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The Heroön of Erpidase Sarpedonis and the Aperlite Sympolity*

West of Andriake, the coastline of central Lycia splits into parallel ridges running approximately south-west to north-east. The southernmost of these is the long, narrow island of Kekova. The long lee of this island, Kekova Roads, provides relatively safe and calm waters for local boatmen. It is dominated by the high point of the modern village of Kale – so-called for the fortress at its height, but known in antiquity as Simena. To the north-west of Simena, a bay opens up providing the most sheltered waters in the region. Here is the village of Üçagız – ancient Timiussa – or “three mouths” for the three mouths of the bay upon which the tiny port sits. To the south-west of Simena, Kekova Roads continues in the lee of Kekova itself, and then after the brief punctuation of an opening to the sea, in the lee of the lofty peninsula of Sıçak Yarımadası. The end of Kekova Roads is so placid that the locals call it Ölüdeniz – or Dead Water – Bay. It is beyond this busy little series of communities, with their orientations towards each other, that Aperlae can be found.

The south-western end of Ölüdeniz Bay laps the rocky shore of the small isthmus connecting Sıçak Yarımadası to the southernmost of the mainland ridges. The isthmus is a kilometre or so across, and it is when one comes to that shore, the bay now called Asar Bay, that one finds the ruins of Aperlae. Asar Bay is not merely difficult of access by land. By sea, the mariner faces a strong surface current which flows into the bay from mid-morning. Today local traffic and the gulets carrying tourists alike must motor out of the bay after about 10 am. It would be no exaggeration to say that this is the most isolated of Lycia’s many bays. Fenced in by terrestrial ridges and by marine currents, it remained a haven for its aquatic life until the Hellenistic period.

This is the time that we find the first urban habitation at this site. Curiously, however, the name Aperlae predates the Hellenistic period, as does its political identity. The name “Aperlae” is a Hellenisation of the Lycian APRLL, a legend which appears on Lycian coins of the fifth century BCE¹. A maritime focus for this community is further suggested by the dolphin motif which features on the reverse of these coins². It has been suggested most plausibly that these issues derive from Apollonia, as it was called in the Roman period, a town two hours walk over the ridge to the north of Aperlae, and subsequently linked in *sympoliteia* with it. During the fifth century, Apollonia may well have been the seat of a local warlord, since a number of monumental funerary structures from this period are still extant on the site. It has been noted that one contemporary name for the head of Asar Bay is Sıçak Iskelesi – the landing-place of Sıçak, the contemporary village closest to Apollonia³. Just as Asar Bay functioned in less well-policed times as a smugglers’ cove for Sıçak, so too may the bay have served a more legitimate function for the town of Apollonia (perhaps then styled Aperlae) in the classical period⁴. Moreover the remains of a single rock cut Lycian tomb have been identified, high

* The author would like to thank a number of members of the audience of the original presentation in Munich for advice and correction, Trevor EVANS for sound advice on matters of Greek, Robert H. HOHLFELDER and Robert L. VANN for inviting him to participate in the Aperlae project, the Librarian and staff of the Library of the Dumbarton Oaks Centre where much of this paper was initially composed, numerous correspondents and, most especially Dr. Christof SCHULER both for the original invitation to participate in the conference, and for his hospitality during my visit to Munich, and also the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Archaeological Institute for their generous financial support.

¹ L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg, 1984, p. 83; G. F. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia*, London, 1897, lxi–lxiii; H. VON AULOCK, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, Tübingen, 1974, p. 37f; K. KJELDSSEN – J. ZAHLE, “A Dynastic Tomb in Central Lycia: new evidence for the study of Lycian architecture and history in the classical period”, *AArch*, 47, 1976, pp. 29–46, 45f.

² HILL l.c., p. 10; plate 3 nos. 6, 8.

³ KJELDSSEN – ZAHLE, *AArch*, 47, 1976, 45.

⁴ F. KOLB – W. TIETZ, “Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien”, *Chiron*, 31, 2001, pp. 347–416, 355–357.

on the site but within, and possibly underneath, the Hellenistic curtain wall⁵. It appears at first glance that the tomb was smashed by the builders of the wall in order to flatten the ground immediately inside the gate at the north side of the site (Taf. 16, Abb. 43). This leads to two probabilities: the first is that, since the founders of Hellenistic Aperlae had no regard for the customs and sensibilities of Lycian Aperlae, they were more likely to be Hellenistic Greeks or Macedonians than local Lycian emigrants moving over the hill from Apollonia; the second probability is that these founders came to stay. This was not a watchtower or a simple garrison of a strategic point.

The first stage of wall construction at the site discloses a generally rectangular curtain wall, oriented on a north-west/south-east axis enclosing an area of about 2.8 hectares. It is strengthened by towers, especially on its less precipitous north-west and south-western faces, and provided with three gates: one on the north-west wall, one in the north-east wall and one on the south-east wall⁶. This last gate, which faces the water, appears to have been the principal gate in the earliest phase of the town.

Further evidence for Hellenistic habitation at Aperlae is clear. There are the remains of two towers in the vicinity of the site – one to the east and one to the west – which are clearly of Hellenistic date and might either be fortified farms or lock-ups for slaves⁷. Masonry of Hellenistic date has been identified in the first stage of the fortifications at Aperlae, and in 2001 a small fragment of Hellenistic pottery was identified in a very preliminary sherding exercise. What is particularly interesting about this late date for the foundation of Aperlae is that its neighbours are far older. Apollonia has already been noted. There are also monumental Lycian tombs at Isinda and good evidence of Lycian urban habitation at Simena and Timiussa: at all three sites there are rock-cut tombs, and at Timiussa and Isinda some of these feature inscriptions in the Lycian language. At Simena, there are also inscriptions attesting the existence of a *demos*, but not what the *demos* called itself⁸.

In the early third century, the probable period of the foundation of urban settlement at the site, Lycia was very much a contested zone. The Ptolemies had competed for control of the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia with the Antigonids from the time both dynasties were established. Antigonos Monophthalmos garrisoned a number of Lycian cities, and drew upon the manpower of the region for his army⁹. Aperlae might have been founded at the time of this intense competition. There is certainly good evidence for the foundation of Andriake in the same period¹⁰.

The isolation of the site has led, over time, to confusion about its identity. Visited by Francis BEAUFORT and Charles Robert COCKERELL in the early nineteenth century, and by David Ross slightly later, it was initially identified as Aperlae by William LEAKE in 1824¹¹. LEAKE did not go to Lycia, but he did offer a com-

⁵ B. LEADBETTER – R. L. VANN – J. HOBBS, “Survey of Aperlae in Lycia: the 2001 Season”, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XX II, 2002, pp. 325–334, 326.

⁶ R. L. VANN – R. L. HOHLFELDER, “Survey of Classical Harbors in Turkey. The 1996 Season at Aperlae in Lycia”, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XV II, 1997, pp. 423–435, 425–427; id., “Survey of Ancient Harbors in Turkey. The 1997 Season at Aperlae in Lycia”, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XVI II, 1998, pp. 443–460, 444.

⁷ A. KONECNY, *Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral- und Ostlykien*, Vienna, 1997, p. 41f discusses the tower to the west of the site. The eastern tower was identified during the 2001 season (Taf. 16, Abb. 44). For the dating, KONECNY l.c., p. 82f.

⁸ On Isinda, see J. ZAHLE, “Lycian Tombs and Lycian Cities” *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique*, Paris, 1980, pp. 37–49, 46; J. BORCHHARDT, “Lykische Inschriften im archäologischen Kontext”, in: M. GIORGIERI – M. SALVINI – M.-C. TREMOUILLE – P. VANNICELLI (eds.), *Licia e Lidia Prima dell’Ellenizzazione*, Roma, 2003, pp. 37–68, 49f; on Timiussa, M. ZIMMERMANN, “Teimiussa – Ein zentrallykischer Hafenplatz als Mittler kulturellen Wandels”, *AW*, 31, 2000, pp. 333–342; on the *demos* of Simena, D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, p. 1376 n. 17; E. PETERSEN – F. VON LUSCHAN, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien II: Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis*, Vienna, 1889, p. 50 nos. 87, 88.

⁹ Diodoros 20. 27 1–2; 37.1; 46. 6–47; R. A. BILLOWS, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1990, pp. 143, 147, 205–207, 356f; A. G. KEEN, “Gateway from the Aegean to the Mediterranean: the strategic value of Lycia down to the fourth century B.C.”, in: J. BORCHHARDT – G. DOBESCH (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien 6–12 Mai 1990*, Vienna, 1993, pp. 71–78.

¹⁰ M. ZIMMERMANN, *Untersuchungen zur Landeskunde Zentrallykiens*, Bonn, 1992, p. 220f; E. UĞURLU, “Sarcophagi in the necropoleis of Andriake, near Myra (Lycia)”, *JRA*, 16, 2003, pp. 355–366, 355.

¹¹ F. BEAUFORT, *Karamania: or a brief description of the south coast of Asia Minor*, 2nd edition, London, 1818, p. vii; C. R. COCKERELL, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant 1810–1817: the Journal of C.R. Cockerell R.A. edited by his son, Samuel Pepys Cockerell*, London, 1903, p. 163; E. A. GARDNER, “Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece” *JHS*, 6, 1885, pp. 143–152; 340–363. Aperrae is the version provided by Ptolemy in his *Geography* (5.33). On Ross, see D. WHITEHEAD, “David Robert Ross of Bladensburg, a nineteenth century Ulsterman in the Mediterranean”, *Hermathena*, 164, 1997, pp. 89–99.

mentary on BEAUFORT's text against that of the late antique *Stadiasmos*. LEAKE was a careful scholar and matching the two texts, together with COCKERELL's unpublished notes, was the first to identify the ruins of Asar Bay as Aperlae¹². His suggestion was ignored by the next three generations of scholars and it was not until 1891 when Gustav HIRSCHFELD decisively settled the matter, employing both LEAKE's arguments and also additional epigraphic evidence¹³.

Although the site has been visited several times by scholars, systematic investigation was not commenced until after the visit of Robert CARTER in the 1970's. He published an article on the site in the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* noting, *inter alia*, that the ancient shoreline had sunk and a significant proportion of the site was now inundated¹⁴. His enthusiasm and support, both moral and financial, prompted the commencement of systematic study and intensive archaeological survey by teams from the University of Maryland (College Park), the University of Colorado (Boulder) and, for two field seasons, Edith Cowan University.

As a result of this work, a few things can be said about the chronology of habitation at Aperlae. It certainly flourished throughout the Hellenistic period and Roman High Empire, even minting some coinage, along with a number of other Lycian cities, on the occasion of Gordian III's march through Asia Minor in 242/3 en route to his Persian campaign¹⁵. The great Roman peace which pertained for 250 years until the middle of the third century CE guaranteed prosperity and regular trade for all of the towns of the Roman world. The most enduring monuments of these years in Aperlae are the great stone sarcophagi which litter the site. Aperlae, moreover, continued to flourish into the Byzantine period, as indicated by the large number of churches constructed there¹⁶. Town life seems to have ceased at Aperlae in the middle of the seventh century. The abandonment of the site in the seventh century was, in all probability, the consequence of military defeat. In 655, an Ummayyad fleet based in Egypt destroyed a Byzantine fleet at nearby Phoenix (modern Finike) and rendered the whole coast vulnerable to attacks from the south¹⁷. The world which had sustained the Aperlites for a thousand years was no longer safe. They joined a larger exodus of coastal communities, withdrawing to the relative safety of the hinterland.

When HIRSCHFELD pronounced the final word upon the identity of the site, he relied upon a text which well repays examination. HIRSCHFELD notes that an inscription records Erpidase Sarpedonis, daughter of Lysander, as an Aperlite, and her great-grandfather Lysander, as an Aperlite from Apollonia. This was sufficient for HIRSCHFELD's purpose, and even then did not convince BENNDORF who, in a brief postscript to HIRSCHFELD's article, reiterated his view that Aperlae was at Kekova¹⁸. This inscription is of far greater significance than HIRSCHFELD realised at the time. It is one of a series of related texts recorded by ROSS OF BLADENSBURG, then

¹² W. M. LEAKE, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor with Comparative Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of that Country*, London, 1824, p. 188.

¹³ G. HIRSCHFELD, "Das Gebiet von Aperlai. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie Lykiens", *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9, 1885, pp. 192–201.

¹⁴ R. CARTER, "The Submerged Seaport of Aperlae in Turkey", *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 7, 1978, pp. 177–185.

¹⁵ VON AULOCK, Gordian III (n. 1), pp. 37–38, 56–57. There is no certainty as to the reason for these extraordinary issues from Lycian towns. VON AULOCK discusses a number of possibilities without expressing confidence in any (pp. 20–21). Aperlae was one of twenty towns that struck for the imperial couple at this time. Since coins were principally struck to pay troops, it seems likely that Gordian wintered his army in Lycia (a suggestion entertained by VON AULOCK). That would explain both the necessity for and the brevity of the issue.

¹⁶ J. HOBBS, *The Tombs of Aperlae in Ancient Lycia: a Catalogue and Discussion* (unpublished Honours Thesis, Edith Cowan University, 2001); R. L. HOHLFELDER – R. L. VANN, "A Church beneath the sea at Aperlae, Lycia", *Adalya*, 4, 1998, pp. 207–212; M. G. TINDLE, *The Churches of Aperlae, A Coastal Town in Ancient Lycia* (unpublished Master of Arts, University of Colorado, 2000); B. LEADBETTER, "Violence, Coercion and Resistance in Late Antique Aperlae", in: H. A. DRAKE (ed.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Ashgate (in press).

¹⁷ Theophanes, *Chron.* s.a. 653/4; R. M. HARRISON, "The Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia", *AS*, 13, 1963, pp. 117–151, 121; H. HELLENKEMPER, "Lykien und die Araber", in: J. BORCHHARDT – G. DOBESCH (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien 6–12 Mai 1990*, Vienna, 1993, pp. 99–106; C. FOSS, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age," *DOP*, 48, 1994, 1–52; cf. A. N. STRATOS, "The naval engagement at Phoenix," in: id., *Studies in Seventh Century Byzantine Political History*, London, 1983, pp. 229–247.

¹⁸ HIRSCHFELD, Aperlai (n. 13), pp. 199–201.

copied by BORRELL and published by the unscrupulous Irish cleric James KENNEDY BAILIE¹⁹. They were then republished in majuscule and minuscule by Philippe LE BAS and William Henry WADDINGTON. A further text was copied by COCKERELL, recopied by Johan AKERBLAD (with emendations) and published by Ernest Arthur GARDNER in 1885²⁰. This final text is the only one of the small collection still visible. The others are either buried in the rubble of the site, or have been illegitimately removed. Nevertheless, sufficient is recorded of their content and nature to make to provide information material to this study. Before entering into the discussion, a new edition of the extant text (Taf. 17, Abb. 46) is necessary, since the text given by GARDNER has to be corrected in several respects.

The inscription is situated on the south-west face of a sarcophagus located in a small group of tombs 14 m north-east of the east baths at Aperlae. The tomb is carved out of limestone, much of which has weathered so that the surface is pitted and corrugated. The tomb is evidently buried to some depth, since the base is not visible, and only the top 226 cm of the box is above ground. This is nevertheless sufficient for our purposes. A pediment (11 cm wide) has been carved in low relief (2 cm) on the south-west side of the lid. The ends of this pediment meet two pilasters which have been carved on the stone box itself. The inscription is at the centre of the face, and surrounded by a tabula ansata in low relief (1.5 cm). The frame surrounding the inscription is 4 cm wide, 72 cm long and 51 cm high. The wings of the tabula are hourglass in shape, and extend 20 cm on the south-west side of the frame and 18 cm on the north-east. The letters of the inscription are fine in quality and relatively legible, varying in size from 3.5 to 4 cm.

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασατο
 Ερπιδάση ἢ καὶ Σαρπηδονίς Λυσάν-
 δρου Ἄπερλειτίς θρεπτοῖς αὐτῆς
 Συναλλαγῆ καὶ Μουσαροῦτι καὶ Νει-
 5 κητικῶ ἰς ὃ συνχωρεῖ ἐνκηδευθῆ-
 ναι κα[ῖ] Λέοντι καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδι θυ-
 γατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἕτερος δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς
 ἐνταφήσενται ἢ οἷς ἂν αὐτὴ συν-
 χωρήσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἕτερος ἐνκη-
 10 δεύσῃ τινά, ὀφιλέσι τῇ Ἄπερ-
 λειτῶν πόλι Χ φ'.

L. 4sq. NE | KHTIKΩΙΣΟΞΥΝ COCKERELL, interpreted by GARDNER as Νέ[κητι κ(α)]ι ο[ῖ]ς συν-. I. 6 ΛΕΟΝΗ COCKERELL, Λεόνη GARDNER, ΛΕΟΝΤΙ on the stone. Several minor corrections of GARDNER's text are omitted here.

Erpidase, who is also called Sarpedonis, the daughter of Lysander, of Aperlai, erected the tomb for her freed slaves Synallage, and Mousarous, and Neiketikos, in which she also allows to be buried Leon and his daughter Asklepias. But no one else will be buried in it other than whomever she allows. But if anyone else buries someone in it, he will owe the city of Aperlae 500 denarii.

This text begins to disclose the history of a remarkable family. The principal name in the text is that of Erpidase Sarpedonis, daughter of Lysander. Also named as entitled to burial are her freed slaves (*threptois*): Sunallage, Mousarous and Neiketikos, and also Leon and his daughter Asclepias²¹. This is a household tomb: none of the named recipients of burial in this text are blood relatives of Erpidase. To the contrary, her immediate family is attested in a series of other texts (see below). A number of points of interest emerge from this text: the names of Erpidase Sarpedonis; the clear intention that the tomb house members of the household; the feminine focus of the text and, most importantly, its location.

¹⁹ On BAILIE, see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13, Paris, 1965, pp. 152–154, citing, amongst others WADDINGTON's frequent criticisms; D. N. WHITEHEAD, "From Smyrna to Stewartstown: a numismatist's epigraphic notebook", *PRIA*, 1999, pp. 73–117.

²⁰ CIG 4289 = LW 1297 = IGR III 693: honorary inscription erected by Erpidase for her late great-grandfather Lysander; CIG 4290 = LW 1299: sarcophagus of Platonis, daughter of Erpidase; CIG add. 4300q = LW 1298: further sepulchral inscription erected by Erpidase and mentioning Platonis; E. A. GARDNER, "Some Inscriptions Copied by Cockerell II", *JHS*, 6, 1885, p. 355 no. 119.

²¹ On the translation of θρεπτοί as "freed slaves", see A. CAMERON, "ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and related terms in the inscriptions of Asia Minor", in: W. M. CALDER – J. KEIL, *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester, 1939, pp. 27–62, 41–46. For Mousarous cp. L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague, 1964, p. 338 n. 326. I am indebted to Trevor EVANS for his provision of a clear and readable translation.

The heroön itself is one of a group of tombs. It seems, in some sense, the central tomb while others in the immediate vicinity locate themselves in reference to it. There are three others within a few metres: one to the east, one to the north, and to the west, and a further tomb identified as a part of this group in 2001 to the south-west. These are the most ornate tombs at Aperlae: apart from the heroön itself, its three most proximate neighbours all feature decorated bosses – Tomb 52 carved as cow's heads; Tomb 51 carved as human busts and Tomb 48, as female heads. These are the most elaborate tombs at Aperlae and represent the height of affluence in the imperial town.

As far as the onomastic evidence is concerned, there is little that is singular about the name Erpidase Sarpedonis. Binominalism is not uncommon in Lycia. There is no particular pattern of Greek names matched with Lycian ones²². It seems clear, however, that here we have evidence of a public, Greek, name and a private, Lycian, one. The name Sarpedonis is simply the feminine of the great Lycian Homeric hero Sarpedon. Sarpedon, along with Glaucus, remained of considerable significance for the Lycians. They proclaimed Lycian integrity within the mythological thought-world of the Greeks. There was a Sarpedonion – a hero-centre – at Xanthos, and Sarpedon is one of the „herophoric“ names noted by Louis ROBERT²³. What is unusual here is the evidence of onomastic creativity, with the conversion of a famous masculine name into a feminine. Moreover, she is not alone: at least one other Sarpedonis is known from a funerary text from Patara²⁴. Her Lycian name, Erpidase, is rare, but attested elsewhere²⁵. It is, however, clearly a Lycian name and has been identified, on secure philological grounds, as such²⁶.

The next point is again a reasonably common one for those who spend time looking at Lycian tombs. The chests surmounted by lids – either gabled or ogival – were themselves only part of the tomb. The tomb also consisted of a chamber underneath the chest, usually accessed by means of a removable block or panel. This chamber (the *hyposorion*) was, in some cases, hollowed out of bedrock, and, more frequently, the hollow formed by the three-stepped base of the chest. Each individual tomb, then, represented the resting place of a number of people. Lycian tombs were, from the beginning, multiple occupancy, and this is reflected by the curse-formulae encountered on many tombs. It is normal, where there is an inscription, to list the principal occupants of a tomb, to include an escape clause so that others (with proper permission) might also be interred there, and to curse those who would usurp a place in the tomb, both with an atavistic appeal to the „chthonic gods“ and with a financial penalty²⁷. This tomb is no different, requiring a fine of 500 denarii to be paid for the offence of usurping a burial herein.

But this is not a comprehensive family tomb. It is a tomb for listed occupants, all of whom are freed slaves and, as such, family dependants. Erpidase's blood kin are elsewhere – she had a daughter and, at least, one husband, if not two. It is clear that it is she who has taken the initiative here in the authorisation and construction of this tomb. Again, this is not unusual in the context of Lycian funerary texts. Other women take analogous initiative. This is not evidence for matriarchy. At the very most, it is evidence for the piety and domestic devotion, not to mention the passion for self-advertisement – of one Lycian noble woman.

If we were to concentrate upon this text, we might stop there. This is, after all, the only extant text of the group which I mentioned. But the context of this text is most remarkable. It is located on a panel on a tomb which has been numbered Ap.01.50 by Justine HOBBS in her survey of the sarcophagi of the site. This tomb is quite different from most of the tombs at Aperlae. The overwhelming majority of these have ogival lids; some have gabled lids; two have rectangular lids²⁸. Only three tombs at Aperlae do not fit this pattern: the

²² S. COLVIN, „Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia“ in: id. (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture and Society*, New Haven, 2004, pp. 44–84, 67.

²³ COLVIN l.c., pp. 44, 64; on the cult of Sarpedon at Xanthos, see Appian, *BC*, 4.79; L. ROBERT, „Les conquêtes d'Arbinas“, *JS*, 165, 1978, pp. 3–48, 35.

²⁴ *CIG* III 4295; also in sepulchral texts from Idebessos (*TAM* II 866).

²⁵ At Phellos (G. DAVIES, „Greek Inscriptions from Lycia“, *JHS*, 15, 1895, pp. 100–115, 108) and Tyberissos (A.-V. SCHWEYER, *Les Lyciens et la Mort: une étude d'histoire sociale*, Paris, 2002, p. 272).

²⁶ Ph. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden, 1961, p. 173; L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague, 1964, p. 174, § 358-2; C. MELCHERT, pers. comm.

²⁷ W. ARKWRIGHT, „Penalties in Lycian epitaphs of Hellenistic and Roman times“, *JHS*, 31, 1911, pp. 269–275; SCHWEYER, *Lyciens* (n. 25), pp. 61–89.

²⁸ For a recent discussion of the typology of Lycian sarcophagi, see UĞURLU, *JRA*, 16, 2003.

shattered rock-cut Lycian tomb predating the urban settlement; a heroön of Roman date below the south gate and Tomb 50.

As can be seen from the photograph (Taf. 17, Abb. 45), Tomb 50 is in the form of a heroön upon which the carving of the chest and lid and the tomb have been so executed as to mimic the appearance of a temple. As the photograph also makes plain, the tomb is buried relatively deeply into the soil and tumble that makes up the overburden at Aperlae. That means that the base remains buried, and that a number of other inscriptions, seen and transcribed in the nineteenth century, might still be available to be studied should the site be properly and scientifically cleared.

It is these other texts which cast considerable light both upon Erpidase Sarpedonis herself and her remarkable family. Hers is the first Aperlite family to emerge from this epigraphic study but, in truth, they could already have emerged from the pages of *CIG* or *IG* which already record the texts which will form the basis of the rest of this discussion. All of these texts were originally recorded either by COCKERELL or by ROSS of BLADENSBURG. They were first published with emendations and restorations by FRANZ in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, republished in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, and then a third time in majuscule and minuscule by LE BAS and WADDINGTON. One of these texts was then excerpted by René CAGNAT, and this was for very good reason²⁹. It is this text (*IGRR* 693) which highlights this most remarkable family. In this text Erpidase Sarpedonis describes herself as ἀρχιέρεια ἐν τῷ ἔθνεϊ, Chief Priestess of the *ethnos*, that is, the Lycian League. There has been some speculation in the past that Lycian women could hold municipal and federal office in their own right, but this possibility has been more recently decisively rejected. Jameson has sought to take a slightly more ambiguous line and leave the question open on the basis of the paucity of evidence, but this argument is not sufficient³⁰. The probability is that Erpidase was not High Priestess in her own right, but that she held the title as the wife of one who had been High Priest. Two candidates suggest themselves: Marcius Eutribus, the father of her daughter, Platonis Arsasis; and Tiberius Claudius Ptolemaios, who is listed on another sepulchral text³¹.

Of these, Marcius Eutribus is the more compelling candidate. He is known elsewhere from an unpublished text from Kyaneai³². There, his full name is given as Sextus Marcius Hegelochianus Eutribus. The name Hegelochos is attested at Kyaneai in a number of texts. One is from a statue base, in which the dedication is to Ptolemaios, son of Hegelochos, from his daughter, Lykia Sthenele; another from a sarcophagus attesting a Hegelochos as a member of an extended family³³. Most significantly, a further text from Kyaneai attests one Kallippos, son of Hegelochos, son of Kallippos, son of Hegelochos as builder of a temple of Eleuthera³⁴. An earlier Hegelochos is attested in a tomb inscription from near Trysa. A further Hegelochos of Kyaneai is attested in a funerary text at Olympos. Moreover, in her testament Sthenele donated money for a public building – the Stheneleion – that bore her name³⁵. It seems clear from the weight of these texts that a family which used the names Hegelochos and Kallippos was prominent amongst the Kyaneaites élite. They acted as patrons and communal benefactors. Citizenship must have been bestowed in the early Flavian period as the gift of the legate Sex. Marcius Priscus, who was the first governor of Lycia under Vespasian³⁶. As such, a member

²⁹ *CIG* III 4289, 4290; BAILIE (1842) pp. 40–46 CCLXXV–CCLXXVIII; LE BAS – WADDINGTON, 1297–1299; *IGRR* 693.

³⁰ S. JAMESON, “The Lycian League: some problems in its administration”, *ANRW* 7.2, 1980, pp. 832–855, 847–849. There are parallels of women holding office elsewhere in the Asian provinces. See, for example, R. A. KEARSLEY, “Asiarchs, archiereis and archeireiai of Asia: new evidence from Amorium in Phrygia”, *EA*, 16, 1990, pp. 69–80. For a full and recent critical discussion, see R. BEHRWALD, *Der Lykische Bund: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Verfassung*, Bonn, 2000, pp. 209–216.

³¹ *CIG* III 4290.

³² ZGUSTA, *Personennamen* (n. 26), p. 174, § 358-2.

³³ M. ZIMMERMANN, “Neue Inschriften aus Kyaneai und Umgebung II”, in: F. KOLB (ed.), *Lykische Studien I. Die Siedlungskammer von Kyaneai*, Bonn, 1993, pp. 139–151, 139f; see also R. BEHRWALD – H. BLUM – C. SCHULER – M. ZIMMERMANN, “Neue Inschriften aus Kyaneai und Umgebung IV”, in: F. KOLB (ed.), *Lykische Studien IV. Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet von Kyaneai*, Bonn, 1998, pp. 177–205, 181f.

³⁴ F. KOLB – M. ZIMMERMANN, “Neue Inschriften aus Kyaneai und Umgebung”, *EA*, 16, 1990, pp. 115–137, 115–122.

³⁵ TAM II 1012 (Olympos, attesting a “Leon, son of Hegelochos, son of Hegelochos, of Kyaneai”); E. PETERSEN – F. VON LUSCHAN, *Reisen in Südwestkleinasien II. Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis*, Vienna, 1889, p. 19 (Trysa – for discussions of this text, see ZIMMERMANN [n. 10] p. 90f; L. MIGEOTTE, *L’Emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, Paris, 1984, p. 335f). On Sthenele, see ZIMMERMANN (n. 33) p. 140, citing E. KALINKA, “Auszüge aus lykischen Bundesprotokollen”, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1892, pp. 83ff (unfortunately unavailable to me).

³⁶ W. ECK, “Die Legaten von Lykien und Pamphylien unter Vespasian”, *ZPE*, 6, 1970, pp. 65–75.

of this family would be a very likely holder of a High Priesthood at federal level. It is, moreover, tempting (but not compelling) to see the family as the descendants of Macedonian colonists. The name Hegelochos was carried by one of Alexander's generals who commanded a fleet in the Aegean and later died at Gaugamela³⁷. As has been noted in a number of onomastic studies, however (most recently that of COLVIN), nomenclature is less a sign of ethnicity than it is of identity. At the very least we can be certain that these are Greek names, and we can be reasonably confident that they are borne by members of a Hellenizing native élite rather than a superimposed colonial one.

Much less can be said or known about Erpidase's second husband, Tiberius Claudius Ptolemaios. Described as a citizen of Aperlae, Myra and Patara, he was clearly a man of some consequence. Like Hegelochianus, he held multiple citizenships and, as Hegelochianus had been both a citizen of Kyaneai and Aperlae (presumably during the period of his marriage to Erpidase), it is also likely that Ptolemaios' Aperlite citizenship was a consequence of his marriage to Erpidase. His citizenships of Myra and Patara, both metropolitan cities, clearly attest his élite social standing, and the consequent ease of his movement amongst the municipal aristocracies of the central Lycian coast.

Clearly both of Erpidase's marriages were élite transactions and of considerable economic value to all parties. For Erpidase, they brought access to the municipal aristocracies of Kyaneai, Myra, and Patara. The latter two cities were Lycian metropoleis, with Myra commanding the maximum three votes in League affairs³⁸. But for her family, this was not a new status. Indeed, Erpidase was a most desirable match. Just as the Hegelochid family was prominent in Kyaneai, so too was hers in Aperlae. The inscription which notes her status as High Priestess honours her great-grandfather, Lysander, who had been a Lyciarch. This text notes too that Lysander had been an „Aperlite from Apollonia“, a reference to the political union, or sympolity, which existed between the towns of Aperlae, Apollonia, Simena and Isinda. As already noted, Apollonia had been a town of some significance, even before the Hellenistic period³⁹. It is here, and not at the coastal site from which the great local family of the Lysandrids emerged and where they had at least one family tomb⁴⁰.

Evidence of pre-Hellenistic habitation at the site of Aperlae is marginal, and the site itself seems far more industrial than anything else. It lacks a number of civic amenities, most notably a theatre, whereas both Apollonia and Simena have theatres⁴¹. But it was Aperlae and not Apollonia which led the sympolity, and it is at Aperlae and not Apollonia that Erpidase constructed her own family heroön. Although the family of the Lysandrids must have originated at Apollonia as local gentry (Lysander I was a doctor before he went into politics), they clearly relocated to the less salubrious coastal site in the generations intervening between Lysander's Lyciarchate and the time of Erpidase. Clearly power and wealth had shifted, in four generations, from the hinterland town to the coastal one. That power and wealth was sufficient to attract the magnates of other great central Lycian towns. And the source of that power and wealth, and the reason that Aperlae headed the sympolity, became evident in the first field seasons at Aperlae.

To the west of the site, across a ravine bridged by a span of Roman date, there is a vast midden of crushed shells⁴². These shells are readily identified as *murex trunculus*, a principal source of Tyrian purple dye. The geography of the local region assists greatly in the cultivation of *murex trunculus*. It is isolated, rugged and overgrown – more so in antiquity before the pines had been cut down. Asar Bay itself is a deep inlet on the southern coast, difficult of access by land and problematic even by sea (the south-western cape of Asar Bay is Ulu Burun). Moreover, the region is not well-watered, leaving ancient inhabitants as dependent upon stored

³⁷ W. HECKEL, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*, London, 1992, pp. 6–9. On the employment of the names of Alexander's generals, see COLVIN, *Names* (n. 22), p. 64f.

³⁸ At least, it did in the time of Strabo (*Geog.* 14.3.3, citing Artemidoros). See BEHRWALD, *Lykischer Bund* (n. 30), pp. 161–169 for a discussion of this text.

³⁹ Apollonia may well have been the last town to join the sympolity. Its *demos* honoured Claudius in an inscription (*IGRR* 3. 694), perhaps at the time of the annexation of the province. It is possible, although this can be no more than a suggestion at this stage, that the sympolity was one immediate consequence of the annexation of Lycia.

⁴⁰ ZIMMERMANN, *Landeskunde* (n. 10), p. 208, n. 125.

⁴¹ W. W. WURSTER, „Antike Siedlungen in Lykien. Vorbericht über ein Survey-Unternehmen im Sommer 1974“, *AA*, 1976, pp. 23–49, 43 (Apollonia); G. E. BEAN, *Lycian Turkey*, London, 1978, p. 117; C. FOSS, „The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age“, *DOP*, 48, 1994, pp. 1–52, 18 (Simena).

⁴² R. L. VANN – R. L. HOHLFELDER, *AST XVI* (n. 6), p. 449f.

winter rainfall as contemporaries are upon the bounties of trucked water. Thus sheltered, the shellfish were permitted to proliferate without too much fear of predation, most particularly by humans. This had certainly ended by the Hellenistic period. Not only is it evident from the material remains at Aperlae that there was a town there in the Hellenistic period, but papyrological evidence makes it clear that the Ptolemaic treasury was enjoying the modest but handy annual income of one talent and 1800 drachmas from Lycian purple. The dependence of Aperlae upon the harvest and manufacture of purple dye from murex is clear from the archaeological remains. In addition to the shell midden, there are also huge tanks, waterproofed with hydraulic mortar, now below the waterline, but which in antiquity were above it. These tanks can only be *vivaria*, that is, holding tanks in which live shellfish were kept after harvest until there was a sufficient amount for the manufacture of a commercial quantity of dye⁴³.

Purple has always been a colour of opulence and power. Princes – both secular and sacred – have worn it to signify their command of resources. The reason that purple was so costly – a great rarity – was the circumstance of its manufacture. It was the small product of a small creature – each drop being composed of the pinhead secretions of the murex sea-snail. Each produces a tiny spot of raw dye so that it takes many thousand to manufacture a commercial amount⁴⁴. The *vivaria* of Aperlae, great holding tanks, represent the first stage in the process of dye manufacture: the great shell middens, the last. In between was an industrial process, famous for its stench and for the difficulty of fixing the dye. The evidence suggests that this is the industry which is the source of the town's disproportionate influence in local affairs. It made Aperlite aristocrats very rich indeed, and also desirous of cultivating links with local aristocratic and trading families. It also induced the Lysandrids to move over the hill from Apollonia and relocate to the newer industrial town. They have tombs in both places: the earlier phase in Apollonia; the later in Aperlae. This suggests that the Hellenistic foundation of the town, while perhaps initially for geopolitical reasons, rapidly became transformed, with the discovery of the *murex trunculus* colony, into an industrial affair upon which local élites, particularly the immediately neighbouring Apollonian, sought to capitalise. Members of those élites actually relocated, recentring power in the industrial town on the coast.

It was this that made Aperlae the natural titular head of the regional sympolity. There is much about this arrangement that, at this stage, can only be supposed or inferred. Survey and epigraphic work is only partial, and only with a much more complete published epigraphic record will we begin to gain something of a coherent picture of relations between the towns of the sympolity and between the sympolity itself and its neighbours. What is unusual about Aperlae, and what these texts more than hint at, is the critical nature of manufacture to its economy. Unlike many communities of the classical age, the disproportionate wealth of Aperlae derived from industry rather than agriculture – so much so that it altered a local balance of power between hinterland and coast in favour of the coast.

The heroön erected by Erpidase for her ancestor, and the tombs which encircle it, provide a powerful advertisement of family stability and strength. Texts on at least two of these tombs also mention her, although the texts are fragmentary. A further tomb relates to this group, but only indirectly. Identified in the 2001 season, this largely buried sarcophagus bears two texts, the second from the third century, recording a woman named Aurelia Euterpe Erpidase. Here is evidence of family continuity as well as public service. The texts on Lycian tombs, as already noted, provide only the barest of information about their occupants. This tomb group, however, forms a distinct small necropolis which provided a permanent means of self-advertisement for one of Aperlae's great families. These few tomb inscriptions and dedications from Aperlae, together with documents from its immediate neighbours, form an image of a strong local economy in which élite families pursue wealth and social standing through the customary mixture of human and mercantile commerce. In time, and with the publication of increasing numbers of sepulchral inscriptions with the prosopographical information which they bear, such a picture can only improve and clarify.

⁴³ On the *vivaria*, see R. L. HOHLFELDER – R. L. VANN, "Uncovering the Secrets of Aperlae, a Coastal Settlement of Ancient Lycia", *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 61.1, 1998, p. 34.

⁴⁴ For an ancient description of the process, see Pliny *Natural History*, 9.125–127.