. 2, with plate 55 (image 3). It was republished by R. Merkelbach and J. Stauer in Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten vol. 1 (1998), p. 272, no. 02/12/11 as now at Hierapolis (Pamukkale) in the collection of the Denizli Museum. The Fundort is given as unbekannt. Corsten’s text was reprinted as SEG 45, 1754, with a suggestion for a new reading at the end of the last line (more below). I would guess from the letter forms that the stone was cut in the late Hellenistic or early imperial periods, but certainty is impossible.

The inscription appears as follows in Merkelbach–Stauber:

Πανδαμάτταρ φιλοκαίνε [  
τίπτε με ἐνδεχόμη παιδί[ν]  
Ζώσιμον οὐνομ. Ἄτα τὸν ἐν ἐκκ.[  
4  
eἰς Ἀίδαν ἔρατον κοῦρον [ἐ.γ. ἐνοσσίσατο]  
ἡλιζον δ’ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ὑμέναι[ν] ἀείσαι[]  
oὐκ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶς θρήνοις τύμβον ἀνοικ[οδομεῖν]  
χαίρετο, ὃ παροδίσα, καὶ ἄν τιν’ ἐπὸν πα[ραμείναις]  
8  
eἰς μέγα πλούτου ἰκος ἠράς Ἔ[.]ΕΥ[  


It happens that Jeanne and Louis Robert had taken an excellent squeeze of this inscription at Laodicea in 1962 when they were working on the inscriptions discovered by Canadian archaeologists from Laval University. The epigram was not one of the Laval finds. The Roberts’ squeeze is now in Princeton at the Institute for Advanced Study, among the many treasures given to the Institute by Jeanne Robert in 1992, seven years after her husband’s death. With the aid of this squeeze and reflections of my own I hope to illustrate what can be done with just one of the many metrical fragments from antiquity that come to light every year.

I give here a diplomatic text based upon Louis Robert’s squeeze (fig. 1), now in Princeton:

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1 These observations were originally presented to my friend of more than half a century at a symposium (6 December 2008) at Columbia University’s Center for the Ancient Mediterranean on the occasion of his retirement. I chose this subject in recognition of his exceptional contributions to the study of Greek epigrams. In preparing these notes, I have once again profited from discussion with C. P. Jones.
We may begin with the first line up to the break, Πανδημεναεκτηπαιδι, which Merkelbach–Stauber render as Mordliebender Allesbezwinger, reversing the order of the Greek. Obviously some deity or cosmic power is being invoked, and a glance at what follows reveals without any doubt that the issue is the untimely death of a young boy, who is represented as asking why he should have died. The power that is being invoked is clearly all-conquering. But does this power also love killing (mordliebender)? Evidently the editors think that the second word φιλόκαυνε is formed from the verb καύω, meaning slay or kill, but this would be a very odd formation. Words of this kind normally involve a noun or an adjective in a substantival function after φιλο-, as in φιλορωμίςκος, φιλοβιβλίος, φιλόδωρος, φιλόκαυς, φιλόσφος, etc. The καυν- element here should be a substantival sense of the familiar adjective for “new”. The word would therefore mean loving innovation. As it happens, this is far from being a hapax legomenon. Its earliest appearance in a literary text seems to be in Polybius (36.13.3), but it goes on to a rich career in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 15. 6 [7], De Demosth. Dict. 48), Philo (De Joseph. 36, De vita Mosis 1. 213), Plutarch (93d, 731b), and Lucian (Icar. 24, Calum. 21). It appears twice in the novelist Chariton (4.4.2 and 4.7.6). How this word and its attestations could have escaped Merkelbach, Stauber, and the editors of SEG is hard to understand.

An all-conquering power that loves innovation is, therefore, invoked in this epigram to explain why it chose to carry off an 11-year-old boy called Zosimus. What is this supernatural power or divinity? The epithet “all-conquering” is associated famously with Time in Simonides’ epigram (frg. 26) on the fallen at Thermopylae, where we are assured that not even ὁ πανδημεναεκτηπαιδι χρόνος can expunge their valor. There are other instances of this phrase, but an invocation to all-conquering time in the Laodicea epigram would not comport easily with the death of an 11-year-old child. The adjective is also found with envy (φθόνος), as in IK Sinope 170. Although envy might be more plausible, if the boy was sufficiently handsome, we must remember that this lethal force also loved innovation, and that does not seem to describe envy in any evident way. The two instances of φιλόκαυνος in Chariton, however, seem to point to a plausible identification. In one case the force is Eros (4.7.6: φιλόκαυνος ἐστιν ὁ Ἑρως), and in the other Tyche (4.4.2: ἦ φιλόκαυνος Τύχη). Again with a pre-pubescent boy Eros does not make very much sense, but Tyche is a perfect fit. Tyche does indeed favor novelty, and Tyche can be destructive. Somewhere in the remainder of the opening hexameter the name of Tyche must lurk, perhaps immediately after the two words we have (since it would scan there).

The second line is unexceptionable, even with the chi for kappa in ἐνδεχέτη and the neuter termination in eta. The line clearly asks “Why have you taken me away, an 11-year-old child?” The next line gives his name, but Corsten’s presentation of what follows after οὐδέους- is a lesson in epigraphical error. A fundamental criterion of all textual work, as Housman and other critics have often insisted, is that a text must be assumed to make sense, and the author to have known
what he was doing. The lame translation *Das Verderben hat den ...* reflects Corsten’s desperation in trying to wrest the noun άτη out of what survives on the stone, even though there is not the slightest reason why it should have been spelled *άτα* here.

The second and fourth lines are clear, including the reference to the lovely youth’s passage to Hades. The letters in the third line are equally clear until they break off, and the second foot shows every indication of being simply ούνομα, not the noun with the alpha omitted. In fact the caesura in the third foot is feminine, after TATON. The last visible letter on the stone is, as the squeeze shows, not a lambda but an alpha. This suggests that we have to do with a participle and therefore that the ἐν is the beginning of that participle. It has to be ένεκκά[μενον]. Fortified with this reading we can see that the letters before the participle are a form of ταῦταν in which there has been crisis together with aphaeresis of the upsilon, and the neuter termination in ν is allowable for metrical reasons (*LSI s.v. ad init*). What the epigrammatist is saying is that the child bore the same name as his father, and with that in mind we can restore with near certainty the entire line as follows: Ζώσιμον ούνομα ταῦταν ένεκκά[μενον γενετήρι]. Hence we have recovered the first quatrains as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Pi\nu\nu[\delta]\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu \phi\i\i\o\l\o\k\a\i\v\i\e \times \\
\tau\i\i\p\t\i\e\ \mu\e, \ \i\e\n\d\v\e\x\e\t\e\ \pi\a\i\d\i[\o\nu] \times \\
Z\o\s\i\m\o\n \o\u\nu\o\m\a \tau\a\t\o\n \i\e\n\e\k\k\a[\m\e\n\o\n \g\e\n\e\t\e\t\i\r\i] \\
e[i]s \ \A\i\d\s\a\n \e\r\a\t\o\n \k\o\u\r\o\n \times 
\end{align*}
\]

Corsten read the next two lines accurately, as the squeeze proves, and their restoration was a comparatively simple matter: “My parents expected to sing a wedding song for me, not to raise up a tomb with lamentations over me.” But the final two lines are much more treacherous, once the deceased has saluted, in traditional fashion, the person who is passing by his tomb. Corsten does violence to the Greek that follows in order to produce what is undoubtedly the desirable general sense, “If you answer me with a friendly word, may you attain great wealth and an advanced old age.” The Greek he proposes for the second part of the penultimate line is very bizarre, with a strange partitive of ἐπός construed with τιν (for τινα) and an unlikely verb he has excavated out of Liddell and Scott. Epigraphy, like textual criticism, is not something that can be done mechanically. Metrical inscriptions place demands upon epigraphists that are not unlike the demands placed upon textual critics.

The sense required here certainly has to do with a reply from the passer-by, who is hailed by the deceased at the end of the epigram. The παροδίτης is invited to say something back to the dead boy in the tomb, and this is clearly what the letters αυτα indicate. It is absurd to wrench out the first two letters to make ἐν. This is part of a participle ἀντικεῖται, “speaking back”, in which the first epsilon of ἐνέκειται has been lost before the iota of the prefix of reciprocity. This is a form of aphaeresis that is well documented. The following pi and alpha hardly introduce the grotesquely inappropriate verb that Corsten has provided (παρομείψεται) but rather the highly apposite πο[ρ] τρημβό[π], just as it appears in parallel contexts in the epigraphy of Asia Minor (e.g. *SEG* 29. 1218 [Kyme] at the end of the hexameter in a couplet, *IK Iznik* 1293).

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The final pentamer expresses the deceased’s wishes for the passer-by who addresses him, and these wishes evidently concern some kind of comfortable old age (“may you reach old age…”). Corsten and the translators oddly took great wealth and advanced age as parallel objectives: mögest du zu grossem Reichtum gelangen und hohes Alter erreichen, as if μέγας were an adjective with πλούτου. The translators introduce a copula (und) to connect the genitive with the accusative γήρας. It is difficult to see how Corsten understood μέγας: the translation attaches it ungrammatically to “wealth”, presumably because of the absurdity of construing it as an adjective qualifying γήρας, “a big old age”. In any case, we are left with putting the wealth as a dependent genitive with old age to make an “old age of wealth”, which would be an odd way of describing wealthy old age. The problem is that Corsten has failed to recognize an adjective in μεγαπλούτου, which would agree, according to a familiar convention of verse, with a genitive noun after the caesura. Furthermore, his reading of the last visible letters in the line encouraged an editor of SEG to suggest the restoration ε[λε]νθέριον, which would produce the enigmatic and highly implausible “big free old age of wealth”.

Adjectival compounds generally reflect the size of the noun μεγα-, as in μεγαλόπυγος, μεγαλόμυος, or, for wealth, μεγαλοπλοῦσιος, but there is a significant number of formations with μεγα- as well. We find both μεγάθυμος and μεγαλόθυμος, μεγάτιμος and μεγαλότιμος, μεγάδορος and μεγαλόδορος, μεγασθενής and μεγαλοσθενής, μεγάτολος and μεγαλότολος. The compounds with μεγα- normally reflect metrical imperatives, particularly since the three shorts in μεγαλο- can often be hard to accommodate in dactylic lines. In the Laodicea epigram we clearly have the first occurrence of a compound that has exactly the same meaning as the attested μεγαλοπλοῦσιος.

For the end of this pentamer the Princeton squeeze appears to provide a solution, and I imagine that the stone itself would do the same in a favorable light. After the upsilon that Corsten read as the last visible letter, a beta is unmistakable (fig. 2). Since the deceased is wishing his talkative interlocutor a prosperous long life, we can hardly doubt that ΕΥΒ is the beginning of the noun εὐβοσία, which is documented for the good life in the epigraphy of Ionia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. We even have a priest of Eubosia (MAMA 6. 265, Phrygia) and a Eubosiarh (MAMA 8. 396, Pisidia). Cf. IG 12.6.1 (Samos), I Priene 108, and Eubosia as a proper name in IG II 11362 (Athens). So the line ends with precisely the genitive we needed for μεγαπλούτου, and we can now read ε[πι] εὐβοσίας. The interlocking word order and the position of the two prepositions in this line display poetic hyperbaton, for which Kühner–Gerth II. 1, pp. 553, n. 2, cite far more daring examples.

The poem remains incomplete, but we have made a philological journey to a considerably more satisfying text than the one with which we began:

Ξώσιμον ούνομα τάτων ἕνεκκά[μενον γενετήρι.] 
4 ε[τ]ίς Αἰαδόν ἐρετόν κούρον εὐβοσίας.

ἡλπειζον δ’ ετ’ ἐμοὶ γονέες ὑμέναι[ν άείσια.] 
οὐκ ἐτ’ ἐμοῖς θρήνοις τύμβον ἀνοικ[οδομεῖν.] 
Χαί[ρ]οις, ὑ παραδίδα, καὶ ἀντινέπων πο[ρὰ τύμβῳ]
8 εἰς μεγαπλούτου ἰκοῖς γήρας ε[πι] εὐβοσίας.
All-conquering, novelty-loving [Fortune] ..., why [have you taken] me to Hades, an eleven-year old child, a beloved boy, bearing the same name, Zosimus, as my father ... My parents expected to sing a wedding song for me, not to raise up a tomb with lamentations over me. May you fare well, O passer-by, and if you say something back to me alongside the tomb may you reach old age in wealthy prosperity.

The inscription substantially enriches our already abundant supply of funerary epigrams, and it gives us a precious glimpse into the inventiveness of minor practitioners of verse on the borders of Phrygia and Caria in the hellenistic or early imperial age. It shows that copying, restoring, and interpreting a verse text, however insignificant, is an exacting exercise in judgment.

Özet


“Ey, herşeye hükümden ve değişikliği seven [Kader]! ..., neden beni, babası ile diğer olan 11 yaşındaki sevimli Zosimos'un altı Hades'e götürdün? ... Ana-babam benim için bir dişinin çıkması söylemişti, yoksa göz yaşları arasında üzerine bir mezar yaptırmayı değil. Sen, ey yolcu, mezarımın başında bana bir şeyeyler söylersen, zenginlik içinde sürdüreceğin uzun bir ömrün olsun!”

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