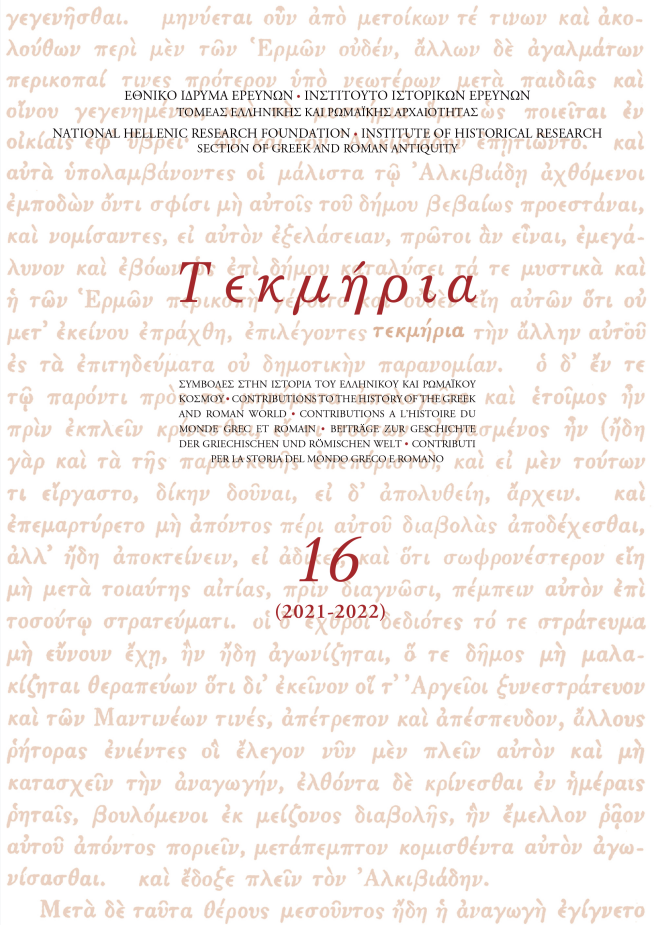
Tekmeria

Vol 16 (2021)

(2021-2022)



A Roman Sarcophagus Depicting Scylla in the Çanakkale Troia Museum

Hüseyin Yaman, Tolga Özhan

doi: 10.12681/tekmeria.31883

To cite this article:

Yaman, H., & Özhan, T. (2022). A Roman Sarcophagus Depicting Scylla in the Çanakkale Troia Museum. *Tekmeria*, *16*, 209–244. https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.31883

HÜSEYİN YAMAN – TOLGA ÖZHAN

A Roman Sarcophagus Depicting Scylla in the Çanakkale Troia Museum

The sarcophagus presented below, which is now on exhibition in the garden of the Çanakkale Troia Museum, is one of two sarcophagi unearthed during an illegal excavation in İznik (ancient Nikaia), a district in the province of Bursa in Turkey.[1] They were illegally transferred to Çanakkale to be sold by ancient artefact traffickers but were then confiscated by court decree in 1999 and registered to Çanakkale Troia Museum under the inventory numbers 11312 and 11313. Except for their illegal journey from İznik to Çanakkale, unfortunately, no other details, such as their original find-spot in Nikaia or the contents of the sarcophagi, are known to us. This paper discusses one of the two sarcophagi, along with its inscription, that bears the interesting figure of a young woman depicted as the focal point of the front side.[2]

---

1. We would like to thank the directorate of the Çanakkale Troia Museum for permitting us to publish this sarcophagus, and the museum staff, especially Musa Tombul, senior archaeologist of the museum, and Osman Çapalov, for their kind help during our study at the museum and for sharing the photographs of the sarcophagus with us. Also, our warm thanks go to C. Kokkinia and M. Kalaitzi for their constructive remarks and Christopher S. Lightfoot for polishing our English. This sarcophagus is one of those that have been studied within the scope of the project "Corpus of Ancient Sarcophagi in the Çanakkale Troia Museum", which has been conducted since 2016 with the permission of the directorate of the Çanakkale Troia Museum. For other sarcophagi published within the scope of this project, see Özhan, Yaman 2018, 609-707; Özhan, Yaman 2019a, 113-124 and Özhan, Yaman 2019b, 77-95. Epigraphic abbreviations follow the list assembled by the *Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (*AIEGL* [available online: aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html]).

2. The sarcophagus has not previously been published, although it was included in a doctoral dissertation by A.A. Altın (2019, 134-135 no. S.4 fig. 15), who misidentified the central figure as an Amazon holding the upper part of her garment in her left hand. The sarcophagus with inventory number 11313 has the same schematic base as the sarcophagus discussed in this paper, apart from the decorative elements. The front

The sarcophagus belongs to the "framed type with mouldings", which is regarded by G. Koch as a local product of Bithynia.[3] The design of the frames can vary both on the front and on the short ends: with a front side divided into three frames and each short end bearing one frame, as is the case with the present sarcophagus, or with a front containing one or two frames and short sides having two frames.[4] The practice of framing was also applied to cinerary urns from the region.[5] Although framed sarcophagi are characteristic of Bithynia, several examples are also found in other regions of Asia Minor. But, without providing any detail, Koch and Sichtermann had earlier suggested that there is no connection between the Bithynian framed type sarcophagi and these examples from elsewhere because of their differences in ornamentation.[6] Aside from Asia Minor, sarcophagi bearing a single frame on the front side are also known in Thessaloniki and Thasos.[7] Considering the data available at the time

---

side is divided into three frames; the middle frame depicts a standing Nike holding a laurel, while the frames to each side of the middle one are decorated with an Eros. Each framed short end is decorated with a pantomime mask. An inscription in two lines is engraved on the moulding of the long side of the lid and another inscription is on the short right end of the chest. The context of these two sarcophagi is unknown. Although they have been transferred to Çanakkale together their relation to each other is completely obscure. Therefore, this sarcophagus with inventory number 11313 will be the subject of another paper.

3. For a description of this type, we prefer to follow the terminology in English used by Stefanidou-Tiveriou (2010, 158; 2012, 126, 128; 2015, 20); Koch describes this type as "*Truhensarkophage (Sarkophage mit allseits umlaufendem Rahmen oder 'Kastensarkophage'*)", see Koch 1993, 169-171 fig. 98.1-2. See also Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 509-514 fig. 19. For publications studying framed sarcophagi from Bithynia, see Graef 1892, 80-86 pl. 5 (cf. *I.Mus. Iznik* 1232, plate 2); Körte 1899, 409-410 no. 9; Schneider 1943, 28 no. 22; Asgari, Fıratlı 1978, 72 Sr. 2 pl. 14. In addition to these, Aydın (2013, 81-83 nos. 63-66 figs. 123-126) presented some framed sarcophagi in her master's dissertation.

4. Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 510-511 fig. 19; Koch 1993, 169-171 fig. 98.1-2.

5. Aydın 2013, 83 fig. 127; Altın 2019, 63-34, 198-203 nos. O.1-O.8.

6. Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 511; Koch 1993, 169-170. See also Asgari, Fıratlı 1978, 40-41. For framed sarcophagi from Lycaonia, Isauria and Pisidia and their decorative elements, see Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 544-550.

7. Stefanidou-Tiveriou (2010, 158; 2014, 20) stated that this type of sarcophagus

when their monograph was published, G. Koch and H. Sichtermann concluded that there was no mutual influence between the products of Thessaloniki and Bithynia.[8] However, according to T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, this influence is clear, based on the similarities in the design of the funerary *stelai* from Thessaloniki and northwest Asia Minor (Bithynia and Mysia), which have two-storied (or more) rectangular image fields depicting funerary reliefs, i.e. portraits in the main field accompanied by secondary representations of heroization in other fields.[9] The second piece of evidence for this influence offered by Stefanidou-Tiveriou is the typological similarities of the Roman monolithic funerary altars of Central Macedonia with those from Bithynia and Mysia; both feature a protruding base, a long shaft and an upper moulding decorated with acroteria.[10] Likewise, the influence of Asia Minor can also be found on locally-produced sarcophagi in Thessaloniki. Contrary to previous studies assuming a northern Italian influence on local sarcophagus production of the framed type in Thessaloniki, Stefanidou-Tiveriou argued that this influence should be sought in northwest Asia Minor in general and Bithynia in particular, just as it is the case in funerary *stelai* and altars.[11] Moreover, she pointed to Nikaia in Bithynia for the origins of the framed type sarcophagi produced in Thessaloniki, probably fostered by experienced craftsmen from Bithynia, working in the local workshops of Thessaloniki. According to Stefanidou-Tiveriou, this influence occurred unilaterally from Asia Minor to Macedonia.[12] Based on an onomastic study by Salomies, who, surveying the traces of *nomina* in both Macedonia and Asia Minor, argued for a close onomastic affinity between the two provinces, Stefanidou-Tiveriou drew the conclusion that the frequent appearance of sarcophagi imitating the eastern types in Thessaloniki can be explained by the demands of the numerous families in Thessaloniki who had migrated from the eastern part of the empire, especially from Asia Minor.[13]

---

constitutes the majority of the local productions in Thessaloniki. She (2010, 158-159 n. 22) noted that this type of sarcophagus is also known in Philippi and Thasos.

8. Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 511; Koch 1993, 169-170.

9. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010, 159; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012, 128; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 23-28.

10. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010, 175-176; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 27.

11. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010, 158-159.

12. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 28.

13. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2010, 183, referring to Salomies 1996, 126-127.

Description of the sarcophagus

The chest measures 230 cm in length. The width on the short left-hand side is 109 cm at the upper rim and 111 cm at the bottom. The short right-hand end is not symmetrical and tapers from top to bottom; it measures 109 cm at the upper rim and 102 cm at the bottom. The height of the sarcophagus is 87 cm. The length of the surviving portion of the lid is 179 cm, the depth is 117 cm, and the height is 45 cm. The inventory number is 11312. (**figs. 1-4**)

The sarcophagus is made of local marble with bluish-grey and white veins. There are deep cracks on the surface and damage at the left edge of the front side and several spots on the plinth. Some of this damage may have occurred in ancient times; for example, a setting of a rusted iron clamp at a spot close to the rim of the chest on the left-hand side, which had been attached to prevent the cracks on the surface from becoming wider (**fig. 5**). The roughly carved back suggests that it stood against a wall where it would not be visible. The gabled lid decorated with a pattern of imbrices is partially preserved. It is severely damaged and consists of five joining parts.[14] The surviving decorative elements on the lid indicate that the front side was furnished with palmette acroteria at the corners and antefixes with lion heads along the eave. On the back, the acroteria and antefixes are left unfinished. The pediment is unornamented. On the short sides, there are clamp holes for holding the lid and the chest together, and on the short and long sides, there are projections that helped to lift the lid.

The front side is divided into three frames and each short side bears a single frame. Each of the two short ends is decorated with a Medusa head featuring a well-rounded face, heavy-lidded almond eyes, slightly raised inner eyebrows and a protruding rounded chin (**figs. 2-3**). The faces have a melancholic appearance. Both heads are designed almost identically, except for Medusa's face on the left, which is rendered slightly broader. Long, tightly-twisted hair hangs down from both sides of the head. Two wings rising from the head are outlined and lack detail. A small area outside of the lines indicating the outer contours of the wings on both *gorgoneia* is left uncarved in its rough shape, which leads us to consider that these figures are not fully finished in detail.

14. Before the sarcophagus was transferred to the recently opened Çanakkale Troia Museum, all broken portions of the lid, except for the broken frontal right end of the lid, were properly placed together on the chest. Of these, however, only the largest portion is currently placed on it; the other fragments are in the garden of the museum.

The tails of the two snakes hanging down in the hair are tied together below the chin. The grooves are not deeply carved between the hair locks at the thin line separating the face from the hair.

The figures on the front of the sarcophagus are in high relief. The frames on either side of the central one are embellished with a theatrical mask with almond eyes, heavy eyelids, outer eyebrows curving slightly down, a closed mouth of full lips, and a rounded chin. The mask on the right-hand side has an oblong face with close-set eyes, sunken eye sockets and sloping sharp eyebrows. The other face is triangular. On both, the shoulder-length loose wavy hair, the curves of which are shown by shallow grooves, is parted at the centre and bound with fillets at eye level.

The bust of a young woman in three-quarter view, clad in a thick *exomis*-like garment, occupies the middle frame (**fig. 6**). The relief has suffered damage in some areas; the nose is missing, and the chin is partially chipped. Her dishevelled wavy hair covers her ears, with locks of hair falling at each side and parted at the centre. She has a short wavy fringe. One long wavy lock of hair falls on the left shoulder and another extends down to the nipple of her uncovered left breast. A few loose locks are depicted at the back of her head as if blown by the wind. She has an oval face, a closed mouth with full lips, and large almond eyes (**fig. 7**). Down-turned lines at the outer corners of the eyes and mouth give her a melancholic facial expression. The details on the neck are lacking; only the jugular notch at the front, formed by the cervical strong muscles, is represented by a triangular surface. Her garment consists of crudely-worked leaf-style pattern. The midrib of the "leaves" is shown with deeply-carved V-shaped groove. Her left upper arm is partly shown. Her closed right hand is positioned at the level of the right shoulder. The hand has been sculpted in an unskilled manner. In her hand, she holds a steering oar on her right shoulder, the blade of which projects horizontally backwards behind her neck.

The *gorgoneia* and theatrical masks

In antiquity, the Medusa head, also known as the *gorgoneion* was a widespread decorative element used on both public and private artefacts, such as vases, architectural elements, coins, gems, and shields.[15] As a consequence, it is not

15. On the *gorgoneion*, in general, see *RE* VII s.v. Gorgo 1650-1655 (K. Ziegler); Furtwängler 1890, 1695-1727; *LIMC* 4.1 s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones and Gorgones (in Etruria)

unexpected to find it in funerary art where it began to appear as early as the sixth century BC.[16] Mainly based on their appearances, A. Furtwängler classified Medusa heads into three types: the archaic type, the middle type, and the beautiful type.[17] The beautiful type is the "humanized" version of the archaic and grotesque *gorgoneion*, a development that began to occur in the fifth century BC.[18] This type prevailed in Hellenistic art from the end of the fourth century BC,[19] and became one of the most common decorative elements appearing on Roman funerary monuments. The *gorgoneion* on our sarcophagus belongs to this type. Apart from its ornamental aspect, the *gorgoneion* is frequently referred to as an apotropaic figure, beginning from early times and appearing in funerary and other contexts.[20] Based on a recent study, we can see that the *gorgoneion* was a popular figure for decorating and protecting sarcophagi and cinerary urns in Nikaia.[21]

Following Lucian's statements in *de saltatione* 29 and 63, J. Jory argued in a study of pantomime masks that masks with a "more realistic and lifelike" appearance and a closed or slightly opened mouth can be regarded as pantomime masks.[22] However, Jory also highlighted the fact that it is difficult to distinguish pantomime masks from simple "heads" with a closed mouth

285-345 (I. Krauskopf); *LIMC* 4.1 s.v. Gorgones Romanae 345-362 (O. Paoletti); *Der Neue Pauly* 4, s.v. Gorgoneion 1157 (M. Schmidt); Belson 1981; Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 151-165; Karoglou 2018. See also Vernant 1991, 111-138.

16. Belson 1981, 157.

17. Furtwängler 1890, 1721-1727; Karoglou 2018, 7.

18. *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 324-325 (I. Krauskopf); *Der Neue Pauly* 4, s.v. Gorgoneion 1157 (M. Schmidt); Karoglou 2018, 5.

19. Karoglou 2018, 16-17.

20. On the apotropaic function of the *gorgoneion*, see *RE* VII, s.v. Gorgo 1650, 1652 (K. Ziegler); *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones 317, 321, 322, 329, 330 (I. Krauskopf); *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. Gorgones Romanae 360-361 (O. Paoletti); *Der Neue Pauly* 4, s.v. Gorgoneion 1157 (M. Schmidt); Cumont 1942, 339; Tufi 1971, 133-134; Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 159-160; Elliott 2016, 246-250; Karoglou 2018, 4, 8, 25. For the *gorgoneion* as a symbol of life after death, see Frothingham 1915, 13-23; Belson 1981, 186.

21. See Altın 2019 *passim*.

22. On the identification of pantomime masks, see Jory 1996, 18-20; Jory 2001, 1-20; Jory 2002, 241-242; Jory 2008, 158; and see Hall 2002, 15; Hall 2008, 21; Wyles 2008, 67.

where pantomime masks were used outside a theatrical context.[23] Consistent with Jory's view, B. Rankov later noted that only referring to the feature of a closed mouth to identify a pantomime mask can be misleading.[24] In addition to a closed mouth, the hair type that is parted in the middle and hangs down below the chin on both sides of the head is also a feature frequently seen in pantomime masks.[25] The masks on the Nikaian sarcophagus are very similar to the examples presented by Jory, not only because they have a closed mouth, but also because their hair is parted in the middle, hanging down below the chin and bound by fillets, an accessory which is often used in pantomime masks.[26] Taking these features into account, it is possible to identify these masks on the Nikaian sarcophagus as pantomime masks. The pantomime mask is one of the most popular decorative elements on sarcophagi, along with the *gorgoneion*, and sometimes on cinerary urns in Nikaia.[27] The appearance of masks in other than a theatrical context, especially in funerary art, has been interpreted in

23. Jory 2001, 3; Jory 2002, 243. For neckless "heads" which may have had decorative function as well as Dionysiac symbolism, see Coulson, Leventi 1998, 223-229, esp. 227-228, with references.

24. Rankov 2020, 182.

25. See e.g. Jory 1991, 3 fig. 2, 5 fig. 3, 6 fig. 9. Cf. Rankov 2020, 184. Jory (1996, 18) established three distinct types of pantomime masks: "*those of a young female wearing a diadem with ringlets of hair or ribbons at the back of the mask, often found in a Dionysiac context, those of older women with a plain or severe hairstyle parted in the middle and those of young women with the hair piled up on the head.*" However, Rankov (2020, 186) noted that "*there is a wide variety of other female pantomime masks that are not confined to Jory's type (iii).*"

26. On the use of fillets in pantomime masks, see Jory 2001, 14.

27. See Altın 2019, 131 no. S.1 figs. 3-4 (2nd cent. AD), 132 no. S.2 figs. 7, 11 (?) (2nd cent. AD), 133 no. S.3 fig. 14 (2nd cent. AD), 138 no. S.11 fig. 25 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 143 no. S.23 fig. 40, 41 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 144 no. S.24 fig. 44, 45 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 146 no. S.29 fig. 51 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 147 no. S.31 fig. 53(?) (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 148 no. S.34 fig. 56 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 149 no. S.38 figs. 61-62 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 152 no. S.46 fig. 71 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 152 no. S.47 fig. 72 (2nd/3rd cent. AD), 157 no. S.56 fig. 88 (second half of the 2nd cent. AD), 159 no. S.61 fig. 95 (second half of the 2nd cent./first half of the 3rd cent. AD), 162 S.70 fig. 106 (second half of the 2nd cent. AD), 198 no. O.1 fig. 226 (cinerary urn, second half of the 2nd cent. AD), 206 no. O.17 fig. 247 (cinerary urn, 2nd cent. AD), 208 no. O.23 fig. 254 (cinerary urn, 2nd cent. AD).

different ways.[28] It is widely believed that masks may have been an indicator of the joyful life that the deceased enjoyed or of expectations for the afterlife when they appear in a Dionysiac context. Alternatively, it may be that they had an apotropaic function, especially when they appear with the *gorgoneion*, as is the case in the Nikaian sarcophagus, or they were merely decorative elements.[29] For the Eastern part of the Empire, Jory concluded that there is a correlation between the appearance of pantomime masks in the cities and the imperial cult.[30] Supporting his argument with examples of Aphrodisias, Cremna, and Sidyma, Jory suggested that pantomime, which was not accepted in sacred festivals of the East until the reign of Commodus, may already have taken place earlier in the cities that organised festivals celebrating the imperial cult.[31] Accordingly, this would allow the iconography of pantomime to occur gradually in various public and private monuments in the cities. As early as 29 BC, according to Cassius Dio (51.20.6), Nikaia was granted by Augustus the right to build a temple to goddess Roma and Divus Iulius.[32] A dedication to Hadrian from İznik demonstrates that Nikaia was granted a *neokoria*, which gave the city the right to build a temple to the imperial cult.[33] From these two pieces of evidence, S. Şahin assumed that festivals celebrating the imperial cult must have begun at the time when Augustus first bestowed privileges on Nikaia in 29 BC.[34] Other epigraphical sources attest that from the reign of Nero onwards, Nikaia organized penteteric *Koina Bithynias*.[35] Giving the example of Ephesos, B. Burrell objected to Şahin's theory that the *neokoria* of Nikaia in the dedication indicated the privilege that Augustus gave to Nikaia in 29 BC.[36] Moreover,

28. For discussion of pantomime scenes depicted on sarcophagi, see Hutchinson 2008, 87-109.

29. See Nock, Beazley 1946, 157-158; Tufi 1971, 133; Cain 1988, 179; Rose 2000, 82-83; Jory 2002, 239; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 84-85.

30. Jory 2001, 18-19.

31. On the inclusion of pantomime in the sacred festival of the East, see Slater 1995, 289-290.

32. See also *I.Mus. Iznik* T9; Price 1984, 266 no. 99; Burrell 2004, 163.

33. Şahin 1978, 5a and 5b; *I.Mus. Iznik* 29, 30 and 30a; Merkelbach 1987, 12.

34. *I.Mus. Iznik* T34; Merkelbach 1987, 12.

35. *I.Mus. Iznik* T34a.

36. Burrell 2004, 164.

she argued that there was no koinon temple in Nikaia during the reign of Augustus and *neokoria* may have been bestowed to Nikaia for the first time during the reign of Hadrian. Burrell also highlighted that the link between koinon temples and festivals is looser than is believed.[37] She noted that organizing *Koina* is not an indicator of an existence of a koinon temple in Nikaia.[38] In any case, unfortunately, thus far we do not have any records to indicate that pantomime took part in the festivals in Nikaia. If we follow Jory, nevertheless, it is worth considering whether pantomime masks may have made an impression on the minds of Nikaians through the festivals, and thus their iconography may have begun to be used in both public and private contexts.[39]

The central figure

The relief showing a female holding a steering oar on her shoulder is an unusual figure for sarcophagus iconography. Regarding her posture and the accessory she holds, parallel figures can be found on a garland sarcophagus of Proconnesos marble in the necropolis of Tyre in Lebanon.[40] The front of this sarcophagus is decorated with two busts, seemingly almost horizontally-inverted copies of each other, that occupy the spaces above the left and right garlands. The posture and design of the female figure on the Nikaian sarcophagus are quite similar to the figures on the Tyrian sarcophagus. The similarities include nudity; long, dense, wavy hair parted at the centre that hangs down towards their breasts; an oar extending backwards. In his monograph on the Tyre necropolis, M. Chéhab did not discuss these figures holding a steering oar.[41] However, R. Gersht identified them as the Dioskouroi (Castor and Pollux). She assessed another Proconnesian garland sarcophagus from Tel-Mevorakh that is similar

37. Burrell 2004, 336.

38. Burrell 2004, 164. Moreover, a city could give provincial festivals even if it did not have a temple, see Burrell 2004, 336.

39. Apart from the funerary monuments listed above, unfortunately we do not have any information about whether there are other archaeological finds depicting pantomime masks in the city.

40. Chéhab 1975, 40; Rey-Coquais 1977, 78-79 no. 140 pl. 22-1; Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 562 fig. 551.

41. Chéhab 1985, 516-517 no. 3875-3876 (MN 46) pl. 95-b.

to that from Tyre in terms of its "basic sculptural scheme".[42] Likewise, the figures holding a steering oar on the front of the Tel-Mevorakh sarcophagus are also described as the Dioskouroi.[43] Gersht's identification of these busts as the representations of Dioskouroi may be correct. Because they are male figures, however, it is not possible to identify the Nikaian figure with any of them, although they share similarities regarding their posture, accessories, coiffure and nudity. The Nikaian figure has female anatomical characteristics; the bare left rounded breast clearly reveals her gender. From this perspective, other male figures appearing with a steering oar in their hands in Greek iconography, such as Triton or Oceanus, can also be ruled out and so we must turn our attention to female mythological characters.

We must look for female mythological characters that might be associated with the figure on the sarcophagus. The candidates are quite numerous, including Amazons, Nereids, Maenads, and Aphrodite.[44] However, the steering oar plays a significant role in identifying the Nikaian figure; this object is not found in the iconography of these figures except for Aphrodite.[45] Hence, she

42. Gersht 1996a, 14; Gersht 1996b, 52.

43. See Gersht 1996a, 13-14 figs. 2-3. Watzinger (1935, 103 pl. 32 fig. 75) and Stern (1978, 10-11 pl. 5) considered these busts to represent gods. The oars in their hands lead us to associate these figures with the sea. The hippocamps in a horizontal position under the legs of the Eros figures on the front support this view.

44. A bare breast is very characteristic of Amazon iconography. For representations of Amazons depicted with one breast uncovered, see *LIMC* 1.1, s.v. Amazones nos. 100, 101, 104, 107, 120, 194, 195, 206, 222, 246d-f, 478, 482, 523(b), 524, 540, 551, 552, 549, 564, 602, 603, 605, 682 and 774 (P. Devambez, A. Kaufmann-Samaras). Nereids are frequently shown with both breasts bare. However, in some examples, they are depicted with one bare breast, see *LIMC* 6.1, s.v. Nereides nos. 224, 344, 483 (N. Icard-Gianolio, A.-V. Szabados). There are several depictions of Aphrodite with one breast exposed, see *LIMC* 2.1, s.v. Aphrodite nos. 225, 227, 228, 234, 235, 237, 239, 243, 244, 246, 248, 250 and 254. For Maenads with one bare breast, see many examples in Touchette 1995, 65 no. 2 fig. 6, 66 no. 4 fig. 8a, 67 no. 7a fig. 10a, 73 no. 18 fig. 17a, 73 no. 21 fig. 18a, 74 no. 22 fig. 18b, 74 no. 24 fig. 19b, 75 no. 26 fig. 20a, 76 no. 28 fig. 21a, 77 no. 33 fig. 22c, 78 no. 35 fig. 23b, 78 no. 36 fig. 24b, 78 no. 37 fig. 24a, 79 no. 40 fig. 26b, 27b, 81 no. 46 fig. 30c, 83 no. 53 fig. 36b-d, 37a, 84 no. 57 fig. 39b-c, 85 no. 59 fig. 40b, 89 no. 77 fig. 47c.

45. For depictions of Aphrodite/Venus with an oar in Hellenistic terracotta and

should be sought among the female figures holding an oar. In this respect, in addition to Tyche/Fortuna, who is frequently depicted as holding a steering oar, figures directly relevant to a maritime setting, namely Aphrodite/Venus, Tethys, Thalassa and Scylla come to mind. Images of a standing or seated Tyche/Fortuna with a steering oar, which are frequently accompanied by a globe and cornucopia, are well known.[46] Conversely, the steering oar has a relatively insignificant place in the iconography of Aphrodite/Venus and examples are few; she is shown only in a few poses holding a steering oar on the ground on her left side or standing by or leaning against it when loosening her sandal.[47] However, none of these figures holds a steering oar over the shoulder in a pose similar to that of the female figure on the Nikaian sarcophagus. We also know of rare depictions of Tethys and Thalassa carrying a steering oar over their shoulders on sarcophagi and in mosaics.[48] Although their posture is similar to the Nikaian figure, they differ from it primarily in the additional attributes on their heads; Tethys bears wings on her forehead and lobster claws appear on Thalassa's head.[49] Therefore, the Nikaian figure cannot be considered in connection with either Tethys or Thalassa.

Scylla, who was frequently represented with her well-known attribute, a steering oar, is a figure with whom we can more securely associate the Nikaian figure.[50] There are two main postures of Scylla depicted with this instrument;

---

marble statuary, as well as in Roman frescoes, see Stieglitz 1974, 128; *LIMC* 2.1, s.v. Aphrodite no. 464 (A. Delivorrias) and *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Venus no. 35a, 302 (E. Schmidt).

46. On representations of Tyche/Fortuna holding a steering oar, see *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Tyche nos. 4 (?), 28-43a, 58-72, 81-86b, 88, 88a (L. Villard); *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Fortuna nos. 39-92 and 97-113 (F. Rausa). On the standing figure of Tyche/Isis on a wall painting from Pompeii, see Boyce 1937, 88 no. 442 plate 26.2.

47. See n. 45.

48. For depictions of Tethys and Thalassa on mosaics, see e.g. Eraslan 2015, 1-13. For Tethys depicted on sarcophagi, see Matz, Andreae, Robert 1919, 420-422 and 447-449 nos. 338, 340 and 357, pl. 110-111 and 118.

49. On Tethys and Thalassa in general, see *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Tethys I 1193-1195 (M.-O. Jentel) and *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Thalassa 1198-1199 (H. A. Cahn).

50. For iconography of Skylla, see *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I (M.-O. Jentel); *LIMC* Suppl. I, s.v. Skylla I (N. Icard-Gianolio, A.-V. Szabados) and Waywell 1996a, 108-119. De Grummond (2000, 265) noted that there are other artefacts depicting Scylla that are not on Jentel's list in *LIMC*.

supporting its blade on her shoulder, the steering oar lies on her arm or she swings it with her raised hand or hands.[51] Contrary to the common imagery of Scylla using her hand to grab the steering oar, the figure on the sarcophagus grips the steering oar, the blade of which horizontally extends backwards behind her neck, resting on her right shoulder. The similarity between the Nikaian relief and a Hellenistic bronze bust of Scylla from the second century BC in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**fig. 8**) is noteworthy.[52] The bust is said to originate from the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor. With dishevelled wavy hair and, as in the case of the figure on the Nikaian sarcophagus, dressed in a "fin himation" that leaves her left breast uncovered, this figure holds a steering oar over her right shoulder, only the end of the grip of which is visible. If we leave aside the differences in details – the well-finished attire, hair, nails, and fins in the bronze bust of Scylla, and the position of her head, the figure from Nikaia is reminiscent of the Cleveland Scylla in hairstyle, similarly formed attire and, above all, the pose in which she holds the steering oar. E. Walter-Karydi stressed that the "elemental" aspects of the Cleveland Scylla as a sea creature were emphasised by the depiction of eyebrows of seaweed, fin-like ears, fins on the neck and the garment made of fin.[53] Almost all the details regarding these features of the Cleveland Scylla are missing in the Nikaian figure. The steering oar serves as an important object for identifying this figure as Scylla, but the marine features of Scylla may have been also highlighted on the present sarcophagus by the depiction of her attire of an overlapping leaf-style pattern. The leafy ornamentation is a well-known element in the iconography of Scylla, which includes a loincloth of leaves that in a few representations takes the place of a belt around her waist.[54] In our case as well, the

51. See *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I 1145 (M.-O. Jentel). It should be noted that although Scylla is often depicted holding a steering oar, this is not the only attribute associated with her; in some depictions, she is shown with a trident, spear or sword, see *LIMC* VIII.1, s.v. Skylla I 1145 (M.-O. Jentel). Of these, however, the steering oar is the most significant attribute, clearly emphasizing Scylla's marine aspect.

52. It has been erroneously described as a Tritoness by the editors of the Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, see Feingold, Zuppan 1991, 12 and Turner 1986, 62 no. 23. However, in her article reassessing this bronze bust, E. Walter-Karydi (1998, 271) concluded that this figure represents Scylla, not a Tritoness.

53. Walter-Karydi 1998, 276.

54. See *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I 1145 (M.-O. Jentel).

leaf-style pattern applied to her attire may have been used to represent fins, as in the Cleveland Scylla, or seaweed or fish scales.[55] The Cleveland Scylla is depicted swinging her lethal steering oar with her hand placed over her right shoulder. Conversely, the Nikaian Scylla, if we recognise the figure as such, appears to be represented without the gesture of motion to suggest that she is swinging the steering oar. The intention may have been to present a scene reflecting the exact moment before the first movement toward brandishing the steering oar or, more probably, it signifies a motionless guarding pose.

Scylla was not a popular figure in funerary art.[56] Many of the known examples are found in Etruscan art, in which the representation of an anthropomorphic Scylla began to be used in a funerary context in the fifth century BC.[57] She frequently appears on cinerary urns alone or together with other sea creatures, such as the *ketos*, or sometimes in Homeric contexts fighting opponents.[58] By contrast, funerary monuments from the Greek world that depict Scylla, are very rare and all of them are from the Hellenistic period. A Scylla figure is found in the pediment of a funerary stele from Trichoneion in Aetolia.[59] In Asia Minor, a fragment of a funerary stele from northern Bithynia (modern Şile) shows a representation of Scylla on its pediment.[60] Another example from Asia Minor is a well-known fragmentary sculpture of Scylla that is thought to have formed part of a monumental tomb at Bargylia in Caria.[61] Scylla was not a favoured character in Roman funerary art and her presence in the funerary context is rare; her depiction is only found on a few sarcophagi from Italy and all of them are dated to the third century AD. On these

55. See Walter-Karydi 1998, 276.

56. On the appearance of Scylla in funerary art in general, see *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I (M.-O. Jentel); *LIMC* Suppl. 1, s.v. Skylla I (N. Icard-Gianolio, A.-V. Szabados); Stilp 2011, 15-17.

57. For examples of Etruscan cinerary urns from Perugia, Chiusi and Volterra, see Körte 1916, 25-40 nos. 18-28 plates 11.1, 12.3, 13.6, 14.7, 15.1, 21.2 and 23.5 and de Puma 2008, 136-137 figs. 2-3. See also *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I nos. 79-81 (M.-O. Jentel) and *LIMC* Suppl. I, s.v. Skylla I nos. 3, 7, 8 and 12.

58. Stilp 2011, 9.

59. *LIMC* Suppl. 1, s.v. Skylla I add.10.

60. Peschlow, Peschlow-Bindokat, Wörrle 2002, 437-439 fig. 3b; *LIMC* Suppl. 1, s.v. Skylla I add.11.

61. Waywell 1996b, 75-119; *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. Skylla I no. 74; Jenkins 2006, 232-236.

sarcophagi, the compositions are similar to each other; depicted smaller than other sea creatures, Scylla is squeezed into a narrow space under a shell on the front.[62] In this setting, she appears to be left out of the main composition. Schulz argued that Scylla on these sarcophagi may have been presented in smaller sizes because of her status as a subsidiary figure.[63] Another figure on a fragment of the sarcophagus in Rome is identified by Sichtermann as Scylla.[64] Unlike other Scylla representations, this figure is larger. Hence, it is an unusual example of Scylla as one of the primary characters on a Roman sarcophagus.[65] Another Scylla that takes a prominent place in the composition is found on a fragmentary sarcophagus from Patras.[66] The Nikaian sarcophagus falls in this group of Roman sarcophagi that incorporated Scylla as part of the main composition. Additionally, it should be noted that another female figure depicted with a steering oar on a fragment of a sarcophagus from the necropolis of Nikaia can also be considered a representation of Scylla.[67] Although examples bearing a depiction of Scylla are known from an early period (fifth century BC) in Asia Minor, considering their rarity, it is clear that she was not a popular figure in the art of Asia Minor.[68] As befitting its unpopularity in funerary art in general, there are only two funerary monuments decorated with a representation of Scylla in Asia Minor from the Hellenistic period – one from Bargylia and the other from Şile. Concerning the monumental tomb in Bargylia in Caria, the appearance of Scylla is cautiously connected by Waywell with the influence of Rhodes on coastal Caria.[69] N. T. de Grummond, however, explained this by the fact that Bargylia was a coastal city that had connections with the western Mediterranean, where the use of Scylla in a funerary context is more common.[70] As regards the Hellenistic funerary stele from Şile, the

62. Rumpf 1969, 27-28 no. 71 fig. 40 pl. 20, 28 no. 72 fig. 42 pl. 25, 29-30 no. 74 fig. 44, pl. 24, 31 no. 79 fig. 47, 34 no. 84 pl. 29; Sichtermann 1970, 226-228, fig. 19-20; Schulz 2017, 80-82 nos. 145, 148, 149, 176, 181 and 198.

63. Schulz 2017, 81.

64. Sichtermann 1970, 226-228, figs. 19-20.

65. Schulz 2017, 81.

66. Arndt, Amelung 1902, no. 1309; Stilp 2011, 23 fig. 14.

67. Altın 2019, 187 no. S.126, fig. 180.

68. For artefacts from Asia Minor depicting Scylla, see Martin 2019, 229-230.

69. Waywell 1996b, 96.

70. de Grummond 2000, 265-266.

early appearance of Scylla in the funerary art of the region can, perhaps, be explained by relations with the West since the presence of Italian businessmen in the region goes back to the second century BC.[71]

Assessing the appearance of Scylla in funerary art, F. Stilp argued that Scylla featured in both the Etruscan and Greek worlds as a protector against those who would violate the funerary monuments and their contents.[72] In addition, Stilp suggested that Scylla may have held an important role as a daemon who accompanied the deceased on the journey to the underworld.[73] The rare representation of Scylla in Roman funerary art is also considered to function in the same manner as in Etruscan and Greek funerary art.[74] The known examples from Bithynia –the aforementioned Hellenistic funerary stele from Şile and two examples from Nikaia including the one discussed in this paper– although they are few, now suggest that, in the funerary art of Bithynia, particularly in the sarcophagus iconography of Nikaia, Scylla may have become a figure with an apotropaic function to render the sarcophagus off limits for those who would attempt to violate it.

The Nikaian Scylla is remarkably similar not only to the Cleveland Scylla but also to terracotta protomes from Amisos (**fig. 9**). With loose wavy hair falling onto their shoulders and dressed in drapery worn obliquely passing over one shoulder and leaving one breast bare, these terracotta protomes are shown with their heads turned to the left or right. Their hand gesture is also striking; they hold a lock of hair with their hand positioned at shoulder level in the opposite direction to the turn of the head. These protomes were produced at Amisos but some examples have been found elsewhere, notably, at Smyrna, Madytos and some places in Bithynia (reportedly from modern Bursa and Düzce).[75] Earlier studies claiming that these protomes represent female mourners, maenads or Aphrodite suggested that they were used as appliques on *klinai* or wooden sarcophagi.[76] Asserting that they are representations of

71. Fernoux 2004, 113-117, esp. 116.

72. Stilp 2011, 16.

73. Stilp 2011, 16.

74. Stilp 2011, 23.

75. See Summerer 1999, 53. For cities, outside of Amisos, where these protomes were discovered, see Summerer 1999, 140-142.

76. The identification and use of these protomes has been discussed in detail by Summerer (1999, 54).

Amazons, L. Summerer, in her monograph on Hellenistic terracotta figures from Amisos, proposed as an alternative theory that these objects may have been used in pairs as decorations on the walls or doors of burial chambers.[77] The examples from Bithynia have also been found in a funerary context. These terracotta protomes are dated between the last quarter of the second and the first quarter of the first century BC.[78] Walter-Karydi had previously drawn attention to the similarity between the Cleveland Scylla and the terracotta protomes from Amisos regarding their posture, garments and gestures and the disproportional size of the hand in the protomes and the Cleveland Scylla.[79] Including a bronze bust of Dionysos from Amisos with these artefacts, she inferred that "artistic activity" had already been established in the early Hellenistic period in northern Asia Minor.[80] The same disproportion and incompetence in the shaping of the hand also occur in the Nikaian Scylla. This aspect, together with the similar postures of the figures, the styling of their hair and the diagonal garments attached on one shoulder suggests that these figures and the Nikaian Scylla may have belonged to a local tradition in sculpture in northern Asia Minor.

The inscription

The inscription is engraved on the cavetto moulding of the lid and partially in the frames on the front of the sarcophagus (**figs. 10-16**). The height of the letters varies between 1.8 cm (on the lid) and 2.5 cm (on the chest).

On the cavetto moulding of the lid:

Εἰωνία Ἑρμογένου ζῶσα τῦς ἰδίοις τέ̲κνυς τ̲ὴν σκάφη̲ν κατε̲σκεύασα· Ἀθη̲νόδωρος ζῆσας
ἔ̣τη κ[ca. 1-2 Ἑρ]μ̣ογένης ζῆσας vv ἔτη κα΄ vvv

| in the first frame | in the second frame | in the third frame |
ἀνεξοδίασστον· εἴ̈ τις δὲ σκυλῆ̣ ἀποδώσι τῇ πόλι προστείμ̣ου ⁎̣β̣τ̣΄. χα̣ῖ̣ρε̣.

77. Summerer 1999, 54; Summerer, Atasoy 2000-2001, 37.

78. Summerer 1999, 155, 159.

79. Walter-Karydi 1998, 275-276.

80. Walter-Karydi 1998, 276.

App. crit.: Εἰωνία instead of Ἰωνία[81] | Ἑρμογένου instead of Ἑρμογένους, genitive of Ἑρμογένης[82] | τῦς ἰδίοις τέκνυς instead of τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις[83] | The engraver first carved the verb as κατεσκεύασεν but later converted it into κατεσκεύασα by partially deleting *epsilon* and *nu* and engraving an *alpha* in the middle of the space occupied by these two deleted letters. It should be noted that the *epsilon* and *nu* are not completely erased; the vertical stroke of the *epsilon* with its surviving lower horizontal stroke and the right vertical stroke of the *nu* are still visible on either side of the *alpha*. Moreover, the lower part of the left vertical stroke of *nu* stands below the horizontal bar of the *alpha* (**fig. 11**) | The final lunate *sigma* of the first ζῆσας is minuscule and suspended at the upper right of the preceding *alpha* | ἀνεξοδίασστον for ἀνεξοδίαστον[84] | There are marks of erasure in the word σκυλῆ; clear diagonal chisel marks are visible on the first three letters | ἀποδώσι for ἀποδώσει, see our lemma above | πόλι for πόλει, see our previous lemma | There was an attempt to remove the portion of the inscription in the third panel. Erasing marks are visible. However, it is still legible, except for the point following the amount of the fine | The minuscule *upsilon* in προστείμῳ is suspended at the upper right of the preceding *omicron* | A horizontally flipped *beta* is ligatured with a *tau*. The left vertical bar of the *tau*, which is more deeply engraved is coherent with the shape of the upper loop of the *beta*.

Translation: "*While living, I, Ionia, daughter of Hermogenes, prepared the sarcophagus for my own children; Athenodoros who lived twenty(?) years, Hermogenes who lived twenty-one years. Inalienable. If anyone disturbs, he will pay a penalty of 2300 denarii to the city. Farewell.*"

Ionia, which is not a common name, is epigraphically attested in Herakleia Pontica, Byzantion and Ainos in Thrace, Idebessos in Lycia, Aizanoi and Nakoleia in Phrygia, Dikaiarcheia-Puteoli in Italy, Delphi, and on the island of

81. See *I.Byzantion* 81. For the interchange of ι and ει, see Gignac 1976, 189-191.

82. On the appearance of -ου instead of -ους in the singular genitive of the personal names in σ-stem, see Gignac 1981, 70; Brixhe 1984, 69.

83. For the change of οι to υ, see Gignac 1976, 197-198; Brixhe 1984, 48.

84. For the gemination of *sigma* before a stop, see Gignac 1976, 159.

Tenos.[85] One Ἰωνίη is also found on Pantikapaion in the Crimean Peninsula.[86] The name Ionia suggests that she may somehow have had a connection with the Ionian region; that is, her ancestors may have originated from an Ionian city. In this case, her father's name, Hermogenes, may have derived from the river Hermos in northern Ionia which harmonises perfectly with the name Ionia.[87] Hermogenes, son of Ionia, was named after his maternal grandfather. Prior to this inscription being discovered, the theophoric name Athenodoros has not been recorded in the inscriptions of Nikaia; even in the region in general, it is rarely encountered.[88] The age at which Athenodoros died can not be precisely determined due to the damage after the *kappa* but he was certainly in his twenties.

Regarding terminology, the inscription presents the normal characteristics of sarcophagus inscriptions at Nikaia. The term σκάφη denoting "sarcophagus" predominantly appears in inscriptions there.[89] Except for this city, only a few instances are found at Prusa ad Olympum in Bithynia and Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia.[90] Otherwise, it is unknown in other regions of Asia Minor. Likewise, ἀνεξοδίαστον, an adjective signifying that the sarcophagus could not be transferred to someone else, is prevalent in the funerary

85. In Asia Minor: Herakleia Pontica (?) (2nd cent. BC?): *LGPN* 5A, s.v. Ἰωνία; Idebessos (Imperial period): *LGPN* 5B, s.v. Ἰωνία; Aizanoi (1st cent. AD) and Nakoleia (2nd-3rd cent. AD): *LGPN* 5C, s.v. Ἰωνία. In Thrace: Byzantion (2nd-1st cent. BC) and Ainos (2nd cent. AD): *LGPN* 4, s.v. Ἰωνία. In Italy: Dikaiarchia-Puteoli (in Latin, Imperial period): *LGPN* 3A, s.v. Ἰωνία. In the mainland Greece: Delphi (53-39 BC): *LGPN* 3B, s.v. Ἰωνία; on islands: Tenos (2nd cent. BC): *LGPN* 1, s.v. Ἰωνία. On other place-names directly used as a personal name, see Bechtel 1917, 550-554.

86. *LGPN* 4, s.v. Ἰωνίη (3rd cent. BC).

87. On compound names in Ἑρμο- and -ερμος of Ionian origin, derived from the river Hermos, see *BE* 1965, 507; Devambez, Robert 1966, 220-222; Masson 1988, 175-177 = Masson 1990, 621-623; Masson 1984, 51 = Masson 1990, 430. See also Thonemann 2006, 31-33; Balzat 2014, 269 and n. 95, who noted that "*the popularity of the names* Ἑρμογένης *in Lydia (LGPN V.A) is best explained by an association of the name with the river* Ἕρμος". For other records of this name in Nikaia, see *LGPN* 5A, s.v. Ἑρμογένης (nos. 13-17).

88. See *LGPN* 5A, s.v. Ἀθηνόδωρος (nos. 1-3).

89. Kubinska 1968, 51-52; *I.Mus. Iznik* 86, 117, 122-124, 127-133, 516, 1231, 1233 (?).

90. *I.Prusa* 71, 72, 102 and 1084; *I.Kyzikos* 129.

inscriptions in Nikaia and only sporadically appears in other Bithynian cities, and Moesia Inferior and Thrace.[91] Additionally, an epigraphical record of ἀνεξοδίαστον is also found in a funerary inscription from Smyrna.[92] The verb σκύλλω, meaning "to maltreat," is frequently used in the fine-clause of the funerary inscriptions of Nikaia. Epigraphical attestations are also known in other cities of Asia Minor but occur less frequently than in Nikaia.[93] In this inscription, the object of the verb is unstated, but both the sarcophagus and the deceased should be meant in this case.[94]

Following the BT ligature, a mark is visible but illegible. It is difficult to determine if it is a numeral that belongs to the preceding monetary fine or a *hedera*. Its circular form suggests that this number can be an *omicron* (70) or a *phi* (500). However, *phi* should be ruled out because the hundreds are presented by T (300), and we should expect a numeral representing multiples of ten after that. Thus, the amount of ͵βτο΄ (2370) seems more appropriate. However, this amount is an unusual monetary fine. In Nikia, we only encounter the amount of 1000 or 2000 denarii as monetary fines in funerary inscriptions, bearing a fine-clause, in which the city (πόλις) was set out as the receiver of the fine.[95] We are tempted to regard this uncertain mark as a *hedera* as its use after the monetary fine is also found in other sarcophagus inscriptions.[96]

On this sarcophagus, it is clear that someone attempted to erase the crucial statements of the fine-clause indicating the nature of the offence and the amount of the monetary fine. However, the attempt was not completed. Someone may have intended to bury an unauthorised body in the sarcophagus and was attempting to avoid a sanction as a result. The frequent appearance of statements against the erasure of a letter or letters or deleting the entire

91. See *I.Mus. Iznik* 1231, with earlier bibliography on the term. For epigraphical attestations of this term in other places, see *I.Prusias* 108; *I.Prusa* 83, 1064 and 1066; *I.Klaudiupolis* 130; *IGBulg* 600, 992, 993 and 1007.

92. *I.Smyrna* 228.

93. See Robert 1978, 271-274 (*OMS* V, 727-730); Horsley 1987, 26-28. Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, 105 no. 145.

94. See Robert 1978, 274 (*OMS* V, 730).

95. For a fine of 1000 denarii, see *I.Mus. Iznik* 117 and 767; for 2000 denarii, see *I.Mus. Iznik* 128 and 142.

96. For example see *I.Mus. Konya* 181-183.

inscription (γράμμα or γράμματα or ἐπιγραφὴν ἐκκόπτειν) on funerary inscriptions in Asia Minor demonstrates that they were subject to such offences.[97] Similar statements can be found in various cities in Asia Minor, but the funerary inscriptions of Ephesos are most prominent in this respect.[98] By contrast, such statements are not used in the formulaic structure of the funerary inscriptions of Nikaia.

Date

Koch argued that sarcophagus production in Bithynia began in the second half of the second century AD but the precise date of the end of production in the third century AD can not be ascertained.[99] The aforementioned sarcophagus from Tyre, decorated with figures identified by Gersht as the Dioskouroi holding a steering oar, is also dated to the same period as the Bithynian products because, in general, as noted by Koch, the sarcophagi from Tyre can be dated between the second and the beginning of the third century AD.[100] Moreover, the sarcophagus from Tel Mevorakh bearing similar busts is thought to be from the second century AD.[101] Jory highlighted that the majority of the sarcophagi decorated with pantomime masks in the eastern part of the empire belong to the Flavian and Antonine periods.[102] A stylistic and technical appraisal, however, can help us to provide a narrower time frame for dating the Nikaian sarcophagus. Some features suggest a date from the pre- or mid-Hadrianic period. The facial expression and hairstyle of the Nikaian Scylla are quite similar to a female head from Nikaia that is dated to the end of

97. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 204. For some examples with a fine-clause including a statement against the erasure of the inscription, see Strubbe, *Arai epitymbioi*, 15 no. 18, 29 no. 33, 89 no. 120 and 89 no. 121.

98. See e.g. *I.Ephesos* 1636, 1649, 2202a, 2212, 2222, 2223a, 2226, 2227a, 2228, 2253a, 2299b, 2304, 2417, 2514, 2519, 2523, 3216, 3287a, 3453.

99. Koch 1993, 171. In agreement with Koch's view, Altın (2019, 29) also concluded that the production of the framed sarcophagi in Nikaia began in the Antonine period and continued into the 3rd cent. AD.

100. Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 563.

101. Stern 1978, 11.

102. Jory 2001, 19.

the first century AD.[103] Palaeographically, however, the inscription does not support such an early date; it is to be dated to the second century AD. In fact, the style accords with the date offered by the letter form of the inscription; the coiffure of the Nikaian Scylla, parted in the centre and covering the ears with the irregular locks brushed back, evokes women's hair fashions of the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods, as seen, for example, in a portrait of Lucilla, sister of the emperor Commodus, discovered in Nikaia.[104]

Hüseyin Yaman
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Archaeology
huseyinyaman@comu.edu.tr

Tolga Özhan
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Archaeology
tolgaoezhan@gmail.com

103. Akın 2019, 29, 95-97 no. 21.

104. Özgan 2013, 274-275 fig. 292a-b; İnan, Rosenbaum 1966, 82 no. 54, pl. 34-3, 4.

Summary

This article discusses an inscribed sarcophagus that originates from Nikaia and is now on display in the Çanakkale Troia Museum. The front is divided into three framed panels. Each short end has a single frame, and both are decorated with a *gorgoneion*. On the front, pantomime masks occupy the left and right frames while the middle one is embellished with a bust depicting a young woman. This discussion focuses mainly on the identification of the relief in the central frame and the inscription on the sarcophagus. The middle figure arouses curiosity with her leafy garment and the steering oar that she carries on her shoulder, which is not a common image found in sarcophagus iconography. With her clothing, coiffure, posture and steering oar, it is argued that the relief represents Scylla because of its resemblance to a bronze bust of Scylla in the Cleveland Museum that is said to come from the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor. Scylla's appearance on a sarcophagus has an apotropaic function. Aside from the steering oar, the Nikaian Scylla –as we choose to name her– is also reminiscent of terracotta protomes from Amisos, representing Amazons. The sarcophagus can be dated to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.

Abbreviations-Bibliography

Akın, M. 2019. *Nikaia'daki Erkek ve Kadın Heykelleri* (MA Dissertation, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa).

Altın, A.A. 2019. *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler des antiken Nikaia in Bithynien (İznik/Türkei)* (Doctoral Dissertation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum).

Asgari, N., Fıratlı, N. 1978. "Die Nekropole von Kalchedon", in Şahin, S., Schwertheim, E., Wagner, J. (eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für F.K. Dörner zum 65. Geburstag*. Leiden, 1-107.

Arndt, P., Amelung, W. 1902. *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen*. München.

Aydın, S. 2013. *Bithynia Bölgesi Lahitleri* (MA Dissertation, Gazi Üniversitesi, Ankara).

Balzat, J.-S. 2014. "Names in EPM- in Southern Asia Minor. A Contribution to the Cultural History of Ancient Lycia", *Chiron* 44, 253-284.

Bechtel, F. 1917. *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*. Halle.

Belson, J.D. 1981. *The Gorgoneion in Greek Architecture* (Doctoral Dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania).

Boyce, G.K. 1937. *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (MAAR 14). Rome.

Brixhe, C. 1984. *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère*. Nancy.

Burrell, B. 2004. *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Emperors*. Leiden – Boston.

Cain, H.U. 1988. Chronologie, "Ikonographie und Bedeutung der römischen Maskenreliefs", *BJb* 188, 105-221.

Chéhab, M. 1975. "La Nécropole de Tyr", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 12, 36-43.

Chéhab, M. 1985. *Fouilles de Tyr. La nécropole III, description des fouilles* (BMB 35). Paris.

Coulson, W.D.E., Leventi, I. 1998. "A Roman Head in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens", *Hesperia* 67.2, 223-229.

Cumont, F. 1942. *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des Romains*. Paris.

de Grummond, N.T. 2000. Gauls and Giants, Skylla and the Palladion: Some Responses, in de Grummond, N.T., Ridgway, B.S. (eds.), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga, Sculpture and Context*. London.

de Puma, R. 2008. "The Tomb of Fastia Velsi from Chiusi", *EtrStud* 11, 135-149.

Der Neue Pauly: *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart 1996-2003.

Devambez, P., Robert, L. 1966. "Une nouvelle statue archaïque au Louvre", *RA*, 195-222.

Elliott, J.H. 2016. *Beware the Evil Eye: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World*. Vol 2: *Greece and Rome*. Oregon.

Eraslan, Ş. 2015. "Tethys and Thalassa in Mosaic Art", *Art-Sanat* 4, 1-13.
Feingold, G.R., Zuppan, J. (eds.) 1991. *Handbook of The Cleveland Museum of Art*. Cleveland – Ohio.
Fernoux, H.-L. 2004. *Notables et* élites *des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe si*ècle *ap. J.-C.). Essai d'histoire sociale*. Lyon.
Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 1989. In the Mirror of the Mask, in Bérard, C. et al. (eds.), Deborah Lyons (trans.), *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*. Princeton – New Jersey, 151-165.
Frothingham, A.L. 1915. "Medusa II. The Vegetation Gorgoneion", *AJA* 19.1, 13-23.
Furtwängler, A. 1890. "Gorgones und Gorgo", in Roscher W.H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I.2, 1695-1727.
Gersht, R. 1996a. "Imported Marble Sarcophagi from Caesarea", *ASSAPH: Studies in Art History* 2, 13-26.
Gersht, R. 1996b. "Imported Sarcophagi from Caesarea Maritima and Tyre", in Magnas, J., Alvar J. (eds.), *Homenaje a José Marìa Blàzquez*, Vol. III: *Historia de Roma*. Madrid, 51-74.
Gignac, F.T. 1976. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. I: *Phonology*. Milan.
Gignac, F.T. 1981. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. II: *Morphology*. Milan.
Graef, B. 1892. "Grabdenkmal aus Bithynien", *AM* 17, 80-86.
Hall, E. 2002. "The Singing Actors of Antiquity", in Easterling, P., Hall E. (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge, 3-38.
Hall, E. 2008. "Introduction, a Lost Chord of Ancient Culture", in Hall, E., Wyles, R. (eds.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Oxford, 1-40.
Harrison, A.P. 2013. "Animals in the Etruscan Household and Environment", in Turfa, J.M. (ed.), *The Etruscan World*. London – New York, 1086-1114.
Hartmann, J.B. 1969. "Die Genien des Lebens und des Todes", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 12, 9-38.
Hopman, M.G. 2012. *Scylla. Myth, Metaphor, Paradox*. Cambridge.
Horsley, G.H.R. 1987. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979*. Marrickville.
Hutchinson, J. 2008. Pantomime Performance and Figured Scenes on Roman Sarcophagi, in Hall, E., Wyles, R. (eds.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Oxford, 87-109.
İnan, J., Rosenbaum, E. 1966. *Roman and early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*. London.

Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek Architecture and its Sculpture*. Cambridge.
Jory, J. 1996. "The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime", in Slater, W. J. (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society. E. Togo Salmon Papers*, I. Ann Arbor, 1-27.
Jory, J. 2001. "Some Cases of Mistaken Identity? Pantomime Masks and Their Context", BICS 45, 1-20.
Jory, J. 2002. "The Masks on the Propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias", in Easterling, P., Hall, E. (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge, 238-253.
Jory, J. 2008. "The Pantomime Dancer and his Libretto", in Hall, E., Wyles, R. (eds.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Oxford, 157-168.
Karoglou, K. 2018. "Dangerous Beauty: Medusa in Classical Art", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 75/3, 1-50.
Koch, G. 1993. *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Darmstadt.
Koch, G., Sichtermann, H. 1982. *Römische Sarkophage*. München.
Körte, G. 1899. "Kleinasiatischen Studien V. Inschriften aus Bithynien", MDAI(A) 24, 398-450.
Körte, G. 1916. *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*, 3. Berlin.
Kubinska, J. 1968. *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*. Warsaw.
LGPN 1: Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. I: *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*. Oxford 1987.
LGPN 3A: Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IIIA: *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia*. Oxford 1997.
LGPN 3B: Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IIIB: *Central Greece: From the Megarid to Thessaly*. Oxford 2000.
LGPN 4: Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IV: *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*. Oxford 2005.
LGPN 5A: Corsten, T. (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names,* Vol. VA: *Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*. Oxford 2010.
LGPN 5B: Balzat, J.-S. et al. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. VB: *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Oxford 2013.
LGPN 5C: Balzat, J.-S. et al. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. VC: Inland Asia Minor. Oxford 2018.
LIMC: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich – Munich – Dusseldorf 1981-2009.
Martin, K. 2019. "Was Macht Skylla im lydischen Hinderland? Zu einer Homonia-Prägung von Philadelphia und Smyra", *Gephyra* 17, 223-238.

Masson, O. 1984. "Quelques noms de magistrats monétaires grecs, IV. Noms de monétaires à Abdère et Maronée", *RNum* 26, 48-60.

Masson, O. 1988. "Noms grecs du type Ἀρκολεων 'Ours-Lion'", in Taillardat, J. (ed.), ΗΔΙΣΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ. *Logopédies: mélanges de philologie et de linguistique grecques offerts à Jean Taillardat*. Louvain, 171-177.

Masson, O. 1990. *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, I-II. Paris.

Matz, F., Andreae, B., Robert, C. 1919. *Einzelmythen: Niobiden, Triptolemos ungedeutet* (ASR 3.3). Berlin.

Merkelbach, R. 1987. *Nikaia in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Opladen.

Nock, A.D., Beazley, J. R. 1946. "Sarcophagi and Symbolism", *AJA* 50, 140-170.

Özgan, R. 2013. *Roma Portre Sanatı*, II. İstanbul.

Özhan, T., Yaman, H. 2018. "Çanakkale Arkeoloji Müzesi'nden Girlandlı Bir Lahit", in Arslan, M., Baz, F. (eds.), *Arkeoloji, Tarih ve Epigrafi'nin Arasında. Prof. Dr. Vedat Çelgin'in 68. Doğum Günü Onuruna Makaleler*. İstanbul, 609-707.

Özhan, T., Yaman, H. 2019a. "A New Sarcophagus Inscription from Alexandria Troas", *Anatolia/Anadolu* 45, 113-124.

Özhan, T., Yaman, H. 2019b. "A New Inscribed Assos Sarcophagus from Alexandreia Troas and the Collegium of Shipwrights", *Gephyra* 18, 77-95.

Peschlow, U., Peschlow-Bindokat, A., Wörrle, M. 2002. "Die Sammlung Turan Beler in Kumbaba bei Şile (II). Antike und byzantinische Denkmäler von der Bithynischen Schwarzmeerküste", *IstMitt* 52, 429-522.

Price, S.R.F. 2014. *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge.

Rankov, B. 2020. "Pantomime Horsemen: "Cavalry-sports" Helmets and Popular Culture in the Frontier Provinces", *JRA* 33, 169-194.

RE: *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1972.

Rey-Coquais, J. P. 1977. *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963-1974)*, Vol. I: *Inscriptions de la Necropole* (BMB 29). Paris.

Robert, L. 1978. "Malédictions funéraires Grecques", *CRAI* 122, 241-289.

Rose, H. 2000. *Die römischen Terrakottamasken in den Nordwestprovinzen. Herkunft, Herstellung, Verbreitung, Funktion* (Doctoral Dissertation, Universität zu Köln).

Rumpf, A. 1969. *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagrelief* (ASR 5.1). Roma.

Şahin, S. 1978. *Bithynische Studien* (IGSK 7). Bonn.

Salomies, O. 1996. "Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor During the Principate", in Rizakis A.D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on*

Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993 (Μελετήματα 21). Paris, 111-127.
Schneider, A.M. 1943. Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea (IstForsch 16). Berlin.
Schulz, J. 2017. *Meerwesen auf römischen Sarkophagen. Ikonographie und Bedeutung* (Doctoral Dissertation, Universität zu Köln).
Sichtermann, H. 1970. "Beiträge zu den Meerwesensarkophagen", *AA* 85.2, 214-241.
Slater, W. 1995. "The Pantomime Tiberius Iulius Apolautus", *GRBS* 36, 263-292.
Stefanidou-Tiveriou, T. 2010. "Social Status and Family Origin in the Sarcophagi of Thessalonike", in Nasrallah, L., Bakirtzis, Ch., Friesen, S.J. (eds.), *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike. Studies in Religion and Archaeology*. Cambridge – Massachusetts, 151-188.
Stefanidou-Tiveriou, T. 2012. "The local sarcophagi of Thessaloniki", in Adam-Veleni, P., Terzopoulou, D. (eds.), *Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki: Field, House, Garden, Grave*. Thessaloniki, 122-137.
Stefanidou-Tiveriou, T. 2014. *Die Lokalen Sarkophage aus Thessaloniki*. Ruhpolding.
Stern, E. 1978. *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh (1973-1976),* Part One: *From the Iron Age to the Roman Period* (Qedem 9). Jerusalem.
Stieglitz, R. 1974. "The National Maritime Museum, Haifa", *Archaeology* 27/2, 128-130.
Stilp, F. 2011. "Scylla l'Ambivalente", *RA*, 3-26.
Summerer, L. 1999. *Hellenistische Terrakotten aus Amisos*. Stutgart.
Summerer, L., Atasoy, S. 2000-2001. "Amazonendarstellungen auf Münzen und Terrakotten von Amisos", *Talanta* 32-33, 27-39.
Touchette, L.-A. 1995. *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs: Continuity and Change in Roman Copies*. London.
Tufi, S.R. 1971. "Stele funerarie con ritratti di età romana nel Museo Archeologico di Spalato. Saggio uno tipologia struttrale", *RAL* 8.16.3, 87-166.
Thonemann, P. 2006. "Neilomandros. A Contribution to the History of Greek Personal Names", *Chiron* 36, 11-43.
Turner, H. 1986. "The Year in Review for 1985", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 73/2, 26-71.
Vernant, J.-P. 1991. "Death in the Eyes: Gorgo, Figure of the Other", in Zeitlin, F.I. (ed.), *Mortals and Immortals*. Princeton, 111-138.
Walter-Karydi, E. 1998. "Dangerous is Beautiful. The Elemental Quality of a Hellenistic Scylla", in Palagia, O. (ed.), *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*. Oxford, 271-279.

Watzinger, C. 1935. *Denkmäler Palästinas, eine Einführung in die Archäologie des heiligen Landes* 2. Leipzig.
Waywell, G.B. 1996a. "Scilla nell'arte antica", in Andreae, B. (ed.), *Ulisse, il mito el la memoria*. Rome.
Waywell, G.B. 1996b. "The Scylla Monument from Bargylia", *Antike Plastik* 25, 75-119.
Wyles, R. 2008. "The Symbolism of Costume in Ancient Pantomime", in Hall, E., Wyles, R. (eds.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Oxford, 61-86.

Fig. 1: Front side of the sarcophagus (photo by O. Çapalov)

Fig. 2: Left short side (photo by O. Çapalov)

Fig. 3: Right short side (photo by O. Çapalov)

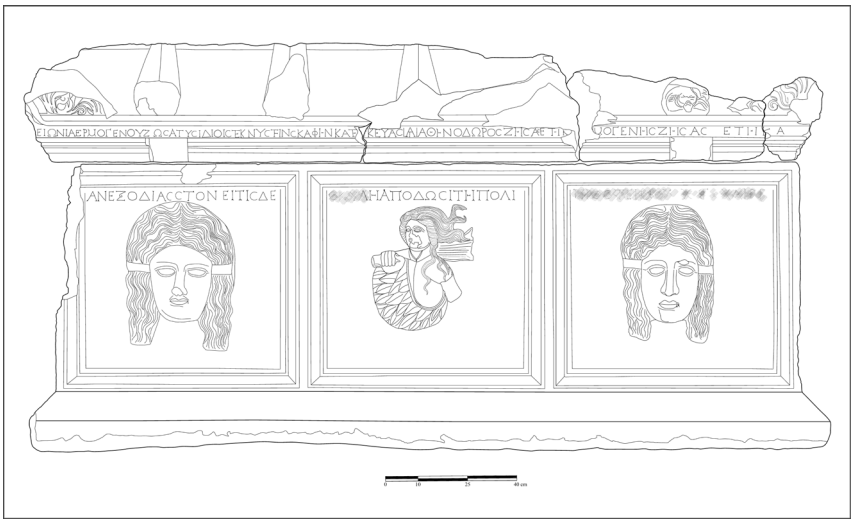


Fig. 4: Drawing of the sarcophagus (drawn by authors)

Fig. 5: Setting of a rusted iron clamp (photo by authors)

Fig. 6: Frontal view of Scylla (photo by authors)

Fig. 7: Detail from Scylla (photo by authors)

Fig. 8: Cleveland Scylla (https://clevelandart.org/art/1985.184, access date 24.03.2022, Cleveland Museum of Art).

Fig. 9: Amisos female protome from Madytos (Summerer, Atasoy 2001, 35 fig. 6).

Fig. 10: Inscription on the lid: Part I (photo by authors)

Fig. 11: Inscription on the lid: Part II (photo by authors)

Fig. 12: Inscription on the lid: Part III (photo by authors)

Fig. 13: Inscription on the lid: Part IV (photo by authors)

Fig. 14: Inscription in the first frame (photo by authors)

Fig. 15: Inscription in the second frame (photo by authors)

Fig. 16: Inscription in the third frame (photo by authors)