

Οὐδείς ἀθάνατος; SEVEN FUNERARY STELES FROM ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ADANA (SOUTHERN TURKEY)*

Ergün LAFLI**
Hadrien BRU**

Keywords: *Antioch on the Orontes, funerary steles, archaeology, sculpture, marble, epigraphy, epitaphs, onomastics, Northern Syria, Near East, social and cultural history, Hellenistic period, Roman Imperial period.*

Abstract: *Seven unpublished funerary steles from Antioch on the Orontes (Northern Syria) inscribed in Greek between the 1st cent. BC and the 3rd cent. AD are presented and commented, with attention paid to their style, to their typology and to onomastics. These seven examples from Adana increase the Antiochean funerary steles known to date. They offer an insight on the social, cultural, economic and artistic background of this major Graeco-Roman city of the Near East.*

Since 1997, several studies have been written on the funerary monuments of Antioch on the Orontes¹. Although at first sight commonplace, we are now more aware of the high importance of these documents in understanding better the social, cultural, economic and artistic background of this major city of the Near East. Antioch, founded in 300 BC by Seleukos I Nikatôr², thanks to Pompey's geo-

* These seven steles were studied with an authorisation granted to E. Laflı by the Turkish General Directorship of the Monuments and Museums on 27 April 2006 and registered as B.16.0.KVM.200.11.02.02.14.01.222.11.(TA 014/G). 65675. The necessary documentation was assembled between 2006 and 2018 and all the photographs were taken by Mr. Doğançan Aksu (Izmir/Adana) in 2018. We would like to thank Maurice Sartre for his fruitful discussion concerning certain monuments presented here, and Nicholas Sekunda for his careful and patient reading.

** Ergün LAFLI: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, İzmir; e-mail: ergun.laflı@deu.edu.tr.

** Hadrien BRU: Université de Bourgogne-Franche Comté Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Besançon ; e-mail: hadrien.bru@univ-fcomte.fr.

¹ See SARAÇOĞLU 1997; KONDOLEON 2000; LAFLI & MEISCHNER 2008; BRU 2014; GÜVEN 2014; LAFLI & CHRISTOF 2014; GÜVEN 2015.

² COHEN 2006, p. 80-93.

political choice, in 64–63 BC became the capital of the Roman province of Syria following the collapse and annexation of the famous Seleucid Hellenistic kingdom³. These funerary monuments, often modest as regards to their size or cost, reveal not only the quality of their sculptors, but also the cultural background of the Antiochean families or persons that commissioned them, thanks to the information that onomastics and the study of clothing can give us. We present in this paper seven unpublished funerary steles of Antioch on the Orontes from the Archaeological Museum of Adana (Turkey) to honour the memory of our friend and colleague Alexandru Avram.

All these seven pieces are currently dispersed in diverse archaeological storerooms of the museum of Adana.

Antiochean funerary steles and the banquet scene

We have a very limited knowledge about the beginning of production of funerary steles in Antioch on the Orontes. Some Athenian stone cutters and workshops of high quality production seem to have moved to the East after 317 BC, possibly to work in the prosperous new Hellenistic courts in Antioch on the Orontes, Alexandria (Egypt), Seleukeia in Pieria or Thessaloniki⁴. Thus, the production of funerary steles in Antioch on the Orontes does not appear to have begun before the early 3rd century BC. From that date onwards a continuous production of fine reliefs throughout the Hellenistic period showed significant development, contrasting with the Roman period from which only very modest reliefs are in general available. These grave monuments were mass-produced in sculptural workshops headed by sculptors who remain anonymous to us. The quality of carving on the gravestones ranges from quite mediocre to highly skilled.

A great quantity of reliefs from Antioch and its peripheral area belonging to the Hellenistic and Roman periods have so far been identified. However most of the Hellenistic Antiochean funerary steles were produced in the 1st century BC and are modest works, as regards both their scale and technique. On most of the funerary steles the drapery style, manner of carving, lettering and letter forms of their inscriptions are so similar to each other, that they may have been produced in the same workshops, if not by the same sculptors. The manner in which the marble is worked changes in the Roman period. The types of marble employed, however, remains the same as in the Hellenistic period, with the majority of monuments probably carved in a local marble coming from an unidentified quarry, despite there being almost no study on the marbleworking of ancient Antioch.

Most of these funerary steles in Antioch must have originally stood in the cemeteries outside the city gates, lying along the roads leading into the city from all directions. They were perhaps placed in *periboloi*, i.e. family burial plots within these cemeteries; but evidence on these graves and cemeteries is limited, as they

³ SARTRE 2001, p. 436–480.

⁴ WILLIAMS 1982, p. 186; TRACY 1995, p. 40.

have not been systematically excavated and studied. So, no evidence is available to us today of the appearance and location of these funerary steles within these Antiochean cemeteries. Some small funerary steles could have been placed in *columbaria* to close a *loculus* containing the skeletal remains of deceased or a cinerary urn.

Male and female figures on Antiochean grave monuments display a certain repetitiveness, as they are depicted seated, standing or reclining. In Antioch a number of recurring figure types emphasize the conservative nature of funerary relief sculpture. In Antioch on the Orontes men reclining on *klinai* in so-called banqueting scenes are depicted on the majority of funerary steles between the mid-2nd century BC and early 3rd century AD, many more than in any other parts of the Graeco-Roman East, such as Cilicia, Zeugma and Edessa (Upper Mesopotamia)⁵. Reclining figures are also common on sarcophagi in Antioch, and elsewhere in north-western Syria. The motif recalls one of the central pleasures of life, the *symposium*, now ended forever for the deceased⁶. The motif of the dining figure in the funerary imagery links the deceased with the living, in that food sustains life and is also connected with dining rituals, which were an integral part of Graeco-Roman life, and with the meals consumed around the grave by the mourners. According to some authors, among others P. Schmitt-Pantel and F. Lissarrague⁷, the gravestone iconography of the banqueter places the deceased within the funerary context, rather than showing the deceased being nourished for the journey to the underworld.

In Antioch there are several and formerly unknown variations of banqueting reliefs, coming from the ancient traditions of the Near East⁸. Men are depicted either alone, or with a female figure seated at the foot of the *klinè*, or in few cases with further male figures laying alongside them. In these cases, where the steles contain three or more figures, these types are commonly interpreted in connection with giving birth. Nancy H. Demand, for example, interprets this iconography as memorializing midwives rather than women who died in childbirth⁹.

A relative chronology for grave reliefs in Antioch on the Orontes, for a select number of securely dated sculptures including or inscriptions, combined with a stylistic analysis, should be possible at some time in the future, allowing for a decade-by-decade sequence for their production.

N° 1 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 16665 recently, formerly 58.2.2009). H. 74.1 cm; W. 17.6 cm; Th. 10.8 cm; H. letters 1.2–1.3 cm. Left broken part of a *naiskos* funerary stele with triangular pediment, *acroteria* and arched niche, in white marble, with its tenon¹⁰. The deceased is a man on a *klinè*, shown to

⁵ There are numerous examples, the vast majority of which feature men reclining and participating in the eating and drinking. See PFUHL & MÖBIUS 1979, vol. 2, p. 353–494, n° 1488–2066.

⁶ On various aspects of the symposium, see notably ORFANOS & CARRIÈRE 2003.

⁷ SCHMITT-PANTEL & LISSARAGUE 2004, p. 247–250.

⁸ See DENTZER 1982.

⁹ DEMAND 1994, p. 121–140.

¹⁰ For structural and stylistic parallels, see : Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8442 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 91, K. 8, pl. IV (Hellenistic period); Archaeological

the right resting on his left arm and facing the observer, two figures of the family supporting him, including a child represented on the right side of the stone, close to the third shown in profile. Below the familial funerary scene carved in the niche, we can read the damaged inscription in the field, but only the banal final formula, without any names. The Greek text consists of two lines, with regular letters, *apices* and square *epsilon*. **Fig. 1.**

[---]ἄλυπε

[---χ]αῖρε.

Translation: « ..., without sorrow, farewell! »

This monument, showing fine qualities of sculpture, above average, more expensive, bigger and better executed than the others presented below, could probably be dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, according to the shape of the letters, to the Hellenistic inspiration of the sculpture, and to the parallels evoked *supra*.

N° 2 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 11748 recently, formerly n° 40 or 2.4.77 or 1.2.77). H. 24.1 cm; W. 27.9 cm; Th. 3.7 cm; H. letters 1.8–2.2 cm. Slab of white marble almost square, probably to close a funerary *loculus*, roughly showing a women laying on a *klinè*, resting to the right on her left arm, in front of a pedestal table¹¹. Under the bed are carved three lines in Greek, with an irregular

Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 13793 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 103, K. 40, pl. XX (= LAFLI & MEISCHNER 2008, p. 152, n° 11; late Hellenistic period-beginning of Roman Imperial times); Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8992 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 112, K. 65, pl. XXIII (late Hellenistic period-beginning of Imperial Roman times); Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8994 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 122–123, K. 92, pl. XLVI (= LAFLI & MEISCHNER 2008, p. 165, n° 30; late Hellenistic period-beginning of Imperial Roman times); SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 125, K. 99-100, pl. L (late Hellenistic period-beginning of Imperial Roman times); Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8955 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 131, K. 114, pl. LVII (late Hellenistic period-beginning of Imperial Roman times).

¹¹ For structural and stylistic parallels, see our n° 3-4, and: SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 133, K. 121, pl. LXI; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8935 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 134-135, K. 124, pl. LXII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 16288 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 136, K. 128, pl. LXIV; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 973 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 136-137, K. 129, pl. LXV; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 3143 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 137, K. 130, pl. LXV; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 16203 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 137, K. 131, pl. LXVI; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 637 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 137–138, K. 132, pl. LXVI; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 1262 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 138, K. 133, pl. LXVII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8952 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 138, K. 134, pl. LXVII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 13932 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 139, K. 135, pl. LXVIII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 3340 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 143, K. 149, pl. LXXV; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8794 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 144, K. 151, pl. LXXVI; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 922 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 144, K. 152, pl. LXXVI; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 11058 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 145, K. 154, pl. LXXVII. Aslı Saraçoğlu, who

and late script from Roman Imperial times, including lunate *epsilon* and *sigma*, *upsilon* with a short vertical stem. **Fig. 2.**

εὐψύχι
Ἑρμογένεια·
οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.

Translation: « Be courageous, Hermogenia. No one is immortal! »

The expressions εὐψύχι (l. 1) and οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος (l.3) are frequent in Syria and the Near East during the Roman Imperial period¹², notably on the Antiochean territory, where we know of at least three exact comparisons as tiny, white and almost square marble steles bearing also the exact same Greek text (except the name of the deceased), and the same carved scene in one case¹³. On l. 2, although the Hellenic female anthroponym Ἑρμογένεια is rather common in the Greek world, it seems to be its first attestation as such in Antioch on the Orontes under this form (Ἑρμογένεια)¹⁴.

The schematic style of the sculpted funerary monument, the roughly and lightly incised Greek letters as well as their shape lead us to date this stele as coming from the 3rd century AD.

N° 3 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 16663 recently, formerly 57.2.2009). H. 16.1 cm; W. 23.7 cm; Th. 4.2 cm; H. letters 1.1–1.2 cm. Small rectangular stele of altered marble, possibly to close a funerary *loculus*. The framed relief shows a man draped in a *himation*, laying on a *klinè* to the right, on his left arm, in front of a pedestal table, and facing the observer¹⁵; his right arm reposes between his legs, the right leg being bent. The folds of the clothes are schematic, and the relief is quite worn. On the lower part of the frame, we can read one line in Greek regular letters, with *apices* and lunate *epsilon*. **Fig. 3.**

Μουδικέ · ἄλυπε χαίρει.

Translation: « Moudikos, without sorrow, farewell! »

examined the funerary steles of the Archaeological Museum of Hatay for her doctoral dissertation (Atatürk Üniversitesi, Erzurum, 1997), generally dates these monuments from the late Antonine period, but the workshops could have been active to produce those steles at least until the beginning of the 3rd century AD.

¹² See for example LAFLI & BRU 2020, p. 377–379, n° 5 (territory of Germanikeia in Commagene).

¹³ IGLS III/1, 896 (L. 21.6 cm; H. 28.1cm; Th. 3.1 cm); IGLS III/1, 907 (L. 29 cm; H. 34 cm; Th. 2 cm); IGLS III/1, 961 with a woman figured in a similar scene (L. 17 cm; H. 18 cm; Th. 2 cm).

¹⁴ See IGLS III/1, 929 for a variant of the name: Ἑρμογίνια. For Ἑρμογένεια in the neighbouring Cilicia Pedias, see *I. Anazarbos* 310.

¹⁵ For structural and stylistic parallels, see our n° 2–3, then the references given for our n° 2.

The fourth letter of the first word could be an *alpha*, a *lambda* or a *delta*. Because of the proximity of Cilicia Pedias and its ancient Luwian onomastic traditions, including numerous personal names based on the transitive stem *muwa* ('from the substance of')¹⁶, we could propose the conjecture of Μουαϊκος as a new Anatolian male anthroponym, but the sequence ο-υ-α-ι would be surprising. We could also consider a *lambda* for *Moulikos* as a Greek name, but it is not attested. That is why the best solution is to read the letter as a *delta*, so that the male anthroponym Μουδικός would probably be attested here for the first time in a Greek text, in the vocative case, otherwise rather frequent in the funerary texts of northern Syria, especially in Antioch on the Orontes. In Neochoraki (Macedonia, Chalkidikè), we encounter the female anthroponym Μουδικεΐα¹⁷, but above all we know the Iranian male anthroponym Μαυδάκης¹⁸: in Antioch on the Orontes, the personal name Μουδικός comes from the same word stem and linguistic origin, which is not be surprising (see below our n° 4). According to the shape of the letters and to the style of the monument, we should date it as coming from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

N° 4 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 1968 recently, formerly 5530). H. 18.8 cm; W. 22.7 cm; Th. 3.8 cm; H. letters 1.1-1.2 cm. Rectangular stele of white marble, possibly to close a funerary *loculus*, roughly showing a deceased laying on a *klinè*, resting to the right on her left arm, in front of a pedestal table¹⁹. Under the bed and on the lower part of the frame is carved a single line in Greek, with an irregular script from the Roman Imperial period, including lunate *epsilon*. **Fig. 4.**

Ορόντα· εὐψύχι.

Translation: « Orontes, be courageous! »

Unexpectedly, the personal names deriving from the satrap Orontès, after the Orontid dynasty or after the famous Syrian local river are quite rare in the area of Antioch on the Orontes, even if we can for example find the male anthroponym Ὀροντίων²⁰. Elsewhere in the Roman empire, we encounter the

¹⁶ See for example LGPN VB, p. 304, Μουαλις n° 1-3 (including *I. Anazarbos* 413-414 et *I. Cilicie* 110); Μουασης n° 1 (cf. SEG 54, 1481, in *Anazarbos*); Μουατως n° 1 (in Cilicia Tracheia); all these occurrences are to be dated from the Roman Imperial period.

¹⁷ SÈVE & FEISSEL 1988, p. 464, n° 22; SEG 38, 598. The first editors of this funerary text from the 2nd century AD think that Μουδικεΐα is an altered form of the Latin gentile name *Mundicia*, although its transliteration into Greek is Μουνδικία (cf. IG II², 4062), as it is usually Μουνδίκιος for *Mundicius*. In any case, we can be certain that in Antioch on the Orontes the name *Moudikos* would not derive from the gentile name *Mundicius*, since this *gens* seems to appear in the Greek inscriptions only in Attica, Macedonia and in Ionia (Ephesos and Klaros).

¹⁸ Name of a Median king; see JUSTI 1895, p. 200 and SCHMITT 2011, p. 248, n° 206.

¹⁹ For structural and stylistic parallels, see our n° 2 and 4, then the references given for our n° 2.

²⁰ See IGLS II, 664.

male personal names under the forms Ὀρόντας²¹ or Ὀρόντης²², whereas in Rome we may discover attestations of freedmen originated from the Near East during Roman Imperial times and bearing *cognomina* written « Orent-» in Latin inscriptions²³; we also know for example M. Aurelius Oronta²⁴ or M. Antonius Oronta²⁵ in texts carved in the *Vrbs*. The shape of the letters as the style of the sculpture lead us to date this monument from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

N° 5 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 7661 recently, formerly 14.9.73). H. 22.4 cm; W. 25.1 cm; Th. 3.8 cm; H. letters 0.9–1.0 cm. Stele of white marble, possibly to close a funerary *loculus*; the upper part of the stone shows the upper slight ‘herringbone’ shaping of a pediment²⁶. The deceased wearing a folded *himation* and looking to the left, stands up in front of the observer, his bent right arm leading his hand open on her chest, as his bent left arm holds an object. The framed figure, alas worn, is simple and conventional but nicely set, with a certain naturalism. The regular carved letters show lunate *epsilon*. On the lower part of the frame, we can read one line in Greek. **Fig. 5.**

Ζεβίνας· εὐψύχει.

Translation: « Zebinas, be courageous! »

Ζεβίνας is a common and popular Semitic male personal name, based on a passive form of the verb *zbn* (« buy »), which is in connection with numerous anthroponyms in the Near East²⁷, notably in the region of Antioch on the Orontes²⁸. The shape of the letters as the naturalistic rendering of the figure lead us to date this monument from the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

N° 6 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 8055 recently, formerly 18.6.73). H. 30.3 cm; W. 19.1 cm; Th. 4.1 cm; H. letters 1.8–2.0 cm. Marble stele of *naiskos* type, with a sharp ‘herringbone’ top²⁹, and maybe damaged *acroteria*. On

²¹ IOSPE I², 79 (= *I. Byzantion* I, 3) in Olbia Pontica in the first half of the 1st cent. AD.

²² Essentially in Anatolia (in Ephesos, Pergamon; in Phrygia and in Pisidia, cf. LGPN VC, p. 332, Ὀρόντης n° 1-3; in Cilicia Tracheia, cf. LGPN VB, p. 331, Ὀρόντης n° 1-7), and on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in connection with the Iranian/Persian cultural influences over centuries. See JUSTI 1895, p. 234-235; SCHMITT 2011, p. 282–283, n° 246.

²³ SOLIN 1996, II, p. 385.

²⁴ CIL VI, 32480.

²⁵ CIL VI, 1057.

²⁶ For a similar shaping of the stele, see Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 16444 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 140, K. 139, pl. LXX; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 13073 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 140, K. 140, pl. LXX; SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 145, K. 153, pl. LXXVII.

²⁷ In Cyrrhestikè, Mesopotamia, northern Syria or Arabia; see YON 2018, p. 159 and n. 100.

²⁸ Cf. IGLS II, 359 and 570 for the male anthroponym Ζεβίνος.

²⁹ For parallels, see Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8790 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 98, K. 26, pl. XIII (but with a semi-circular niche); Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 302 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 108, K. 55, pl. XXVIII.

the right side of the niche, a woman is seated to the left, turned to the observer, her knees touching a pedestal table. Her left arm is bent to her chest, whereas her right arm reposes on her legs. Although the relief is worn, we may distinguish the folds of a *chiton* and a *himation* falling on her shoulders. On the lower part of the frame, we read two lines in Greek, carved with regular letters from the Roman Imperial period showing *apices* and lunate *epsilon*. **Fig. 6.**

Υγίη· ἄλυπε χαῖ-
ρε.

Translation: « Hygia, without sorrow, farewell! »

The (very) Greek female personal name considered here l. 1 is not so frequent, despite the existence of a fashionable anthroponymy of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD in connection with the myths and cults of Asklepios and Hygieia³⁰. Nevertheless, during the same period, we know at least two women called Υγεία and Υγία in Anazarbos, in the neighbouring region of Cilicia Pedias³¹. The final funerary formula ἄλυπε χαῖρε is common in northern Syria, especially during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, date of this monument.

N° 7 – Archaeological Museum of Adana (inv. n° 16662 recently, formerly 57.2.2009). H. 30 cm; W. 21.1 cm; Th. 6 cm; H. letters 1.5–1.6 cm. Arrived to the museum on 10 March 2009. Funerary stele of grey veined white marble, presenting in its upper half a niche with a relief a young male laying on a *klinè* to the right, resting on his left arm put on a cushion and facing the observer. He holds an object in his left hand, whereas his right hand reposes on the knee of his bent right leg. The folds of his *himation* are schematic but balanced. Below him, the bed and its feet create a frame for a two lines Greek inscription, just above the circular hole drilled in the stele. This circular whole (diameter 6.2 cm) piercing the stele in its lower register could be the consequence of a secondary use of a monument which could have formerly been taller. The mouldings of the nicely worked bottom edge of the stone, carved to be visible (like the two side edges) and bearing now an inventory number, indicates that the funerary stone, without pediment and tenon³², could have been initially suspended or reused. The carved letters are regular and apicated, including lunate *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega*; *alpha*

³⁰ See WINKLER 1995. For example, we know a funerary stele for Asklepios from the 2nd cent. AD in Antioch on the Orontes (Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 302; SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 108, K. 55, pl. XXVIII).

³¹ On a sarcophagus (*I. Anazarbos* 80) and on a funerary altar (*I. Anazarbos* 557). This female personal name is regularly given to slaves (cf. for example SOLIN 1996, II, p. 297–298).

³² For other steles including a niche, without pediment and tenon, see Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 9244 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 107–108, K. 53, pl. XXVII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 11129 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 108, K. 54, pl. XXVII; Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8950 and SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 115–116, K. 73, pl. XXXVII (= LAFLI & MEISCHNER 2008, p. 155, n° 16); Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 9160; SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 131, K. 115, pl. LVIII.

and *lambda* having the right stroke longer than the left one. Fig. 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d.

Καλ<λ>ιστίων·
ἄλυπε χαῖρε.

Translation: « Kallistiôn, without sorrow, farewell! »

On the first line, we are of course waiting for the well-known Greek male anthroponym Καλλιστίων, although the engraver carved erroneously an *alpha* (Α) instead of a *lambda* (Λ), adding a wrong central stroke. Interestingly, the spelling Καλλίστιον is common in Attica, but the spelling Καλλιστίων is less in use, so that we meet it in Macedonia³³, in the northern Black Sea area³⁴, in Delos³⁵ or in Rhodos³⁶, since Hellenistic times but most commonly during the 2nd-3rd centuries AD³⁷, which is a suitable date for this Antiochean monument³⁸.

In conclusion, these seven examples from Adana increase the number of Antiochean funerary steles known to date. With a certain conformism, the clothing of the deceased is visibly Hellenic, showing mainly *chiton* and *himation*, as expected in a Greek city. The style of a certain type of tiny, and relatively stereotyped stele³⁹, which have been presented here (n° 2-4) are easily recognizable. They can be assigned to one or more workshops supplying one or more of the popular *necropoleis* of Antioch on the Orontes during the Antonine and Severan periods. Generally, the framing and the treatment of the surfaces have been executed with care, whereas the sculpture of the reliefs can be regularly coarse and schematic, which stems from the rapid and serial nature of the execution. Except for one stele (n° 1), these funerary monuments are modest in their size, but they are all carved in white marble, which is remarkable. The stele designated as n° 7 in this article, may have been designed to have been suspended: it shows a certain originality, and we wonder whether the other small steles were not designed to close funerary *loculi*.

The presented epitaphs, either in the vocative or the nominative cases, are extremely laconic, following probably Hellenistic funerary traditions: the single personal name appears exclusively, without either patronymic or ethnic. The lack of said details concerning the deceased does not really authorize conclusions

³³ IG XII, 2, 1, 498 (Thessalonikè).

³⁴ CIRB 1268, 1287-1288 (Tanais).

³⁵ IG XI, 4, 833 ; SEG 39, 715 (for a Parian).

³⁶ IG XII, 1, 46, line 336.

³⁷ We find it for example under this form (with *omega*) in Tegea (Arcadia), but in 165-166 AD (IG V, 2, 50, line 71).

³⁸ Furthermore, we notice that we already know a funerary stele for Kalistos in Antioch on the Orontes during the Antonine period (Archaeological Museum of Hatay, inv. n° 8956; SARAÇOĞLU 1997, p. 135, K.126, pl. LXIII), then the female personal name Καλλίστη in Beroia (in Cyrrestikè, IGLS I, 182), but also in Hierapolis Bambykè (SEG 38, 1566).

³⁹ On the social conformism, also in connection with modest funerary monuments from Phrygia and Pisidia, see BRU 2015; MÜHLENBOCK, BRU & LAFLI 2015.

concerning their social status, except the fact that the people concerned, or their relatives, had found enough money to finance these carved and inscribed funerary monuments. Of the six personal names cited here, including two women, three are Greek, one is Semitic, and two are Iranian/Persian. Of course our ability to draw conclusions based on such a restricted statistic sample is limited⁴⁰, but nevertheless the material presented here reflects the social history of the Antiochean territory, highlighting the three main cultures that one could encounter in Antioch on the Orontes since its Seleucid foundation, and essentially during the Roman Imperial period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BRU 2014 – H. Bru, *Essai de sociologie historique d'Antioche sur l'Oronte aux époques hellénistique et romaine : anthroponymie, cultures et peuplement*, in: A. Özfırat & Ç. Uygun (eds.), *Archaeology of Hatay and its vicinity through the ages. Proceedings of the international conference held in Antakya (May 21st -24th, 2013)*, Antakya, 2014, p. 127–144.

BRU 2015 – H. Bru, *Identités culturelles et conformisme social : sur quelques stèles de Phrygie et de Pisidie septentrionale*, in: S. Montel (ed.), *La sculpture en Asie Mineure. Synthèse et recherches récentes*, Besançon, 2015, p. 165–176.

COHEN 2006 – G.M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin and North Africa*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford, 2006.

DEMAND 1994 – N.H. Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, Baltimore, MD, 1994.

DENTZER 1982 – J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Rome, 1982.

GÜVEN 2014 – E. Güven, *Quelques aspects de la vie sociale, culturelle et religieuse à Antioche et dans ses environs à travers l'étude des stèles funéraires dans l'Antiquité*, PhD Lyon 3-Bilkent, Lyon-Ankara, 2014 (unpublished).

GÜVEN 2015 – E. Güven, *Les inscriptions funéraires antiques d'Antioche sur l'Oronte*, BABELAO 4 (2015), p. 149–172.

JUSTI 1895 – F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895.

KONDOLEON 2000 – C. Kondoleon, *Grave Reliefs of Antioch*, in: C. Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch: the lost ancient city*, Princeton, NJ, 2000, p. 139–141.

LAFLI & MEISCHNER 2008 – E. Laflı, J. Meischner, *Hellenistische und römische Grabstelen im Archäologischen Museum von Hatay in Antakya*, JÖAI 77 (2008), p. 145–183.

LAFLI & CHRISTOF 2014 – E. Laflı, E. Christof, *New Hellenistic and Roman Grave Reliefs from Antioch*, in: A. Özfırat & Ç. Uygun (eds.), *Archaeology of Hatay and its vicinity through the ages. Proceedings of the international conference held in Antakya (May 21st -24th, 2013)*, Antakya, 2014, p. 161–181.

LAFLI & BRU 2020 – E. Laflı, H. Bru, *Inscriptions gréco-romaines d'Anatolie IX*, DHA 46 (2020), 2, p. 370–382.

MÜHLENBOCK, BRU & LAFLI 2015 – C. Mühlenbock, H. Bru, E. Laflı, *Dédicaces de Phrygie à Zeus Alsēnos au Medelhavsmuseet de Stockholm*, RA 1 (2015), p. 23–34.

⁴⁰ For more significant statistics, see BRU 2014: in this first approach, as a recall, on a sample of 120 names written on the funerary steles of Antioch on the Orontes, 76 are Greek (63%), 29 are Latin (24%), 7 are Semitic (6 Arabic, and 1 Jewish, so ca. 6%), 5 are Egyptian (ca. 4 %), and only 3 are Anatolian (2.5%).

ORFANOS & CARRIÈRE 2003 – C. Orfanos, J.-C. Carrière (éds.), *Symposium, banquet et représentation en Grèce ancienne : colloque international Université de Toulouse Le Mirail (7-9 mars 2002)*, Toulouse, 2003.

PFUHL & MÖBIUS 1979 – E. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 2: *Tafelband*, Mainz am Rhein, 1979.

SARAÇOĞLU 1997 – A. Saraçoğlu, *Antakya yöresi mezar stelleri [Funerary steles from the region of Antakya]*, PhD Atatürk Üniversitesi, Erzurum, 1997 (unpublished).

SARTRE 2001 – M. Sartre, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique. IV^e siècle av. J.-C. - III^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, Paris, 2001.

SCHMITT-PANTEL & LISSARAGUE 2004 – P. Schmitt-Pantel, F. Lissarague, *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, II, 2004, s.v. 'Le banquet dans le contexte funéraire', p. 247–250.

SCHMITT 2011 – R. Schmitt, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, V, 5A, Wien, 2011.

SEVE & FEISSEL 1988 – M. Sève, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Macédoine*, BCH 112 (1988), 1, p. 449–466.

SOLIN 1996 – H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch*, II, *Griechische Namen*, Stuttgart, 1996.

TRACY 1995 – S.V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.*, Berkeley, CA, 1995.

WILLIAMS 1982 – J.M. Williams, *Athens without democracy: the oligarchy of Phocion and the tyranny of Demetrius of Phalerum (322-307 B.C.)*, PhD Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1982.

WINKLER 1995 – L. Winkler, *Salus vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee. Eine archäologische Untersuchung*, Heidelberg, 1995.

YON 2018 – J.-B. Yon, *L'histoire par les noms. Histoire et onomastique, de la Palmyrène à la Haute Mésopotamie romaines*, Beyrouth, 2018.



Fig. 1. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16665.



Fig. 2. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 11748.



Fig. 3. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16663.



Fig. 4. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 1968.



Fig. 5. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 7661.



Fig. 6. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 8055.



Fig. 7a. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16662.



Fig. 7b. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16662.



Fig. 7c. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16662.



Fig. 7d. Archaeological Museum of Adana: grave relief inv. n° 16662.