

SOME NOTES ON FAMILIAL RELATIONS IN ROMAN LYDIA AND PHRYGIA,
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ABSTRACT

This paper will present the epigraphical material concerning the family structures and social customs in Roman Lydia and Phrygia, from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. The familial vocabulary in these areas has more than 60 terms for describing the relationships between members of the family. This richness of familial language is quite characteristic for these areas, unlike the rest of the Roman Empire. Standard historical, epigraphical and philological methods were employed in acquiring the data. In addition, a modern sociological approach to family relations and the role of kinship connections in the wider social contexts was used to interpret the data themselves.

Keywords: Lydia, Phrygia, epigraphy, family, kinship, Roman Empire

ALCUNE NOTE SULLE STRUTTURE FAMILIARI DELLA LIDIA E FRIGIA NELL'EPOCA
ROMANA, DAL 1° AL 3° SECOLO

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta il materiale epigrafico concernente le strutture familiari e i costumi sociali della Lidia e Frigia nell'epoca romana, dal I al III secolo d.C. Il vocabolario familiare di queste aree ha più di 60 termini per descrivere le relazioni tra i membri della stessa famiglia. Questa ricchezza di linguaggio familiare è abbastanza tipica per queste zone, a differenza di quanto avviene nel resto dell'Impero romano. Per l'acquisizione dei dati sono state utilizzate le metodologie standard di tipo storico, epigrafico e filologico. Per l'interpretazione dei dati è stato impiegato un moderno approccio sociologico alle relazioni familiari e al ruolo dei legami di parentela in contesti sociali più ampi.

Parole chiave: Lidia, Frigia, epigrafia, famiglia, parentela, Impero romano

Roman Asia Minor, with its overwhelming abundance of epigraphical and archaeological finds, offers extensive possibilities to a historian interested in society, family and private life. Inhabitants of the province of Asia, one of the richest and most urbanized in the Empire, were responsible for the huge output of epigraphic documents between the 1st and the 3rd century AD. Lydia and Phrygia, two historical regions that encompass the greatest part of the heartland of the province, display both common features and regional peculiarities in this respect. Problems emerge, however, when we begin to interpret the contents of any particular inscription, especially if the researcher is not aware of details of specific, but comprehensive kinship terminology, or when we attempt to use these randomly preserved documents as a basis for the statistical analysis. A person's ancestry decides his place within society and his membership of a particularly defined kin group regulates his relationship with and behavior towards other members and groups within the society. There are several works dealing with some issues concerning families in Roman Anatolia, such as Flood's on Lydia (Flood, 1978), Destephan (2010) and more recently, Thonemann (2013) on Phrygia. However, ancient family in the Anatolian interior is clearly an import topic, but what do we mean when we use the word? There has been a disregard of the role of language in the creation of symbolic meanings of the family and the language associated with it. We can see these items as symbols and the focus of explanation, but there is a wider set of meanings to be discussed in relationship to the daily lives of family members and their life course. The family is a structure full of symbols that act as reminders of past events, both personal and related to a wider social world. Yet, the symbolic meaning and deployment of familial terms has only partially been investigated. In the current scholarship there seems to be no analysis of the deployment of words associated with the family. This paper will also be of more informative nature than explanatory.

Unfortunately, even the most common modern concepts, such as "family", need to be scrutinized, if they are to be applied to the ancient world. Our most important sources for collecting data on family and demography are funerary inscriptions, thousands of them in Lydia and Phrygia. Predictably, these documents do not contain any definition of family, either for so-called 'nuclear' family nor extended family or kinship family and we shouldn't expect one. But there is the Roman legal definition and it is quite precise (Ulpian, *Dig. L. XVI 195, 2*):

Familiae appellatio refertur et ad corporis cuiusdam significationem, quod aut iure proprio ipsorum aut communi universae cognitionis continetur. iure proprio familiam dicimus plures personas, quae sunt sub unius potestate aut natura aut iure subiectae, ut puta patrem familias,

matrem familias, filium familias, filiam familias quique deinceps vicem eorum sequuntur, ut puta nepotes et neptes et deinceps.

Or, in English translation, by S. P. Scott (Scott, 1973):

The term 'family' has reference to every collection of persons which are connected by their own rights as individuals, or by the common bond of general relationship. We say that a family is connected by its own rights where several are either by nature or by law subjected to the authority of one; for example, the father of a family, the mother of a family, and a son and a daughter under paternal control, as well as their descendants; for instance, grandsons, granddaughters, and their successors.

The term "family" has reference to every collection of persons which are connected by their own rights as individuals, or by the common bond of general relationship. Naturally, bonding is a mutual, interactive process and is characterized by emotions such as affection and trust. An ancient family is connected by its own rights where several are either by nature or by law subjected to the authority of one; for example, the father of a family, the mother of a family, and a son and a daughter under paternal control, as well as their descendants; for instance, grandsons, granddaughters, and their successors.

The legal definition carries its own problems and, apart from that, there is the question of how applicable is the Roman legal thought for defining the kinship communities in Lydia and Phrygia where many regional and cultural distinctions were present. Perhaps the modern social theory can offer a solution? Sociological studies of the family have been dominated by functionalist definitions of what the family is and what "needs" it fulfills in the society. But, what definition of "family" should we use when we look for a "family" in the ancient society? Anthropologists and historians increasingly recognize that "family" and "household" are artificial, theoretical categories (Buchler, Selby, 1968, 19–21; for the idea of abandoning the "myth of extended family" see Goody, 1972, 103–124). Kinship is also a social creation but it allows the variability and extension and kinship system does not have the same importance in all cultures (see also Glossary of anthropological terms in Flood, 1978, 160–162). As Lévy-Stross pointed out, kinship systems are built by the mind on the level of unconscious thought. Furthermore he introduced the system of terminology (which, strictly speaking, constitutes the vocabulary system), and another system, both psychological and social in nature, which he called the system of attitudes (Lévy-Stross, 1963, 37). Also, sociological and historical studies of the family have tended to mostly observe the so-called vertical relationships, between parents and children



Image 1: MAMA V 29

and less attention was paid to the lateral relationships between siblings. There are defining factors that can be used and are equally important: biological kinship (and consciousness of it on the part of the persons involved), common residence, economic cooperation, legally recognized unity etc. But common residence, to single out only one of the variables, is also a questionable feature. Some sociologists argue that 'household' is defined by constant activity (Buchler, Selby, 1968, 21). For Lévy-Stross, in order for a kinship structure to exist, three types of family relations are usually present: a relation of consanguinity, a relation of affinity, and a relation of descent – in other words, a relation between siblings, a relation between spouses, and a relation between parent and child (Lévy-Stross, 1963, 46).

Although we may presume that many families lived together, including slaves or freedmen, it cannot be the only outlining indication of a family. We could also suppose that many members of upper classes lived in multiple residences with social ties in every place. On the other hand, economic cooperation is a very broad term and it is not specific only to families but to all levels of society. The terms for relationships used in the inscriptions, our main source for demography, like companion (*σὺμβίος*), husband (*ἄνῆρ*), wife (*γυνή*) do not necessarily indicate that the couple was legally married.

The biological family is universal in human society and constitutes the outset from which all societies elaborate their kinship systems. The "nuclear family" is another expression frequently used by the historians of

antiquity. It too is a borrowing from the vocabulary of the modern social theory. It could be described as any combination in the relationship between father, mother and child(ren) (for the shifts in the definitions of a nuclear family Buchler, Selby, 1968, 23–24). Its usefulness for study of the families in Roman Lydia and Phrygia is obvious: it seems to fit well with a widespread type of family. The funerary inscriptions from the Roman period display some new characteristics, not so prominent in the classical or Hellenistic period, recording not only the deceased but the ones commemorating him, usually the members of his or her family (more on this change in the epigraphic habit see Meyer, 1990, 75). Generally speaking, most of the families we see in these inscriptions were comparatively small, with no more than two sons and one daughter and designation "nuclear family" fits them perfectly. When extended family members are included, it is usually only one and two. Nevertheless, there is also a tendency in the inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia towards inclusiveness of extended members of the family/household. Elaborate examples in Lydia are found in Iulia Gordos (TAM V1 764, 171/172 AD; TAM V1 704, 75/76 AD), and in Diokleia in Phrygia (MAMA VI 353; Buckler, Calder, Cox, 1928, 33 no. 249). While the "nuclear family" may well be the most typical, inscriptions show a diversity of family types, from single parents to multi-generational households. As Huebner stressed, the types of household forms – solitary, nuclear, extended or multiple – should not be seen so much as substitutes rather than as phases in a household sequence reflecting the age and reproductive status of its members. These different forms of family compositions might all be experienced by a single family over the course of several decades (Huebner, 2011, 78).

In the late 20th century there was a significant scholarly debate on demography and the composition of the ancient family. At first, Saller and Shaw studied tombstones from the Roman West in attempt to see if the emphasis in the funerary inscriptions was on the nuclear family or the more extended family (Saller, Shaw, 1984, 124–156; also Engels, 1984, 386–393). Their conclusion implies that the nuclear family was the main type of familial organization in the Latin West (Saller, Shaw, 1984, 137, 145–146). More than a decade later, D. B. Martin employed the Saller and Shaw method on funerary inscriptions from Asia Minor (Martin, 1996, 40–60). Criticizing their method, Martin argued, after examination of a vast sample of 1161 inscriptions from seven cities in Asia Minor, that Anatolian families do not fit either the nuclear or extended structure well and that they had "nucleated center" surrounded by numerous other familial relations (Martin, 1996, 58).

So far, there is no comprehensive study of the demographic data from Roman Asia Minor, comparable to the one Bagnall and Frier did for Roman Egypt (Bagnall, Frier, 1994). We have to acknowledge the fact that there are no sources in Asia Minor similar to the Egyptian

census returns, at least not enough for statistically significant research. Brulé analyzed some of the data from the list of citizens of Miletus and Ilion from the Hellenistic period (Brulé, 1990, 233–258). In 2007 Scheidel summarized the problems of using epigraphical documents in demographic research (Scheidel, 2007, 1–25). Questions for further research should be how many members were there in a family, how many births and what was the age expectancy among children? Funerary inscriptions do not inform us about average life expectancy or age specific mortality samples, but some of them provide valuable information on the seasonal distribution of passing and birth (Scheidel, 2007, 8; cf. Shaw, 1996, 100–138). The ancient funerary inscriptions recorded the measurable scope of one's life in this world, recording years, months and days, thus perhaps indirectly celebrating life.

FAMILIAL VOCABULARY AND DEMOGRAPHY

The familial vocabulary in both Lydia and Phrygia has more than 60 terms for describing relationship between members of the family, some from the world of poetry. This richness of familial language is quite characteristic for these areas, unlike the rest of the Roman Empire (for some family customs in Lycia see Mirković, 2011, 352–365). However, as Flood observed, the terminology was descriptive rather than classificatory (Flood, 1978, 30). Apart from the usual terms for mother (μήτηρ) and father (πατήρ), parents together¹ or grandparents (μάμμη and πάππος) and siblings (ἀδελφή, ἀδελφός or rarely κασιγνήτη / κασιγνήτος),² our inscriptions are displaying nuanced relationship within the extended family. The term πάτρως and μήτρως, designating paternal and maternal uncle respectively, is attested numerous times.³ The expression for maternal uncle (μήτρος or μήτωρ, as well as μητρᾶδελφος literally meaning mother's brother) is attested in Northeast Lydia and in Neapolis (SEG LVI 1265 and SEG XLVIII 1433; I Sultan Daği 612). We also have θεία and θεῖος (aunt and uncle) in Tymandos (MAMA IV 245); and τηθείς (maternal aunt) is found in Lydia (TAM V1 433; SEG XLIX 1732). The mother's brother was the crucial figure in raising his sister's children in a social system that was based on blood relationship: the brothers and sisters were the children of the same mother, they were *homogalaktai*. But this simply emphasized the importance of the mother's family, not a

matrilineal society. It was noted that pre-Indo-European kinship terminology had no word for father's brother, but only that for the mother's; the Greek μήτρος is of pre-Indo-European origin (Beekes, 1976, 43–64).

The term πρόθεις, meaning great-uncle is attested in Laodikeia on the Lykos (IK Ladokeia am Lykos 83, first half of the 2nd century AD). First cousins are also indicated as ἀνεψιός, mostly in Phrygia (MAMA VI 285; MAMA X 85; MAMA X 105; MAMA XI 137; SEG LVI 1493; I Sultan Daği 237; I Sultan Daği 308; I Sultan Daği 514). Interestingly, the term for female cousin (ἀνεψιά) is only recently attested in Lydia (SEG XLIX 1660). There is also a generic expression for kinsman/kinswoman (γυνωτός) in Phrygian Dorylaion (CIG 4137= MAMA V Lists I (ii) 183, 1). The term ἐξάδελφος also designating cousin is attested only in Phrygia (MAMA IX 143; MAMA VI 324; MAMA VII 150; MAMA X 221; Waelkens, 1986, 624; SEG LIII 1533), as well as γυναικάδελφος in Prynnessos in MAMA IV 24, but the restoration here is uncertain.

In-laws were also important part of the extended family circle, so we have phrases πενθερά/ πενθερός and ἐκυρά/ἐκυρός for mother and father-in-law, attested in both Lydia (TAM V1 704; TAM V1 768; I. Manisa Museum 521; SEG LVI 1265; SEG XXXI 1007; Hermann-Malay, New documents no. 95) and Phrygia (SEG XXVIII 1158; SEG XL 1244; MAMA XI 201). It seems that the former were originally used by the husband to refer to his wife's parents (Flood 1978, 34; but note one exception from Dorylaion, Phrygia, (MAMA V 22) where M. Claudius Polemo Maximus set up an epitaph for Κλαυδία Θεμισ[σ]τῶ μητρὶ καὶ Κλαυδία Ἀμ[αρά]γνη ἐκυρῶ). The latter terms, ἐκυρά/ἐκυρός, were used by wives for their husband's parents. The universal and proverbial image of bad relations between parents and their child's spouse could be, perhaps, a bit improved with epitaphs such as “to Nanna Ammia, dearest mother-in-law, as a memorial” (Ναννας Ἀμμία πενθερᾶ γλυκυτάτη μνήμης χάριν, in MAMA VIII 81, Lykaonia). There are also references “to dearest fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law” (ἐκ[υ]ροῖς καὶ δαέρι γλυ[κυτάτ]οι<ς>, MAMA X 272, Kotiaion).

Another example (TAM V1 631) would be:

ἔτους τρι', μη(νός) Λώου δ'. / ἔτελεύτησεν ὀνόματι / Εὐκάρπη· Ἐπίκτητος κα/τεσκεύασεν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ / γυναικὶ συνβιωσάσῃ / ἔτη πέντε, μνείας χάριν καὶ ὁ / ἱκερὸς Τρόφιμος ἐτίμησεν· / καὶ πᾶσι λέγω χαίριν / τοῖς πα/ροδείταις.⁴

1 γονεὺς in Lydia: TAM V1 636 (Daldis); TAM V1 653 (Daldis); I. Sardis 93a (1st-2nd century AD) and in Phrygia more frequent, attested almost 50 times; γενετήρ in Phrygia: MAMA IX 552; Ramsey, 1897, 743, no. 682 (Dokimeion) but it is not attested in Lydia.

2 κασιγνήτη / κασιγνήτος: there are only two attestation in Lydia SEG XXIX 1203 (Saittai) and TAM V1 208 (Tabala) and in Phrygia: MAMA IV 83 (Synnada, 1st-2nd century AD); MAMA V 29 (Dorylaion); MAMA X 12 (Appia, 3rd century AD); MAMA X 169 (Appia, 305/315 AD); MAMA X 203 (Appia, 225-235 AD); MAMA X 540 (Tiberiopolis); MAMA IX 73 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD); MAMA IX 74 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD); SEG LII 1277 (Aizanoi, 2nd-3rd century AD).

3 in Iaza (TAM V1 483a; SEG LVII 1175); Upper Tembris valley, 250-260 AD (SEG LIII 1557); Saittai (SEG XXXII 1231); SEG XXVIII 930 (Sardeis, Roman period); in one of the inscriptions from Iaza there are paternal aunts, πατρειαί; as well as paternal aunt (πάτρα) in Saittai (SEG XXXIII 1016, 103/104 AD).

4 “In year 316, month of Loos, day fourth, died one named Eukarpe. Epiktetos raised (the monument) for his dearest wife with whom he lived for five years, in remembrance and Trophimus, father-in-law has honored it. I speak greetings to all of you, passers-by”.

In Lydia we have evidence of additional terms for in-laws. The term *πενθεριδίσσα* meaning sister-in-law is attested in Silandos and Northeast Lydia (TAM V1 65; Hermann, Malay, 2007, no. 94), as well as *πενθεριδεύς* / *πενθερίδης* for brother-in-law (wife's brother) in Iulia Gordos (TAM V1 707; TAM V1 701; SEG XL 1044).

Characteristic and rare terms, originating from the Homeric period, documented in both Lydia and Phrygia are *δαήρ*, designating brother-in-law as, for example, in Iaza and Iulia Gordos in Lydia and also in Phrygia (TAM V1 483a, TAM V1 704; SEG XXVIII 1096; SEG XL 1241; MAMA IX 387). Another term is *ἐνάτηρ* for either brother's wife or a wife of husband's brother, attested mostly in Phrygia (MAMA IX 188; MAMA X 43; MAMA X 85; SEG XXVIII 1096; SEG XL 1241). In Lydia we have similar *ιανατέρα* in Saïttai (SEG XLIX 1660) and Iulia Gordos (TAM V1 754). Usage of these old expressions in the Roman imperial period seems to indicate the importance of these specific familial relations (Destephan, 2010, 144). Another attested phrase for husband's sister or brother's wife is *γάλως* in Iulia Gordos and Saïttai (TAM V1 775; SEG LVI 1258; SEG XXXI 1004). An expression designating step-father, *πατροπόητος*, is very rare (for example, in Laodikeia Katakekaumene, MAMA VII 58), as well as stepmother, *μητρυιά* (MAMA IX 446). There is also an interesting and rare expression for a wife, *παρακοίτιδα*, attested in Phrygia and also *σύνκοιτος* in area of Axylon (SEG I 455; MAMA I 301). Another term attested twice in Phrygia, but not yet in Lydia, indicating a widow, is *χήρα* (CIG 3827hh; MAMA IV 20). Flood (1978, 43) also indicates the possibility that these women could have been divorced or simply deserted.

The nuclear family is usually represented in an inscription on a shared family tomb, father, mother and the children. The number of children may vary, usually three, but many inscriptions only refer to "children" (*τὰ τέκνα*). In some cases four children are precisely named, as in Iulia Gordos and Thyateira (TAM V1 705 and 737; TAM V2 1076), five children in Phrygia (Buckler, Calder, Cox, 1928, 33 no. 249 and MAMA VI 353); six children in plain of Altıntaş (SEG XXVIII 1100); seven children in Upper Tembris valley (SEG XL 1249 and Buckler, Calder, Cox, 1928, 25 no. 237); eight children in Upper Tembris valley (MAMA X 169); ten children in Appia (SEG XXVIII 1104). Most of these Phrygian families with many children were Christians. However, few inscriptions from Phrygia are stressing the position of a first-born child, presumably a son, using the term

"first-born" (*πρωτόγενος*, CIG 3827hh and IGR IV 539 in Kotiaion). This was probably due to the precedence in the inheritance. From one verse epitaph we can perhaps deduce that male children were valued higher than girls (MAMA X 219):

Γεναδίω τῷ πᾶσι ποθήτῳ / [ν]ήπιος ὀκταέτης ἔθανον / τοὺς δ' ἐλεεινοτάτους / [γ]ονί[ς] μ[ου] ἕασα ἐν ΥΛΑΙC[— — —] / [ο]ῖ[ς] διὰ τὴν περὶ ἐμοῦ λύπην / ὁ ἥλιος λανπρὸς οὐκέτι λάγπι / κλαιόντων κὲ ζητούντων τὸ τέκνον / τὸ ποθητόν. Αὐρ. Δαδης κὲ Ἀφιανής / Γεναδίω κὲ Ρουφίνῃ κὲ Εὐτυχιανῇ / τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις νηπίοις / κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι ζῶντες μνήμης / χάριν. / Δαδης κὲ Ἐ[λπί]ζων Δαδη πατρὶ κὲ Κυρίλλῃ / μητρὶ κὲ Τ[ρο]φίμῳ ἀ[δ]ελφῶ / κὲ Τύφων[ι] ἀ[δ]ελφῶ μ[ν]ήμης χάριν.⁵

Enlarged families typically include grandchildren and daughters-in-law. Thonemann, analyzing the inscriptions from the Upper Tembris valley, argues that this commemorative practice aimed to represent the entire household, "extended multiple-family household" (Thonemann, 2013, 128–129). In most inscriptions relatives are distributed by age group, by gender and then by degree of kinship. Another family group could be including siblings and their relation, as shown in one inscription from Tymandos in Phrygia (MAMA IV 245):

Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Κάνδιος τοῖς ἰδίοις προγόνο<ις> Ἄττα πάπῳ [ka] Ἄτα θεῖῳ καὶ Ἀπολωνίῳ θεῖῳ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βαβει Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ / μνήμης χάριν.⁶

Some of these inscriptions perhaps indicate joint households of brothers, possibly through inheritance, for example, in joint ownership of animal herds.

An inscription from Iulia Gordos in Lydia (TAM V1 706) displays some particular features, such as the specific terminology (*καμβιον/καμβιν*, presumably a grandson according to Robert (1948, 96–98) *πάτρα* and *πάπποι οἱ μεγάλοι* etc):

ἔτους ρλβ', μῆ(νὸς) α' θι'. / Μενεκράτης καὶ Τατεῖς / Εὔξενον τὸν υἱόν, Διονύσιος, Μενεκράτης τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἢ μάμμη τὸ / καμβειν, ὁ πάτρως καὶ ἢ π[α]τέρα, Ἐρμῆς, Ὀρβανά, Ζωῖς τὸν [σύν]ντ<ρ>οφον, Ἐρμῆς πάτρως, Διονύσιος ὁ / μήτρως καὶ Πρεῖμα ἢ π[α]τέρα καὶ πάπποι οἱ μεγάλοι / καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς Εὔξε/νον. / χεῖρε.⁷

5 "To Genadius with every regret, a child that died at age of eight, the greatest compassion toward my offsprings if you were in [...] which is the cause of my grief, the bright Sun no longer warms that breathing and living child, the object of regret. Aurelius Dades and Aphiana to Genadius and Rufina and Eutythiana, dearest infant children, and to themselves, while living, as a memorial. Dades and Elpizon to Dades the father and Cyrilla the mother, and to brother Trophimus and to brother Typhonus, as a memorial".

6 "Poplius Aelius Candius to his ancestors Atta the grandfather and divine Ata and divine Apollonius, and to sister Babea, daughter of Artemidorus, as a memorial".

7 "In the year 132, first month, day 19. Menecrates and Tatia to Euxenos their son; Dionysius, son of Menecrates, to his brother; grandmother to her grandson; uncle and aunt, Hermes, Orbana and Zois to their foster-brother; Hermes the uncle (father's brother), Dionysius the uncle (mother's brother) and Prima the aunt, and the great grandparents and relatives to Euxenos, farewell".

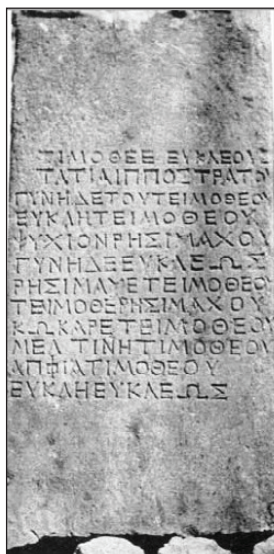


Image 2: MAMA VI 353

The main question we are still trying to answer while observing these inscriptions is with which family members did they share their meals, roofs and other assets, whom did they take care of and who took care of them? Were they primarily close kin, members of the so-called nuclear family (parents and children), or did obligations, care and responsibility stretch beyond that, to include extended family such as adult siblings and other lateral kin, and grandparents and so on? The choices over with whom to live or to share a household with, as well as the decision over where to do so, might seem to be decisions that belong to and are taken in the private domain. If not subject of an individual's personal inclination, then they should've been, above all, a family matter. In reality though, the private sphere did not function in isolation of the public and political settings in which it was embedded.

We have no information from the inscriptions on forms and customs of marriage (see Ramsay's stance on marriage in Asia Minor and his opinion on prevailing Roman customs, Ramsay, 1967, 57–58). There are indications that girls tended to marry at an early age, in their teens: in Apameia (MAMA VI 205) a girl dies at the age of 18 after less than three years of marriage. In MAMA IV 319 the same happens at the age of 16, after five months of marriage. A 16 years old woman in Dorylaion (MAMA V KB.3) dies at childbirth, and another in area of Axylon (MAMA I 30), fifteen and a half years old.

On the other hand, men have, probably, got married around the age of twenty (Thonemann, 2013, 135). So

far, there is no epigraphic evidence for a divorce in these provinces. We also do not know whether a divorced woman or a widow returned to her family. One could presume that a widow with children stayed in the husband's house. This is most probably attested in Soa and Kotiaion (SEG XXVIII 1206, early 4th century; MAMA X 272). Remarriage was common for men as well as for women, although to a lesser extent. We have some examples of second marriage for women, in Dorylaion and Eumeneia (MAMA V 66 and 67; MAMA IV 339), as well as in a bilingual inscription from Philadelphia.⁸ In Apollonia a second wife helped to erect an epitaph for her husband and 'his first wife' (MAMA IV 221, τῆ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ τῆ πρώτῃ). A possible separation is attested in Hierapolis (SEG LVI 1501, end of the 2nd/first half of the 3rd century AD).

One of the greatest virtues of a wife obviously was fertility, explicitly displayed in an inscription from Ak-moneia (MAMA VI Lists 193* = Ramsay, 1897, 656 no. 590; Ak-moneia, 114 AD):

*Λούκιος γυν[αι]κὶ ἰδίᾳ σεμνο/τάτῃ, γεννηθείσῃ ἔτους
ρζα' / ζήσασα γνησίως, υἱὸς ὑπὲρ γῆς / ἀπολιποῦσ[α]
τέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρα, / ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτους ρζη'.⁹*

The cross-cousin and parallel cousin marriages are attested in Asia Minor, for example in Apollonia (MAMA IV 160) and Diokleia (MAMA VI 353), most likely as means to control economic resources and estate (more on this feature Flood, 1978, 43–48). It is interesting to note that most inscriptions documenting numerable terms for familial relations display no evidence of endogamous marriages, with a possible exception in Diokleia (MAMA VI 353).

Some of the questions considering demography still cannot be answered; indications of age of the deceased, necessary for the analysis of age expectancy, are sporadic. In Phrygia the age at death is precisely attested on less than 30 inscriptions, definitely not enough for statistical analysis. One interesting peculiarity of this region would be that almost 50% of these epitaphs with indications of age at death were erected for children or youths, those under 20 years of age. Another is that the age in Phrygia is often written out, as opposed to Lydia where the years are mostly represented with numerals. In Lydia there are many more inscriptions, a little less than 200, with explicitly indicated age at death. Most of these inscriptions are from the northeastern region of Lydia. The average life expectancy, based on the analyzed sample, is 48.58 years, considerably higher than what is generally accepted as the average in the Roman Empire. Around 25% of these epitaphs were commemorating children and youth, those under twenty years of age. There are also two extreme

⁸ I. Manisa Museum 231=SEG XLIV 963; Augustan period); SEG XXXV 1167 (together with SEG XLVIII1453; Maionia, 242/243 AD.

⁹ "Lucius to his most honorable wife, born in year 161, who lived lawfully, giving birth to four sons and a daughter, passed away in year 198".

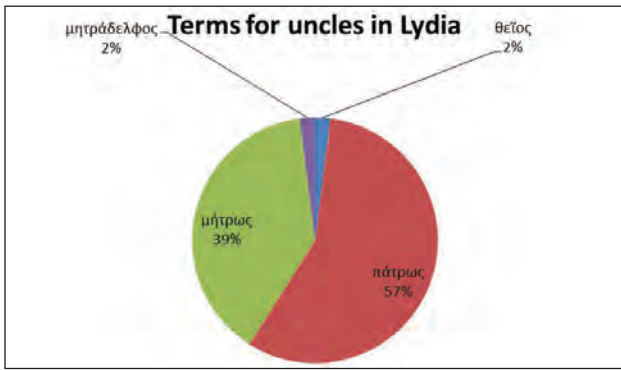


Chart 1: Distribution of different terms for uncles in Roman Lydia

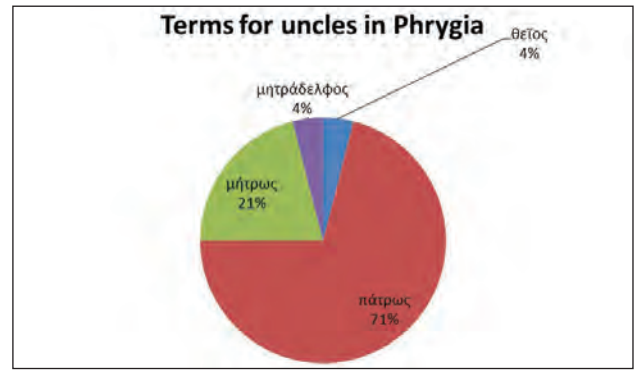


Chart 2: Distribution of different terms for uncles in Roman Phrygia

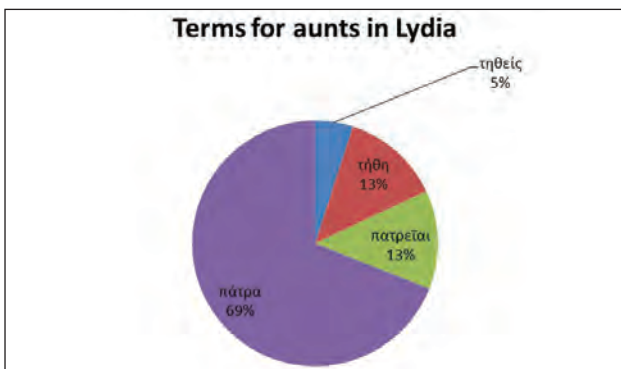


Chart 3: Distribution of different terms for aunts in Roman Lydia

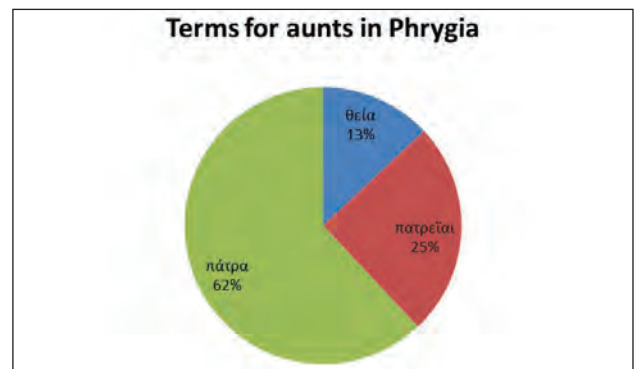


Chart 4: Distribution of different terms for aunts in Roman Phrygia

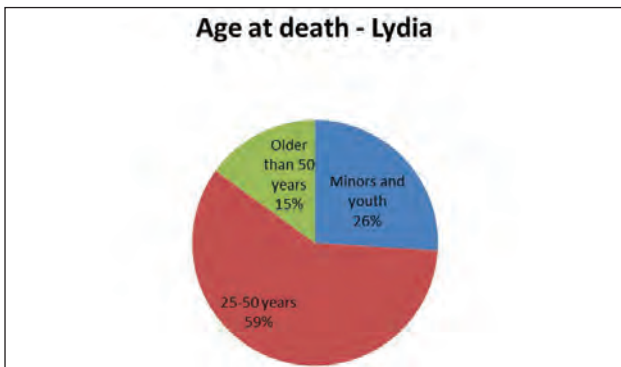


Chart 5: Age at death in Roman Lydia (Age at death is precisely attested on a little less than 200 inscriptions)

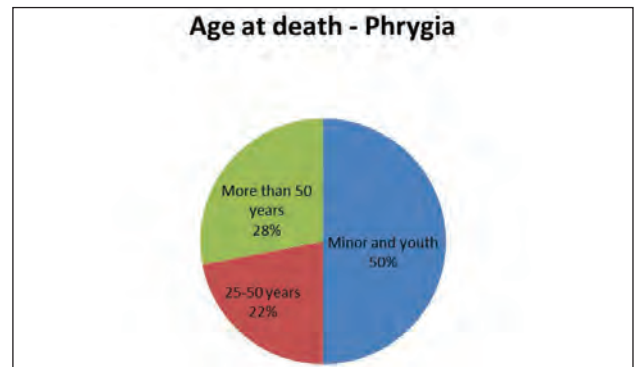


Chart 6: Age at death in Roman Phrygia (Indications of age at death precisely attested on less than 30 inscriptions)

cases in this region, a woman from northeastern Lydia called Theodora lived 98 years and was buried by her husband and a man Aurelius Alexandros who lived 90 years (SEG LVII 1246, 186/187 or 240/241 AD; SEG XLIX 1741, 309/310 AD). Another feature is represented by the epitaphs that do not show the age at death, but the

length of marriage (TAM V1 631; MAMA V Lists I 182, 86; MAMA V Lists I 182, 94). Many epitaphs show a widespread tendency to round off ages. It has been suggested that age-rounding is frequent and popular among the illiterate and lower-class people (Duncan-Jones, 1977, 333–353). More than 50000 inscriptions in the whole Ro-

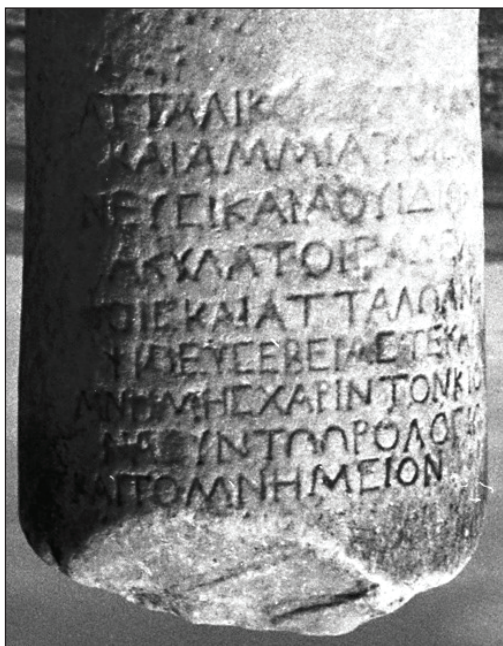


Image 3: MAMA XI 137

man Empire give the age at death and almost every part of this substantial sample shows a very large surplus of ages divisible by five (Duncan-Jones, 1977, 334; cf. also Mócsy, 1966, 387–421). It would be tempting to collect the numerical evidence available, apply the methods of statistical analysis and to make some definitive conclusions on this basis. A historian of any more recent period would do so without hesitation. However, once again it must be stressed that any such conclusion is flimsy at best, being based on an accidental and, in some aspects, highly unreliable samples. For example, the average life expectancy gained from such analysis seems too high when compared with what we know from other sources and the other regions of the Empire. Evidently, a person could live close to a hundred years in Roman Phrygia but whether this was typical or, more likely, astonishingly unusual, we cannot say.

FAMILY RELATIONS

In our inscriptions the boundaries between the ‘nuclear’ and extended family members are evident but flexible. The relationship within immediate family was both ideologically and emotionally important, but not necessarily dominant in the society’s structure. One way to expand our insights in the internal functioning of families is, in fact, to investigate the interaction between families and non-kin structures in society. Nevertheless,

it seems that family is the best documented social structure in the inscriptions. Are some of these inscriptions perhaps evidence that all these people, family members, mentioned in one epitaph are from the same household? It is much more likely that they were merely joined in rising of a monument and contributed to the cost of setting up a tomb, not necessarily living together. As Flood argued, “*what joined the group in an inscription was common interest rather than common residence; nevertheless, the relationship was recognized*” (Flood, 1978, 38). Ties of emotions and obligations on the one hand and actual co-residence on the other are not the same thing. The kinship is not expressed solely through nomenclature. The individuals who employ these familial terms feel compelled by prescribed behavior in their relations with one another, such as respect or familiarity, rights or obligations, and affection or hostility. There are several theories that emphasize the special connection of children with their maternal relatives. The mother’s brother was regarded in many societies as the closest blood relative and perhaps that have been calculated to help married women not to feel isolated and to still keep in regular touch with their own families. On the other hand, discussing these particular inscriptions we can see that terms for paternal aunts and uncles are much more frequent than maternal relatives. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that our statistical analysis rest on very unreliable sample.

Analyzing this material and comparing other information, for example testimonies of family feuds, we can deduce that familial social interaction has not changed much from the studied period. Divinities or their priests played a crucial role in defining the ethic standard based on which they shaped the social relations in rural communities. At the family level they were perceived as the guardians of its vulnerable members, particularly elders and children. The crucial role of the priests was to communicate with the gods. Everything else, including the punishment of the guilty, took place without human intermediaries, without judges, courts or death penalty. Most information on family feuds come from the confession inscriptions, for example one from Hamidiye (SEG LVII 1158, 102/103 AD) where sister-in-law has taken the money from her husband’s brother (cf. Hermann, Malay, 2007, no. 51):

*Ἔτους ρπζ', μη(νός) Δαισίου βι' / Μέγας Μεις
Ουράνιος / Αρτεμιδώρου Αξιοττα / κατέχων και ἡ
δύναμις αὐτοῦ, κρ[ι]/τῆς ἀλάθητος ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἰς
ὄν / κατέ(φ)υγεν Ἀλέξανδρος Σωκράτο[υ] / ὑπὲρ
κλοπῆς τῆς προδηλουμένης / Ἀμμιον Διογᾶ γυνῆ
ἔχουσα θυγατέρα Μελτίνην ἦραν ἰδίου δ'αέρος * δ',
ὄρκιζόμενοι ὁμοσαν / [ἀ]πέκτεινεν ὁ θεός· μέγας ὦν
ὁ θ/[εός] - - - -]IANTONY[-].¹⁰*

10 “In the year 187, on the twelfth day of the month Daisios: Great (is) Meis Ouranios Artemidorou ruling over Axiotta, all-seeing judge in heaven, to whom Alexandros, son of Sokrates appealed about the theft manifested here: Ammion, wife of Diogas, together with her

It is well-known that priests of rural sanctuaries played an active role in these, so-called, quasi-judicial procedures. Nevertheless, as previously said the judgment was always divine.

Another example originates from Kollyda (SEG LVII 1186, 205/206 AD) about two brothers who maltreated their father (cf. Hermann, Malay, 2007, no. 85).

Ἔτους σγ', μη(νός) Περιτίου· Ἀμμιανός και Ἐρμογένης Τρύφωνος πάρισιν ἐρωτῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς Μῆγα Μοτυλίτην και Δία Σαβάζιον και Ἄρτεμιν Ἀναεῖτιν και μεγάλην συνάτος και σύνκλητον τῶν θεῶν, ἐρωτῶντες τὴν κατοικία[ν] / και τὸν ἱερὸν δοῦμον, ἵνα ἐλέ/ου τύχωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐκολάσθη[σ]/αν οὗτοι, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἐκρά/τησαν ἐξομολογούμενον / τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν θεῶν, και ἐλη/μοσύνην μὴ λαβόντος τοῦ πατρός αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀποτελεσθέντος αὐτοῦ 'μη τίς ποτε παρετελίσει τοὺς θεοὺς' διὰ τὰς π[ρ]/ώτας προγραφὰς αὐτοῦ ἔγρα[ψ]/αν και ἀνέθηκαν εὐλογοῦντε[ς] / τοῖς θεοῖς.¹¹

This is a confession of two brothers who maltreated their father who perhaps was about to confess a sin in which they might have played a role – which they disliked or, perhaps they may have wanted to keep their father from an unwanted transaction. One reason could also be that the father may have attempted to propitiate a sin by giving property to the sanctuary, an act which is sometimes mentioned in confession inscriptions. Such insolent acts towards family elders were subject to divine punishment. It is quite interesting that Ammianos and Hermogenes consulted also their village (leading persons or one of the organs of the village) as well as the religious association (*hieros doumos*) and asked for advice about the sin they had committed. The representation on the relief possibly refers to the father's death: an accident with an animal, apparently interpreted by the people as an ordeal (lack of divine mercy); the brothers decided, after all their consultations, to engrave an excerpt of their father's statement that 'nobody should ever disparage the gods'.

One more example, from the wider area of Kula (TAM V1 318, 156/157 AD) is documenting mother-in-law that was (falsely?) accused of poisoning her son-in-law:

daughter Meltine took away 4 denarii of her brother-in-law. (And) when they were asked to take an oath (of innocence?), they took it (and committed perjury). (And) the god put (her or them?) to death. The god being great [...]"

11 "In the year 290, in the month Peritios, Ammianos and Hermogenes, sons of Tryphon, appear (at the temple) asking the gods Men Motylites and Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis and the great Senatus and the Council of Gods, asking also the village and the *hieros doumos* in order that they find mercy as they were punished because they overcame their father, while he was acknowledging the power of the gods; and their father did not obtain pity, but after his death, on account of his first (primary) written declarations they wrote 'nobody at any time should disparage gods' on a stele and set it up praising the gods".

12 "In the year 241, on the second day of month Panemos. Great Artemis Anaitis and Men Tiamos. Because *loukoundos* fell into condition of insanity and it was noised abroad by all that he had been put under a spell by his mother-in-law Tatia, she set up a scepter and placed curses in the temple in order to defend herself against what was being said about her, having suffered such a state of conscience. The gods sent punishment on her which she did not escape. Likewise her son Sokrates was passing the entrance that leads down to the sacred grove and carrying a vine-dressing sickle and it dropped on his foot and thus destruction came on him in a single day's punishment. Therefore great are the gods of Axiottenos! They set about to have removed/canceled the scepter and the curses that were in the temple, the ones the estate of *loukoundos* and Moschios had sought to undo. The descendants of Tatia, Sokrates and Moschas along with *loukoundos* and Menekrates, constantly propitiate the gods and praise them from now on, having inscribed on (this) stele the powers/deeds of the gods".

ἔτους σμα', μη(νός) Πανήμου β'. / Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις Ἀναεῖ/τις και Μεῖς Τιαμου. ἐπὶ / Ἰουκοῦνδος ἐγένετο ἐν / διαθέσι μανικῇ και ὑπὸ πάντων διεφημίσθη ὡς ὑπὸ / Τατίας τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐ/τοῦ φάρμακον αὐτῷ δεδόσ/θαι, ἡ δὲ Τατίας ἐπέστησεν / σκῆπτρον και ἀράς ἔθηκεν / ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὡς ἱκανοποιού/σα περὶ τοῦ πεφημίσθαι αὐ/τὴν ἐν συνειδήσει τοιαύτη, / οἱ θεοὶ αὐτὴν ἐποίησαν ἐν / κολάσει ἣν οὐ διέφυγεν· ὁμοίως και Σωκράτης ὁ υἱὸς / αὐτῆς παράγων τὴν ἴσοδον / τὴν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος ἀπάγουσαν / δρέπανον κρατῶν ἀμπελοτό/μον, ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἔπεσεν / αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν πόδαν και οὕ/τως μονημέρῳ κολάσει ἀπηλλάγη. μεγάλοι οὖν οἱ θεοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀζίττοις ἐπέζητησαν / λυθῆσαν τὸ σκῆπτρον και τὰς / ἀράς τὰς γενομένας ἐν τῷ / ναῷ, ἃ ἔλυσαν τὰ Ἰουκοῦνδου / και Μοσχίου, ἔγγονοι δὲ τῆς / Τατίας, Σωκράτεια και Μοσχᾶς / και Ἰουκοῦνδος και Μενεκρά/της κατὰ πάντα ἐξειλασάμενοι / τοὺς θεοὺς και ἀπὸ νοῖν εὐλογοῦ/μεν στηλλογραφήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν θεῶν.¹²

Since Tatia and her son both suffered misfortunes that some interpreted as divine retribution, her descendants carried out efforts to avert further damage. It was believed by others that Tatia was engaged in suspicious practices and this suggests that such things were not entirely private, secretive acts – indeed, she appears to have been moved to vindicate herself due to public rumors about her. It is obvious that personal misfortune was attributed to spells and charms and divine retribution set the norm for social conduct.

CONCLUSION

By focusing on the cultural meaning of kinship, modern anthropology has challenged the traditional relegation of kinship studies to specific types or domains of society, namely primitive, rural, and small-scale societies which are described as focused kinship, since kinship is classified as the major institution. Unlike biological families, the term kinship has socio-cultural character pointing the way in which some relations diverge from nature. The kinship system is a kind of language; but it is not a universal language, and a society may prefer other forms of expression and action.

We believe that most families in these inscriptions were nuclear families and that family's structure was constantly changing as a result of the low life expectancy and through marriage, divorce, and adoption. The extended family was seen as system of mutual support, both financially and morally, but not necessarily in the same household. As we have seen, the members of family were seen as responsible for each other before the society and gods. Also, the inscriptions presented in the text were meant to be meaningful only to those concerned – family, neighbors and fellow-citizens – who haven't, without a doubt, already been familiar with the family's circumstances and relationships. We are perhaps reduced to assumption in an effort to unravel relationships or identify social customs and mores. Nonetheless, it is still interesting that families and society in these parts of Asia Minor continued to use so many different terms for relatives, long after other parts of the Greek world have abandoned the practice.

As previously said, a kinship system does not consist in the objective ties of descent or consanguinity between individuals. It exists only in human consciousness; it is a subjective system of representations, not the natural development of an actual situation. We must also bear in mind that these inscriptions are mainly the evidence for the presence of Greek concepts of family and society, but they also reflect mostly the lives of people with means and culture or at least some degree of literacy; therefore it is difficult to attempt to look beyond them in search for indications of some pre-Greek native system. One has to agree with Thonemann who said that "*the reconstruction of Phrygian families and households is an art, not a science*" (Thonemann, 2013, 141). Therefore, family and household groups should be investigated and compared by locality, relating them in so far as possible with the population groups and larger social organization if these are known.

NEKATERI ZAPISI O DRUŽINSKIH ODNOSIH V RIMSKI LIDIJI IN FRIGIJI,
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POVZETEK

Razprava podaja pregled sorodstvenih odnosov v rimski Lidiji in Frigiji, od 1. do 3. stoletja. V prispevku je predstavljen epigrafski material s ciljem identifikacije družinskih struktur in družbenih navad v povezavi z družinskim življenjem. Obstajata dve vrsti dokazov, in sicer jezikovni in literarni. Tako obsega družinski besednjak v rimski Lidiji in Frigiji več kot 60 izrazov za opisovanje odnosov med člani družine, nekateri izhajajo celo iz sveta poezije. To bogastvo družinskega jezika je precej značilno za ti dve območji, za razliko od preostalega dela rimskega cesarstva. V teh, večinoma pogrebniških napisih, so meje med člani "nuklearne" in razširjene družine očitne, vendar prilagodljive. Razširjena družina je imela pomembno vlogo v vsakdanjem življenju. Metodološko zajema raziskava številna področja. Pri pridobivanju podatkov so bile aplicirane standardne zgodovinske, epigrafske in filološke metode. Podobno velja tudi za branje, interpretacijo in analizo epigrafskih dokumentov samih. Za razlago podatkov pa je bil uporabljen moderni sociološki pristop k družinskim odnosom in vlogi sorodstvenih povezav v širših družbenih kontekstih, čeprav z manjšimi prilagoditvami, da bi bil bolj primeren za analizo antične družbe.

Ključne besede: Lidija, Frigija, epigrafika, družina, sorodstvo, Rimski imperij

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