

MONUMENTA
ASIAE MINORIS ANTIQUA

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MONUMENTA
ASIAE MINORIS ANTIQUA

VOL. XI
MONUMENTS FROM
PHRYGIA AND LYKAONIA
RECORDED BY
M.H. BALLANCE, W.M. CALDER, A.S. HALL,
AND R.D. BARNETT

EDITED BY
P. THONEMANN

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
C.V. CROWTHER
AND E. CHIRICAT

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PREFACE

The present volume, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (MAMA) XI, is a corpus of 387 inscriptions and other ancient and medieval monuments from inner Anatolia (Phrygia, Lykaonia, and south-western Galatia). The overwhelming majority of the monuments published in this volume were recorded by Sir William Calder (1881-1960) and Dr Michael Ballance (1928-2006) in the course of annual expeditions to Asia Minor in 1954-1957. The volume also includes some thirty monuments from Laodikeia, Kinna, and Northern Lykaonia recorded in 1957 by Dr Alan Hall (1931-1986), and eight monuments from Eumeneia recorded in 1954 by Dr Richard Barnett (1909-1986). Around three quarters of the monuments recorded in inner Anatolia by Calder, Ballance, Hall and Barnett in 1954-1957 are otherwise unknown.

The origins and objectives of the MAMA project have been discussed in detail by Charlotte Roueché, ‘The history of an idea: tracing the origins of the MAMA project’, in *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, edited by Peter Thonemann (Cambridge University Press, 2013). The original aim of the project, sponsored by the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor, was ‘to make available facsimile records of monuments, mostly of the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, surviving above the surface of the soil in a number of selected areas’, with, in practice, a particular emphasis on central and southern Anatolia (Phrygia, eastern Karia, Lykaonia, and Kilikia).

The first eight volumes in the series *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (MAMA I-VIII, various authors) were published between 1928 and 1962 by Manchester University Press. Two further volumes in the MAMA series (MAMA IX-X, 1988 and 1993) were edited by Stephen Mitchell and Barbara Levick from the *Nachlass* of Sir Christopher Cox, who collected numerous monuments for the MAMA project during expeditions to Asia Minor in 1925-6 (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/MAMA/index.html>). The monuments recorded during the 1954-1957 expeditions represent the last part of the material collected under the MAMA aegis still awaiting publication; the present volume, published, like its two immediate predecessors, by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, is expected to be the last in the series.

A handful of monuments from the 1954-1957 expeditions were published in short articles in the 1950s and 1960s (36, Calder 1955; 45, Calder 1956; 176, Ballance 1969), and preliminary editions of around a hundred and fifty texts were included in Ballance’s unpublished Edinburgh PhD thesis of 1960. However, Ballance subsequently put Anatolian epigraphy on one side for a career in school-teaching, and while he maintained meticulous records, he was never able to undertake the necessary research to publish the remaining material. After Ballance’s death in 2006, his collection of papers, notebooks, squeezes and slides from the 1954-1957 expeditions was bequeathed by his daughter Alexia Ballance to the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford. In 2007, Peter Thonemann took on responsibility for the publication of this material.

Ballance’s archive was meticulously organized. All of the individual monuments recorded by Calder, Ballance, Hall and Barnett in 1954-1957 had been assigned a single reference number in the form ‘1954/00’ (retained in the *lemmata* of this volume). It has hence proved to be a relatively straightforward task to reconstruct the complete record (photographs, squeezes, notebook copies) for any given monument. Ballance had also produced preliminary transcriptions of most of the Greek and Latin texts, and careful line-drawings of many of the monuments (some of which are reproduced in this volume). However,

no commentaries existed for any of the monuments, and very many of the inscriptions had clearly not been studied since they were first copied in the field in the mid-1950s. The entire *MAMA XI* corpus has, therefore, been edited *ab initio* for this volume from Calder, Ballance, Hall and Barnett's original photographs, squeezes and notebook copies.

A preliminary version of the full *MAMA XI* corpus was published online (Version 1.0) on 14 September 2012, at <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/>. The present print publication incorporates numerous small corrections and addenda to the original online edition, and henceforth should be treated as the definitive version of the corpus. The index and concordance in this volume are also new. The reader is referred to the online version of the corpus for comprehensive illustration of all the monuments in the Calder-Ballance archive, including squeezes, photographs, line drawings and notebook copies. An updated Version 2.0 of the online version of the corpus is expected to be published in late 2013.

The introduction, editions, translations, commentaries and index are the sole responsibility of Peter Thonemann, excepting 133, a new fragment of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices, edited by Robert K. Pitt, and 134-156, jointly edited by Édouard Chiricat and Peter Thonemann.

The *MAMA XI* project was funded by a generous grant (2009-2012) from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The photographs, squeezes, line-drawings and original notebook copies were digitised by Maggy Sasanow at the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents. The completed editions were encoded and marked up in xml using EpiDoc electronic editorial conventions by Charles Crowther and Édouard Chiricat. The *MAMA XI* website, based on a transformation of the EpiDoc files to html web-pages, was designed and constructed by Joe Talbot, Henriette Roued-Cunliffe and Charles Crowther. Further administrative assistance of various kinds was provided by Maggy Sasanow, Dimosthenis Papamarkos (whose work was generously funded by a British Academy Small Research Grant), Andrew Fairweather-Tall and Erica Clarke. Stephen Mitchell, Simon Corcoran and Anthony Sheppard offered helpful *corrigenda* to the original 2012 web-publication. This final print publication owes much to the assistance of Charlotte Roueché, William Mack, Greg Woolf and Lynn Pitts.

Individual texts in the corpus should be cited in the following form: "MAMA XI 000".

Peter Thonemann

Wadham College, Oxford

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The texts of inscribed monuments are presented according to the standard 'Leiden' editorial conventions for Greek and Latin epigraphic texts, as briefly described in the 'Note on Transcriptions' in recent volumes of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. The sole exception lies in the treatment of sections of text which were deliberately erased in antiquity. Where the original text has simply been erased, without any new text being inscribed over the erasure, this is indicated with double square brackets []], as in the normal Leiden conventions. Where a different text has been inscribed over the erasure, this is indicated with lower corner brackets []]. The difference between the two uses may be most conveniently seen in *MAMA XI 157*: the original, partially erased text is presented on p.159, and the partially re-inscribed text is presented on p.156.

<i>Agora</i>	<i>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> .
<i>ala2004</i>	C. Roueché, <i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions</i> , revised second edition, 2004. http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/
<i>AvH</i>	C. Humann <i>et al.</i> , <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> . Berlin, 1898.
<i>Barrington Atlas</i>	R. J. A. Talbot (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> . Princeton, 2000.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> . Paris, 1877–.
<i>Bechtel, HPN</i>	F. Bechtel, <i>Historische Personennamen des Griechischen</i> . Halle, 1917.
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in <i>REG</i> .
<i>BM</i>	British Museum: post-BMC coin accessions.
<i>BMC</i>	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum</i> . London, 1873–. Individual volumes identified by region, e.g. <i>BMC Phrygia</i> .
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Coll. Wadd.</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington</i> . Paris, 1898.
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>GM Winterthur</i>	<i>Griechische Münzen in Winterthur</i>
<i>Haspels, Highlands</i>	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments</i> (2 vols). Princeton, 1971.
<i>I.Anazarbos</i>	M. H. Sayar, <i>Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung</i> . IGSK 56, 1. Bonn, 2000.
<i>I.Ankara</i>	D. H. French and S. Mitchell, <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)</i> I. Munich, 2012.
<i>I.Apameia</i>	Th. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai</i> . IGSK 32. Bonn, 1986.
<i>I.Asklepieion</i>	Chr. Habicht, <i>Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> . <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> VIII.3. Berlin, 1969.
<i>I.Beroia</i>	L. Gounaropoulou and M. Hatzopoulos, <i>Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Α' Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας</i> . Athens, 1998.

- I.BurdurMus* G. H. R. Horsley, *RECAM V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*. Ankara, 2007.
- I.Cret.* M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (4 vols). Rome, 1935-50.
- I.Délos* *Inscriptions de Délos* (7 vols). Paris, 1926-72.
- I.Denizli* E. Miranda and F. Guizzi, *Museo Archaeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis. Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine: Distretto di Denizli*. Naples, 2008.
- I.Ephesos* H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach *et al.*, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (7 vols). IGSK 11-17. Bonn, 1979-81.
- I.Heraclea Pontica* L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptons of Heraclea Pontica*. IGSK 47. Bonn, 1994.
- I.Iasos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (2 vols). IGSK 28. Bonn, 1985.
- I.Iznik* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia)* (2 vols in 4). IGSK 9-10. Bonn, 1979-87.
- I.Keramos* E. Varinlioğlu, *Die Inschriften von Keramos*. IGSK 30. Bonn, 1986.
- I.Kibyra* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kibyra I*. IGSK 60. Bonn, 2002.
- I.Kios* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios*. IGSK 29. Bonn, 1985.
- I.Klaudiu Polis* F. Becker-Bertau, *Die Inschriften von Klaudiu Polis*. IGSK 31. Bonn, 1986.
- I.Knidos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos I*. IGSK 41. Bonn, 1992.
- I.Konya* B. H. McLean, *RECAM IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum*. Ankara, 2002.
- I.Kyme* H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. IGSK 5. Bonn, 1976.
- I.Kyzikos I* E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung, Teil 1: Grabtexte*. IGSK 18. Bonn, 1980.
- I.Manisa* H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*. Vienna, 1994.
- I.Milet* A. Rehm, P. Herrmann *et al.*, *Inschriften von Milet* (3 vols). Berlin, 1997-2006.
- I.Mylasa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (2 vols.). IGSK 34-5. Bonn, 1987-8.
- I.Parion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion*. IGSK 25. Bonn, 1983.
- I.Perge* S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge* (2 vols). IGSK 54 and 61. Bonn, 1999-2004.
- I.Perinthos* M. H. Sayar, *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung*. Vienna, 1998.
- I.Pessinous* J. Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous*. IGSK 66. Bonn, 2005.
- I.Priene* F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin, 1906.
- I.Prusa* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum* (2 vols). IGSK 39-40. Bonn, 1991-3.
- I.Prusias ad Hypium* W. Ameling, *Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium*. IGSK 27. Bonn, 1985.
- I.Rhod.Per.* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia*. IGSK 38. Bonn, 1991.
- I.Side* J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* (2 vols). IGSK 43-4. Bonn, 1993-2001.
- I.Sinope* D. H. French, *The Inscriptions of Sinope. Part I*. IGSK 64. Bonn, 2004.
- I.Sultan Dağı* L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I*. IGSK 62. Bonn, 2002.
- I.Tralleis* F. B. Poljakov, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa I*. IGSK 36.1. Bonn, 1989.
- I.Tyana* D. Berges and J. Nollé, *Tyana: Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zum südwestlichen Kappadokien* (2 vols). IGSK 55.1-2. Bonn, 2000.

<i>I. Varsovie</i>	A. Lajtar and A. Twardecki, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie</i> . Warsaw, 2003.
<i>I Aph2007</i>	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> , 2007. http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (3 vols). Paris, 1906-27.
<i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (4 vols). Rome, 1968-90.
<i>IJO II</i>	W. Ameling, <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II: Kleinasien</i> . Tübingen, 2004.
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (3 vols in 5). Berlin, 1892-1916.
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>KM</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Kleinasiatische Münzen</i> (2 vols). Vienna, 1901-2.
<i>IRT</i>	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> . London and Rome, 1952.
<i>LBW</i>	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure</i> (2 vols). Paris, 1870.
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>MAMA I</i>	W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I</i> . Manchester, 1928.
<i>MAMA III</i>	J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua III: Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien</i> . Manchester, 1931.
<i>MAMA IV</i>	W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia</i> . Manchester, 1933.
<i>MAMA V</i>	C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V: Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea</i> . Manchester, 1937.
<i>MAMA VI</i>	W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VI: Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria</i> . Manchester, 1939.
<i>MAMA VII</i>	W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VII: Eastern Phrygia</i> . Manchester, 1956.
<i>MAMA VIII</i>	W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias</i> . Manchester, 1962.
<i>MAMA IX</i>	B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX: Inscriptions from Aezani and the Aezanitis</i> . London, 1988.
<i>MAMA X</i>	B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X: Monuments of Cotiaeum, the Upper Tembris Valley, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra Sidera and Tiberiopolis</i> . London, 1993.
Masson, <i>OGS</i>	O. Masson, <i>Onomastica Graeca Selecta</i> (3 vols). I-II: Paris, 1990. III: Geneva, 2000.
Mommsen, <i>Staatsrecht</i>	T. Mommsen, <i>Römische Staatsrecht</i> , third edition (3 vols in 5). Leipzig, 1887-8.
<i>Mouseion</i>	<i>Mouseion kai Bibliotheke tes euangelikes scholes</i> . Smyrna, 1873-86.
<i>MuM Deutschland</i>	<i>Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland GmbH</i> .
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (2 vols). Leipzig, 1903-5.
Oliver, <i>Greek Constitutions</i>	J. H. Oliver, <i>Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri</i> . Philadelphia, 1989.

<i>P.Dura</i>	C. Bradford Welles <i>et al.</i> , <i>Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report V, Part 1: The Parchments and Papyri</i> . New Haven, 1959.
<i>P. Fayum</i>	B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and D. G. Hogarth, <i>Fayûm Towns and their Papyri</i> . London, 1900.
PE	S. Lauffer, <i>Diokletians Preisedikt</i> . Berlin, 1971.
PIR ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , second edition.
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
PME	H. Devijver, <i>Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum</i> (5 vols). Leuven, 1976-93.
Ramsay, <i>Phrygia</i>	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia</i> . Oxford, 1895-7. Vol. I. Part I: <i>The Lycus Valley and South-Western Phrygia</i> . Vol. I. Part II: <i>West and West-Central Phrygia</i> . Vol. II (on Northern Phrygia) never appeared; I refer to the two published volumes throughout as I and II.
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RECAM II	S. Mitchell, <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia</i> . Oxford, 1982.
RMD	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i>
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> (13 vols in 12). Paris, 1940-65.
Robert, OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta. Epigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> (7 vols). Amsterdam, 1969-90.
RPC	A. Burnett, M. Amandry <i>et al.</i> , <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . London and Paris, 1992-. I. <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)</i> . II. <i>From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)</i> . VII. <i>De Gordien Ier à Gordien III (238-244 après J.-C.) 1. Province d'Asie</i> .
<i>Sardis VII 1</i>	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis Vol. VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part 1</i> . Leiden, 1932.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SNG Cop.	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Copenhagen</i> (43 vols in 11). Copenhagen, 1942-79.
SNG Von Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock</i> (4 vols). Berlin, 1957-68.
Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , third edition (4 vols). Leipzig, 1915-24.
Syme, <i>RP</i>	R. Syme, <i>Roman Papers</i> (7 vols). Oxford, 1979-91.
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
<i>TIB Galatien</i>	K. Belke, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4. Galatien und Lykaonien</i> . Vienna, 1984.
<i>TIB Phrygien</i>	K. Belke and N. Mersich, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7. Phrygien und Pisidien</i> . Vienna, 1990.
<i>Triton</i>	<i>Classical Numismatic Group, Triton Auction Catalogues</i>
Wilhelm, <i>Inchriftenkunde</i>	A. Wilhelm, <i>Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inchriftenkunde</i> (5 vols). I-II: Leipzig, 1984; III-V: Vienna, 2000-3.

INTRODUCTION

This volume includes 387 ancient and medieval monuments from various parts of inner Anatolia. The corpus is divided into twenty-four city and regional chapters. Chapters I-XIV cover various sites in Phrygia, and Chapters XV-XXIV are concerned with Lykaonia and southern Galatia. The majority of these chapters correspond to individual ancient cities and their dependent territories. So, for example, chapter VIII includes thirty-two monuments (99-130) from ancient Akmoneia. Fourteen of these monuments derive from the site of Akmoneia itself (modern Ahat), with the remainder coming from various parts of the city's large dependent territory in the modern Banaz ovası.

However, the precise extent of dependent city-territories in ancient and medieval Anatolia is often highly uncertain. Hence, in a few cases, I have chosen to group monuments by region rather than city-territory. For example, the modern villages clustered around the northern foothills of the Ballık Dağı range, south-west of Tüz Gölü, cannot be confidently assigned to the territory of either of the nearest ancient urban centres (Perta, at modern Giymir, and Laodikeia, at modern Ladık-Halıcı). The inscriptions discovered by Calder and Ballance at these villages are therefore simply assigned to 'Northern Lykaonia' (Chapter XVIII, 275-293).

The aim of this introduction is to provide a short geographical overview and bibliography for each city and region.

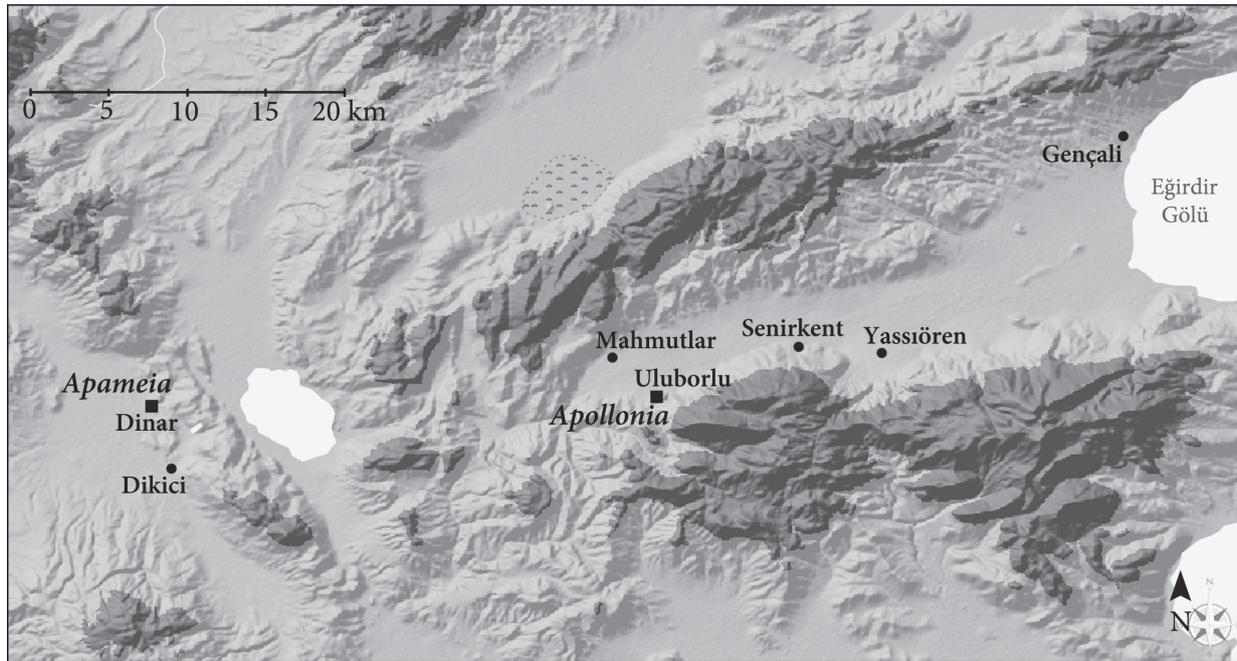
I. Apollonia (1-21) [Map 1]

Apollonia, the mediaeval Sozopolis, was situated on a high spur projecting north-westwards from the Kapı Dağı mountain range, overlooking the modern town of Uluborlu. Like its neighbour to the east, Antioch by Pisidia (modern Yalvaç), Apollonia lay on the northernmost stretch of the Augustan *Via Sebaste*, connecting Augustus' five Pisidian colonies (Olbasa, Komama, Kremna, Parlais, Antioch).¹

Ballance recorded fifteen ancient and mediaeval monuments at Uluborlu in the summer of 1956, along with single stones from the neighbouring village of Mahmutlar (13) and the large nearby town of Senirkent (18). He also recorded three monuments at Yassıören, 10km east of Apollonia, the site of the ancient village of Tymandos, which was granted independent city-status at some point in the early fourth century AD (7, 11, 19).² Finally, Ballance rediscovered an important milestone on the *Via Sebaste* east of Tymandos, at Gençali, where the road skirted the northern shore of Eğirdir Gölü (9).

1 MAMA IV 136-225; Robert 1963: 353-60; Aulock 1979: 20-3, 52-63; *TIB Phrygien* 387-8, s.v. Sözopolis; Cohen 1995: 285-90; Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012. Augustan foundations and *Via Sebaste*: Levick 1967: 7-41; Bru 2009.

2 MAMA IV 226-264; *TIB Phrygien* 408-9, s.v. Tymandos; Bru, Labarre and Özsait 2009.



Map 1. Apollonia and Apameia

II. Apameia (22-23) [Map 1]

Apameia-Kelainai (modern Dinar), the largest city of southern Phrygia, has produced a rich corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions, including more than a hundred funerary monuments. Two new funerary inscriptions were recorded by Ballance in the course of brief visits to Dinar in 1956 and 1994.³

III. Eumeneia (24-62) [Map 2]

Eumeneia (modern Işıklı), an Attalid foundation of the 160s or 150s BC, served as the chief garrison-town of the Roman province of Asia from the Flavian period to at least the mid-third century AD. Situated at the foot of Sarıbaba Tepesi, at the mouth of the Kûfû Vadisi (the pass leading north-east to the Sandıklı ovası, the ancient Phrygian Pentapolis), it controlled a large stretch of territory in the middle Maeander valley. The site has produced a very large number of funerary monuments of the Roman and Late Roman periods, including a particularly rich and interesting collection of early Christian monuments.⁴

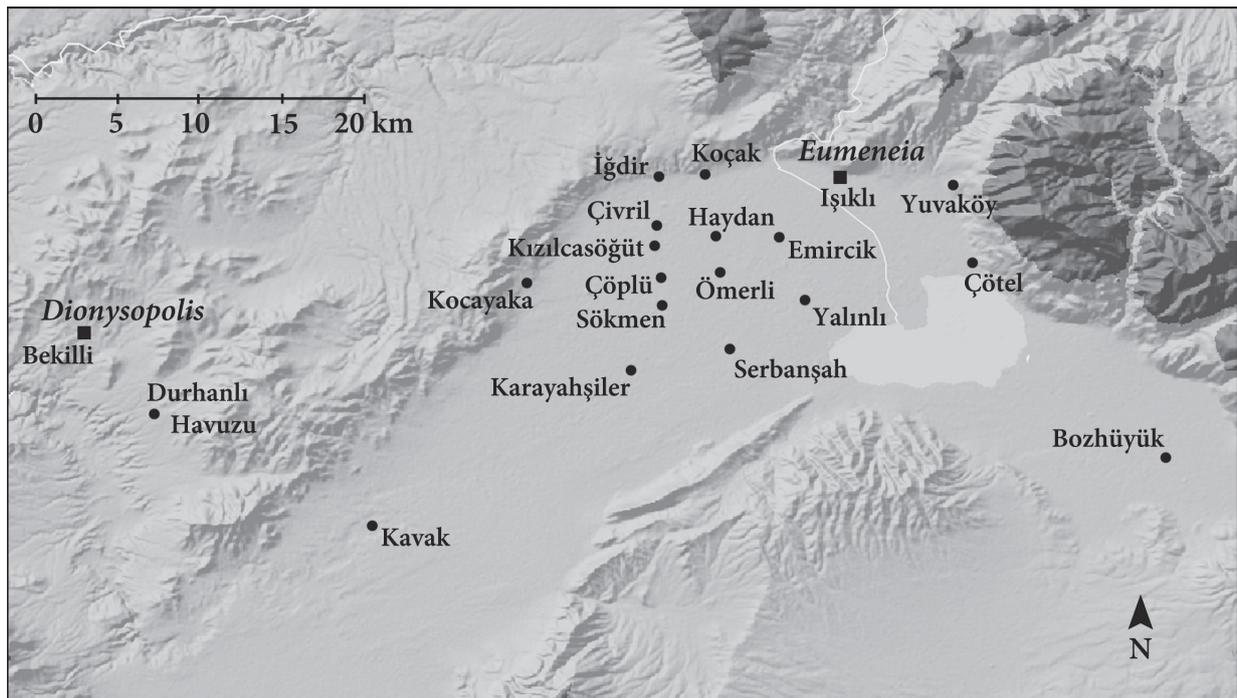
Most of the thirty-nine monuments published here (eight of them previously known) were recorded by Calder in 1954 and by Ballance in 1955 and 1956. Eight monuments (26, 35, 44, 51-55) were recorded in 1954 by the Near Eastern archaeologist Richard Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities

³ History: Nollé 2006; Thonemann 2011a: 50-129; Summerer, Ivantchik and Kienlin 2011. Funerary inscriptions: Bresson 2011.

⁴ Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 353-95, 514-33; Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 398-439; Drew-Bear 1978: 53-114; Trebilco 2002; Thonemann 2011a: 130-77.

at the British Museum from 1955 to 1974.⁵ A further 202 Greek and Latin inscriptions are known from Eumeneia and its territory: these are listed in the Appendix to Chapter III ('Published Inscriptions of Eumeneia', pp.59-64 below).

The territory of Eumeneia was naturally limited to the east by the massive Ak Dağ mountain range; to the south-east, her territory probably extended as far as the villages of Duman and Yeşilhöyük, in the marshy region south of the Düzbel pass over the Ak Dağ. To the north and north-west, her territory was probably limited by the ridge of hills separating the Maeander plain from the more elevated Banaz ovası. The extent of Eumeneian territory to the south-west is harder to judge. Two inscriptions from the village of Kavak, in the Maeander plain 25km south-west of Işıklı (Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 246, no. 86; 25), suggest that Kavak may have belonged to the *koinon* of the Hyrgaleis, a non-*polis* community located in the region of the Çal ovası, west of Kavak.⁶



Map 2. *Eumeneia and Dionysopolis*

5 Richard David Barnett (1909-1986): *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), 12-14; *PBA* 76 (1990), 321-47. Barnett's squeezes and photographs were passed to Ballance at an uncertain date.

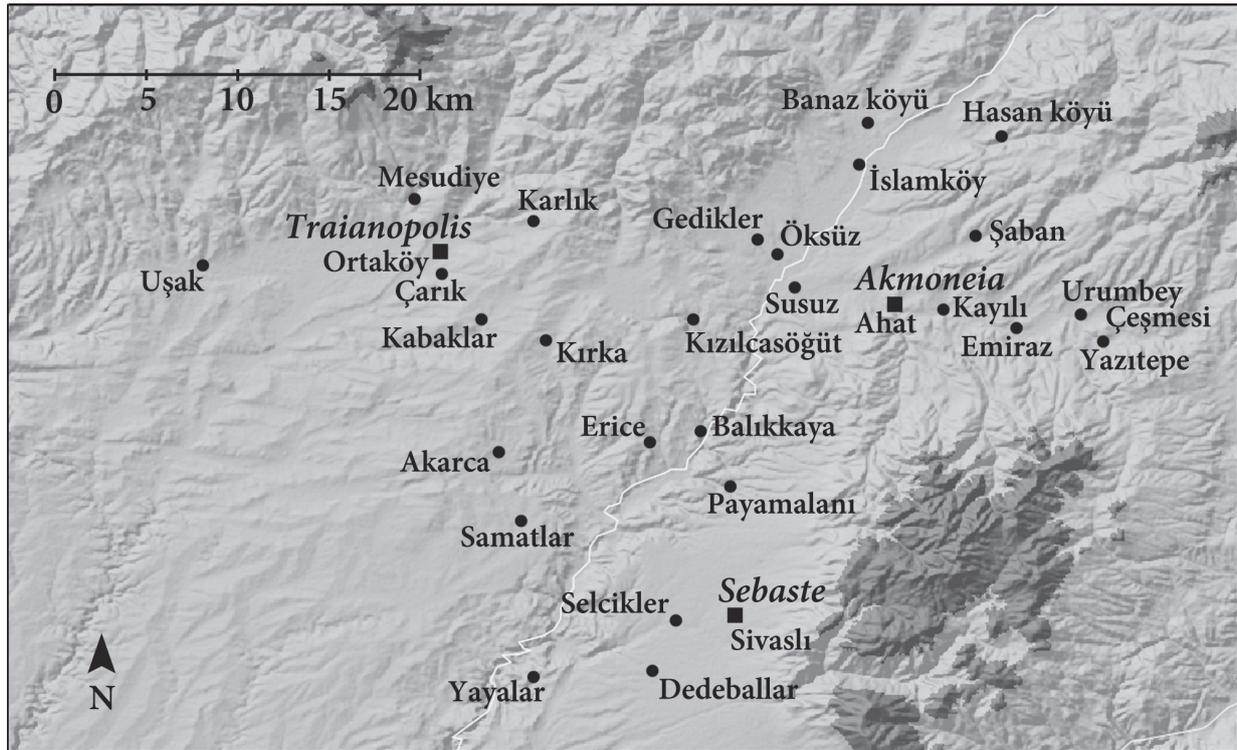
6 Extent of territory to the south-east: Drew-Bear 1978: 104-6 (confusing the villages of Sundurlu and Süngüllü). Hyrgaleis: Habicht 1975: 82-3; Aulock 1980: 60-3; Jones 2009.

IV. Dionysopolis (63-64) [Map 2]

The second-century Attalid foundation of Dionysopolis, situated in the middle Maeander valley, has still to be firmly located; the small fortified settlement at Asar Tepe, just south of the modern town of Bekilli, is a plausible candidate. The two monuments republished here were both recorded by Ballance in the vicinity of Bekilli in 1956.⁷

V. Sebaste (65-89) [Map 3]

The city of Sebaste, whose name survives in the modern village of Sivaslı, was created by Augustus through the synoikism of several ancient villages along the middle course of the Banaz Çayı, west of the Çatma Dağı mountain range in central Phrygia. Two churches, originally of the sixth century AD, but extensively remodelled in the middle Byzantine period, have been excavated at the modern village of Selçikler.⁸



Map 3. Sebaste, Traianopolis and Akmoneia

⁷ Robert 1962: 127-49; Habicht 1975: 82; Strobel 1980: 39-42; Thonemann 2011a: 155, 172-3, 175. Asar Tepe: *TIB Phrygien* 210, s.v. Bekilli. Inscriptions of Bekilli: *MAMA IV* 314-26. Coinage: Aulock 1987: 13-17.

⁸ Foundation: Merkelbach 1997 (*SEG* 47, 1749; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/01/01). History and inscriptions: Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 581-2, 600-10, nos. 472-510; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 87-94, nos. 217-29; Waelkens 1986: 180-2. Churches: Firatlı 1970; *TIB Phrygien* 376-7, s.v. Sebastē.

Ballance recorded twenty-one monuments from Sebaste and its territory in 1955 and 1956, three of them at Sivaslı itself (67, 70, 78), with another five from the neighbouring village of Selcikler (68, 72, 73, 75, 87). South of Sivaslı, he recorded single monuments at the villages of Dedeballar, 4km south-west of Sivaslı (81), and Yayalar, 5km west of Dedeballar (71). To the north of Sivaslı, single monuments derive from the villages of Erice (83), Akarca (77), and from the neighbourhoods of Samatlar (69) and Balikkaya (85).

Ballance copied six monuments at the modern village of Kırka, 17km north of Sivaslı (74, 76, 80, 82, 84, 86); a dedication to Philip the Arab, recorded by Ballance at Kabaklar, 3km west of Kırka, may have been carried there from Kırka (66). This last monument was erected by the inhabitants of a village of Dioskōmē, which is explicitly said to be part of the territory of Sebaste (ἡ Διοσκωμητῶν κατοικία τῆς λαμπροτάτης Σεβαστηνῶν πόλεως). It is surprising to find that the territory of Sebaste extended so far north; the ancient city of Traianopolis, at modern Ortaköy, was situated only 4km north of Kabaklar. The ancient territory of Akmoneia probably extended as far as the village of Kızılcasöğüt, 6km east of Kırka (118, 122, 124).⁹

In 1954, Calder recorded four monuments at the hamlet of Payamalanı, around 8km north of Sivaslı (65, 79, 88, 89). One of these, 65, allows us to identify Payamalanı as the ancient village of *Eibeos, also named in two unpublished inscriptions from the site.¹⁰

VI. Traianopolis (90-97) [Map 3]

The small town of Traianopolis seems to have been located at or near the modern village of Ortaköy, almost exactly midway between Temenouthyrai (modern Uşak) and Akmoneia (Ahat). In 1956, Ballance recorded eight inscriptions (all but two of them previously published) in this region: one from Ortaköy itself (91), four from Çarık, 1km to the south (90, 92-93, 95), two from Karlık, 4km to the north-east (94, 97), and one from the village of Mesudiye (formerly Gâvur Ören), 3km north-west of Ortaköy, conceivably to be identified with the ancient Grimenothyrai (96).¹¹

VII. Kadoi (98) [Map 3]

The town of Kadoi (modern Gediz) lies in the far west of Phrygia, in the upper Hermos valley. Ballance recorded a single stone from Kadoi – a fine funerary *stele*, with characteristic relief decoration – in a street at Uşak in 1955. The monument, now missing its uppermost part, is today (2011) located in the archaeological museum at Uşak.¹²

9 Buresch 1898: 169-70; Le Rider 1990: 700; *TIB Phrygien* 234, s.v. Dioskōmē.

10 Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 584-5, 597-8, 609; Buresch 1898: 171-2; Firatlı 1970: 118-9; Stillwell 1976: 293-4, s.v. Eibeos (N. Firatlı); Waelkens 1986: 182; *TIB Phrygien* 246, s.v. Eibeos.

11 Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 595-7; *IGR* IV 623-7; Drew-Bear 1979: 281; Waelkens 1986: 144; *TIB Phrygien* 407, s.v. Traianopolis; Leschhorn 1993: 258. Coinage: Aulock 1987: 136-45. Grimenothyrai: Aulock 1987: 21-4, 76-83.

12 *MAMA* X, p. xviii, and nos. 351-8, P1-34; Lochman 1991.

VIII. Akmoneia (99-130) [Map 3]

Akmoneia (modern Ahat) lies on one of the chief west-east roads of Asia Minor, running eastwards from Sardeis up the Hermeros valley to modern Uşak (ancient Temenothyrai), and on to Afyon and the central Anatolian plateau. The site of Akmoneia overlooks this road from the south, at the point where it passes through a narrow bottleneck along the valley of the Banaz Çayı (the ancient river Sindros), between the Murat Dağı and Çatma Dağı mountain ranges. The town was an important centre for Italian businessmen in central Asia Minor during the late Republican period, and was also home to a large and flourishing Jewish community.¹³

Ballance recorded thirty-two ancient and mediaeval monuments in the course of two visits to Akmoneia in 1955 and 1956. Of these, almost half (fourteen) derive from the village of Ahat itself. A single votive monument comes from the village of Kayılı, the immediate neighbour of Ahat, 2km to the east (110). Ballance saw a funerary *bomos* decorated in characteristically Akmoneian style at the village of Emiraz (now Ayvacık), 5.5km east of Ahat, further on up the valley leading into the hill country of the northern Çatma Dağı (123). The watershed just east of Ayvacık may well have formed the boundary separating the territory of Akmoneia from that of Diokleia (probably at Yeşilhisar), which certainly included the village of Yazitepe (formerly Doğla), 4km east of Ayvacık.¹⁴ Two monuments derive from the village of Şaban, 5km north-east of Ahat (108, 117).

Ahat is situated on a little affluent of the Banaz Çayı (the ancient river Sindros); the two streams meet at the village of Susuz, 4.5km to the west of Ahat (107, 114-115, 120, 125). The remaining inscriptions recorded by Ballance all derive from villages in the northern part of the Banaz ovası, the ancient 'plain of Doias'. Gedikler lies in the centre of the plain, 4km north-west of Susuz (113). The former village of İslâmköy, now renamed Banaz, is today the major town of this region (99, 103); confusingly, the name Banaz köyü is retained by a small village 2km north-east of İslâmköy/Banaz (109, 112). Hasan köyü is situated in the far east of the Banaz ovası, 7km east of İslâmköy/Banaz (130).¹⁵

There is no way of determining the western limit of Akmoneian territory. I have tentatively assigned a group of three monuments from Kızılcaşöğüt, 5km west of Susuz, to Akmoneia (118, 122, 124), on the grounds that two of them (118 and 124) have clear stylistic links to other Akmoneian monuments.

IX. Upper Tembris Valley (131-132) [Map 5]

Two votive monuments, one to the goddess (Meter) Tetrprosopos, the other to Hekate, were photographed by Ballance in 1956 at Çalköy (now Zafertepe). Along with its two neighbours Allören and Keçiller (now Yeşilyurt), Çalköy lies in a small upland plain in the eastern foothills of Mt Dindymos (Murat Dağı), separated by the ridge of the Kozkavak Dağ from the territory of Appia to the north. A

13 Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 621-31; *MAMA* VI 239-350, with pp. 148-51 (other published monuments); Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247-56; Robert, *OMS* VII, 185-224; Varinlioğlu 2006. Italians: Thonemann 2010. Jews: Rajak 2001: 463-78; *IJO* II pp. 345-79.

14 Robert, *Hellenica* X, 120-1, n.5; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 655-6, no. 583; 658 no. 605; *MAMA* VI 240-1, 309, 326, 335, 348.

15 Plain of Doias: Robert, *OMS* VII, 213-9. İslâmköy/Banaz: Drew-Bear 1980a: 942-4; Waelkens 1986: 175-6. Hasanköy: *MAMA* VI 245 (dedication to Meter Theon Kasmine, cf. *MAMA* XI 131), 248, 261, 321, 349.

handful of other ancient monuments are known from Çalköy and neighbouring villages; no ancient name can be attached to the plain with certainty.¹⁶

X. Pentapolis (133-156) [Map 4]

During the summer of 1955, Ballance recorded twenty-four monuments in the Sandıklı ovası, home in antiquity to five small *poleis*, Eukarpia, Hierapolis, Otrous, Brouzos, and Stektorion. The town of Lysias may also have been situated in this region, on the westernmost fringe of the Sandıklı ovası.¹⁷

Beginning in the southernmost part of the plain of Sandıklı, the ancient town of Stektorion is fairly securely identified with the exiguous ruins on the mound on Kocahüyük, between the modern villages of Menteş (3km to the south-west) and Alamescit (formerly Elli Mescit, 1.5km to the north-east). The key item of evidence is the inscription republished here as **135**, a statue-base of Nerva erected by the *civitas Stectoren(orum)*, built into the wall of the *tekke* at Menteş. Monuments from the neighbouring villages of Menteş (**142**, **151**, **152**), Alamescit (**147**), Ekinova (**156**), and Macil (now Örenkaya) may all be attributed to Stektorion with reasonable confidence.¹⁸

North of Stektorion lay the territory of Hierapolis, occupying the part of the plain immediately to the west of the large modern town of Sandıklı. Hierapolis itself is securely located at the modern village of Koçhisar (**143**, **146**), on the basis of its proximity to the hot springs at Hüdai Kaplıcası (the mediaeval Agros Thermon), 3km south of Koçhisar. Inscriptions from the neighbouring village of Başkuyucak (**150**), 2.5km north of Koçhisar, are very likely to derive from Hierapolis.¹⁹

The most important city of the Pentapolis in antiquity was Eukarpia, a Graeco-Macedonian foundation of the Hellenistic period. Numismatic and epigraphic evidence suggests that the Pentapolis was generally known as the '*Eukarpeitikon (pedion)*'. The location of Eukarpia is still to be determined with absolute certainty. A large plateau just to the north-west of the modern village of Emirhisar, 8km west of Hierapolis-Koçhisar, has been proposed as a plausible site. Ballance's discovery at Emirhisar of **139**, the funerary doorstone of a *bouleutes* from Eukarpia, provides some support for this identification. If this is correct, then **140**, from Saltık, 4km west of Emirhisar, ought also to be attributed to Eukarpia.²⁰

16 *TIB Phrygien* 218, s.v. Çalköy; *MAMA X*, p. xv; Drew-Bear 1980a: 943-4 (Alliören). Monuments from Çalköy: *MAMA VI* 275, 285 (Waelkens 1986: 119, no. 285); *MAMA X* 156. From Allhören and Keçiller: *MAMA X* 151-5.

17 Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 677-708; Waelkens 1986: 185; *TIB Phrygien* 358, s.v. Pentapolis.

18 Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 689-90; Habicht 1975: 87; *TIB Phrygien* 389, s.v. Stektorion; Cohen 1995: 321-2. Inscriptions: Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 704-6, nos. 640-7; 719-20, nos. 654-5, 733-4, nos. 660-1; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 55-6, nos. 172-3.

19 Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 679-83; *TIB Phrygien* 272-3, s.v. Hierapolis (2); Thonemann 2011a: 84-7; Thonemann 2012. Inscriptions: Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 698-700, nos. 630-3; 720-33, nos. 656-9 (no. 656 is a *pierre errante*, at Kilandiras); Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 54, no. 171.

20 Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 690-3; Calder 1956; *TIB Phrygien* 250-1, s.v. Eukarpia; Le Rider and Drew-Bear 1991: 374-5, n.56 (for 'Koçhisar', read 'Çorhisar'); Cohen 1995: 299-301. Pentapolis as '*Eukarpeitikon*': *SEG* 15, 812 (Sandıklı: *BE* 1958, 467); *RPC I* 511, nos. 3159-60. Inscriptions: Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 702-3, no. 638 (Çorhisar); 706, nos. 648-50. Citizens of Eukarpia appear in **45** (Eumeneia); *MAMA IX* 72 (Aizanoi); *BE* 1976, 809 (Rome).



Map 4. Pentapolis

8km to the north-east of Emirhisar, the modern village of Karasandıklı is firmly established as the site of ancient Brouzos, thanks to the discovery of **136** (a statue base of Septimius Severus erected by ἡ Βρουζῆ[νῶν] πόλις). Three new inscriptions from Karasandıklı are published here (**141**, **145**, **154**). Also probably to be attributed to Brouzos are monuments from the villages of Dodurga, 2km south of Karasandıklı; Odaköy, 3km to the south-west (**137**, **149**, **155**); Kozvankuyucak, 3km to the south-east (**148**); and Karadirek (formerly Kilandiras), 5km to the north.²¹

Four further monuments derive from villages in the far west of the Sandıklı ovası, Çevrepinar (formerly Kilter: **134** and **144**), Güre Köyü (**153**) and Otluk (**138**). All four monuments are likely to have been brought from a major ancient and mediaeval site at Yanıkören, on the upper Kûfû Çayı (the ancient river Kloudros). This site controls the northern entrance to the Kûfû Vadisi, an important pass connecting the Sandıklı ovası to the upper Maeander valley at Eumeneia. The site has been identified with both Otrous and Lysias; I can see no decisive arguments one way or the other.²²

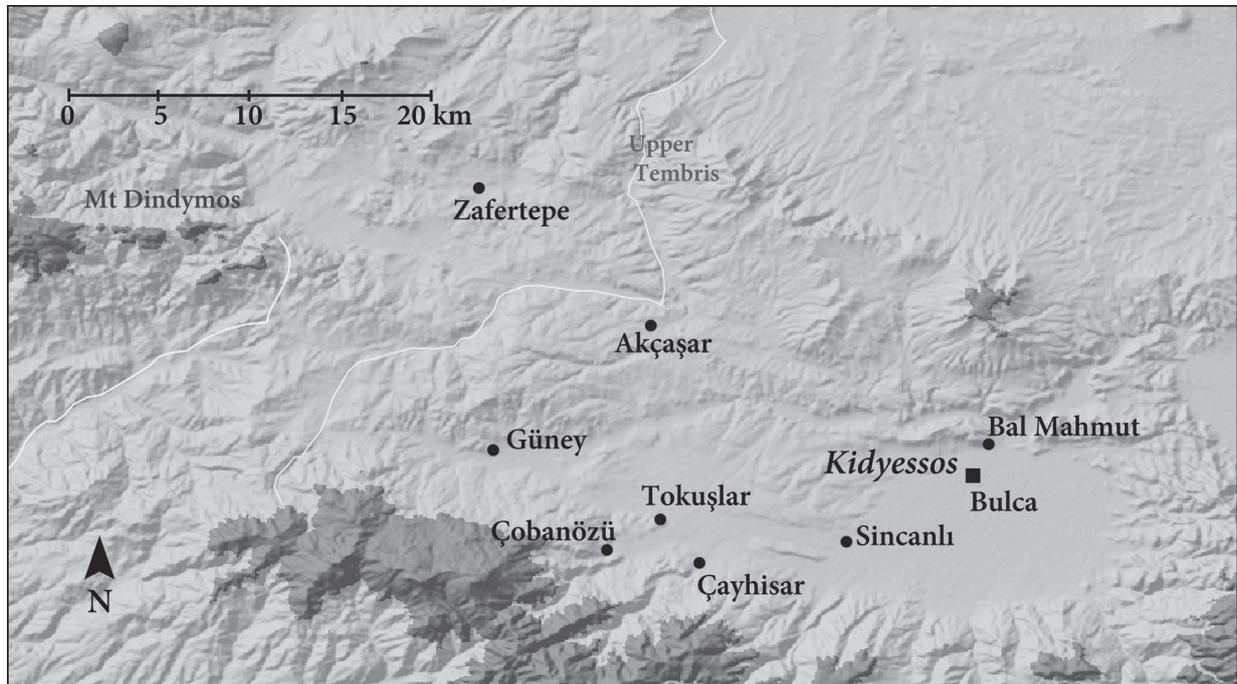
21 Ramsay 1882: 503-5; Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 683-6; Cohen 1995: 292-3. Inscriptions: Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 700-2, 634-7; 734-5, nos. 662-3; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 53-4, nos. 169-70.

22 *TIB Phrygien* 331, s.v. Lysias; 414-15, s.v. Yanıkören; Drew-Bear 2011. Kûfû Vadisi: Thonemann 2011a: 139-43, 164-7. On Otrous, see further Aulock 1980: 81-3; *TIB Phrygien* 353, s.v. Otrus.

XI. Moxeanoi (157-159) [Maps 3 and 4]

In 1955, Michael Ballance travelled from the Pentapolis (Sandıklı ovası) to Akmoneia (Ahat) *via* Hocalar and Yazıtepe (formerly Doğla). In the early Roman imperial period, this fertile highland region (the northern part of the Çatma Dağı range) was home to the *demos* of the Moxeanoi, an autonomous rural collectivity without *polis*-status. By the early third century AD, two small *poleis* had been created in this district: the first of them, Diokleia, was probably situated at modern Yeşilhisar (formerly Ahırhisar, 6km north-east of Yazıtepe), while the second, Siocharax, has not yet been identified. Both minted small issues of bronze coinage in the early third century.²³

Of the three inscriptions published here, two were previously unknown (158-159). The third, a statue base of the emperor Septimius Severus erected by the *polis* of Diokleia (157), has long been known from copies made by Sterrett and Ramsay in the 1880s. However, a complex series of erasures – not noted by earlier editors – shows that the inscription was radically modified shortly after it was first erected. As I argue in the commentary to 157, these alterations strongly imply that Diokleia and Siocharax first received city-status only in the mid-190s AD.



Map 5. Kidyessos

23 Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 631-3 (his location of Siocharax at Oturak, near the headwaters of the Banaz Çayı, is wholly conjectural), 660-2, nos. 615-21; *MAMA* VI, pp. xvii-xviii, and nos. 299 (Doğla), 351-9; Habicht 1975: 86; Aulock 1980: 51-3, 90-1; Drew-Bear 1980a: 937-8; Waelkens 1986: 177-80, nos. 443-8.

XII. Kidyessos (160-174) [Map 5]

West of Afyon, the upper Akar Çay (Kaystros) valley is today known as the Büyüksincanlı ovası (chief town Sinanpaşa/Sincanlı). This fertile plain has been little explored by modern scholars, and the fifteen monuments recorded by Ballance in 1956 (only one of them previously published) represent a threefold increase in the epigraphical corpus of the region. The sole ancient site in this plain was the *polis* of Kidyessos, which minted issues of bronze coinage under Domitian, during the Severan period and in the mid-third century.²⁴

The inscriptions recorded by Ballance span a very long period. **162** (Bal Mahmut), the monumental Latin tombstone of an Italian immigrant family, is one of the earliest texts in the entire *MAMA XI* corpus (late first century BC or early first century AD). Several votive texts and building inscriptions attest the prosperity of the region in the fifth and sixth centuries AD (**166-172**), and a lavish *templon* epistyle of the tenth century provides fascinating evidence for a Phrygian regional consciousness in the middle Byzantine period (**173**).

One of the most important new texts is the fragmentary milestone **161** (Bal Mahmut), which declares itself to be situated 'one mile from Kidyessos' (*ἀπὸ Κιδυήσ[σου] μί(λιου) α'*). The location of the town of Kidyessos has long been disputed. In 1887, Ramsay located the ancient site in the central part of the Büyüksincanlı ovası, at Küçükhüyük; more recently, Thomas Drew-Bear has proposed a site in the far south-west of the plain, at Hisar Tepe, near the modern village of Çayhisar.²⁵ The new milestone makes it clear that Kidyessos must have been situated in the north-eastern part of the plain, not far from Bal Mahmut; the modern village of Bulca, 2km south-west of Bal Mahmut, is a plausible candidate.

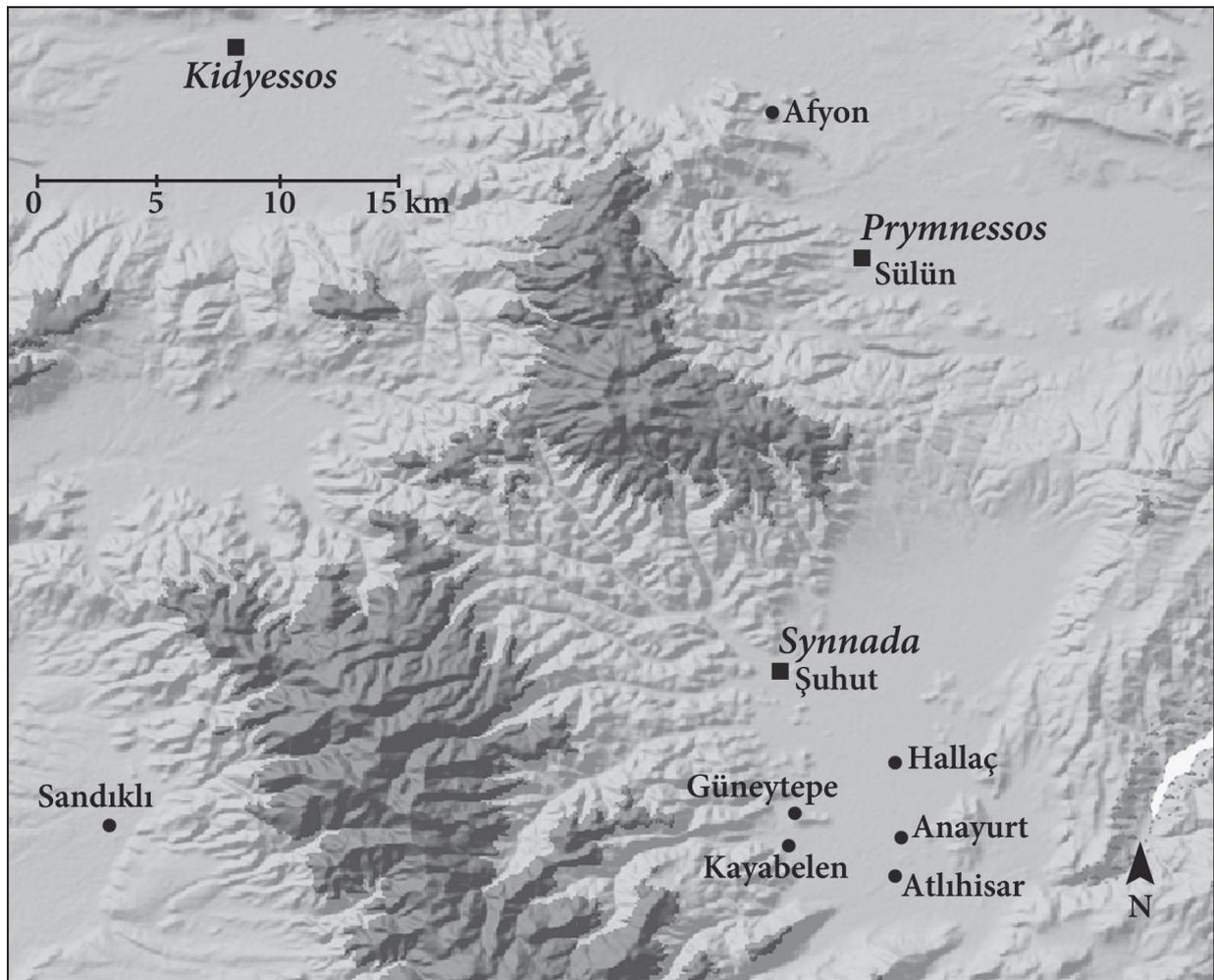
XIII. Prymnessos (175-177) [Map 6]

Ancient Prymnessos was situated at the modern village of Sülün (formerly Süglün), 8km south of Afyon (mediaeval Akroinos) on the western flank of the Akar Çay (Kaystros) plain. The site of Prymnessos is marked by a large mound in the eastern part of the village. Inscriptions of Prymnessos are found in the neighbouring villages of Salar and Nuribey, and above all at Afyon. Ballance recorded three inscriptions at Sülün in 1955, one of which (**176**) is of the first importance for our knowledge of imperial estates in the region.²⁶

24 Ramsay 1887: 467-8; Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 273-4, nos. 67-70; Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 633-5 (his placement of Ariston in this plain is wholly conjectural), 662, nos. 622-7; Aulock 1980: 70-2, 127-32; *TIB Phrygien* 301, s.v. Kidyessos.

25 Ramsay 1887: 468; Drew-Bear, in Aulock 1980: 71, n.199a, followed by *TIB Phrygien* 301; *Barrington Atlas* Map 62 D4.

26 *IGR IV* 671-8; *MAMA IV*, p. x, and nos. 1-48; Robert 1980: 244-56; Waelkens 1986: 187, 198-200; Aulock 1987: 34-6, 117-21; *TIB Phrygien* 364-5, s.v. Prymnessos; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010.



Map 6. Prynnessos and Synnada

XIV. Synnada (178-200) [Map 6]

Synnada (modern Şuhut) was one of the most important cities of Phrygia in antiquity. Throughout the Roman imperial period, it served as *conuentus*-centre for a large district in central and eastern Phrygia, and seems to have been the centre of the procuratorial *prouincia* of Phrygia in the second and third centuries AD; from the fourth century, Synnada was the metropolis of the new province of Phrygia Salutaris. Unfortunately, the inscriptions of Synnada remain dispersed across a large number of different publications, nor is there a comprehensive catalogue of the city's abundant late Hellenistic and imperial bronze coinage.²⁷

²⁷ History: W. Ruge, *RE* IV (A2) cols. 1410-12; Robert, *OMS* VII, 41-70, 109-21; *TIB Phrygien* 393-5, s.v. Synada; Cohen 1995: 322-5. Phrygian *prouincia*: Thonemann 2011a: 113. Coinage: e.g. *BMC Phrygia* xcvi-c, 392-406. Inscriptions: Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 279-89, nos. 78-95; *IGR* IV 697-711; Wilhelm 1911: 54-61; *MAMA* IV 49-112; *MAMA* VI 370-81; Drew-Bear and Sacco 2006/7.

In the early summer of 1955, Ballance recorded eleven inscriptions and a similar number of sculptural fragments and decorative architectural elements at Şuhut and neighbouring villages. Several of the monuments published here (179, 183-187) are building inscriptions and memorial dedications of the fifth or sixth century AD. Inscriptions of this period, many of them memorial dedications, are relatively numerous in the plain of Şuhut, particularly at the villages of Bedeş (now Kayabelen), Anayurt (formerly Alayund), Ağzıkara and Şuhut itself.²⁸ The most important extant text of this period is a funerary inscription of AD 571 for the wife of a certain Artemon Botaniates, clearly a distant ancestor of the eleventh-century emperor Nikephoros Botaniates, who was also a native of the Synnada region.²⁹

The architectural elements published here largely derive from ecclesiastical buildings of the tenth or eleventh century (190-197). Some light is thrown on middle-Byzantine Synnada by the correspondence of Leo, late tenth-century metropolitan of Synnada. An inscription dated to AD 1063/4 appears to record the construction of a building dedicated to a martyr John, and another inscription of the late eleventh century may mention the Synadenoï (one of the leading families of the region in the middle Byzantine period) and the Caesar John Doukas.³⁰

XV. Axylon (201-221) [Map 7]

The twenty-one monuments published here all derive from the treeless steppe between Amorion in the west, Laodikeia in the south, and Kinna in the north; all were recorded by William Calder and Michael Ballance in the summer of 1954.³¹ A vivid description of the geography of the region is provided by J. G. C. Anderson, who crossed over the shallow ridge of hills separating the plain of Akşehir (Philomelion) from the village of Turgut (ancient Klaneos) in the summer of 1898:

‘In the dim light of evening it looks a promising country, but when the traveller begins to wander over it, he meets with an unpleasant surprise. He finds it is sparsely inhabited: the villages are few and far between: the soil is dry, sandy and bare, and the patches of cultivated land which he sees here and there yield but a poor increase. Then he realises that he is already on the edge of that great barren, treeless waste which fills the centre of the peninsula and has from all time merited the name of Axylos. The character of this vast tract of country is very inadequately described by such vague expressions as “Salt Desert”, “Great Salt Plains”, and so forth. Few parts of it are absolutely desert, for villages are to be found all over it at intervals, where any fair water supply is available; and except on the south and south-east the proportion of level plain is by no means above the average. On the contrary, the landscape is ever varied by gently undulating ground, rolling country, hill, and mountain; but all alas! are equally bare, equally dreary and forbidding.’³²

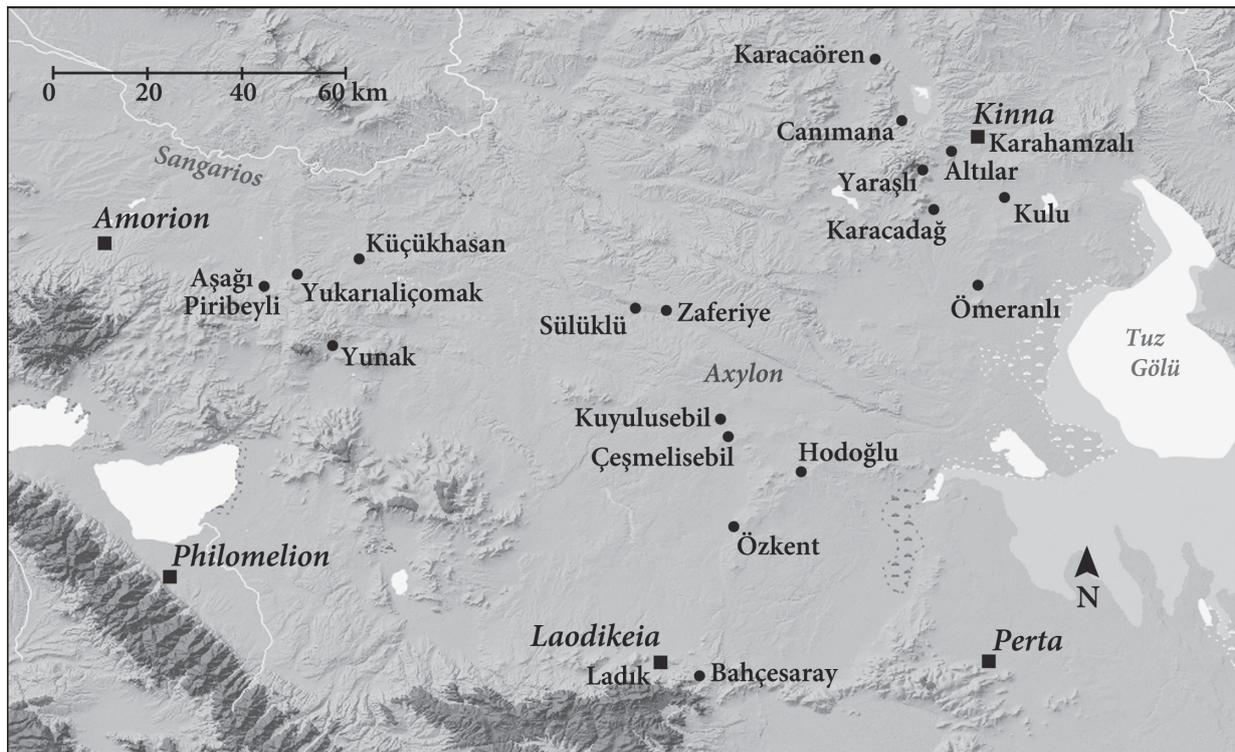
28 Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 735, no. 665; *MAMA* IV 97-103, 106-7; *MAMA* XI 183-187.

29 Buckler 1931; *MAMA* IV 94; Feissel 1977: 158-9; Cheynet 1990: 217-8, 351-7. The name ‘Botaniates’ is presumably a quasi-ethnic from a toponym *Botane, although cf. Robert 1963: 141-2.

30 Leo: Vinson 1985. Inscriptions: *MAMA* IV 95-6 (Şuhut, Atlıhisar). Synadenoï: Hannick and Schmalzbauer 1976; Kazhdan 1987: 72-3; Stavrakos 2002.

31 Livy 38.18.4; Strabo 12.6.1; Wenzel 1937; Mitchell 1993: I 143-7.

32 Anderson 1897-8: 59.



Map 7. *Axylon, Kinna and Laodikeia*

One of the few fixed points in the ancient topography of this bleak plain is the late Roman village of Gdanmaa, securely located at or near the modern village of Çeşmelisebil. More than fifty inscriptions, most of them Christian, have previously been recorded at Çeşmelisebil and the neighbouring village of Kuyulusebil, 4km to the north-west; eight further monuments are published here, seven of them for the first time (201-208).³³ These are followed by three monuments from the village of Azak (now Hodoğlu), 14km south-east of Çeşmelisebil, which seems to have been the site of an ancient village, perhaps Pegella (209-211).³⁴

33 *TIB Galatien* 166, s.v. Gdanmaa; Waelkens 1986: 251. Inscriptions: Anderson 1899: 281-8, nos. 167-86; A. M. Ramsay 1906: nos. 36, 41-2, 50; *MAMA* I 339-71; *MAMA* VII 544-70. The eight monuments published here are those referred to in the introduction to *MAMA* VII, p. xxiii.

34 *TIB Galatien* 212, s.v. Pegella. The three monuments published here are referred to in *MAMA* VII, p. xxiii (with a list of other inscriptions from the village).

The village of Zengen (now Özkent) lies a little over 20km due south of Çeşmelisebil, roughly halfway between Gdanmaa and Laodikeia (Ladık). Including the three inscriptions published here (212-214), 33 inscriptions are known from the village, rendering it certain that this was the site of a settlement in the Roman and Late Roman periods.³⁵ No name can be assigned to the site with certainty.³⁶ The villages of Sülüklü and Zaferiye (215-216) both lie to the north of Çeşmelisebil, on the territory of the small ancient town of Vetissos (exact location uncertain), the site of the largest doorstone-workshop in north-east Phrygia.³⁷

The remaining five texts in this chapter derive from the villages of Yunak, Aşağı Küçükhasan, Yukarı Küçükhasan, and Yukarıalıçomak (217-221), all in the far west of the Axylon. Yunak is the southernmost of these villages, lying on the east slopes of Bayatkolü, overlooking the small Eşme ova, site of the ancient village of Selmea (Kuzören).³⁸ When Anderson visited in 1898, Yunak was a Kurdish village, almost entirely depopulated in summer in favour of a highland *yayla*. The single stone copied at Yunak by Calder in 1954 (217), like the four inscriptions copied here by Anderson, ought probably to be assigned to Selmea.³⁹

The villages of Yukarı Küçükhasan, Aşağı Küçükhasan and Yukarıalıçomak all lie in the plain of Çeltik, in the easternmost part of the territory of Amorion (Hisar); Aşağı Küçükhasan is situated on the western shore of the small lake Akgöl. Two further monuments were copied at Yukarı Küçükhasan by Anderson in 1898, both said to come from a site called Kale, fifty minutes SSW of the village on the north slope of Seyfiören Dagi.⁴⁰ The most important ancient site in this region was situated at the village of Aşağı Piribeyli, 10km south-west of Yukarıalıçomak. Aşağı Piribeyli, the site of a major doorstone-workshop, was identified with the late Roman bishopric of Pissia by Ramsay, Anderson and Calder; Ballance seems to have been the first to see that Pissia had to be located much further south, at the village of Bisse (now Çamlı) near Philomelion/Akşehir.⁴¹

35 *TIB Galatien* 244, s.v. Zengen. Inscriptions: *MAMA* I 372-83; *MAMA* VII 571-85; Calder 1910: 237-8, no.6; *CIL* III 13639, with the comments of Laminger-Pascher 1984: 102, no. 166. The three monuments published here were all transcribed by Calder in the introduction to *MAMA* VII, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

36 In 1910, Calder read the first two lines of an inscription from Zengen as [Ιού]λιος πρεσβ(ύτερος) υἱὸς Εὐγενίου Συφιτη(νοῦ), and suggested that this might be the ethnic of the village (Calder 1910: 237-8). He withdrew this idea in 1956 (*MAMA* VII, p. xxvi) in favour of the notion that the relevant letters were a mason's error. The proposal of Laminger-Pascher 1984: 102, no. 164, that Συφιτη might represent the Arabic name *Suwait*, has little to recommend it.

37 *MAMA* VII, pp. xxi-xxv, and nos. 311-62; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 252-4, 264; *TIB Galatien* 242, s.v. Vetisso; Waelkens 1986: 230-40, nos. 592-617; Mitchell 1993: I 155.

38 *TIB Galatien* 223, s.v. Selmea. Inscriptions: Anderson 1899: 298-302, nos. 220-36; *MAMA* VII 243-56.

39 Yunak: Anderson 1897/8: 60; Anderson 1899: 301, nos. 229-32; Waelkens 1986: 221.

40 Anderson 1899: 303, nos. 237-8; cf. Anderson 1897/8: 61.

41 Doorstones: Waelkens 1986: 216-20, nos. 551-66. Identification with Pissia: Ramsay 1890: 232-3; Anderson 1899: 306; Calder, *MAMA* VII, pp. xx-xxi. Pissia at Bisse: *TIB Galatien* 134, s.v. Aşağı Piribeyli, followed by Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997: 105-10.

XVI. Kinna (222-253) [Map 7]

The small town of Kinna was situated at the modern village of Karahamzalı, 80km south of Ankara, a little way to the north-west of Lake Tatta (modern Tuz gölü). Kinna is first attested as a *polis* under Gordian, but may well have possessed civic status from the early second century AD. The chief landmark of this region is the Karaca Dağ mountain range, which dominates the valley of Karahamzalı to the west; the territory of Kinna no doubt extended as far as the shore of Tuz gölü to the south-east.⁴²

The thirty-two monuments from the region of Kinna published here were recorded by Michael Ballance and Alan Hall in the summer of 1957; four were already known from copies made by William Calder in the course of expeditions in 1908 and 1910 (245, 249, 250, 252). We begin with nine monuments from Kulu (222-230), the modern administrative centre of the region, 15km south of Karahamzalı. A single monument from the village of Ömeranlı (231), on the Konya-Ankara highway, 20km south of Kulu, is grouped here for convenience, although it is unlikely that the territory of Kinna extended this far south. The village of Yalınayak (now Karacadağ) lies 12km west of Kulu, in the southern foothills of the Karaca Dağ range (232-3).

Yaraşlı (234-240) and Altılar (241-244) are neighbouring villages on the west slopes of the Karaca Dağ; Karahamzalı, the site of Kinna, lies immediately opposite Altılar, 7km away on the far side of the Kulu plain. Just to the north of Yaraşlı, below the main peak of the Karaca Dağ, is a large Hittite-era site, known today as Çevre Kale, which continued in occasional use down to the Byzantine period.⁴³ Three inscriptions derive from Karakilise (now Karacaören), north of the Karaca Dağ (245-247). Karakilise was identified by Calder in 1910 with a phantom ancient site *Orbana, resulting from a misreading of the inscription republished here as 245.⁴⁴ The final six texts come from the village of Canımana, on the north flank of the Karaca Dağ, which may have been the site of an ancient village community of *Arka (248-253; for the *demos* of the *Arkenoi, see 249).

XVII. Laodikeia (254-274) [Maps 7 and 8]

Laodikeia Katakekaumene, whose name is preserved in the modern village of Ladık (now officially Halıcı), was a Seleukid foundation of the third century BC. Very little is known of the town's history in the Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods; the only known coinage is a small issue minted late in the reign of Vespasian. The chief interest of Laodikeia derives from the vast number of funerary inscriptions of the Roman and late Roman periods (more than four hundred in total) which have been recorded at Ladık and nearby villages. The twenty-one monuments included in *MAMA XI* were seen in the summer of 1957 by Michael Ballance and Alan Hall at Ladık and the neighbouring village of Nevine (Bahçesaray); all but two of them (255 and 265) are previously unpublished.⁴⁵

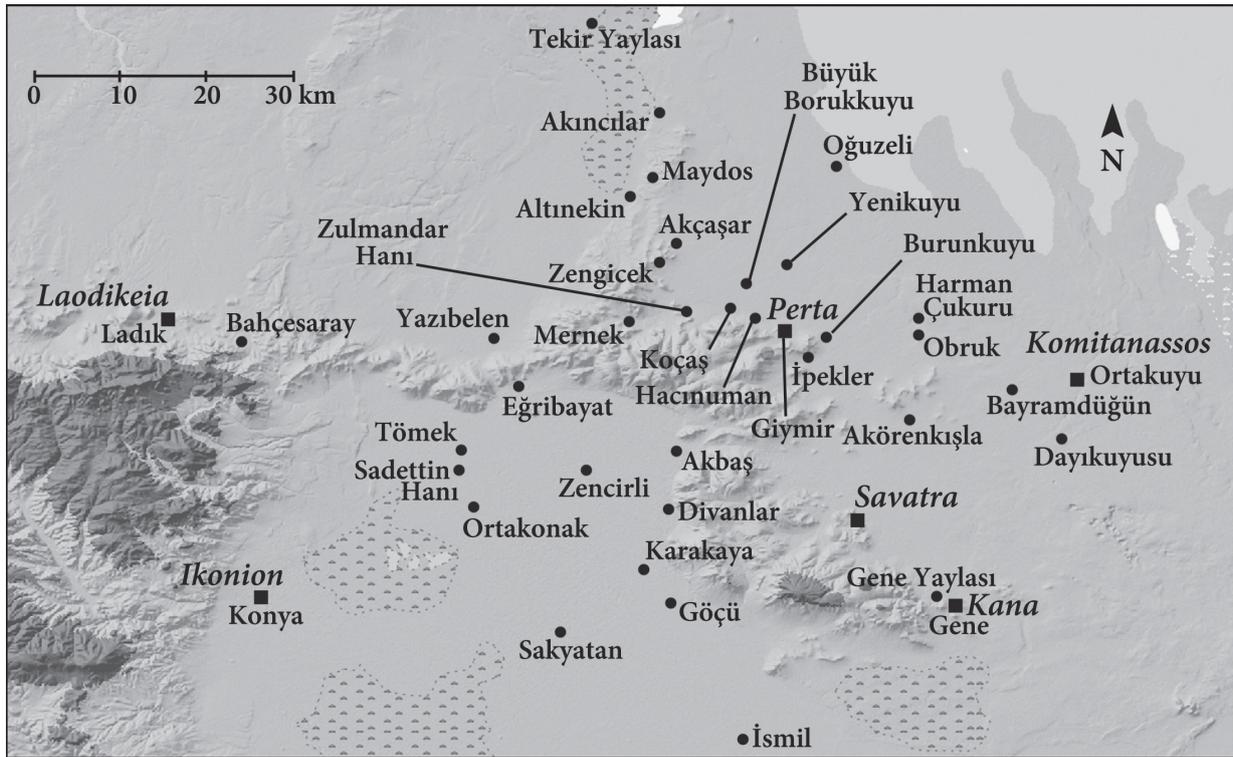
42 *RECAM II*, pp. xxi-xxii; *TIB Galatien* 189-90, s.v. Kin(n)a. Gordian: *RECAM II* 396; Mitchell 1993: I 96. For an evocative photograph of the Karaca Dağ from the south-east, see Mitchell 1993: I 2, Fig.1.

43 Yaraşlı: Anderson 1899: 115-7 (who copied only a single inscription there, 116 no. 108); *TIB Galatien* 243, s.v. Yaraşlı; Summers 1992.

44 Calder 1910: 240; *TIB Galatien* 210-11 s.v. Orbana; *Barrington Atlas*, Map 63 B2.

45 Aulock 1976: 45-7, 72-3; Waelkens 1986: 254-8; *TIB Phrygien* 327-8, s.v. Laodikeia (2); Cohen 1995: 346-8; *RPC II* 1612-13. Inscriptions: Ramsay 1888, nos. 1-141; Robinson 1926: 196-216, nos. 2-35; *MAMA I* 1-285; *MAMA VII* 1-104d. On the early Christian inscriptions of Laodikeia, see Mitchell 1993: I 100-8; Thonemann 2011b.

In the Roman imperial period, much of the steppe-country to the north of Ladık was carved up into large senatorial and imperial estates. Laodikeia evidently served as an administrative centre for several of these estates: numerous slaves and freedman engaged in domanial administration are attested at Laodikeia (see 257-259). The dependent territory of Laodikeia has usually been considered to have extended over much of the southern part of the steppe west of Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü), but positive evidence is lacking. I have therefore assigned the inscriptions of the south-eastern part of the steppe and the northern Boz Dağ range, including those of Zıvarık–Altınekin, to Northern Lykaonia (275-293).⁴⁶



Map 8. Northern Lykaonia, Konya, Perta, Savatra, Kana and Komitanassos

XVIII. Northern Lykaonia (275-293) [Map 8]

Under the heading of ‘Northern Lykaonia’ I have grouped nineteen monuments (all copied by Ballance in the summer of 1956) from the villages immediately to the north and north-east of the shallow range of hills known as the Ballık Dağı (the northern extension of the Boz Dağ). It is not possible to assign these villages to ancient city-territories with any confidence; some may well have belonged to the territory of Perta, on the east flank of the Ballık Dağı.

⁴⁶ Administrative centre: Mitchell 1993: I 154-6, 164. Territory: Calder, *MAMA* I, pp. xiv-xvii; *MAMA* VII, pp. xiv, xvii.

A single monument derives from the modern village of Oğuzeli (formerly Akören), the ancient village of Anzoulada, deep in the steppe south-east of Lake Tatta, bringing the total number of inscriptions from the village to eleven (275).⁴⁷ West of Oğuzeli, just to the north of the Ballık Dağı range, the village of Zıvarık (today Altınekin) has produced three new inscriptions (276-278). Zıvarık has been identified, on very fragile grounds, with a road-station Congusso/Kongoustos listed by Ptolemy and the Peutinger Table on the road from Amorion to Perta.⁴⁸ On the basis of a single bilingual Greek/Neo-Phrygian inscription, Calder argued that Zıvarık was 'Phrygian, and therefore Laodicean'; however, the votive monument 276 links Zıvarık with the ancient village of Senzousa, in the steppe 19km NNE of Zıvarık, and the existence of funerary inscriptions for a brother and sister at Zıvarık and Perta (278 [Zıvarık], 335 [Koçaş]) provides some support for the notion that Zıvarık lay on the territory of Perta.⁴⁹

To the south of Zıvarık, at the neighbouring villages of Akçaşar and Zengicek (now Koçyaka), Ballance copied two inscriptions (279-280) and nine inscriptions (281-289) respectively. Two small Byzantine forts are known in the region, Akçaşar Kalesi, just to the south-west of the village, and Zengicek Kalesi, 2km west of Zengicek.⁵⁰ Three inscriptions derive from small villages in the steppe north of Zıvarık, Hoydus (now Akıncılar), Tekir Yaylası, and Maydos (290-292). Finally, Ballance copied a single Byzantine-period inscription at the village of Tutup (now Yazıbelen), south-west of Zıvarık on the main Konya-Ankara highway, on the north flank of the ridge which marked the northern limit of the territory of ancient Ikonion (293).

XIX. Konya (294-305) [Map 8]

The twelve monuments published here all derive from various villages in the plain of Konya (ancient Ikonion), the largest city of ancient Lykaonia. A single inscription derives from the village of Tömek, around 20km north-east of Konya on the modern Konya-Ankara highway (301). This stone was probably brought to Tömek from an ancient village site at or near Sadettin (Zazadın) Hanı, two and a half kilometres south of Tömek; the same may well be true of two late antique inscriptions recorded by Ballance at Zivecik (now Ortakonak), 5km south of Sadettin Hanı (302, 304).⁵¹

47 Calder 1923a: 353; *MAMA* I, p. xix; *MAMA* VIII 288-95; *TIB Galatien* 131, s.v. Anzulada; *I.Konya* 46 (corrected in the commentary to *MAMA* XI 275).

48 Ramsay 1906: 247-9; Calder 1932: 463; *MAMA* VII, pp. xxiii-xxiv; *TIB Galatien* 153, s.v. Congusso. Inscriptions: Callander 1906: 172-5, nos. 57-67; *MAMA* I 2, 4, 7b, 17, 20, 157, 204-5, 235, 237-8, 285; Calder 1922: 120-1, no. 4; *MAMA* VII 5, 104a-d; *I.Konya* 133, 213.

49 Calder 1911: 194-5, no. 51; *MAMA* I, p. xv; also attributed to Laodikeia by Drew-Bear 1987: 606 (cf. 614, n..59-60). Senzousa: *MAMA* I, p. xix; *MAMA* VIII 296; *TIB Galatien* 223, s.v. Senzusa.

50 *TIB Galatien* 118-9, s.v. Akçaşar; 245, s.v. Zengicek Kalesi. Inscriptions from Akçaşar: Laminger-Pascher 1984: 17-20, nos. 1-2 (the first corrected by Drew-Bear 1987: 612-4 [SEG 37, 1239]); from Zengicek: Calder 1924: 30-2 (SEG 6, 400).

51 Cronin 1902: 358-67, nos. 119-39; Erdmann 1961: 102-7, no. 28; *MAMA* VIII 312-24; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 72; *TIB Galatien* 220, s.v. Sadettin Hanı.

12km east of Sadettin Hanı, on the modern road running east-north-east from Konya towards Aksaray, lie the ruins of Zencirli Hanı, possibly the site of an ancient village *Salarama. Ballance only found a single monument here in 1957 (297), but a second inscription, seen at Zencirli Hanı by Sterrett in 1884, was rediscovered by Ballance at the village of Tatlıkuyu (now Akbaş), 10km north-east of the han (294).⁵²

Ballance recorded several inscriptions in the villages strung along the eastern fringe of the Konya plain, at the foot of the Boz Dağ range of hills. Divanlar lies furthest to the north, just off the main Konya–Aksaray road (295); the village of Karakaya is some 8km to the south (303), with Göçü another 5km further on (298, 300, 305). In the far south-east of the Konya plain, İsmil (now Demirkent) may be identical to the mediaeval town of Salimia (299).⁵³ Finally, Ballance recorded a milestone at the village of Eğribayat, at the far north of the Konya plain on the main road north towards Ankara (296); four further milestones are known from the village, along with a handful of early Christian funerary inscriptions.⁵⁴

XX. Perta (306-342) [Map 8]

The small town of Perta is securely located at the modern village of Giymir, on the eastern slope of the Ballık Dağı, the northern extension of the Boz Dağ mountain-range. The general location of the town was indicated by the discovery in 1907 of 310 (privileges for ‘those inhabiting the city of Perta’, *τοῖς τῆν Περτέων οἰκοῦσι πόλιτι*) at the village of Koçaş, 7km NW of Giymir. The identification was subsequently confirmed by Calder’s discovery, also at Koçaş, of the honorific inscription 307 (first published as *MAMA VIII 263*), passed by the *boule* and *demos* of Perta (*Περτηνῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος*). The site itself is indicated by a settlement-mound just to the east of Giymir, apparently once ringed by a Byzantine fortification wall.⁵⁵

The thirty-seven inscriptions from Perta in *MAMA XI (306-342)* were all recorded by Michael Ballance in 1956; the majority of them (30) are previously unpublished. This almost precisely doubles the number of inscriptions known from the town: twenty-nine inscriptions were published in *MAMA VIII* (nos. 259-287), five of which are republished here. The inscriptions published here derive from ten villages on the east flank of the Ballık Dağı and in the plain immediately to the east (Giymir, Koçaş, Hacınuman, Mernek [Karakaya], İpekler, Burunkuyu, Büyük Borukkuyu, Küçük Boruk [Yenikuyu], Bayramdügün, Harman Çukuru), along with a single inscription from Zulmandar Hanı, on the road between Mernek and Koçaş.

52 Sterrett 1888a: 226-7, nos. 253-4; Cronin 1902: 368-9, nos. 140-2; Erdmann 1961: 195, no. 70; Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 72-3; *TIB Galatien* 220, s.v. Salarama.

53 Tomaschek 1891: 89; Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 72; *TIB Galatien* 220-1, s.v. Salimia; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 116. For a second inscription from İsmil, see Laminger-Pascher 1984: 87, no. 147 (Drew-Bear 1987: 606 n.8).

54 Milestones: French 1988: 220-2, nos. 613-7. Christian epitaphs: *MAMA VIII* 325-326e; perhaps *MAMA VII* 104b.

55 Callander and Ramsay 1909; W. Ruge, *RE XIX*, cols. 1058-9, s.v. Perta (2); *MAMA VIII* pp. xiii-xiv; Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 57-69; *TIB Galatien* 213, s.v. Perta; Mitchell 1993: I 96.

There is no way of ascertaining the northern limit of the territory of Perta; I have drawn an arbitrary line north of Mernek, Zulmandar Hanı, Koçaş, Büyük Borukkuyu, and Küçük Boruk, and have assigned the inscriptions from villages north of that line (Zengicek, Akçaşar, Zıvarık [Altınekin], Oğuzeli) to Northern Lykaonia. I have arbitrarily assumed that the limit between the territory of Perta and that of Savatra to the south was marked by the modern Konya-Aksaray highway. The eastern limit of the territory of Perta is also unknown; a large number of inscriptions, including several which can be securely assigned to Perta, are built into the Selçuk-era caravansaray at Obruk, 12km east of Giymir (not visited by Ballance).⁵⁶

XXI. Savatra (343-354) [Map 8]

Savatra, like its neighbours Perta and Kana, was situated in the foothills of the Boz Dağ range, on the edge of the Lykaonian steppe, at the modern village of Yağlıbayat. The town is mentioned in passing by Strabo (12.6.1) apropos of the scarcity of water in Lykaonia: ‘and where it is possible to find water at all, the wells are the deepest in the world, as at Savatra (ἐν Σοάτροις), where the water is even sold’.

Ruins of the ancient settlement were still visible in 1901, when the site was visited by William Ramsay, H. S. Cronin and G. A. Wathen: ‘The *yaila* [Yağlıbayat] lies almost in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills, a short way only up the slope of its eastern side. For a considerable distance in every direction – towards the west for upwards of a mile – the hills were covered with ruins. On the hill to the extreme west, called Maltepe, were the ruins of a temple. East of Maltepe, about half a mile west of the *yaila*, were the ruins of a small theatre looking east. In the low ground, immediately west of the *yaila*, we could trace along the road which led to Konia the sites of several public buildings.’ The *cavea* of the theatre and traces of other ruins are still clearly visible on satellite images of the region.⁵⁷

Twelve inscriptions from Savatra (all recorded by Michael Ballance in 1956) are published for the first time in *MAMA* XI, ten of them from Yağlıbayat, and two from the village of Akörenkişla, 15km north-east of Yağlıbayat. 343, a Latin honorific inscription erected by the *boule* and *demos* of Savatra (*bule et populus Savatr.*), is the fourth monument from Yağlıbayat and its immediate vicinity to name the city explicitly.⁵⁸

56 Erdmann 1961: 126-30; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 58-65, with Planches I-IV, XXII-XXIII; *TIB Galatien* 210, s.v. Obruk Han. There remain several unpublished inscriptions built into the walls of the caravansaray.

57 Cronin 1902: 367-76 (quote from p.371); Callander 1906: 157-61; Robert, *Hellenica* X, 73-8; *MAMA* VIII 226-258; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 42-57; Aulock 1976: 48-50, 73-5; *TIB Galatien* 222-3, s.v. Sauatra; Mitchell 1993: I 96-7; *I.Konya* 120-7, 206-9.

58 Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 43; see also Cronin 1902: 371-2, no. 144 (*IGR* III 1481); *MAMA* VIII 228; *MAMA* VIII 231.

XXII. Kana (355-364) [Map 8]

Until the mid-twentieth century, the tiny modern hamlet of Gene (now renamed Beşağıl) preserved the ancient name of the small town of Kana, the southernmost of the three *poleis* of eastern Lykaonia. Like its neighbours to the north, Perta and Savatra, virtually nothing is known of the history of the town. The only surviving public monuments are honorific inscriptions for the emperors Trajan and Probus (*MAMA* VIII 211 and 212, cf. 213), erected by the *boule* and *demos* of Kana (Κανέων ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος); the former monument demonstrates the existence of a temple to Trajan.⁵⁹

MAMA XI includes ten texts from Kana (355-364), all from the village of Gene (now Beşağıl) and neighbouring Gene Yaylası (now Çiftlik Yaylası, 4km NNW of Gene), recorded by William Calder in 1954 and by Michael Ballance in 1957. So far as I know, these ten texts, along with the sixteen inscriptions published in *MAMA* VIII (nos. 211-225), constitute the complete published corpus of Kana.⁶⁰

XXIII. Komitanassos (365-368) [Map 8]

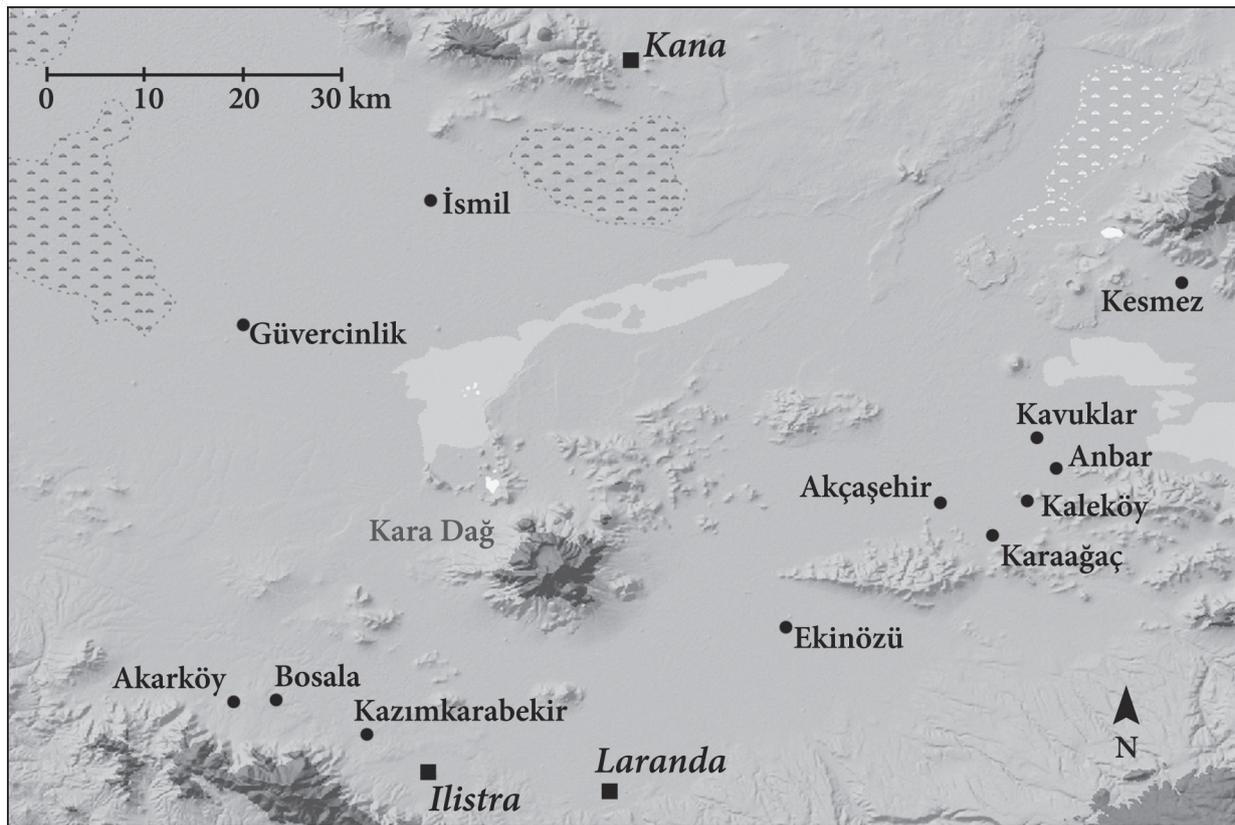
The modern village of Ortakuyu lies deep in the east-Lykaonian steppe, 28km north-east of Yağlıbayat (Savatra) and 16km south-east of Obruk Han. In 1956, Michael Ballance recorded three inscriptions at Ortakuyu (365-367), with which I have grouped a fourth monument (368), copied by Ballance at Dayıkuyusu Yayla, in the steppe south of Ortakuyu. Among the monuments recorded by Ballance at Ortakuyu was a votive *bomos* to Apollo Epekoos, erected by a certain Neikias, who carries the village-ethnic ‘Κομιτανασεύς’ (365).

Ballance connected this ethnic with the toponym *Comitanasso* in the Peutinger Table, attached to a road-station twenty Roman miles east of Perta, and plausibly suggested that Komitanassos should be situated at Ortakuyu itself. Three votive *bomoi* to Apollo in the Nevşehir museum, including one dedicated by a man with the ethnic Κομιτανασσεύς, have also been attributed to Ortakuyu by David French (*SEG* 57, 1723-5); other monuments which may derive from the village are discussed in the commentary to 365. Although it was clearly the site of a well-frequented sanctuary of Apollo, there is no reason to think that Komitanassos possessed an independent civic constitution; most likely it was a village on the territory of Savatra or Perta.⁶¹

59 Callander 1906: 161-3; *TIB Galatien* 185, s.v. Kan(n)a; Mitchell 1993: I 97; Thonemann 2011b (Christian community).

60 Of the five inscriptions from Kana published by Callander 1906: 162-3, nos. 18-22, four were republished in *MAMA* VIII (nos. 211, 212, 215, 221); the fifth is republished here as *MAMA* XI 357. Callander 1906: 163, no. 20 (Ἀθηνί[ι]ων [μνη]μα π[α]τρὸς|(5) ἀνέσ|τησε|ν μνη[ή]μης χά|ριον) was republished, as if new, in *MAMA* VIII 215 (Ἀθηνί[ι]ων Νικ[ο]μᾶ π[α]τρὸς|(5) ἀνέσ|τησε|ν μνη[ή]μης χά|ριον). Both sets of restorations in lines 1-4 are unsatisfactory: read instead Ἀθηνί[ι]ωνι σ[τή]μα Π[ι]έ|τρος|(5) ἀνέσ|τησε|ν κτλ., ‘Petros set this gravestone up for Athenion’.

61 Ballance 1958: 224-8; *TIB Galatien* 153, s.v. Comitanasso; French 2007: 82-4.



Map 9. Southern Lykaonia

XXIV. Southern Lykaonia (369-387) [Map 9]

Under the heading ‘Southern Lykaonia’ I have grouped nineteen monuments from the arc of fertile agricultural land along the north flank of the Tauros, south of Binbirkilise, to the north-west and north-east of modern Karaman (ancient Laranda). The monuments (with one exception: see below) are grouped from west to east, beginning with three monuments (369-371) from the neighbouring villages of Losta (now Akarköy) and Bosala (now Özyürt), 31km north-west of Karaman. Two further monuments (372-373) derive from the modern village of Kasaba (now Kazımkarabekir), 8km south-east of Bosala. Posala is attested as an independent bishopric from the late fourth century AD onwards; in antiquity, it is likely that all three villages belonged to the territory of the city of Ilistra (modern Yollarbaşı, 7km south-east of Kasaba).⁶²

62 Losta and Bosala: *TIB Galatien* 216, s.v. Posala; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 44-9. Kasaba: *TIB Galatien* 218, s.v. Pyrgoi; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 52. Ilistra: Aulock 1976: 42-3, 68-70; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 50-3.

Moving to the north-east of Karaman–Laranda, Ballance recorded a single inscription (374) at the village of Aşırın Yaylası (Ekinözü), close to Kerti Höyük, the likely site of ancient Derbe. Further still to the east, there is a concentration of eleven monuments from the plain of Akçaşehir (375-381, 383-386), including stones from the villages of Akçaşehir in the west (39km NE of Laranda), Karaağaç in the far south, Anbar in the east, and Kavuklar in the north-east. The historical geography of this region in antiquity is very poorly attested. An inscription from Anbar records the dedication of a bathhouse to Hadrian by the *boule* and *demos* of Sidamaria (Σιδαμαριωτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος: the town is unattested elsewhere). Another inscription from Anbar, published here for the first time (379), informs us of the existence of a senatorial estate at a place called Adrandos.⁶³

The inclusion of 382 among the monuments of the Akçaşehir plain is the result of an editorial error, which came to light too late for the numbering of the inscriptions to be revised. In fact, this monument is, to the best of my knowledge, the first known inscription from the village of Karamankırı (now Güvercinlik), near the town of Çumra in the steppe south-east of Konya.

The last item in the corpus is 387, a solitary late Roman inscription from Kesmez (perhaps ancient Thebasa) in the Karaca Dağ, in the far east of ancient Lykaonia.⁶⁴

63 Derbe: Ballance 1957; Ballance 1964: 139-40; Aulock 1976: 38-40; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 61-6. Akçaşehir: *TIB Galatien* 119, s.v. Akçaşehir; identified (on very questionable grounds) with ancient Hyde by Laminger-Pascher 1986: 252-6; cf. Laminger-Pascher 1992: 94-8. Anbar (Sidamaria?): *TIB Galatien* 126, s.v. Anbar; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 99-107. A lavish Dokimeian sarcophagus from Anbar is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum: see Wiegartz 1965: 156-7; Waelkens 1982: 93, no. 157.

64 *TIB Galatien* 232-4 s.v. Thēbasa; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 114-5.

I. APOLLONIA BY PISIDIA

1. Uluborlu

Honorific inscription on architrave concerning statues and cult.

White marble architrave, no upper moulding, plain behind, the front divided into three fascias, all originally inscribed. On the upper surface, a two-line Arabic inscription. Complete at top, broken below at left, neatly recut to left and right. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the İsmet Paşa Okulu, said to have been brought from a mosque in the citadel. Now (2012) in Uluborlu museum.

Ht. 0.30; W. 0.89; Th. 0.24; letters 0.032-0.040 (line 1), 0.025-0.032 (lines 2-3).

Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 127, no.6. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/87).

First century BC.

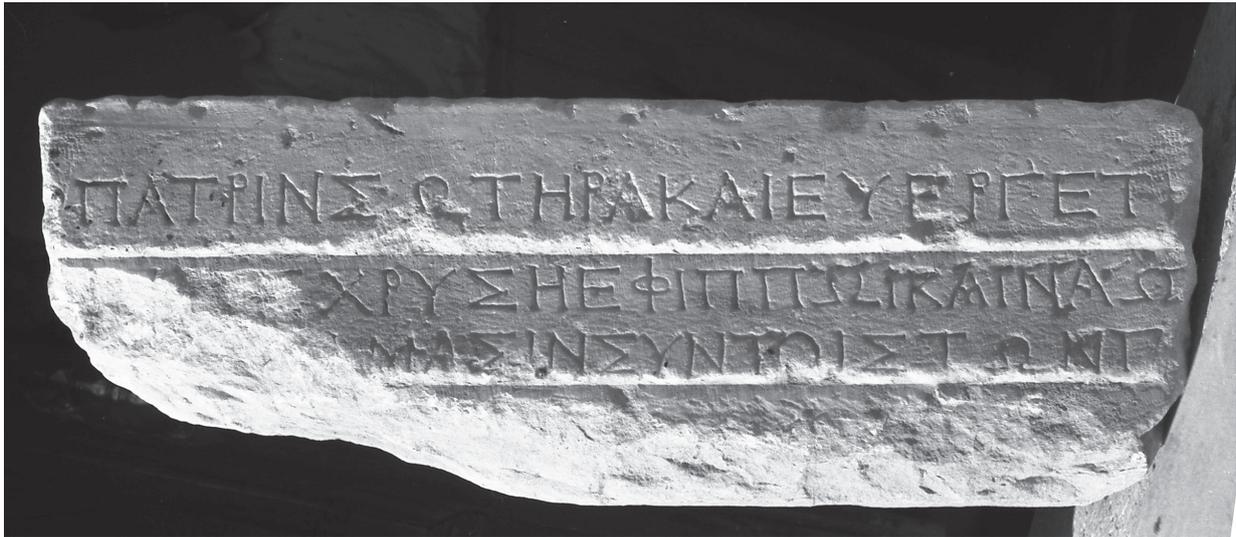
[ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν --- φιλόπατριν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην -----]
[- ----- εἰκόνι ἐπὶ στυλίδος χρυσῆ ἐφίππῳ καὶ ναῶ [- -----]
[- ----- ἀγάλμασιν σὺν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων (e.g.) ἀνδριᾶσιν]
[- -----]

[The demos honoured... lo]ver of his homeland, saviour and benefactor... with a gilt equestrian [statue on a columnar base] and a temple... [and with sacral sta]tues, along with the [statues] of his a[ncestors ...]

This monument (published without restorations or commentary by Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 127, no.6) is an honorific inscription for a civic benefactor. The honours which he is voted in the surviving part of the text (a gilt equestrian statue, other statues, and a *naos*) suggest a date in the first century BC; see further below. The original physical form of the monument is uncertain. At the start of line 1, we need to restore a formula such as [ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν], followed by the name and patronym of the honorand: for this structure, compare the late Hellenistic honorific inscription for Polystratos at Apameia (Drew-Bear and Fillon 2011), ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν Πολύ[σ]τρατον Τιμοθέο[υ] ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, γυμνασίαρχον - - ἐπαινώι, χρυσῶι στεφάνωι, κτλ. This being the case, the original monument must have been well over twice the breadth of the surviving stone (i.e. at least 2m wide). It is conceivable that the inscription was situated on the architrave of the *naos* mentioned in line 2.

In line 1, the honorific term *φιλόπατρις* is largely confined to the Roman imperial period (Robert, *OMS* VI 262-3; *Hellenica* XIII, 215; Drew-Bear 1978: 74; Herrmann 1994: 208; Ferrary 2001: 806; for its use at Apollonia, cf. *MAMA* IV 163), although examples are known from the mid-first century BC (e.g. *Sardis* VII 1, 27.6).

In line 2, the individual concerned is honoured with a gilt equestrian statue ([εἰκόνι]... χρυσῆ ἐφίππῳ). The statue presumably stood on a marble base of some kind, and the restoration [εἰκόνι ἐπὶ στυλίδος] would fit the traces at the beginning of the line (although the word order is odd). Similar phrases are found in the Claros decree in honour of Polemaios of Kolophon (*SEG* 39, 1243, col. V 43-4: *στήσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν ἐπὶ στυλίδος*), in one of the Kyme decrees for Archippe (*I.Kyme* 13, col. VI 29-30: *στήσαι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν χρυσῆν ἐπὶ στυλίδος μαρμαρίνης*), in a Pergamene decree honouring Attalos III (*OGIS* 332.9-10: *στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν ἔφιππον ἐπὶ στυλίδος*



μαρμαρίνης), and in the first Pergamene decree in honour of Diodoros Paspasos (*IGR* IV 292; *ISE* III 190), in which Diodoros is honoured with two gilt statues, two bronze statues, and one marble statue, τῶν μὲν χρ[υσῶν ἐπὶ στυλίδων μαρμαρίνων, τῶν δὲ χαλκῶν ἐπὶ βημάτων ὁμοίως μαρμαρίνων (lines 27-8). See further Robert and Robert 1989: 59-60; Drew-Bear and Fillon 2011.

The word [ἀγά]λμασιν at the start of line 3 presumably refers to a number of other statues set up for the honorand (καὶ ἄλλοις x μαρμαρίνοις ἀγά]λμασιν, *vel sim.*). Compare the list of statues set up for Iollas at Sardis in the mid-first century BC (*Sardis* VII 1, 27.1-6): ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν Ἰόλλαν... ἰκόνι χρυσῇ καὶ ἄλλη χρυσῇ κολοσσικῇ καὶ ἄλλη χρυσῇ ἐφίππῳ καὶ ἄλλαις χαλκαῖς δ' καὶ ἀγάλμασιν μαρμαρίνοις τρισὶν καὶ ἄλλαις γραπταῖς δ'. If I have restored the phrase at the end of line 3 correctly, the text would be indicating that these statues were to be set up 'alongside the statues of his ancestors': compare perhaps Wilhelm 1911: 54-61 (*Synnada*), where a posthumous statue of the deceased Philonides appears to be erected alongside a statue of a notable ancestor. For the use of the preposition σύν in this context, cf. the Chian decree in honour of L. Nessius (*IGR* IV 1703, mid-first century BC), in which the *demos* has voted Nessius a statue

in the *agora*, but the honorand himself would prefer it to be erected 'along with the statues of his sons' (lines 9-12: ἐπεὶ προεψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος ἀνδριάντος ἀνάστασιν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ τῆς ἀγ[ο]ράς τόπῳ, βούλεται δὲ αὐτὸν συναναστήσαι τοῖς τῶν τέκνων ἀνδριάσιν ἐπὶ τῶν στυλείδων, δεδόχθαι ἐπικεχωρῆσθαι αὐτῷ).

At the end of line 2, it is stated that the honorand is also to receive a temple (ναῶ) in his honour. Our anonymous honorand therefore seems to have been one of a small number of civic benefactors of the first century BC to receive lifetime cult honours on the model of the civic cults of Hellenistic monarchs (Price 1984: 47-51; Gauthier 1985: 59-63; Strubbe 2004). So in the first Pergamene decree in honour of Diodoros Paspasos (*IGR* IV 292; *ISE* III 190), Diodoros is honoured during his lifetime with a precinct and temple at Pergamon (lines 40-2: ἀνεῖναι δ[ὲ] αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ] τ[έ]μενος ἐν Φιλεταιρείαι, ὀνομάσαντας Διοδώρειον, ἐν ᾧ κατασκευασθ[ῆναι] ναὸν λίθου] λευκοῦ, εἰς ὃν ἀνατεθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα); see also *I.Knidos* 59 (Augustan period: *timai isotheoi*, including an altar, sacrifices, a procession, and an athletic contest, for the local benefactor Artemidoros). The *agal mata* depicting the honorand in line 3 need not necessarily have been cult statues; the term *agalma* refers primarily to the sacred context

of the image (in or near a sanctuary) rather than its function as an object of cult (Price 1984: 176-9).

The honorand is likely to have been a member of the most prominent family at Apollonia in the late Republican and early Imperial period, that of Artemon son of Olympichos and his descendants. Artemon son of Olympichos is attested as priest of Zeus at Apollonia, probably in the mid-first century BC (*MAMA* IV 141). His *floruit* can be inferred from the career of his grandson, Apollonios son of Olympichos, who was honoured at Apollonia for (among other benefactions) having undertaken an embassy to Germanicus, most likely in AD 18 (*MAMA* IV 142). Several other monuments of the late first century BC and early first century AD mention members of the family (*MAMA* IV 160, 171, 172; *IGR* III 320). At some point after AD 18, the family seems to have received the Roman citizenship; two inscriptions, probably of the mid-first century AD, record public honours for C. Iulius Cornelia Olympichos (*MAMA* IV 161) and his son M. Iulius Longus (*MAMA* IV 162). The dominance of this family

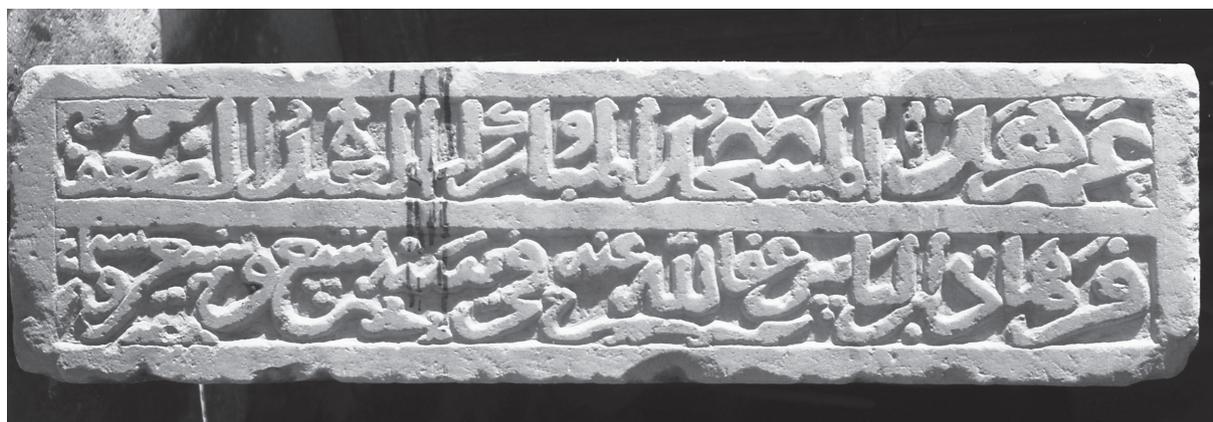
in the late Republican and early Imperial public epigraphy of Apollonia renders it very likely that the honorand of our monument was among their number.

I take the opportunity to note a few corrections to the text of *MAMA* IV 161, honours for C. Iulius Cornelia Olympichos. The text in *MAMA* IV reads as follows:

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν | Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ὀλυμπίχου
(?) υἱὸν | Κορνηλία Ὀλύμπιχον φιλοσέβασ-
το]ν ἐπὶ τε τῇ εἰς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς | εὐσεβείαι
καὶ ταῖς δημ[ωφελέ]σιν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προγόνων
καὶ | (5) τοῦ] πατρὸς εἰς τὴν [συνπα]ράσ]τασιν
εὐεργεσιῶν πολ[λῶν φι]λοδοξίαις.

The restoration of the patronym Ὀλυμπίχου is unwarranted, and the phraseology in lines 3-7 unparalleled. Read instead:

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν | Γάϊον Ἰούλιον - - υἱὸν |
Κορνηλία Ὀλύμπιχον φιλοσέβασ]το]ν ἐπὶ τε
τῇ εἰς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς | εὐσεβείαι καὶ ταῖς
δη[νεκέ]σιν] αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προγόνων καὶ | (5) τοῦ]
πατρὸς εἰς τὴν [πόλιν | ἐν] πᾶσιν εὐεργεσίαις τε
| καὶ φι]λοδοξίαις.



2. Uluborlu

Honorific statue base for Ammia and Artemidoros.

Plain limestone block, buried below, broken above. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the wall of the courtyard of Bülbül Camii.

Ht. 0.68+; W. 0.83; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.035.

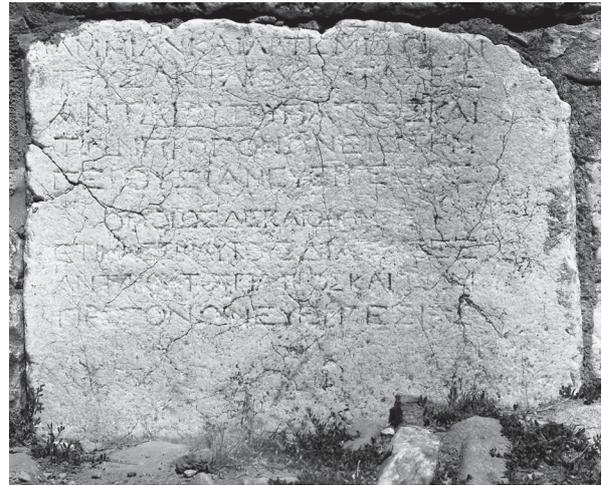
Sterrett 1888b: 371, no. 537; *MAMA IV* 153. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/91).

First century BC or first century AD.

- [ἡ γ]ε[ρου]σ[ία ἐτίμη]σ[εν]
 Ἀμμίαν καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρον
 τοὺς Ἀνταίου διὰ τὰς ἐξ
 Ἀνταίου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 5 τῶν προγόνων εἰς τὴν
 γερουσίαν εὐεργεσίας.
 ν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ν.
 ἐτίμησεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὰς ἐξ
 Ἀνταίου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν
 10 προγόνων εὐεργεσίας.
 vac.

Line 8: ἐτείμησεν Sterrett; ἐτίμησεν *MAMA IV*.

[The g]e[rou]s[ia honoured] Ammia and Artemidoros, the children of Antaios, because of the benefactions of their father Antaios and their ancestors towards the gerosia. Similarly, the demos also



honoured them, because of the benefactions of their father Antaios and their ancestors.

Sterrett read the lower part of the *sigma* at the end of line 1; the editors of *MAMA IV* saw nothing in line 1, and stated incorrectly that ‘the line supplied at the top was doubtless engraved on the capstone of this pedestal’. For honours voted as a result of ancestral benefactions, cf. *I Aph2007* 12.518 (honours for Tryphosa Pauleina) *διά... τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐν πᾶσι φιλοτειμείαν*. It is unclear why the editors of *MAMA IV* wished to date the monument to the latter half of the first century BC. The monument was still visible in the courtyard wall of Bülbül Camii in August 2010.

3. Uluborlu

Honorific inscription concerning gladiatorial munera and venationes.

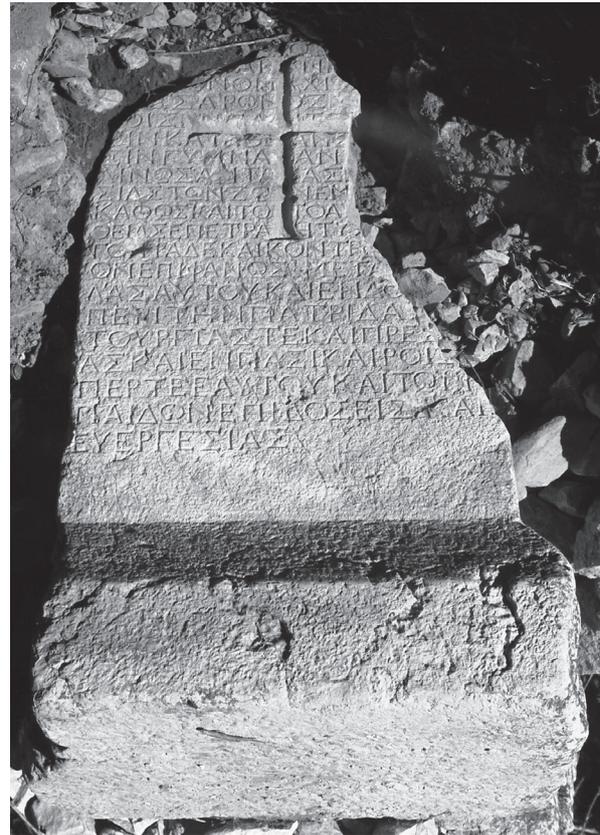
Creamy-white limestone base, broken above, with moulding below. Incised cross of later date on the upper part of the shaft. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in a field-wall 50m east of Sait Demirdal’s house. Now (2012) in Uluborlu museum.

Ht. 1.17+; W. 0.63 (shaft), 0.82 (base); Th. 0.52 (shaft), 0.69 (base); letters 0.030-0.034.

Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 127, no.5. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/86).

Second or third century AD.

[. . . .^{c.9}]ΟΣ[---]
 [. ^{c.2} . (e.g.) δόντ]α κυνη[γέσια]
 [καὶ μο]νομαχί[α]ς ἡμέρων]
 [τε]σσάρων ὀξέ[σι] σιδή]-
 5 [ρ]οις ἐν πᾶ[σ]ι το[ῖ]ς ἀγώ]-
 σιν κατὰ θε[ί]αν σ[υ]νχώρη]-
 σιν, γυμνά[σ]αν[τα] καὶ χα-
 λινώσαντα [τ]ὰς [- ^{c.6-7} -]
 σίας τῶν ζώ[ω]ν ἐν[δ]όξως (?),
 10 καθὼς καὶ το[ῦ]το αὐ[τῷ] παρὰ τῆς]
 θείας ἐπετρά[π]η Τύχ[η]ς, ἀγα-
 γόντα δὲ καὶ κουτρο[κ]υνήγι]-
 ον ἐπιφανῶς μετὰ [τὰς ἄλ]-
 λας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδό[ξ]ους]
 15 περὶ τὴν πατρίδα λ[ε]ι-
 τουργίας τε καὶ πρεσ[β]εί]-
 ας καὶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς [ὑ]-
 πέρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
 20 παιδῶν ἐπιδόσεις καὶ
 εὐεργεσίας.



[... who provide]d wild-beast shows and gladiatorial combats for four days, with sharp weapons in all the contests, by imperial permission, and who trained and bridled the - - of animals [in glorious fashion], just as this too was granted to him by the imperial Fortune, and who also presented a wild-beast hunt with lances in a most illustrious manner, subsequent to his other glorious liturgies and embassies on behalf of his homeland, and the distributions and benefactions which he has performed on every occasion on his own behalf and that of his children.

Published, with an inaccurate text and translation, by Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güçeren 2012: 127, no.5. The honorand has provided wild-beast shows (*venationes*, *κυνηγέσια*) and gladiatorial combats (*gladiatorum munera*, *μονομαχίαι*) for four days: for the number of days over which such events took place (regularly between two and thirteen days), see Robert 1940: 280-1 (also *I.Smyrna* 637: five days). In lines 4-5, it is specifically stated that all the gladiatorial combats are

to be ‘with sharp weapons’ (ὀξέ[σι] σιδή[ρ]οις: Robert, OMS I, 697-9); compare Robert 1940: 142, no. 97 (Sagalassos: ὀξέσι σιδήροις); *I.Cret.* IV 305 (Gortyn: τῷ ὀξεί σιδήρῳ); *I.Smyrna* 637 (Robert, *Hellenica* V, 81-2: τοῖς ὀξέσι); TAM V 2, 950 (Thyateira: τοῖς ὀξέσι); *I.Ephesos* 810 (ὀξέσι); *I.Milet* VI 3, 1141 ([τοῖς ὀξέσι]). Not all gladiators fought with sharpened weapons (Dio Cass. 71.29.4); that all combats over the four days of shows at Apollonia were fought with potentially fatal weapons was an additional draw for the public (Robert 1940: 258-62; Günther 1985: 127-9).

It appears that, at least by the late second century AD, specific imperial authorisation (*indulgentia*) was regularly required for gladiatorial *munera* and *venationes* which involved sharp weapons or which were fought to the death (*ἀπότομοι*, *sine missione*): see Robert 1940: 274-5, and above all Nollé 1992/3. This was a result of imperial concern over the excessive costs that liturgists could incur in the provision of spectacular

munera (see especially the SC *de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis* of AD 177-80: Oliver and Palmer 1955). Thus in the third-century inscription TAM V 3, 1490 (Philadelphieia), we are told that the honorand provided a *venatio* in which the beast and hunter fought to the death ‘by imperial grant’ (lines 7-9: δόντα κουτροκυνηγέσιον ἐν ᾧ ζυγὸν ἀπότομον ἐκ θείας φιλοδωρίας); in TAM V 2, 950, from Thyateira, a high-priest of Asia was honoured by the emperor Severus Alexander with permission to celebrate his high-priesthood with sharp-weaponed gladiatorial contests (τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος.. συνάψαι τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας τοῖς ὀξέσιν). In the fourth-century Gortynian inscription *I.Cret.* IV 305, the emperor grants permission for the honorand to hold three days of spectacular wild-beast hunts ‘in which he may kill as many beasts as he likes’ (ἔχοντα κατὰ θείαν μεγαλοδωρίαν θεατροκυνηγεσίῳν ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐν αἷς ἀποσφάξαι θηρία ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο). For the term *συνχώρησις* (= *indulgentia*), which I have restored here in lines 6-7, compare *I.Beroia* 69 (AD 240), lines 10-11: προσεισάγοντες... καὶ ἕτερον ζεῦγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ. Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, ‘presenting also another gladiatorial pair who will fight to the death, in addition to the customary two pairs, by the permission of our lord M. Antonius Gordianus *pius felix* Augustus’.

I can find no close parallels for the phrase in lines 7-9. The verb *χαλινοῦν*, ‘tame, bridle’, seems not otherwise to be epigraphically attested, but it is hard to see what else we could restore here. In lines 8-9, we need to restore a feminine noun in the accusative plural; it is possible that we ought to restore [τὰς [ἵππηλα]σίας τῶν ζώων, ‘the chariot-teams of horses’, but it would be surprising to find that specific imperial permission was required in order to train up animals for chariot-races. At the end of line 9, I have assumed that we have an adverb (e.g. ἐνδόξως) qualifying the participles *γυμνά[σ]αν[τα] καὶ χαλινώσαντα* in

lines 7-8; for the placement of the adverb at the end of the clause, compare lines 11-13.

For the use of the verb *ἄγειν* in lines 11-12, compare Robert 1940: 149, no. 113 (Oinoanda), ἀγαγόντα κυνηγέσια καὶ μονομαχίας. In lines 12-13, we are told that the honorand provided a *κουτρο[κυνήγι]ον*, a wild-beast hunt with lances (Robert 1940: 312, 324). For the form *κουτρο-*, a contamination of *κουτός* and *κέντρον*, see Zingerle 1931: 81-3; the term is also attested in TAM V 3, 1490 (Philadelphieia: third century AD), lines 7-8: δόντα κουτροκυνηγέσιον. In *I.Cret.* IV 305 (Gortyn: fourth century AD), a benefactor is said to have provided three days of ‘lance-fights’ (σιδηροκουτρῶν δὲ ἡμέρας... τρεῖς, ᾧ ἐν ἐκάστη ζεύγη ἀπότομα δύο καὶ θηρία σφακτά); for the term *σιδηροκούτρον*, see also Robert 1940: 142, no. 97 (Sagalassos); *I.Milet* VI 3, 1141.8-9. The weapon concerned may perhaps be that depicted on a relief from Dion in Macedonia and a mosaic from Reims (Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 126-8, with Pl. XVI 3 and XX; *Hellenica* VIII, 42-3, with Pl. XV 3), a long lance with a transverse bar just below the head, to prevent the hunter from driving it too far into the animal’s body in any one stroke: the weapon thus has some of the qualities of a goad (*κέντρον*).

For the phraseology in lines 17-19 (various local benefactions performed on his own behalf and that of his children), compare Kalinka 1895: 228-30 (Pericharaxis: πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνδόξως] καὶ φιλοτείμως ἐκτελέσαντα); *I.Prusias ad Hyrium* 49.8-10 (ἀγορανομήσαντα ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ [υἱοῦ]); Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 335, no. 155 (Baris: πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ... τελέσαντα).

The honorand’s name and office are not preserved. However, we have some reason to think that he was a civic or provincial high-priest of the imperial cult. In the eastern Roman provinces, gladiatorial *munera* and *venationes* were usually provided by the high-priests of the imperial cult, both municipal and provincial (Robert 1940:

270-5; Carter 2004); at Aphrodisias, the provision of gladiatorial contests was obligatory for those appointed to the civic high-priesthood of the imperial cult until the reign of Hadrian (SEG 50, 1096.32-7).

A neglected funerary monument from Apollonia, MAMA IV 168, may well record the death of a *venator* in combat. The monument is a small *bomos*, on which is carved in low relief a standing figure, who holds above his head a prone body carrying a spiral object in his drooping right hand. The standing figure is labelled with the name Βάρβαρος; on the upper moulding of the *bomos* is inscribed the name Γυλ. . . λας, presumably the name of Barbaros' victim.

The editors of MAMA IV (followed, tentatively, by Robert 1940: 61 n.1) believed that both figures were humans. However, the spiral object carried by the prone figure seems very likely to be a whip (not, as the editors of MAMA IV, a net), the characteristic tool not of the gladiator, but of the

ursarius. Three relief sculptures, from Aproi in Thrace (Robert 1940: 90-2, no. 27, with Pl. XXIV), Kibyra (Robert, *Hellenica* VIII, 57-61, with Pl XX 3-4), and Ephesos (Robert, *Hellenica* VIII, 71-2, with Pl XXVI 2), depict bear-leaping contests in which one *ursarius* maddens a bear with a whip, while another (the *salitor*) leaps perilously over the bear's back (Robert 1940: 326-7).

The standing figure on the *bomos* from Apollonia ought, therefore, to be identified as a bear, the killer of the unfortunate *ursarius* Γυλ. . . λας. Michael Ballance saw the *bomos* in 1956, in front of the Bülbül Çeşmesi in Uluborlu; although he did not sketch or photograph the *bomos*, he records in his notes (1956/91a) that 'the larger of the two figures on the relief seemed in front of the stone to represent a bear rather than a man'. The bear carried the name Βάρβαρος: for the names given to animals in *venationes*, see Robert 1940: 157-8, 191-2.

4. Uluborlu

Fragment of honorific inscription.

White limestone fragment, apparently complete below, otherwise broken. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the outer wall of Sait Bey's house.

Ht. 0.32+; W. 0.33; Th. --; letters 0.039-0.042.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/84).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]Σ . [-----]
 [-----]ΤΕΡΟΥ[-----]
 [-----]πρέσβει · Ε . [-----]
 [--- ταῖς λοι]παῖς νν. ♡ [-----]
 5 [----- ἐπι]δόσει vac. [-----]
 [----- τῇ πα]τρίδι ♡ ΤΗ[-----]



...ambassador... in the other... contributions... to his/her homeland...

This monument appears to be an honorific inscription for a local benefactor, male or female. Nothing can be restored with certainty; in lines

4-6 we presumably have a phrase such as [ἐν ταῖς λοι]παῖς | [λειτουργίαις καὶ ἐπι]δόσει | [εὐχρηστον γενόμενον τῇ πα]τρίδι.

5. Uluborlu

Building inscription of stoa and *exedrae*, dedicated by L. Servenius Cornutus and Julia Severa.

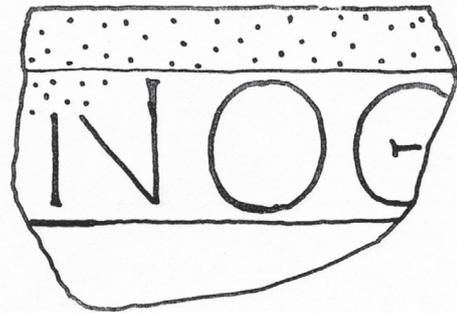
Fragment of white limestone architrave, apparently complete above, upper moulding defaced. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the wall of Sait Bey's garden.

Ht. 0.35+; W. 0.49+; Th. --; letters 0.145-0.155.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/85).

c. AD 50-75 (prosopography).

[- -]NOO[- -]



The dimensions and lettering of this fragment are identical to those of eight other architrave fragments from Apollonia, published in *MAMA IV* 139a-h:

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
//OPNO//	//ΠΑΡΧC//	//ΟΤΗΡΑ//	(vac.)ΘΕ//	//ΡΕΙΑΙΤΩ//	//ΠΑΡΑ//	//ΞΕΔΡΑ//	//ΛΟΥΚΑΙΑΡ//

A further fragment has recently been published by Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 131, no.12 (//ΥΚΑΙΕΝ//), making ten fragments in total.

It is clear from the two fragments *MAMA IV* 139a (//OPNO//, i.e. [K]ορνο[υτ-]) and c (//ΟΤΗΡΑ//, i.e. [Σε]ουήρα) that we are dealing with members of one of the most eminent Asiatic families of the first century AD, that of L. Servenius Cornutus (*PIR*² S 566, honoured at Apollonia in *IGR* III 315, [- -Λ]εύκιον Σεροήνιον Λευκίου υἱὸν Αἰμιλία Κορνοῦτον) and his mother Julia Severa (*PIR*² I 701). The Servenii were probably of central Italian origin (Levick 1967: 106); the earliest member of the family known to us is L. Servenius Capito, father of Cornutus and husband of Julia Severa (*PIR*² S 565). Other Cornuti, no doubt relatives of L. Servenius Cornutus, were prominent at Apollonia in the first and second centuries AD. A small issue of bronze coinage was minted under Tiberius in the name of Κορνοῦτος εὐεργέτης (*RPC* I 3528); two inscriptions of the first century AD honour a certain C. Julius Patruinus Cornutus φιλόπατρις (*MAMA IV* 163; Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 123-5,

nos. 2-3); two fragments of an architrave block inscribed in both Greek and Latin (*AE* 1975, 812; Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 126, no. 4) record the name of another Iulius Cornutus, identified by Mitchell with a prominent member of the local elite at Perge under Nero (Mitchell 1974: 37-8; *I.Perge* 36-41, with *I.Perge* I pp. 30-2); and in the second and third centuries AD the Apolloniatai celebrated games called the Αἰλεία Κορρυτεία (*MAMA IV* 154, probably instituted under Hadrian).

In *MAMA IV* the architrave was reconstructed as follows:

Θε[οῖς πατρίοις (?) καὶ Σερονηνία Κορνούται ἀπογόνωι βασιλέως Ἀττάλου καὶ ἀρχιε]ρείαι τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἰουλία Σε]ουήρα [ἡ μήτηρ καὶ Λ. Σερονήμιος Κ]ορνο[ύτος] ἔπαρχο[ς αἰραρίου στρατιωτικοῦ (?) ὁ ἀδελφὸς τὴν στοᾶν καὶ τὰς ἐ]ξέδρα[s] παρ' α[ὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν.]

According to this restoration, the stoa and *exedrae* were dedicated by Servenius Cornutus and Julia Severa to the ancestral deities of Apollonia and to another member of their family, Servenia Cornuta (*PIR*² S 568). It was subsequently shown (in the commentary to *MAMA VI* 254) that Serve-

nia Cornuta must have been the daughter, not the sister of Servenius Cornutus; the editors of *MAMA VI* therefore suggested that the names of the dedicators of the architrave should instead be supplemented Ἰουλία Σε]ουήρα [ἡ μάμμη καὶ Λ. Σερουήνιος Κ]ορνο[ῦτος... ὁ πατήρ].

However, the reconstruction of the architrave proposed in *MAMA IV* 139 cannot be correct. According to the restoration printed above, Julia Severa and Servenius Cornutus dedicated a public building at Apollonia to another member of their own family. This is unlikely: public buildings could be dedicated to deities, to members of the imperial family, to the local *demos* or other civic bodies (*boule, gerousia*), or to all three; the dedication of a public building to a private individual would be, to the best of my knowledge, without parallel.

Nor is it clear that we need to introduce a reference to Servenia Cornuta at all. The editors of *MAMA IV* attractively combined fragments e (PEIAITΩ) and h (ΛΟΥΚΑΙΑΡ) to give the phrase [- - ἀπογόνω βασιλέως Ἀττά]λου καὶ ἀρχιε]ρείαι τῶν Σεβαστῶν]. However, these titles can equally well be applied to Julia Severa as to Servenia Cornuta. Both women could have claimed to be descendants of the Attalid royal family, assuming that they were indeed relatives of the second-century senator C. Julius Severus (*PIR*² I 573; Halfmann 1979: 151-2, no. 62), known from an inscription from Ankara to have been a descendant of Attalos I (*I.Ankara* 72-3; Levick 1967: 106-7; Mitchell 1974: 35, 37-8).

A further argument can be adduced in favour of referring these titles to Julia Severa. In *MAMA VI* 263 (Akmoneia), Julia Severa is described as ἀρχιε]ρείαν κα[ὶ] ἀγνοθε]τιν τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν [θ]εῶν Σεβαστῶν [οἰ]κου, and in Ramsay, *Phrygia II* 647, no. 550 (*IGR IV* 656: Akmoneia) as ἀρχιε]ρείαι καὶ ἀγνοθε]τίδι. It is hence very tempting to combine the two new fragments (//NOΘ// and //ΥΚΑΙΕΝ//) with *MAMA IV* 139e and h to give the titles of Julia Severa: ἐν]γόνῃ βασιλέως Ἀττά]λου καὶ ἀρχιε]ρείαι τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγνοθε]τίδι].

The reason why the editors of *MAMA IV* restored a dedication to Servenia Cornuta was presumably the dative ἀρχιε]ρείαι. However, we could equally well explain this dative on the assumption that Cornutus dedicated the monument ‘along with’ (σύν) his mother Julia Severa. In that case, the text would follow the same structure as (e.g.) the dedication of the Augustan basilica at Ephesos to Artemis Ephesia, Augustus, Tiberius, and the *demos* of the Ephesians by C. Sextilius Pollio and his wife and son (restored, in part, from the accompanying Latin text): [βασ]ιλικὴν στοὰν Ἀρτ]έμι[δι] Ἐφεσ[ίαι]... Γάιος Σεξτ]ιλ[ίος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Οὐ]λοτουρία Πω[λλίων σὺν Ὀφελ]λίαι Ἀύλου θυγατρὶ Κορνηλία Βάσση τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Γαίω Ὀφελλίω Κορνηλία Πρόκλ]ω τῷ υἱῷ... [ἀνέθη]κεν] (*AE* 1993, 1498).

The editors of *MAMA IV* restored fr. 139b (// ΠΑΡΧC//) to give the title [ἐ]παρχ]ος αἰραρίου στρατιωτικοῦ] (*praefectus aerarii militaris*), an office which is not otherwise attested for L. Servenius Cornutus. However, Cornutus is known to have acted as *quaestor* of the province of Cyprus (*MAMA VI* 254; 262), and there is nothing to impede us restoring the fragment [ταμίας δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐ]παρχε]ίας Κύπρου].

I therefore propose that the whole text, incorporating the two new fragments, should be restored as follows:

Θε[οῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Λ. Σερουήνιος Κ]ορνο[ῦτος ταμίας δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐ]παρχε]ίας Κύπρου σὺν Ἰουλ[ίαι Σε]ουήρα[ι τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐν]γόνῃ βασιλέως Ἀττά]λου καὶ ἀρχιε]ρείαι τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγνοθε]τίδι τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰς ἐ]ξέδρα[s] παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνέθη]καν].

L. Servenius Cornutus, quaestor populi Romani provinciae Cypri, with Julia Severa his mother, descendant of King Attalos and high-priestess of the Augusti and agonotheite, dedicated the stoa and the exedrae from their own resources to the divine Augusti and the people (of Apollonia).

6. Uluborlu

Fragment of building inscription.

Fragment of white marble architrave, apparently complete above, upper moulding defaced. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the wall of Sait Bey's garden. Ht. 0.38+; W. 0.30+; Th. --; letters 0.095-0.100 (line 1), 0.080 (line 2).

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/83). Roman imperial period.

[--]EPT[--]
 [--]THPIA[--]

This inscription is a fragment from the monumental architrave of a public building at Apollonia. In line 1, we could have a personal name such as [T]έρτιος or [T]έρτυλλος, or conceivably (if the building were dedicated to an emperor) part of the name [Λ. Σεπτιμίω Σεουήρω Περτίνιακι]; in line 2, we presumably either have a description of what is being dedicated (e.g. [έργασ]τήρια, as in *MAMA* IV 171), or a dedication 'for salva-



tion' [ὑπὲρ σω]τηρία[ς τοῦ δείνα]. It is possible that the fragment derives from the same bilingual architrave-inscription as Mitchell 1974: 37-8 (*AE* 1975, 812: Latin) and Labarre, Özseit, Özseit and Güceren 2012: 126, no.4 (Greek, where the moulding has also been deliberately defaced); see further the commentary to 5 above (Apollonia). However, the letters of this fragment appear to be rather smaller.

7. Yassiviran

Builder's signature of Menophilos of Dokimeion.

Limestone block, broken at left; defaced moulding above. Found at Yassiviran (Yassiören, ancient Tymandos); precise location not recorded.

Dimensions not recorded by MB; *MAMA* IV gives Ht. 0.37; W. 0.99; Th. 0.50; letters 0.020-0.025.

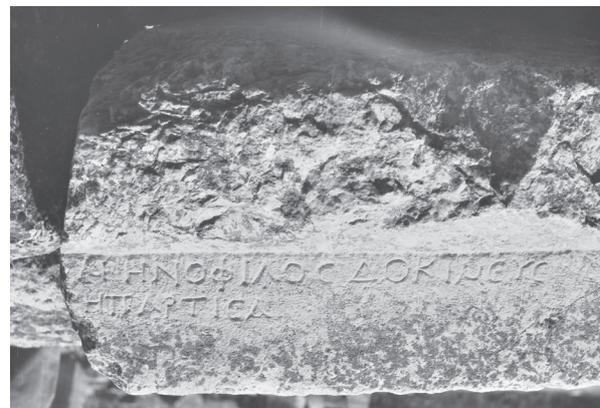
Sterrett 1888b: 397, no. 578; *MAMA* IV 238 (no facsimile). Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/103).

Roman imperial period.

Μηνόφιλος Δοκιμεύς
 ἡπάρισα

Line 2: ἡ πατρις α[---] Sterrett, *MAMA*.

Menophilos of Dokimeion finished (it).



Ballance did not record the measurements or location of this stone in his field notebook. From his photograph, it is clear that the second line is complete, and was miscopied by Sterrett and the editors of *MAMA IV*. The verb ἀπαρτίζειν ('finish off, make good') is regularly used of the final stages of construction works of all kinds, including monumental building works such as aqueducts (*TAM III* 16: Termessos), temples (*SEG* 19, 832: Komama; *SEG* 49, 1871: nr. Termessos), a theatre *petasos* (*I.Ephesos* 2040), a library (*I.Ephesos* 5101-2), relief sculptures (*SEG* 47, 1800: cave sanctuary nr. Oinoanda) and tombs (143 below: Koçhisar; *SEG* 45, 1698: nr. Ankyra). The

mason has placed the augment in the wrong place; we would expect ἀπήρτισα. For a comparable instance, see *MAMA I* 179 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), ἠνέστησα, with double augment (cited by Brixhe 1987: 88).

Signatures of Dokimeian stone-masons are frequently found on tombstones and statue-bases across central and southern Asia Minor: examples are collected by Robert, *OMS VII*, 107-9; Robert 1980: 227. For itinerant Dokimeian sculptors, see further Hall and Waelkens 1982; cf. 188 (Synnada); 340 (Koçaş); 358 (Kana); perhaps 255 (Laodikeia).

8. Uluborlu

Inscription recording the restoration of a church of the Archangel.

Plain limestone block. In the centre of the inscribed face, an incised Latin cross (Ht. 0.22), later defaced by a circular sinking (depth 0.015) and channel running from it to the top edge of the stone. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the threshold of Bahçe Camii.

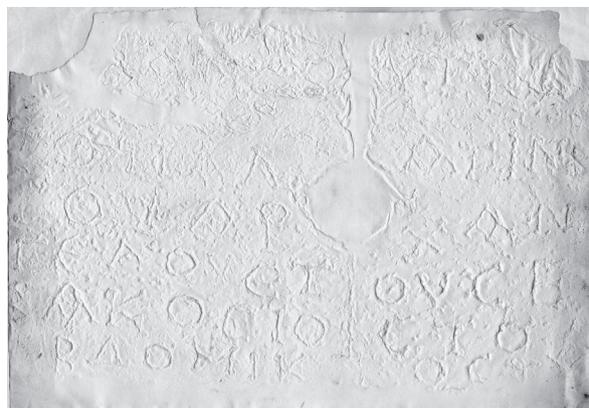
Ht. 0.40; W. 0.67; Th. 0.24; letters 0.025-0.040.

MAMA IV 225; [Foss 1977: 285-8; *SEG* 27, 899]; Labarre, Özseit, Özseit and Güceren 2012: 137-8, no.28. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/92).

AD 593/4 (Year 678 of Sullan era).

[ἀ]νανεοῦτε
τὸ παλάτιν
τοῦ Ἀρχαν-
γέλου ἔτους ἕ-
5 ξακοσιοστοῦ
ἑβδομικοστ(ο)ῦ ἡ'

Lines 0-1: [ἀνήγειρε? | Θεόδοτος *MAMA IV*; ἈΝ . . ΟΥΤΙ Labarre *et al.* Line 6: ἑβδομικοστοῦ *MAMA IV*.



The palace of the Archangel is restored, in the 678th year.

In line 6, the penultimate *omicron* was omitted by the mason. The reading of the final letter is uncertain; only a single vertical stroke can be seen clearly on the squeeze. For the combination of ordinal adjectives and numerals to indicate a date, see also 80 below (Sebaste).

Foss 1977: 285-8 showed from the evidence of earlier dated inscriptions that the Sullan era

was in use at Apollonia in the Roman imperial period (accepted by *BE* 1978, 39, and Leschhorn 1993: 274-6; for the dated inscriptions of Apollonia, see Leschhorn 1993: 501-2). This inscription is thus one of the very latest monuments to have been dated by the Sullan era; note also Drew-Bear 1978: IV 50 (*SEG* 28, 1130: Eumeneia, AD 563/4). The Aktian era was still in use at Philadelpheia in Lydia in the early sixth century (*TAM* V 3,

1882-4), and the Galatian provincial era was still in use at Ankara in AD 569/70 (*SEG* 42, 1163).

The 'palace of the Archangel' is likely to be a church (*TIB Phrygien* 387-8, s.v. Sōzopolis). No buildings of the sixth century have been recorded from Apollonia; the surviving fortifications are dated by Foss 1982: 152-7 to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

9. Gençali

Milestone of T. Atticius Norbanus Strabo.

Limestone milestone, broken below, chipped at top. Found at Gençali, in a field 1.5km north of the village and 100m from the shore of Eğirdir Gölü.

Ht. 1.40+; Diameter 0.58 (top); letters 0.030-0.040.

Pace 1921: 51, no. 39; [*AE* 1922, 5; mentioned by Ballance 1958: 232, n.16; French 1976: 53; French 1988: 150, no. 394]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/104).

AD 198.

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Septimil]us
 [Sever]us [Pius Per]tinax
 Aug(ustus) Arabicus A[diabe]-
 nicus Parth[icus ma]-
 5 ximus pont[ifex max(imus)]
 trib. pot. VI imp(erator) [XI co(n)s(ul)]
 II proco(n)s(ul) et [Imp(erator)]
 Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Antoni-
 nus Aug. [co(n)s(ul) Part[hi]cu[s]]
 10 [maxi[m]us] restitue-
 run[t per] {per} <C>(aium) Atticiu-
 m No[rba]num <St>ra(b)onem
 leg. Aug. pr(o) pr(aetore) mil(ia) pass(uum)
 XXIIIX

Lines 1-2: IMP · CAES · SEPT · | SEVER[.]IS
 Pace; Line 6: TRIB · POT · VIII[- -] Pace; Line 7: P
 · P · PROCOS Pace; Line 11: RUNT PER · PE[-]IT ·
 ATTICIU Pace. (On the *praenomen*, see commentary
 below); Line 12: GRAOONEM *lapis*.



Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus maximus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time, emperor for the eleventh time, consul for the second time, proconsul, and Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, [consul, Parthicus maximus,] restored (the road) through the offices of <C>. Atticius Norbanus Strabo, legatus Augustorum pro praetore. 28 miles.

Between 1914, when this milestone was seen and copied by B. Pace ('poco lungi da villaggio sulla via in una piccola vigna Osmanoglu Osman'), and 1956, when it was recorded by Ballance, the stone had suffered damage to lines 1-2, for which we remain dependent on Pace's readings. Pace was also able to read the whole of line 11, part of which had been obliterated by 1956. The milestone was seen again by French in 1974 (French 1976: 53), at which point it was serving as the west jamb of the gate into the mosque garden at Gençali.

Seven other milestones are known from the vicinity of Gençali:

(a) Waldmann 1981: 99-100, no. 7 (French 1988: 151, no. 395; revised by Christol and Drew-Bear 1986: 51-3), Augustus, 6 BC, distance XXIII.

(b) *CIL* III 6965-7 (French 1988: 150, no. 393), three texts, of which two (6967 and 6965) carry distance numerals: (a) *CIL* III 6967, Hadrian, AD 127/8, distance XXIX; (b) *CIL* III 6965, Constantine I, AD 317 (for the date, Christol and Drew-Bear 1986: 43-51), distance Apollonia MP XVIII.

(c) Waldmann 1981: 100, no. 8 (French 1988: 151-2, no. 396; revised by Christol and Drew-Bear 1986: 46-7, esp. 47 n.30), Constantine I, AD 317, distance unknown.

(d) French 1988: 152, no. 397 (unpublished), Constantinus with [[Constantinus]], Constantius, and Constans, distances XXIIX and Mi IΘ (19 miles).

(e) French 1988: 152-3, no. 398 (unpublished), Septimius Severus and colleagues, governor Atticius Strabo, AD 198, distance XXVII.

(f) French 1988: 153, no. 399 (unpublished), Philippus, distance unknown.

(g) French 1988: 153, no. 400 (unpublished), Constantinian, distance unknown.

Of particular interest here is (e), another milestone of Atticius Strabo, with the distance numeral XXVII, said by French to have been discovered *in situ* c. 2.9km east [i.e. north-east] of the Gençali village cemetery. The location and distance-numeral are precisely compatible with our milestone, which carries the distance numeral XXIIX and was discovered 1.5km north



of Gençali. The *caput viae* ought therefore to lie some 28 or 29 Roman miles north-east of Gençali, no doubt at Antiocheia by Pisidia. Milestones nos. (b) and (d) both indicate the distance to the nearest towns to both east and west: milestone no. (b) gives 29 miles [*sc.* from Antiocheia] and 'Apollonia 18 miles', while milestone no. (d) gives 28 miles [*sc.* from Antiocheia] and 19 miles [*sc.* from Apollonia].

The year AD 198 saw a large-scale restoration of the military roads across the Asia Minor peninsula (Christol and Drew-Bear 1992: 343). Fourteen milestones of Atticius Strabo (*PIR*² A 1331) dating to this year are known from the province of Galatia. These milestones fall into three clearly defined geographical clusters, in the vicinity of the ancient cities of Tavium, Apollonia, and Ikonion.

Group 1: Region of Tavium

(1) Strobel 2003: 165-6, no. A2 (*AE* 2003, 1709): Küçüknefes, south of Tavium, distance 3 MP (from Tavium).

(2) Strobel 2003: 173-4, no. B3 (*CIL* III 6899a; *CIL* III 14184/41 [*sic*; 14184/14 Strobel and *AE*,

per lapsum]; French 1981: 168-9; French 1988: 355, no. 974; *AE* 2003, 1715): Dambasan, north of Tavium, on the road towards Amaseia, distance 5 MP (from Tavium).

(3) Unpublished (French 1988: 356, no. 977): Haydarbeyli, north of Tavium, on the road towards Amaseia, distance not preserved.

(4) Bittel 1985: 11-12 (*AE* 1985, 809; French 1988: 134, no. 353): Yazır, north of Tavium, on the road towards Amaseia, distance 12 MP (from Tavium).

(5) Bittel 1985: 13-14 (*AE* 1985, 810; French 1988: 130-1, no. 343): Karakeçili, north of Tavium, on the road towards Amaseia, distance 13 MP (from Tavium).

(6) Bittel 1985: 15-16 (*AE* 1985, 812; French 1988: 135, no. 355; Strobel 2003: 166; *AE* 2003, 1710): Yekbaş, north of Tavium, on the road towards Amaseia, distance 20 MP (from Tavium).

Group 2: Region of Apollonia

(7) French 1981: 167-70, no. 13 (French 1988: 18, no. 43; *AE* 1986, 683; *AE* 1992, 1643b): Kocasan-car Mevkii, c. 10km WNW of Apollonia, distance 8 MP (from Apollonia: see further below).

(8) *MAMA XI 9* (this text): north of Gençali, on the road from Antiocheia by Pisidia towards Apollonia, distance 28 MP (from Antiocheia: see above).

(9) = (e) above. Unpublished (French 1988: 152-3, no. 398): east of Gençali, on the road from Antiocheia by Pisidia towards Apollonia, distance 27 MP (from Antiocheia: see above).

Group 3: Region of Ikonion

(10) French 1988: 214, no. 594 (Ramsay 1905: 415-6, no. 7; *AE* 1906, 21; Callander 1906: 172, no. 56; Ballance 1958: 230, no. 14): Akbaşıayla, Kutudelik Han, on the road running NE from Ikonion, distance not preserved.

(11) 295 below (Ballance 1958: 230, no. 13; French 1988: 220, no. 612): Divanlar, on the road running NE from Ikonion, no distance numeral.

(12) Unpublished (seen by W. M. Calder in 1908; mentioned by Ballance 1958: 230, no. 17; French 1988: 235, no. 658): Obruk, on the road running NE from Ikonion, no distance numeral; attribution to T. Atticius Strabo uncertain.

(13) A. M. Ramsay 1910: 22-4, no. 6 (Ballance

1958: 230, nos. 16 and 31; French 1988: 232, no. 648): Kulakmurat Han, on the road running N from Ikonion, distance not preserved.

(14) French 1988: 215-6, no. 598 (Callander 1906: 173, no. 58; *AE* 1907, 58; Ballance 1958: 230, no. 15): Zıvarık (now Altınekin), probably on the road running N from Ikonion towards Ankara, distance 105 MP. The *caput viae* is uncertain: see *MAMA I* p.193, n.1; Ballance 1958: 232.

Each one of these fourteen milestones originally carried the full titulature of Caracalla and Geta: *...et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Antoninus Aug. et P. Septimius Geta nob. Caes. restituerunt* (with minor variations). After the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta in 211, the text of most of these milestones was altered so as to remove the reference to Geta. In most instances, Geta's name was replaced with two further titles for Caracalla, *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Antoninus Aug. ıcos. Parthicus maximus*, *restituerunt*; the first of these titles is anachronistic, since Caracalla's first consulate did not fall until 202, and Caracalla seldom carried the title *Parthicus maximus* before 211 (Mastino 1981: 50-1; cf. 76-8). This anachronistic addition is the cause of some confusion in Bittel 1985: 11-16, *AE* 1985, 809, and Ameling 1995: 696.

It seems not previously to have been noted that the three groups of milestones all give slightly different versions of Atticius Strabo's name. The five published milestones from the vicinity of Tavium (nos. 1-2, 4-6) all give the gentilician and *cognomen* alone (*per Atticium Strabonem*); his second gentilician, Norbanus, is given only by the two published milestones from the vicinity of Apollonia (nos. 7 and 8). The *praenomen* is preserved only on our milestone (no. 8), and on two milestones from the vicinity of Ikonion (nos. 13 and 14). On both the milestones from the vicinity of Ikonion, the *praenomen* is clearly stated to be *Gaius* (no. 14, *per C. Atticium Strabonem*; no. 13, [*p*]er *Gaium Att[icium] Strabonem*); on our milestone from Gençali (no. 8), the reading *T(itum)* is certain. Given the consensus of the Ikonian milestones, and the presence of mason's errors elsewhere in the governor's name on the

Gençali milestone (line 12, *GRAOONEM* for *<St>raonem*), it seems most likely that *T(itum)* on the Gençali milestone is a mason's error for *C(aium)*. I have corrected the text accordingly.

The new readings of the Gençali milestone help us to improve the text of no. (7) above, a near-identical milestone situated further to the west on the same road. Milestone (7) was discovered at a site (Kocasanca Mevkii) in the plain of İlek (the ancient village of Plinnenoi), c. 10km WNW of Apollonia, on the road between Apollonia and Apameia: on the geography, see Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 18-19. The stone was first seen by Ramsay in 1905 (Ramsay 1906: 234; Ramsay 1926: 105), and was published by French 1981: 167-70, no. 13 (*AE* 1986, 683). Two photographs of the milestone were published by Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: Pl. V-VI. At the beginning of line 15, French omitted four mysterious letters *ϸΛIT*, noted by Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 19, and illustrated and discussed by Christol and Drew-Bear 1992: 345-7, with Fig. 2 (*AE* 1992, 1643b). With this addition, the text established by French reads as follows:

[*Imp · Cae*]s · L · *Sept*[*imius · Sev*|*erus ·*] *Pius · Perti*[*nax | Aug ·*] *Arab Adiab*[*eni*|*cu*]s · *Parthicus* [*· max |(5) pon*]tífex *max* [*· tr ·*] *pot ·*] VI · *imp · XI* *cos* | [*pro*]cos *et Imp Cae*]s | *M · Aur ·*] *Antoninus Au*(g) | [*(vac.?)*] *Part · max*, (*vac.*) |(10) [*viam*] *restitu*erunt | [*per · T ·*] *Atticium* [*· N*]orbanum *Strabonem leg* | *Aug pr pr mil* |(15) *ϸΛIT VIII*

As on most other milestones of this type, the title *Part(hicus) · max(imus)* in line 7 is inscribed over a *rasura*, which originally carried the words *et · P · Septimius · Geta*. On the parallel of line 9 of the Gençali stone, we ought certainly also to restore *cos* at the start of the line, where both French and Christol and Drew-Bear assume a *vacat*. In line 14, Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 19 claim that 'la lecture *AVGG* est évidente (et non *AVG*)'; however, as already noted by Thomasson 1983: 134, the singular *AVG* is found on several other milestones of Atticius Strabo, including the Gençali milestone, and hence there is no need to correct it here. As we have seen above, on the authority of the Ikonian milestones of Atticius Strabo, line 11 should certainly be restored [*per · C ·*] *Atticium*.

At the start of the final line of the Kocasanca milestone, Christol and Drew-Bear read the four mysterious letters *ϸΛIT* (not copied by French), which they interpreted as representing *Σαγαλασσέων* (Christol and Drew-Bear 1992: 345-7, with Fig. 2; cautiously accepted by Mitchell 1999b: 32 n.70). They further argued that these four letters were added (in the Greek alphabet) in the tetrarchic period, when Sagalassos and Apollonia both formed part of the new Late Roman province of Pisidia. However, on the parallel of lines 13-14 of the Gençali milestone (*leg. Aug. pr. pr. mil. pass. XXIIIX*), we might prefer to assume that the sequence *ϸΛIT* is simply the mason's attempt to represent the letters *PASS*, i.e. the Latin word *pass(uum)*.

10. Uluborlu

Votive *bomos* to Zeus.

Round limestone *bomos* with crown and base mouldings; on the shaft, three *bucrania* and garlands in relief. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), behind the house of Yusuf Bey, in the new main street.

Ht. 0.85; Diameter 0.41 (crown moulding), 0.39-0.43 (shaft), 0.46; letters 0.030.

Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 129-30, no.9. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/80).

Late Hellenistic or Roman imperial period.

Διός Of Zeus.

On round votive *bomoi* in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, see Coulton 2005. For the cult of Zeus at Apollonia, see *MAMA* IV 141 (first century BC: a priest of Zeus). The monument is implausibly dated to the second or third century AD by Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 129-30, no. 9.



11. Yassıviran

Votive *stele* of Doudis to Men.

Limestone *stele* with pilasters to left and right, supporting a gabled pediment. In the pediment, a crescent moon; on the shaft, unfinished relief (*bucranium* and garland?). Inscription on the upper moulding. Broken above, otherwise complete. Found at Yassıviran (Yassiören, ancient Tymandos), in the ruins of the old school.

Ht. 0.73+; W. 0.34-0.36; Th. 0.20; letters 0.015-0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/101).

Roman imperial period.

Δουδῖς ΜΙΟΨΙ

The inscription is poorly carved and badly worn; we appear to have a form of the indigenous Phrygian name Δουδης (Zgusta 1964: 153-4 §306). The crescent moon in the pediment suggests that the monument may be a dedication to the god Men; for the depiction of a *bucranium* in a garland on monuments dedicated to Men,



cf. *MAMA* VII 311 (Vetissos). The cult of Men Askaenos is attested at Apollonia: see Ramsay 1883: 417, no. 32, with Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 34.

12. Uluborlu

Votive *bomos* to Attis(?).

Cylindrical *bomos* with crown and base mouldings. Around the crown moulding, a series of eyes in relief. On the shaft, *aedicula* in relief; within, male figure seated on throne, wearing belted tunic and Phrygian cap (Attis?), holding unidentifiable objects in both hands. Labarre *et al.* incorrectly identify the figure as Kybele. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the İsmet Paşa Okulu. Now (2012) in the Uluborlu museum.

Ht. 1.61; Diameter 0.27 (crown moulding), 0.23-0.26 (shaft), 0.30 (lower moulding).

Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 138-9, no.29. Edition based on MB notebook copy; line drawing; photograph (1956/88).

Roman imperial period.



13. Mahmutlar Mevkii

Funerary inscription in verse.

Limestone block or *stèle*, moulded below, broken above and below. Found at Mahmutlar Mevkii, 2-3km from Uluborlu (Apollonia), on the road to İnhisar, in a field wall.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.63; Th. --; letters 0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/96).

Roman imperial period.

οὐ δῖνον τὸ θανεῖν, [ἀλλὰ]
 πρὶν ἡλεικίαν κὲ γονέων
 πρότερος. vv.
 vac.

To die is no terrible thing; rather, (to die) before adulthood, and before one's parents.

There are no traces of letters either above or below these three lines; the name of the deceased must have been inscribed further up the stone. Variants on this little verse are known from almost twenty



funerary inscriptions across the Greek world in the Roman imperial period; instances are catalogued by T. Corsten in his commentary to *I.Prusa* 55 (to which add Cabanes 1997: no. 374,

Apollonia in Illyria). See in general Drew-Bear 1979b, and for recent bibliography, Kokkinia 2008: 74, no. 38.

In most of the inscriptions catalogued by Corsten, this verse forms a more or less accurate elegiac distich: οὐ τὸ θανεῖν ἀλγεινόν, ἐπεὶ τό γε Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν / ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίης καὶ γονέων πρότερος (with numerous minor variants).

The new abbreviated example from Apollonia by Pisidia is unmetrical; for other abbreviated versions, compare *I.Smyrna* 556, οὐ τὸ θανῖν ἔχθι(σ)τον, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίας καὶ γονήων πρότερον; Cabanes 1997: no. 374, ἐπεὶ τὸ θανεῖν οὐκ ἦν ἐλεεινόν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίης καὶ γονέων προτέρα: Σαλβία ἐτῶν ζ', χαῖρε.

14. Uluborlu

Funerary stele of Tata, daughter of Menneas.

Limestone *stèle* with gabled pediment, chipped above; in the pediment, defaced relief. First line of inscription on moulding, remainder on shaft. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in an orchard below the town.

Ht. 1.02+; W. 0.44 (upper moulding), 0.40 (shaft), 0.44; Th. 0.38 (upper moulding), 0.38 (shaft), 0.43; letters 0.025-0.030.

Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 135, no.20. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/82).

Roman imperial period.

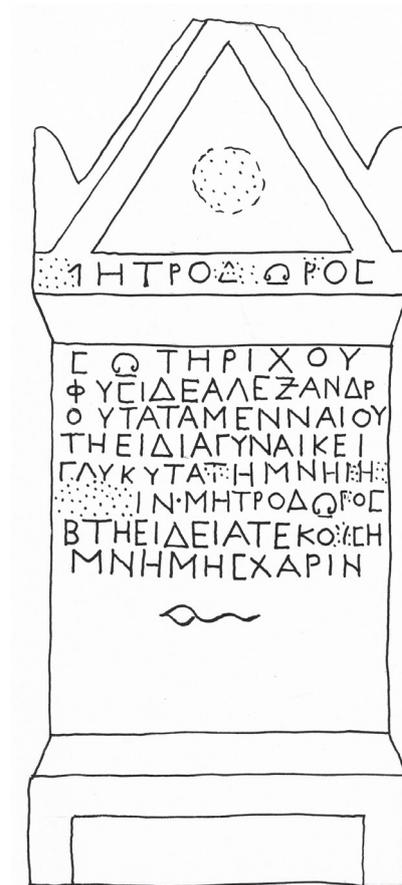
Μητρόδωρος
 Σωτηρίχου,
 φύσι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 Τατα Μενναίου
 5 τῆ εἰδία γυναικεὶ
 γλυκυτάτῃ μνήμη[ς]
 [χάρ]ιν· Μητρόδωρος
 · β' · τῆ εἰδία τεκούση
 μνήμης χάριν.

10



Metrodoros, (adoptive) son of Soterichos, natural son of Alexandros, for Tata daughter of Menneas, his own sweetest wife, in memoriam; Metrodoros, son of Metrodoros, for his own mother, in memoriam.

Published, with inaccurate readings and translation, by Labarre, Özsait, Özsait and Güceren 2012: 135, no.20. Μενναίου in line 4 is a phonetic variant of Μεννέου (from Μεννέας), a name which was



common at Apollonia: see *MAMA* IV 137, 189, 197, 208, 209, 222. On the term τεκούσα ('mother') in line 8, see Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 388-9, and cf. 23 below (Apameia); 123 (Akmoneia).

15. Uluborlu

Funerary *bomos* of Aurelia A- -.

Limestone *bomos*, broken above. Found at a crossroads c. 3km south-west of Uluborlu (Apollonia).

Ht. 0.47+; W. 0.31 (shaft), 0.49 (lower moulding); Th. 0.31 (shaft); letters 0.017-0.026.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/97).

Third century AD.

[Αὐρ]ηλία Ἄ[- - c.6-8 - -]

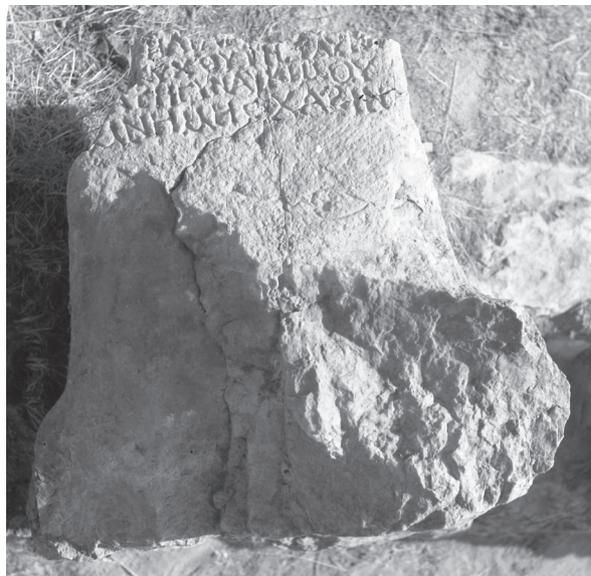
[Εὐ]τύχου τῆ γλυκυ-

[τ]άτη γυναικί μου

μνήμης χάριν.



... for Aurelia A[- -] , daughter of Eutychos, my sweetest wife, in memoriam.



16. Uluborlu

Funerary *stèle* of Auxanon and children.

Limestone *stèle* with pediment and small *acroteria*, chipped above, with a small boss on the base-line of the pediment. Line 1 on upper moulding, remainder on shaft. Found at a crossroads c. 1km west of Uluborlu (Apollonia).

Ht. 0.93+; W. 0.40 (upper moulding), 0.36 (shaft), 0.42 (lower moulding); Th. 0.34 (upper moulding), 0.33-0.37 (shaft), 0.39 (lower moulding); letters 0.025-0.032.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/98).

Third century AD.

[Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀμεία τῶ ἐ-

[αυ]τῆς ἀνδρὶν

[Αὐ]ξάνοντι

[κ]ἔ τέκνοις

5 [γ]λυκυτάτοις

[μν]ήμης χάριν.

Aur. Ameia, for her husband Auxanon and her sweetest children, in memoriam.

For the parasitic *nu* of ἀνδρὶν, compare *I.Kios* 40 (τῶ γλυκτ[ά]τῳ ἀ[νδ]ρίν Χρήστῳ). This irratio-



nal *nu* is more commonly found in the accusative case (μητέραυ, γυναῖκαυ etc.: Brixhe 1987: 65-6); in this instance, the mason may have been influenced by the fact that the following word began with a vowel (Gignac 1976: 113-4).

17. Uluborlu

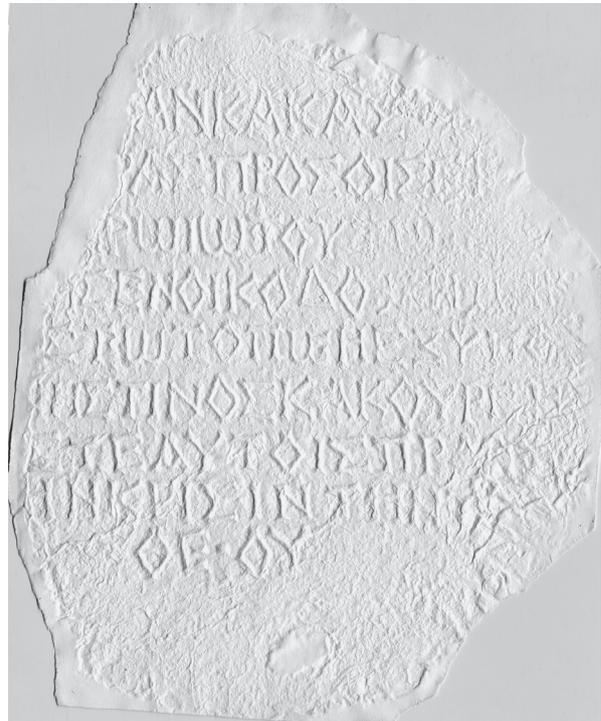
Funerary inscription with variant on Eumeneian formula.

Plain limestone cylinder, inscribed on one end face; inscribed face broken at left. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the porch of the Bahçe Camii. Diameter 0.42; Th. 0.42; letters 0.020-0.028. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/93). Third century AD.

- [τίς] ἄν κακὰς
 [χέ]ρας προσοίσει
 [τῷ ἡ]ρώϊω τούτῳ
 [-]ισεν οἰκοδόμημα
 5 [πρὸ(?)]ς τῷ τόπῳ ἢ ἐξ ὑπο-
 [-]ης τινος κακουργή-
 [σει]. [ἔ]στε αὐτοῖς πρὸς
 [τ]ὴν κρίσιν τῆν
 Θεοῦ.

Whoever brings wicked hands against this tomb, or... building near the place or causes harm (to it) through any... they shall have to reckon with God's judgement.

A similar version of the formula in lines 1-3 is found on the territory of Apollonia in *MAMA* IV 184: τίς ἄν τούτῳ ἡρώω κ[ακὴν] χέρα προσοίσει, ἔστω κεχαρισμένος Δεὶ Εὐροδ[αμηνῶ]. I am unable to propose a plausible restoration in lines 4-7. In line 4, it is conceivable that we should restore an irrational aorist, [ἦ (ἐ)ποίησεν, on the parallel of *MAMA* VII 276c, [τίς κακῶς ἐποίησεν, ἔσται αὐτῷ [πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; *MAMA* VII 360, τίς [ποτε? τούτ]ου ἀδίκησεν, ἔστα[ι αὐτῷ πρὸς [τὸν Θεό]ν]; *MAMA* VII 402, τίς δὲ τούτους ἠδίκησε, ἐνκεχαρισμένος ἦτω εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ νέκυια. See also 181 below (Synnada).



The formula in lines 7-9 is a variant on the so-called Eumeneian formula, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, 'he shall have to reckon with God': for bibliography, see the commentary to 36 below (Eumeneia). This precise formulation seems not to be attested elsewhere, but the term κρίσις ('judgement') frequently appears in funerary maledictions of this kind: see Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 398-409. A close parallel is found at the neighbouring city of Apameia: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 537, no. 394, ἔστε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν κριτῆν Θεόν. For another new variant on the formula, see also 177 below (Prymnessos).

18. Senirkent

Relief block with vine and pruning-hook.

Plain block with vine and *falx vinitoria* in relief. Found at Senirkent (near Apollonia), in the wall of the Turan İlkokulu.

Ht. 0.66; W. 0.99; Th. --.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/100).

Roman imperial period.

Tombstones and votive monuments depicting vines and pruning-hooks are widely distributed across Phrygia and Galatia, suggesting that the vine was far more widely cultivated in inner Anatolia in antiquity than it is today: see Waelkens 1977: 278-83; Mitchell 1993: I 146-7. See also 19 below.



19. Yassiviran

Stele with vine and pruning-hook.

Limestone *stele*, pilasters to left and right with capitals supporting entablature; gabled pediment above. Between the capitals, garland in relief, suspended from *bucrania* at left and right; on the shaft, vine-plant in relief, curling around an unidentifiable object in relief; below, *falx vinitoria* in relief. Broken above, otherwise complete. Faint traces of inscription on entablature. Found at Yassiviran (Yassiören, ancient Tymandos), in a lane.

Ht. 1.38+; W. 0.55 (capitals), 0.50-0.53 (shaft), 0.55 (base); Th. 0.24.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/102).

Roman imperial period.

For monuments depicting vines and pruning-hooks, see also 18 above.



20. Uluborlu

Relief plaque depicting the archangel Gabriel.

Fragment of upper part of white marble relief plaque, broken on all sides. Moulding above, with inscription; on main face, head of archangel Gabriel with *nimbus* in relief, with inscription to r. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), in the house of Mehmet Somurgaç, on the road to İnhisar (with MAMA IV 210).

Ht. 0.26; W. 0.35; Th. 0.08; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1956/95).

Late antique or Byzantine period.

On upper moulding:

[- - -] Κ ΤΟΝ[- - -]

Below moulding:

[ὁ ἀρ(χάγγελος)] βρι-

[Γα]- ἦλ

[The archangel Ga]briel.

In line 1, the letter *kappa* has an abbreviation mark on the lower diagonal stroke, presumably indicating *καί*.

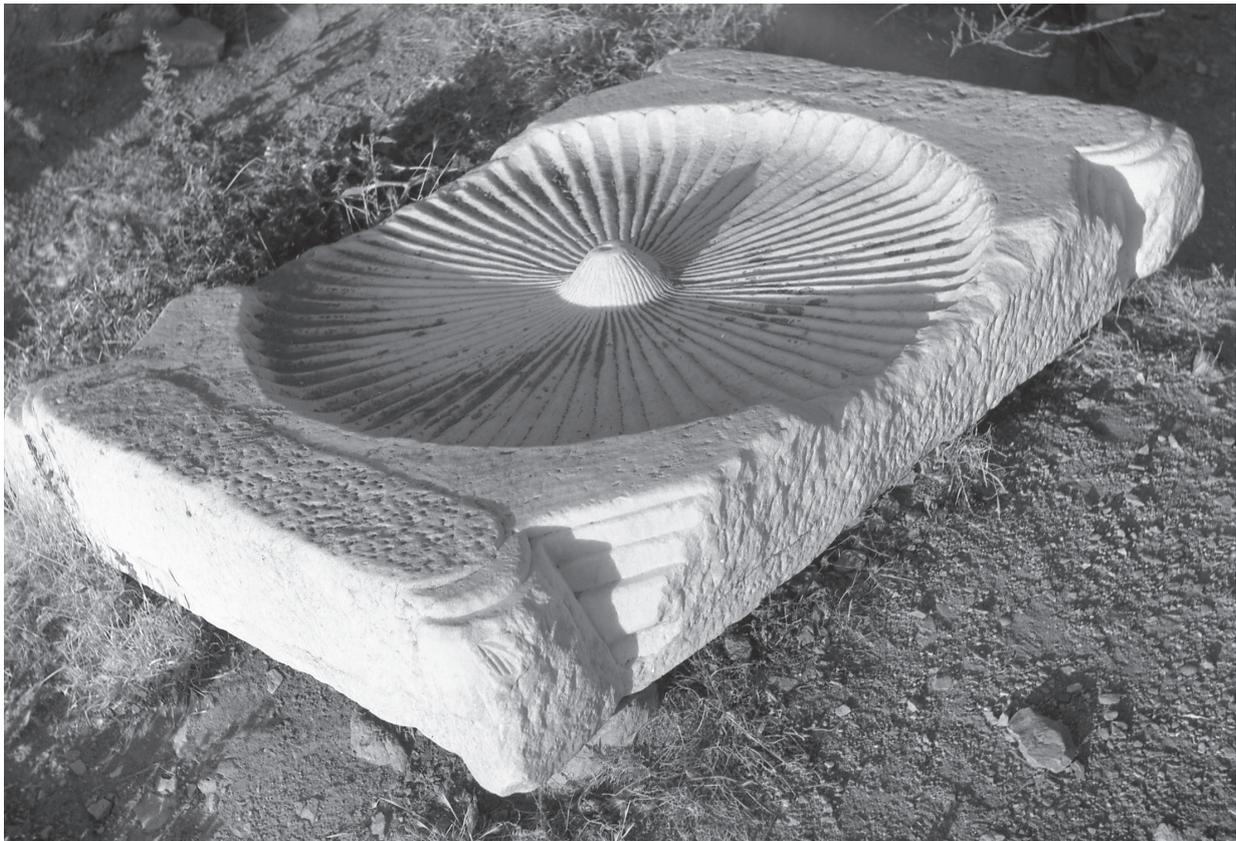
21. Uluborlu

Ambo podium.

Octagonal double *ambo* podium, with round rosette depression in centre. Found at Uluborlu (Apollonia), outside Alaeddin Camii.

H. 0.27; Width 1.72; Length 1.23. Diameter of rosette: 1.26.

TIB Phrygien, p. 388 (mentioned only); Niewöhner 2007: 283, no. 421, with Taf. 50. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/89). Sixth century AD.



II. APAMEIA – KELAINAI

22. Dikici

Funerary inscription of Demetrios and Tatia.

Limestone block with plain recessed panel. Found at Dikici (near Apameia), in a lane.

Ht. 0.94 (panel 0.55); W. 1.40 (panel 0.88); Th. 0.35; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/79).

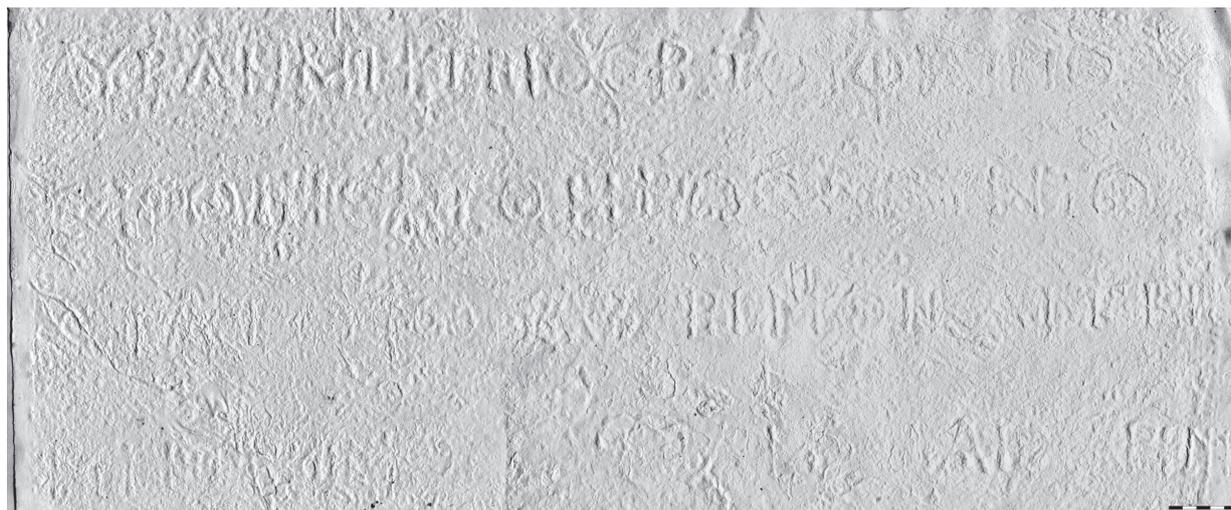
Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δημήτριος β' τοῦ Φιλίπου
ἐποίησα τὸ ἠρώων σὺν τῷ
στατῶ τῷ πατρί μοι καὶ τῇ
μητρὶ μοι Τατία μ[ν]ίας χάριν

I, Aur(elius) Demetrios, son of Demetrios, son of Philippos, constructed the tomb with the orthostate (?) for my father and my mother Tatia, in memoriam.

For the irrational use of the dative (μοι for μου) in lines 3 and 4, cf. *SEG* 19, 770 (Pisidia: Takina), εἴ τις δὲ τολμήσι μετ' ἐμαὶ ἢ τὴν γυναῖκά μοι ἐπανύξαι; Brixhe 1987: 83.

I can find no parallels for the use of the term στατός to refer to part of a tomb. In inscriptions from Delos and Mytilene, the term seems to be a variant of ὀρθοστάτης (Hellmann 1992: 410). A funerary monument is described as an 'orthostate' in *TAM* V 2, 1076 (Thyateira: Αὐρ. Ματρία κατεσκεύασε τὸν ὀρθοστάτην ἐαυτῇ κτλ.), although it is unclear exactly what the term signifies here (Kubińska 1968: 90, 'quelque sorte de soubassement').



23. Dinar

Funerary inscription of Eutyches and Glykera.

Large white limestone block, moulded above, with *tabula ansata*. Found at Dinar (Apameia), above Tiyatro Caddesi, between houses.

Ht. 1.02; W. 2.02; Th. 0.44+; letters --.

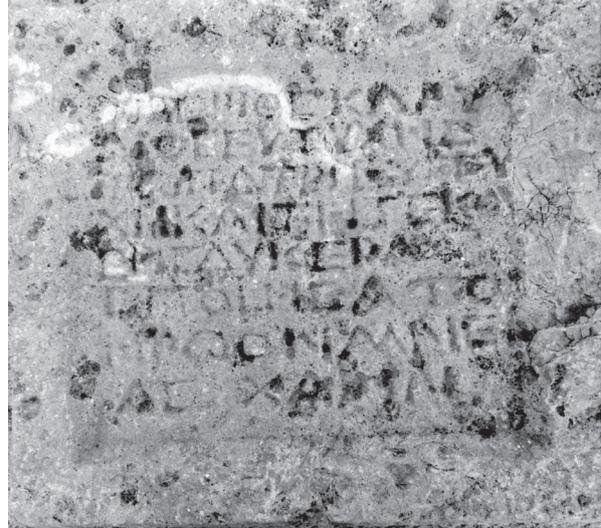
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1994/2).

Roman imperial period.

Τιβέριος Κλαύ-
 διος Εὐτύχης
 τῷ πατρὶ Εὐτύ-
 χῃ καὶ τῇ τεκού-
 5 ση Γλυκέρῃ *vac.*
 ἐποίησα τὸ
 ἠρώων μνεί-
 as χάριν.

I, Tiberius Claudius Eutyches, constructed the tomb for my father Eutyches and my mother Glykera, in memoriam.

For the term τεκούσα ('mother') in lines 4-5, cf. 14 above (Apollonia); 123 below (Akmoneia).



Tiberius Claudius Eutyches may be a relative of one of the most prominent families at Apameia in the second century AD, that of Ti. Claudius Mithridates (*IGR* IV 787; *MAMA* VI 182) and his descendants (*IGR* IV 790; *MAMA* VI 180).

III. EUMENEIA

24. Kocayaka

Honorific statue-base for Rufus.

Plain white marble block, broken above, left, and below; complete at right. Found at Kocayaka (territory of Eumeneia), in a fountain.

Ht. 0.68+; W. 0.28+; Th. 0.24; letters 0.015-0.030.

Drew-Bear 1978: 74-5, IV 7; [SEG 28, 1122]. Edition based on squeeze; photograph (1954/20).

First century AD.

[- - - - - - - - - - - η]
 [βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος ἀνέστη-
 [σαν· ἐπιμελη]σαμένων
 [τῆς (e.g.) ἀναπ]ράξεως τοῦ
 5 [εἰς ταύτην τῆ]ν τειμὴν χρή-
 [ματος καὶ τῆς] κατασκευῆς
 [καὶ ἀναστάσε]ως τοῦ ἀνδρ-
 [ιάντος - - - - -]υ Ῥούφου ἀρ-
 [ετῆς ἔνεκεν κ]αὶ εὐεργε-
 [σίας - name -]ς· καὶ Ῥούφου
 10 [- - -, φύσ]ει δὲ Ῥούφου,
 [καὶ - - -]τος· στρατ-
 [ηγού? - - -]

Line 1:]νος ἀνέθη- D(rew)-B(ear). Line 3:]ρας ἔως τοῦ D-B. Line 11:]. σις τὴν D-B.

[...the council and the peo]ple set it up. [The collec]tion of the mon[ey for this] honour [and the] construction [and erection] of the statue of [...] Rufus, [for the sake of his virt]ue and benefaction, was undertaken by [...] and Rufus, [adoptive sons of...], natural sons of Rufus, [and...], strat[egos...]

The *editio princeps* of this inscription (Drew-Bear 1978, IV 7) was based on an inferior copy of the stone, with incorrect readings in lines 1, 3, and 11. Although Drew-Bear left the text unrestored, he suggested several restorations in his commentary, most of which should be rejected (line 2, [ποιη]-σαμένων; line 3, [σπεί]ρας ἔως; lines 4-5, χρ[η]σαμένων; lines 7-8, ἄρ[χ]ουτος; lines 8-9, εὐεργ[ε]του; line 9, [τῆς πόλεω]ς).



The monument appears to be a statue base in honour of a certain [...] Rufus (line 7), the funding for which was met by his two natural sons (lines 9-10) and the local civic *strategos* (or perhaps ‘first *strategos*’: see the commentary to 26 below). The approximate line-length (c. 10-11 letters missing at left) is provided by the standard formula in lines 5-6, [τῆς] κατασκευῆς | [καὶ ἀναστάσε]ως τοῦ ἀνδρ[ι]άντος. Lines 3-5 are non-formulaic, and my restoration is intended merely to capture the sense; the restoration in line 3 seems rather too short.

25. Kavak

Honorific statue-base.

White marble block, broken above, below, right and behind, later re-used as the winch-stone of a press. Found at Kavak (Hyrgaleian *koinon*?), in a well-head.

Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.64+; Th. 0.61+; letters 0.035.

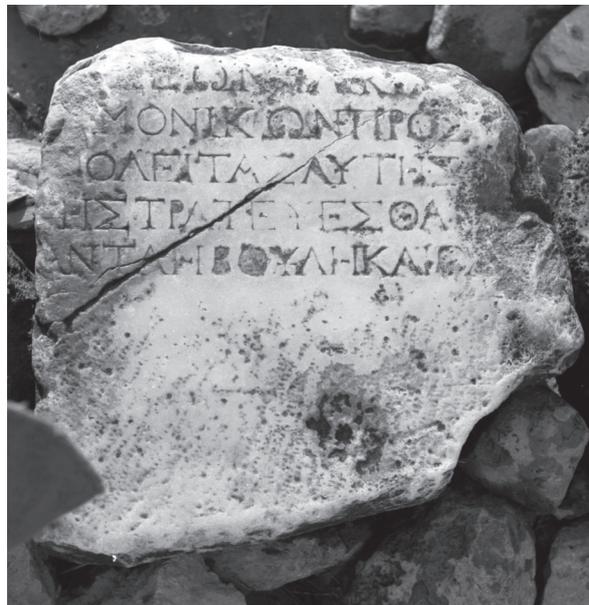
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/59a).

c. AD 169-172 (see commentary)

[-----]
 [.]ΛΕΩΝ . Λ . Κ . [----- ἦγ]-
 [ε]μονικῶν προσ[-----]
 πολείτας αὐτῆς [-----]
 Ἡ στρατεύεσθα[ι] ---- (e.g.) πείσ]-
 5 αντα ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος vac. ?]
 vac.

...official Roman... its citizens... to serve in the army... having (persuaded?)... the council and the p[eople] (honoured him).

This monument is a fragment of an honorific statue-base, which appears on the basis of its letter-forms to date to the second or early third century AD. The village of Kavak is situated in the Maeander plain some 25km south-west of Işıklı. Only one inscription from the village has been published hitherto, a statue-base of the emperor Antoninus Pius, set up during the first year of the new emperor's reign by a certain Apollodotos, who also minted coinage to mark the occasion (Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 246, no. 86, with Leschhorn 1993: 282-7; Thonemann 2011a: 121-2). Significantly, this coinage was minted in the name not of Eumeneia, but of the Hyrgaleis (von Aulock 1980: nos. 329-30, 358-61; *RPC* IV (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>) nos. 1822, 1824). This strongly suggests that the village of Kavak should be attributed to the region known in antiquity as the *Hyrgaleitikon pedion*, the Hyrgaleian plain. Three other inscriptions are known from the vicinity of Kavak, all of which ought probably also to be attributed to the Hyrgaleis: (1) *MAMA* IV 327, from a site 3 miles west of Kavak; (2) *SEG* 55, 1413, from Sarıbeyli höyük, some 2 miles NE of



Kavak; (3) Hamilton 1842: II 468, no. 348 (*CIG* 3902 u), apparently from the region around Kavak (Hamilton 1842: II 163-4). It is conceivable that the letters ΛΕΩΝ in line 1 of our inscription ought to be restored as the end of the ethnic [Ἰργα]λέων.

I understand the sequence MONIKΩΝ in line 2 to be the end of the adjective ἡγεμονικός, 'official/gubernatorial', as in e.g. *IAPH*2007 12.1107 and 13.151 (*ἐντεύξεως ἡγεμονικῆς*, 'Roman official intervention'); *MAMA* I 170 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene: *στρατευσάμενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν ἡγεμονικῇ τάξει*). The sequence ANTA in line 5 is presumably the end of an aorist participle, describing one of the actions for which the honorand was recognised by a *boule* and *demos* (perhaps those of the Hyrgaleis). I assume that the genitive αὐτῆς in line 3 refers to the *polis* concerned.

The inscription is non-formulaic and cannot be restored with any certainty; the line-length is unclear. However, the verb *στρατεύεσθαι* in line 4 may suggest one specific historical context. During the Marcomannic wars, and specifically

in the period AD 169-172, Marcus Aurelius recruited several members of the local militias of the cities of the eastern Roman provinces into the Roman army (*SHA Hadrian* 21.6-9, with Nollé 1995: 365-6). This mass levy is relatively widely attested, at Thespias in Boiotia (Jones 1971), Termessos in Pisidia (*TAM* III 1, 106), and Aizanoi in northern Phrygia (*IGR* IV 580; *MAMA* IX P 50). It has recently been suggested that another inscription, from Teos in Ionia (*IGR* IV 1572), should also be connected with this mass recruitment (Mitchell 1994: 145-7). In the inscription from Teos, the anonymous benefactor is honoured in the following words: εἷς τε τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιταγὴν πείσαντα διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης πολεΐτας

αὐτομόλους στρατεύσασθαι, 'in response to the emperor's command, through his generosity of spirit he persuaded citizens to volunteer to serve in the army'. It is tempting to assume that a similar situation lies behind the new inscription from Eumeneia: in response to an official Roman request for men ([ἡγε]μονικῶν, lines 1-2; perhaps [ἐξ ἡγε]μονικῶν προσ[ταγμάτων] or προσ[τάξεων], 'on gubernatorial orders'), the honorand has persuaded (e.g. [πείσαντα, lines 4-5) a group of citizens of Eumeneia (πολεΐτας αὐτῆς, line 3) to volunteer for temporary service in the Roman army (στρατεύεσθαι, line 4). In this case, the monument would date to the period AD 169-172 or shortly afterwards.

26. Işikli

Honorific statue-base for a local magistrate.

No description. Found at Işikli (Eumeneia), on the canal bank.

Ht. 0.63+; W. 0.33+; Th. 0.52; letters 0.020-0.025.

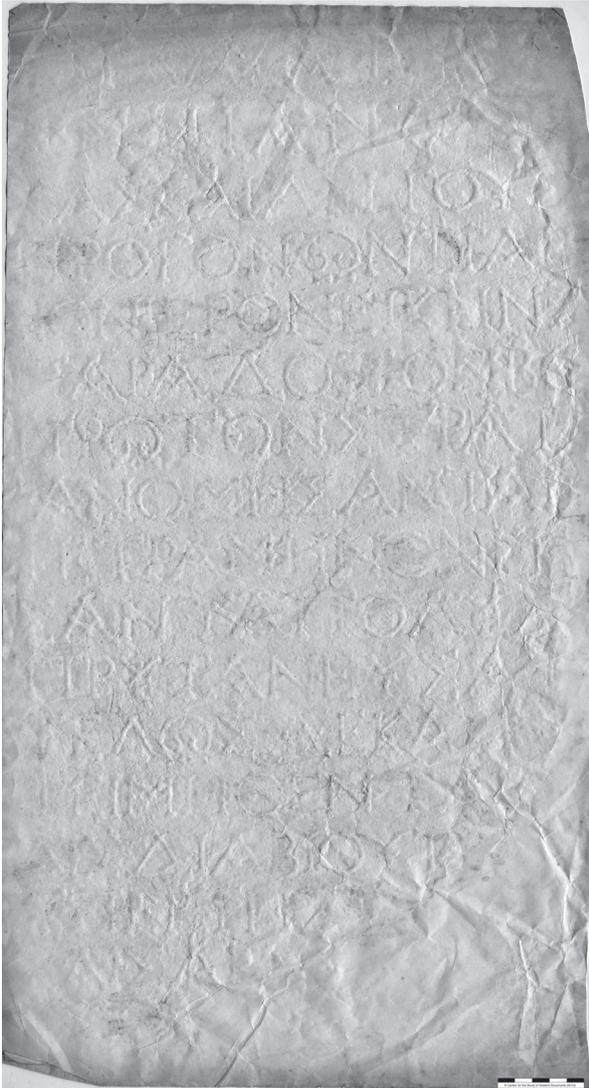
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook copy (RB 1954/1).

Second or third century AD.

[-----]
 [.]του Ἄτ[-----]
 [Ἀ]μμιανόν, [πάσας ἀρ]-
 χὰς καὶ λειτου[ργίας ἐκ]
 προγόνων πα[ρασχόμε]-
 5 νου, ἱερονεΐκην [ἄλειπτον (?)]
 παράδοξον, βο[υλευτήν],
 πρῶτον στρατ[ηγόν, ἀγορ]-
 ανομήσαντα τ[ὴν πρώτην (?)]
 10 τετράμηνον, γρ[αμματεύ]-
 σαντα πολυδ[απάνως],
 πρυτανεύσαντα πολυ]-
 τέλως, δεκάπ[ρωτον],
 τειμηθέντα [ξυσταρχί (?)]-
 15 αἰς διὰ βίου, π[ρ]εσβεύσαντα]
 ὑπὲρ τῆς [πόλεως πρὸς τὸν]
 Καίσαρα [-----]

...Ammianus, having fulfilled (lit. provided) all the offices and liturgies in accordance with the behaviour of his ancestors, an undefeated (?) and extraordinary sacred victor, member of the boule, first strategos, having served as agoranomos for the first (?) four-month period, having served as secretary at great expense, having served as prytane with great generosity, dekaprotos, having been honoured with xystarchies for life, having served as ambassador on the city's behalf to Caesar...

This honorific inscription greatly increases our knowledge of the public offices of Eumeneia. Hitherto our major source for the civic offices of the city was the inscription *IGR* IV 739 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 246-7, no. 88 = II, 375-6, no. 197), an honorific decree for a certain Monimos, λαμπαδάρχη, [ἐρέα Διὸς] Σωτήρος



καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνοῦ [καὶ
Μητρὸς] θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[s καὶ Ἄγαθοῦ]
Δαίμονος καὶ Εἵσειδος καὶ Σε]βαστῆς
Εἰρήνης, σ[τρατηγὸν] τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἔκτον,
[χρεοφυλα]κῆσαντα καὶ ἐγλογισ[τεύσαντα]
καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα [καὶ εἰρηναρ]χῆσαντα καὶ
παραφ[υλάξαντα καὶ γραμ]μ[α]τεύ[σαντα]. The
new inscription renders it clear that there was a
college of *strategoī* at Eumeneia, presided over
by a *πρῶτος στρατηγός*, as at nearby Laodikeia
(*I.Laodikeia* 45, 70, 134) and Hierapolis (*AvH*
40, 41). For the Eumeneian *strategoī*, see also 24
above (Kocayaka). The normal term of office for
an *agoranomos* seems to have been four months
(Quass 1993: 263 n.1067); in line 8, either *πρώτην*

or *τρίτην* would fit the size of the lacuna. The
office of *γραμματεὺς* (τῆς βουλῆς) is also attested
at Eumeneia in Drew-Bear 1978: 68-70, IV 3
(*SEG* 28, 1116). For the office of *δεκάπρωτος*, not
attested in the province of Asia before the second
century AD, see Wörrle 1988: 162-3; Burton 2001:
207-9.

In lines 2-5, the verb *παρέχεσθαι* is a little
unexpected; one would have anticipated *πληρώ-*
σαντα or (ἐκ)τελέσαντα, as in the Eumeneian
inscription published by Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 378, no.
204 (τὰς κορυφαιοτάτας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας
ἀμέμπτως ἐκτέλεσαντα). Cf., however, *IAph*2007
12.203.8-10, πάσας παρασχόμενον τῇ πατρίδι
φιλοδόξους καὶ λαμπροτάτους λειτουργίας. For
benefactors ἐκ προγόνων at Eumeneia, see also
Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 377, no. 199; Drew-Bear 1978:
70-2, IV 4 (*SEG* 28, 1118).

In line 5, I have restored the adjective ἄλειπτος,
'undefeated'; for the combination of this term with
παράδοξος, 'extraordinary', in the description
of athletic prowess, compare e.g. the pancratiast
and boxer M. Aur. Demonstratos Damas, regularly
described as a *πύκτης ἄλειπτος παράδοξος*
(Strasser 2003; e.g. *IGUR* I 243; *SEG* 42, 458). The
absence of any mention of the particular field in
which Ammianus excelled ought not to concern
us: cf. e.g. *I.Laodikeia* 51; *TAM* II 427 (Patara). On
the term *παράδοξος*, see Robert 1940: 250-2. In
the light of Ammianus' athletic successes, I have
supplemented lines 13-14 on the assumption that
he was honoured with 'life-xystarchies'. A xystarch
was an athlete appointed for life by the emperor
to oversee the discipline of the athletes in one
or more contests in a particular city or region
(Robert 1966: 82-3). For the phraseology here,
cf. e.g. *I.Perge* 314; *I.Anazarbos* 25 (a pentathlete,
τειμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων
ξυσταρχίαις διὰ βίου). The only athletic contest
thus far attested at Eumeneia is that of the
Εὐμένηα Φιλαδέλφια (Robert 1937: 164-5; Weiss
2000b: 626-7); for another Eumeneian athlete,
the Christian Aurelius Eutyches, surnamed Helix,
see Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 80-2, no. 204;
Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 423-5.

27. Sökmen

Bilingual rescript and petition to Roman emperor.

White marble block, broken above and below, recut at right. Found at Sökmen (territory of Eumeneia), in a yard.

Ht. 0.41+; W. 0.165+; Th. 0.10; letters 0.010-0.015.

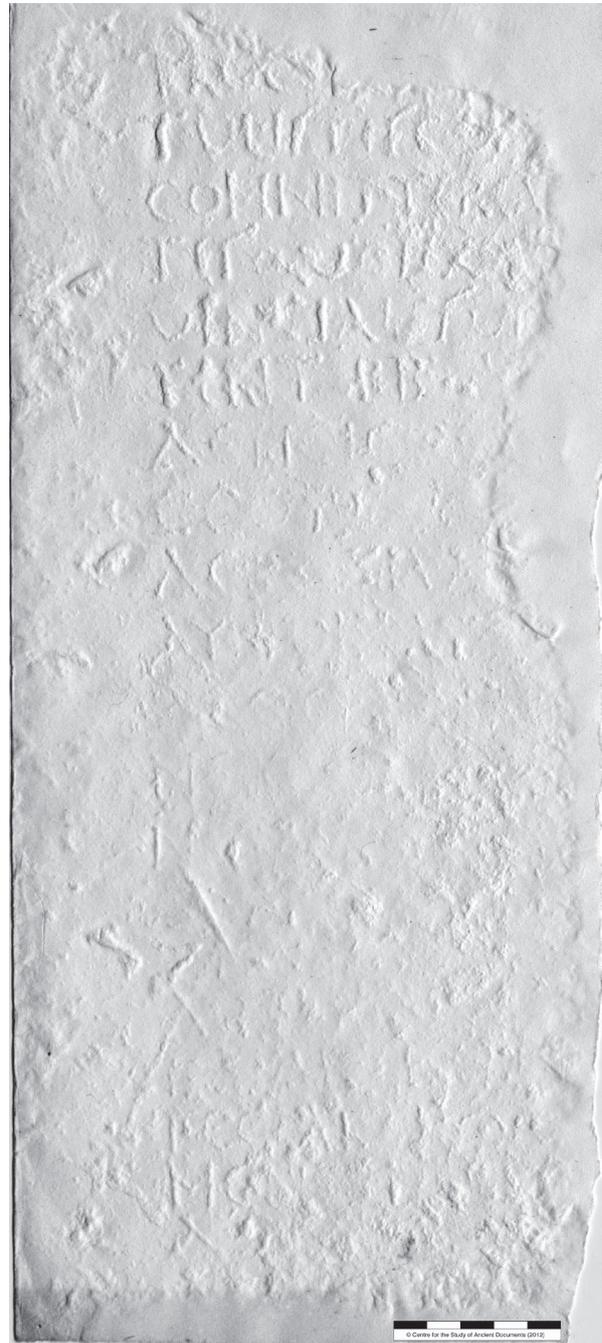
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/54).

Severan period.

 proco[nsul- -----]
 tuus TISC . [-----]
 commiteres [-----]
 tes quos ex. [----- pro]-
 5 vanciales u[-----]
 tent bb . [-----]
 δέησις . [-----]
 Σεουήρ . [-----]
 ΑΣ Α . [-----]
 10 Αὐτοκράτο[ρ -----]
 ΔΕΟΣ . . . [-----]
 Μ[-----]
 Μ[-----]
 [. . .]Α[-----]
 15 ΖΙ[-----]
 Α . [-----]

 ΤΕΣΤΑΚ . [-----]
 ΜΟ[-----]
 20 Δ[-----]

Little can now be made of this tantalising document, consisting of an imperial rescript in Latin (lines 1-6), perhaps addressed to the proconsul of Asia (note *tuus* in line 2 and the second person singular *committeres* in line 3), followed by a petition in Greek (lines 7-20: *δέησις*) addressed to an emperor or emperors of the Severan dynasty (line 8, *Σεουήρω* or *Σεουήρω[σ]*,



and line 10, *Αὐτοκράτο[ρι]* or *Αὐτοκράτο[ρος]*). Three other inscriptions have been recorded at the village of Sökmen: Drew-Bear 1978: IV 31 and IV 47 (*SEG* 28, 1145, 1148), and 61 below.

28. Emircik

Honorific statue-base for Aelius Asklepiodotos.

Upper part of statue-base, broken below; lines 1-2 on the upper moulding, lines 3-4 on shaft. Found at Emircik (near Eumeneia), in a dungheap in the centre of the village.

Ht. 0.30+; W. 0.76 (upper moulding), 0.52 (shaft); Th. --; letters 0.025-0.029.

Unpublished; mentioned at *PME* V (Suppl. II) A23bis; Spaul 2000: 276-7; Thonemann 2011a: 154. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/12).

AD 238-244 (honorific title Gordiana).

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

[A]ἴλιον Ἀσκληπιόδοτον τὸν ἀξιολογώ-
τατον χειλιάρχον χώρτης
[π]ρώτης Ῥαίτων Γορδιανῆ[ς]

With good fortune. [The council and the people? honoured] Aelius Asklepiodotos, the most worthy tribune of cohorts I Raetorum Gordiana...

The history of the *cohors I Raetorum* is controversial. Overbeck 1981: 273-5 has argued that there were in the second century AD three homonymous cohorts (*cohors I Raetorum* in Raetia; *cohors I Raetorum equitata civium Romanorum* in Germania Inferior; *cohors I Raetorum (equitata)* in Moesia, Cappadocia and Asia); Spaul 2000: 276-8 attempts to combine all of these into a single, highly peripatetic unit.

Before the discovery of our inscription, the *cohors I Raetorum (equitata)* was already known to have had a period of cantonment at Eumeneia thanks to three undated inscriptions: (1) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 211 (*IGR* IV 736: Ἰούλιος Παπίας ἱππεὺς ὄπλοφύλαξ σπείρης πρώτης Ῥαίτων; on the office of *armorum custos*, see also 33 below); (2) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 215 (*IGR* IV 729: Ἀντωνεῖνω στρατιώτῃ σπείρης πρώτης Ῥαίτων); (3) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 216 (*IGR* IV 728: [Π. Αἴ]λιον Φα[υστια]-νὸν χ[ε]ιλ[ι]αρχ[ον] χώρ[τ]ης ἕκτης Ἰσ[πανῶν] καὶ χ[ε]ιλ[ι]αρχ[ον] χώρ[τ]ης [πρῶ]της Ῥαίτων[υ]).



The date at which the unit was transferred to Eumeneia is uncertain. It was certainly stationed in Cappadocia in AD 135 (Arrian, *Acies contra Alanos* 1); the earliest clear evidence for its presence in Asia comes from a military diploma dated to AD 148 (Overbeck 1981; *RMD* 100, expanding *Isaur(a)* rather than *Isaur(o)*).

During the reign of Caracalla, members of the cohort formed part of the *officium* of the *procurator Augusti provinciae Asiae* at Ephesos (*AE* 1988, 1023, *stratura militum c(o)hor(tis) I Raet(or)um qui in officio eius deputantur*); cf. *AE* 1988, 1018 (same unit?), and Eck 1986. Presumably the cohort was, at least in the late second century AD, divided between Eumeneia and Ephesos. In AD 196, the cohort fort (*castra*) at Eumeneia was destroyed by an earthquake (*MAMA* IV 328; *I.Denizli* 21); the inscription which informs us of the earthquake has been attractively restored so as to refer to the *cohors I Raetorum* (Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 64 [*AE* 1995, 1511]: *castra [cohortis I Raeto]rum terrae motu [conlapsa]*). Our inscription shows that the cohort was still stationed at Eumeneia as late as the reign of Gordian III (AD 238-244). The later fate of the unit is unknown. On the history of the military presence at Eumeneia, see further Thonemann 2011a, Chapter 4.

29. Işıklı

Fragment of public inscription.

Marble fragment, broken above, left, and below; apparently complete at right. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in the wall of a house, near a fountain containing a large Byzantine slab with ornate cross.

Ht. 0.63+; W. 0.30+; Th. --; letters 0.065 (lines 1-2), 0.100 (line 3).

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/7).

Roman imperial period.

[- - -] ΑΤΟΙ

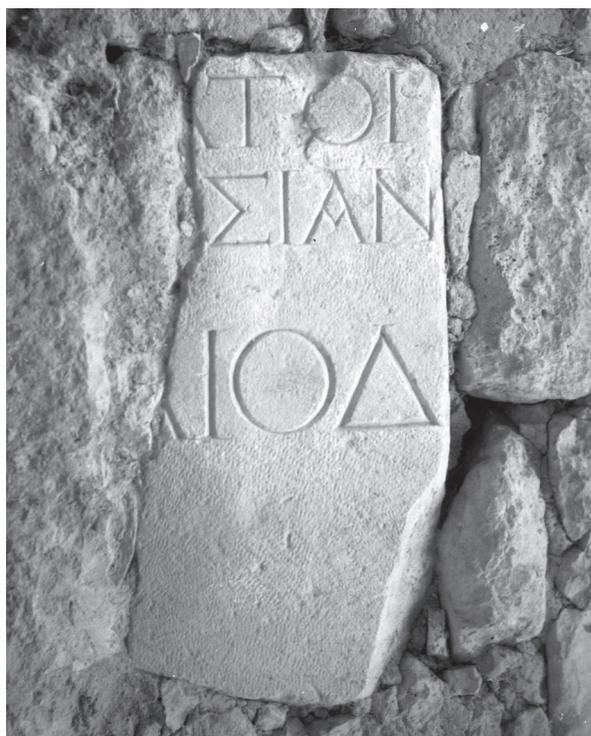
[- - -] ΣΙΑΝ

c. 0.070 interlinear space

[- - -] ΑΙΟΔ

[- - -] *vac.*

The lettering of this inscribed fragment is of extremely high quality. The third line is inscribed in larger letters, and separated from the preceding lines by an interlinear space of around 7cm; it is tempting to restore [ἡ βουλή] καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος], and to assume that the fragment comes from the



bottom right corner of an honorific inscription. The four letters at the end of line 1 could be part of a superlative ([-τ]άτοι|[s]).

30. Koçak

Votive *stele* of Eutychos to Apollo Propylaios.

Marble *stele* with pediment above and tenon below; broken into three pieces. In the pediment, circular boss; on the shaft, double-headed axe and snake in relief. Found at Koçak (territory of Eumeneia), in a house; said to have been found by children on the hill above the village.

Ht. 0.44; W. 0.185 (pediment), 0.15-0.16 (shaft), 0.195 (base); Th. 0.050-0.065; letters 0.015-0.026.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/47).

Roman imperial period.

Εὔτυχος

Ἀπόλλ-

ωνι [Πίρο]-

πυλαίῳ

5 εὐχῆν.

Eutychos, to Apollo Propylaios, in fulfillment of a vow.



For the cult of Apollo Propylaios at Eumeneia, see Labarre 2007. Six other votive dedications to Apollo Propylaios are known from Eumeneia, all carrying a double-axe in relief, see (1) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 374, no. 195 (Koçak); (2) Tod 1904-5: 28-9, no. 1 (Işıklı); (3) Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 66, no. 187 (Balçıkhisar); (4) *BE* 1953, 129 (*BE* 1964, 277: Istanbul); (5) Drew-Bear 1976: 260-1, no. 15 (*SEG* 26, 1376; Petzl 1994: 120-1, no. 104: Koçak); (6) Drew-Bear 1978: 66-7, no. IV 1 (*SEG* 28, 1121: Işıklı). For a priest of Apollo Propylaios at Eumeneia, see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 374-5, no. 196 (*IGR* IV 742: Işıklı). The god appears with a double-axe and raven on many of the coins of Eumeneia (Labarre 2007: 284-5, to which should be added the Hadrianic cistophori minted at Eumeneia: Metcalf 1980: 62-3). Labarre has argued that the chief sanctuary of Apollo

Propylaios was situated within the urban centre of Eumeneia; however, it is striking that three of the seven known dedications to Apollo Propylaios derive from the village of Koçak, 6km due west of the site of Eumeneia (Işıklı).

The snake depicted on our relief also appears as an attribute of Apollo Propylaios on the pre-imperial coinage of Eumeneia (*BMC Phrygia* 212, nos. 12-19: tripod with double-axe encircled by a serpent) and on countermarks applied by the city in the Roman imperial period (Howgego 1985: 176, nos. 374-5: double-axe encircled by a serpent). That the deity possessed healing abilities is implied by one of the dedications from Eumeneia (Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 66, no. 187): εὐχαρ[ισ]τῶ σοι ὅτι τῆ[ς] πλε(υ)ρᾶς ἀπου[όν] με ἐτήρησε[ς].

31. İğdir

Votive *bomos* to Theos Hypsistos.

Bomos, broken below. Found at İğdir (territory of Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.65+; W. 0.40 (upper moulding), 0.36 (lower moulding); Th. 0.39; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze (1954/18).

Roman imperial period.

 [. . .]ωνιο .
 [. . . .]ω[. . .]
 [. . . .]ΛΟΙΟ
 [. . .]Δ[.]του
 5 [. . .]Ν[.]ω Ὑ-
 [ψ]έστῳ
 εὐχρήν.

...to the highest god, in fulfillment of a vow.

In line 1, we could well have the remnants of a personal name (e.g. [Ἀπολλ]ώνιος[ς]). The traces in line 4 are compatible with the reading [ὑπὲρ ἐ]α[υ]του. For the spelling Ὑψιστος, compare *I.Laodikeia* 61; for the cult of (Θεὸς) Ὑψιστος in Phrygia, see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 2032-43;



Mitchell 1999a, with a catalogue of relevant inscriptions, supplemented by Mitchell 2010. Cf. also 316 below.

For other inscriptions from İğdir, see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 251 (*I.Denizli* 164); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 267; Drew-Bear 1978: 87-9, IV 21 (*SEG* 28, 1152).

32. Koçak

Bilingual funerary inscription of Sitas.

Whitish crystalline marble block, broken right. Found at Koçak (territory of Eumeneia), in a yard, in use as a mortar, said to have been brought from Işıklı.
Ht. 0.82; W. 0.59+; Th. 0.65; letters 0.040-0.075.
Drew-Bear 1978: 17-18, I 9; [AE 1978, 797; SEG 28, 1123; Kearsley 2001: no. 55]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/46).
Early first century AD.

C(aius) Aruntius C(ai) · [f(ilius)]
Vel(ina) · Arabus ·
Sitae · leiber[to]
Ἄραβος Σειτα ἀπελε[υθέρω]
5 Θεοῖς Ἡρωσι ἱερὸ[ν]
[D]eis Manibu[s]
sacrum

C. Arruntius C.f. Vel(ina) Arabus, for his freedman Sitas. Arabus for his freedman Seitas. Sacred to the Hero Gods. Sacred to the divine shades.

For a full commentary on this text, see the *editio princeps* of T. Drew-Bear. The top right-hand corner of the stone had been further damaged by the time it was copied by Drew-Bear, and Ballance's photograph shows a few extra letters at the ends of lines 1-5 (including Arruntius' filiation



in line 1). For Arruntii in Asia Minor, see Balland 1981: 143-67, with the additions of Christol and Drew-Bear 1986: 57-9 (Synnada, Temenouthyrai, Prymnessos, the Upper Tembris valley; Thyateira, Sardeis, Ephesos; Xanthos, Olbasa, Pisidian Antioch, Aspendos; Phazemon, Ankyra; at Traianopolis, 94 below; at Amorion, SEG 47, 1725; at Şereflikoçhisar, east of Lake Tatta, RECAM II 407). For a prominent family of Arruntii at Ikonion, see 313 below.

33. Işıklı

Bilingual funerary *bomos* of Eutaxia.

limestone *bomos*, complete; lower moulding broken at right. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.
Ht. 1.05; W. 0.62 (upper moulding), 0.49-0.51 (shaft), 0.65+ (lower moulding); Th. 0.20 (shaft); letters 0.050-0.055 (Latin), 0.030-0.035 (Greek).
Hamilton 1842: II 475 no. 369 (mentioned II 166); [CIG III 3902g; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 214; CIL III 363; IGR IV 733; Kearsley 2001: 94]. Edition based on photograph (1954/5).
Second century AD.

Ilus Gemelus
eq(ues) armorum
custos · Eu-
taxiae coniu-
5 gi merenti fecit.
Ἴλος Γέμελος ἰπ-
πεὺς ὄπλοφύλαξ
Εὐταξία συμβίω
μνήμης χάριν
10 ἐποίησεν.

Ilos Gemel(l)us, eques, armorum custos, made (this tombstone) for his deserving wife Eutaxia. Ilos Gemel(l)us, eques, armorum custos, made (this tombstone) for his wife Eutaxia, in memoriam.

This inscription seems not to have been seen since it was copied by Hamilton in the mid-nineteenth century. On the office of *armorum custos*, see Speidel 1992, and for another *eques armorum custos* at Eumeneia, see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 211 (IGR IV 736: Ἰούλιος Παπίας ἵππεὺς ὀπλοφύλαξ σπείρης πρώτης Ῥαίτων). On the name Ilos, see Herrmann 1991: 81 (Greek name Ἴλος); Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 66-8 (indigenous Isaurian name; but see Masson, OGS III 321-2). The name Gemellus was also carried by a *bouleutes* at Eumeneia: Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 436-9, with Pl. XXVI 2 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 520-1, no. 361; Strubbe 1994: 109-10, no. 4; *IJO* II, 186; *I.Denizli* 148).



34. Ömerli

Funerary *bomos* of the parents(?) of Eidomeneus.

White marble *bomos*, complete, buried above. On the shaft, wreath with hanging grape-clusters and two ribbons; inscription in *tabula ansata* (Ht. 0.22; W. 0.26). Found at Ömerli (territory of Eumeneia), outside a house near the station.

Ht. 1.05+; W. 0.46 (shaft), 0.55 (lower moulding); Th. 0.42 (shaft), 0.54 (lower moulding); letters 0.020-0.030. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/16). AD 130/1 (Year 215 of Sullan era).

Σ[-----]
 Εἰδομενεὺς
 ΚΑΥΕΠΙ Α
 γονεῖς (?) οἱ φιλά-
 5 δελφοὶ χαίρειν
 πᾶσιν.
 ἔτους σιέ'

...Eidomeneus... parents, the loving brothers; greetings to all. Year 215.



I am unable to propose a plausible reading in line 3; the reading in line 4 is very uncertain. For the name Εἰδομενεὺς in southern Phrygia, cf. *SEG* 50, 1265 (Motella); Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 155, no. 60 (Motella); *MAMA* IV 203 (Apollonia by Pisidia).

35. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of an unknown individual.

Fragment of white marble *bomos*, broken above, left, and below. Lines 1-10 in a moulded panel; lines 11-13 below. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), exact location unknown.

Ht. 0.45+; W. 0.21+; Th. 0.20; letters --.

Unpublished. Edition based on RB notebook copy; photograph (RB 1954-2).

AD 198 (Year 282 of Sullan era, Month 8)

- [-----] Α . . Α
 [μηδενὸς ἐ]τέρου
 [ἐξουσίαν ἔ]χουτος
 [κηδευσθ]ῆναι, εἰ
 5 [μὴ (?) τέκνου. εἴ] τις ἐπι-
 [τηδεύσει] ἕτερόν
 [τινα θεῖν]αι, θήσει
 [εἰς τὸν φί]σκον (δηνάρια) ,βφ'
 [καὶ εἰς τῆ]ν Εὐμενέ-
 10 [ων βουλή]ν (δηνάρια) ,βφ'· τούτου
 [ἀντίγραφον] ἀπετέθη εἰς
 [τὸ ἀρχεῖον· ἔ]τος σπβ' μη(νὸς) η'
 [-----] ΟΔΗ . . ΠΙΟ
 [-----]

...no-one else has the right to be buried here, except my child (?). If anyone tries to bury anyone else, he will pay to the fisc 2,500 denarii and to the council of the Eumeneians 2,000 denarii. A copy of this was deposited in the archive. Year 282, Month 8...



For the use of numbered months at Eumeneia, cf. 36 below; 38 below; SEG 28, 1129. For the payment of fines both to the fisc and to the town council, cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 220; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 61, no. 182; Drew-Bear 1978: 90, IV 23. For my restoration in lines 4-5, cf. *I.Pessinous* 93, μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι προστεθῆναι χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τέκνου.

36. Emircik

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Alexandros and family and Aur. Zotikos and family.

Bomos of coarse-grained whitish marble, broken below; in pediment of front face, round boss; inscription A on front face (line 1 on upper moulding, remainder on shaft), inscription B on right face. Found at Emircik (near Eumeneia), behind the school.

Ht. 0.59+; W. 0.32 (upper moulding), 0.26 (shaft); Th. 0.32 (upper moulding), 0.27 (shaft); letters 0.022-0.025 (A line 1), 0.013-0.019 (A lines 2-22), 0.015-0.018 (B). Calder 1955: 38; [BE 1956, 283; SEG 15, 811]. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/14).

AD 246 (Year 331 of Sullan era, Month 2).

A

[ἔ]τους τλα', μη(νὸς) β'.
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) · Ἀλέξανδρος
 Σηίου φυ(λῆς) Ἀπολλων-
 ίδος καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία) · Ζηνω-
 νίς ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κα-
 5 τεσκεύασαν τὸ ἡρώ-
 ον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 τέκνοις αὐτῶν Ἀμμ-
 ία καὶ Μεσσαλείνη καὶ
 10 Ζηωνίδι καὶ Ἀλε-
 ξανδρεία, ἢ ἂν ἄτε-
 κνος ἐξ αὐτῶν τελε[ν]-
 [τ]ήσῃ· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον ἐπ-
 [ε]νέγκῃ πτώμα, ἔστα[ι]
 15 [α]ὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θε-
 [ὸ]ν καὶ νῦν καὶ τῷ π-
 [α]ντὶ αἰῶνι, καὶ μὴ τύ-
 [χ]υτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 [ἐ]παγγελίας· καὶ ὃς [ἂν]
 20 [κ]ωλύσει αὐτῶν [τεθ]-
 [ῆν]αί τινα, τῇ προ[κειμ]-
 [έν]ῃ αἰρέσει ἐ[νέ]χοιτο?

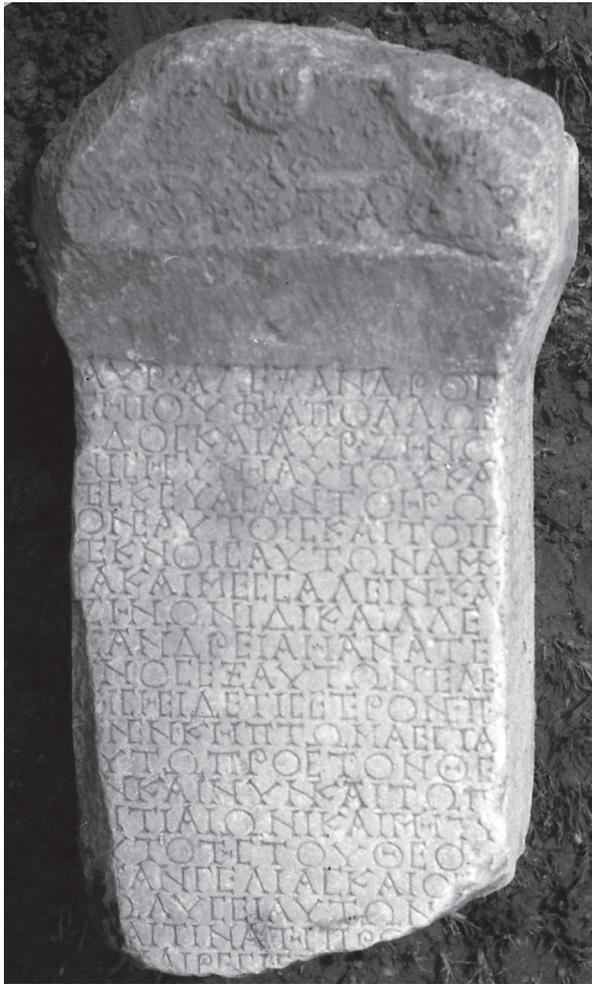
B

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζωτικὸς Γαί-
 ου κατεσκεύασεν τὸ
 ἡρώον τὸ ἀπὸ βορέ-
 ου ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυ-
 5 νεκὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Κό-
 μψη· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ[ς]
 κηδευσθῆναι, οὐδε-
 νὶ ἐτέρῳ ἔξου ἔσ[τ]αι θε[ε]-
 ναι ἰς αὐτό, εἰ μὴ τι-
 10 α αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν
 ἰς αὐτὸ κηδεύσα[ι]
 τινα μέχρι ζῶσιν· με-
 τὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἴ τις ἕτε-
 ρον ἐπιχειρήσει θεῖνα[ι]
 15 ἰς αὐτ(ό, ἔσται αὐτ)ῶ[ν] πρὸς τὸν Θε[ε]-
 ὸν καὶ μὴ τύχουτο τ-
 [ῆς] τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπανγ-
 [ε]λίας ---

Line A3: Τηίου C(alder). Line B15:

ΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΠΡΟΣ lapis; ἔσ(ται) αὐτῷ πρὸς C.

(A) Year 331, Month 2. Aur. Alexandros, son of Seius, of the tribe Apollonis, and Aur. Zenonis his wife, constructed the tomb for themselves and for their children Ammia and Messalina and Zenonis and Alexandraia, whichever of them dies without children. If anyone inter another dead body, he will have to reckon with God, both now and for all time, and may he have no share in God's promise; and whoever prevents any of them from being buried here, may he be subject to the afore-mentioned disposition. (B) Aur. Zotikos, son of Gaius, constructed the tomb on the northern side for himself and his wife Aur. Kompse; after they have been interred, it shall not be permitted for anyone else to inter (anyone) in it, unless they themselves [Zotikos and Kompse] are willing during their lifetime that someone else should inter someone in it; but after that, if anyone tries to inter another, he shall have to reckon with God, and may he have no share in God's promise.



The inscriptions on Faces A and B were cut by the same mason. The inscription on Face A is dated precisely to Month 2 of Year 331 of the Sullan era (i.e. late AD 246), but no date is given on Face B; most probably the date applies to both faces of the stone. For the use of numbered months in the cities of southern Phrygia, see the commentary to 80 below (Sebaste); at Eumeneia, compare 35 above and 38 below. The collaborative use of a single tombstone to mark two different family graves (apparently lying at right-angles to one another: B 3-4) is unusual, but cf. *MAMA VI 325* (Akmoneia): *τύνβοις γὰρ δύο τοῦτο τὸ σῆμα ἐπίκειται* (two brothers and their families).

In line A 3, the correct reading is certainly Σηίου; for the name Seius at Eumeneia, see *MAMA IV 341* (M. Seius Demagoras). For the name Κόμψη (B 5-6), cf. Robert, *Hellenica X*, 102 n.11. For the

provision in lines A 11-13 (Alexandros' daughters only to receive a place in the tomb if they die childless), see the commentary to 40 below.

This inscription provides us with the earliest dated example of the so-called 'Eumeneian formula' (A 14-16, B 15-16: *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, 'he will have to reckon with God'): see further 40, 41, 42, all from Eumeneia; 17 (Apollonia); 177 (Prymnessos); 181 (Synnada). This funerary curse-formula was widespread in southern Phrygia, and particularly on the territory of Eumeneia, in the late third and fourth centuries AD. The formula is generally regarded as Christian, but was demonstrably also used by Jews and pagans in the region: see especially Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII*, 399-413 (with earlier bibliography); Feissel 1980: 463-4; Trebilco 2002. Mitchell 1993: II 40, n.243 provides a list of datable third-century Christian inscriptions from Eumeneia and neighbouring cities.



The curse-formula in A 17-19 and B 16-18 (μη τύχουτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπαγγελίας, ‘may he have no share in God’s promise’) appears to be unique. The same sentiment is also attested in a recently-published Phrygian funerary inscription of uncertain provenance, perhaps from Eumeneia (SEG 55, 1431): ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ΑΦΛΥΚΕΤΟΝ (ἀφαιρετὸν Chaniotis) αὐτοῦ τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπουράνιον, ‘he shall have to reckon with God, and may his share in heaven be (?) taken away from him’. Robert compared the formula in our inscription with a Jewish tombstone from Beth She‘arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974: no. 162; BE 1956, 340; Hellenica XI/XII, 408-9),

stating that ‘whoever moves this [woman] shall be judged by Him who has promised to raise the dead to life’ (ὁ ἐπαγγιλάμενος ζῶποιῆσε τοὺς νεκρούς). An even closer parallel, as Robert later noted (BE 1958, 44), is provided by a Christian funerary inscription from Constantinople dated to AD 555 (Macridy and Ebersolt 1922: 356-62, no. 1, with Feissel 1994: 277-83), which declares that ‘I, the lowly one, have lived my short span of life; (now) I have received my share in God’s promise’ (κἀγὼ γὰρ ὁ ταπεινὸς ζῆσας τὸν ὀλίγον μου χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς, ἔτυχον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Θεοῦ).

37. Kocayaka

Funerary *stèle* of Lucius and family.

Rough marble *stèle*, complete above, damaged below. Found at Kocayaka (territory of Eumeneia), from a site above the village.

Ht. 0.77; W. 0.26; Th. 0.28; letters 0.015-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook description (1954/23).

c. AD 250 (curse-formula)

[τ]ὸ κοιμη[τ]-
 ήριον ἐ[π]-
 [ύ]ησε τ[ῶ]
 [γ]λυκυτά[τ]-
 5 ὦ ἀνδρὶ μο-
 υ Λουκίῳ
 κὲ τοῖς τέ-
 κνοῖς μ[ου]
 . ΤΑΣ . Ν [. .]
 10 ἢ τις δ[ὲ] ἔτ]-
 [ε]ρόν τινα
 εἰσενέν-
 [κ]η, ἔστε ἐπ[ι]-
 κατάρατος
 15 εἰς τὸν ἐὼ[να]
 [. .] ΝΕΟΟ[- - -]

...made the resting-place for my sweetest husband Lucius and my children. And if anyone intrudes another (corpse), he will be cursed for eternity...



I assume that line 9 contained the name of the woman who constructed the tomb. The term *κοιμητήριον* (also in 41 below) seems to have been exclusively used by Christians and Jews: see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 437 n.1; Drew-Bear 1978: 109-10; Rebillard 1993; D. Feissel, *BE* 1993, 771. The curse-formula in lines 13-15 is paralleled in three other inscriptions from Eumeneia: *MAMA* IV 354 (AD 253), ἔσ τε ἐπικατάρατος

παρὰ θεῶ ἰς τὸν ἑῶνα; *MAMA* IV 356 (AD 258), ἔσ τε ἐπικατάρατος ἰς τὸν ἑῶνα παρὰ θεῶ; Drew-Bear 1978: IV 47 (*SEG* 28, 1148: undated), ἐπάρατος ἔσ τε ἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παρὰ θεῶ]. In the first two of these inscriptions (*MAMA* IV 354 and 356), the tomb is also referred to as a *κοιμητήριον*; these two correspondences suggest that the date of our inscription ought also to be close to AD 250.

38. Çivril

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Threptos and family.

Coarse marble *bomos*, complete. Found at Çivril (near Eumeneia), outside the Güneş Kahvesi, near the centre of town.

Ht. 0.74; W. 0.34 (upper moulding), 0.28-0.32 (shaft), 0.39 (lower moulding); Th. 0.32 (upper moulding), 0.26-0.28 (shaft), 0.36 (lower moulding); letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/17). AD 253/4 (Year 338 of Sullan era).

ἔτους τλη', μη(νός) [- -]
 Α(ὐ)ρ(ήλιος) Θρέπτος
 Νικομήδους
 Εὐμενεὺς κα-
 5 τε(σ)κεύασεν
 τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυ[τῶ]
 καὶ Ἀμμία
 τῇ γλυκυτάτ[η]
 γυναικί
 10 καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀγριπ-
 πίνη τῇ μητρ[ι]
 οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξὸν
 ἔσ τε ἐνβαλεῖν
 πτώμα: ἢν οὖν,
 15 δ(ώ)σι προστεί-
 μου ἰς τὸ ταμί-
 ον (δηνάρια) ,αφ'

Line 5: ΤΕΤΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ lapis. Line 15: ΔΠΣΙ lapis.



Year 338, Month [-]. Aur. Threptos, son of Nikomedes, citizen of Eumeneia, constructed the tomb for himself and for Ammia, his sweetest wife, and for Aur. Agrippina, his mother. It will not be permitted for anyone to inter a dead body; if (anyone) does so, he will pay a fine to the treasury of 1,500 denarii.

The mason was illiterate; aside from the two errors indicated above, *pi* is used in place of *eta* throughout the inscription (lines 1, 3, 8, 11, 14, 15). In line 1, there is space for only a single letter (i.e. a numeral) at the end of the line; for the numbering of months at Eumeneia, cf. *SEG* 28, 1129; 35 and 36 above.

In line 4, Threptos describes himself as *Εὐμενεύς*, 'citizen of Eumeneia'. That *Εὐμενεύς* was the normal ethnic of Eumeneia is correctly stated by Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. *Εὐμένεια*; this is the only form of the ethnic to be attested on the inscriptions and coinage of Eumeneia. However, the Flavian *conventus*-list from Ephesos gives the ethnic of the city as *Εὐμενέται* (*I.Ephesos* 13.II 30), and the ethnic *Εὐμενεάτης* is attested both at Athens (*IG* II² 8503a, Addenda p. 884) and Daldis (*TAM* V 1, 635). The normal female version of the ethnic seems to have been *Εὐμενεῖτις*: thus *MAMA* IV 360 (*Αὐρηλία Τάτιον Εὐμενεῖτις*) and Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 390, no. 249 (read by R. as *Ἰουλία Μητρο|δώρον Εὐμενε|τίς*; we should certainly restore the ethnic here as *Εὐμενε[ί]τις*). However, the form *Εὐμένισσα* is also twice attested for female citizens of Eumeneia, once at Athens (*IG* II² 8503) and once at Rome (*IGUR* II 902). On this variation, see further Robert, *Hellenica* II, 83-4.

It is a curious feature of the funerary epigraphy of Eumeneia that it seems to have been normal practice for citizens of Eumeneia to use the city-ethnic *Εὐμενεύς* on their tombstones. In a few cases the ethnic is combined with the word *βουλευτής*, 'councillor, decurion' (cf. 45 below): thus e.g. (1) Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 69-70, no. 194 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 525, no. 368: *Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς... Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής*); (2) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 519, no. 359 (*Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος...*

Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής); (3) Drew-Bear 1978: IV 33 (*SEG* 28, 1165: Π. Αἴλ. Παυλεῖνος *Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής*). Compare also, in neighbouring cities, Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 658, no. 605 (provenance Akmonia: [*Αὐρ.*] *Φιλόδημος Ἀντωνεῖ|νιανὸς Δομν|ιανὸς Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής*); Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 87-8, no. 217 (provenance Sebaste: M. *Αὐρ. [Πα]σικλέους... Εὐ[με]νέως [β]ουλευτοῦ*). It seems likely that in such cases the ethnic *Εὐμενεύς* should be read as qualifying the noun *βουλευτής*, 'councillor of the Eumeneian boule' (Thonemann 2007: 457); indeed, this sense is explicit in two inscriptions from Eumeneia: (1) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 210 (*Γάιος Ἰούλιος Μυρτίλος [οὐ]κτρανὸς βουλευτῆς τῆς Εὐμενέων πόλεως*); (2) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 219 (*[Ἀλέξανδρ]ος β' [βουλευτῆς Εὐ]μενέων*). In two further cases, the ethnic is used to indicate multiple citizenship: Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 80-2, no. 204 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 522, no. 364: *Αὐρ. Εὐτύχης... ἐπίκλην Ἐλιξ Εὐμενεὺς καὶ ἄλων πόλεων πολεῖτης*); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 389, no. 238 (*Ἐρμῆς Ἀκμονεὺς καὶ Εὐμενεὺς*).

It is true that in the Roman imperial period, the local ethnic was often used within a city's own territory: *BE* 1959, 434; *BE* 1965, 253; *BE* 1974, 330, 458; *BE* 1976, 567; Drew-Bear 1978: 105. However, Eumeneia appears to be the only city of southern Phrygia in which the ethnic was regularly used in the city's funerary epigraphy; I know no examples of *Ἀπαμεύς* in the funerary epigraphy of Apameia-Kelainai, and only a single example of *Σεβαστηνός* at Sebaste (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 560, no. 451). It is possible that the large foreign military presence at Eumeneia (cf. 28, 33, 65) rendered it desirable for local citizens to distinguish themselves as such on their tombstones.

39. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Aurelius Gaius and family and friends.

Marble *bomos*, complete; upper and lower mouldings damaged, and chipped at left. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in the wall of a house in the southern part of the village.

Ht. 0.59; W. 0.23+ (shaft); Th. --; letters --.

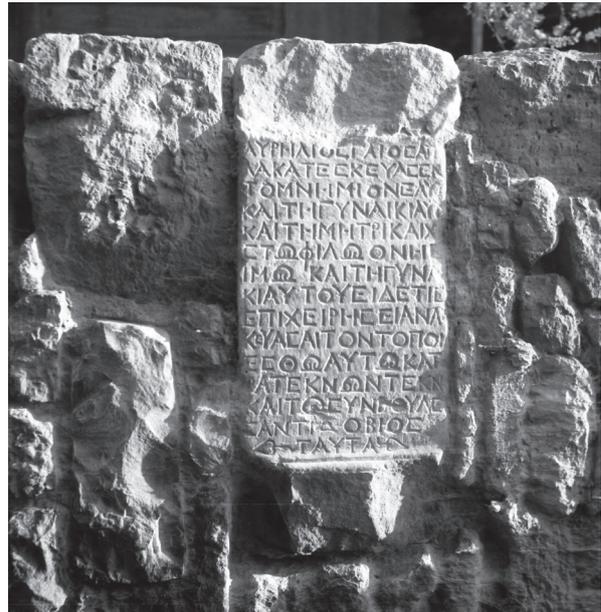
Paris 1884: 233-4, no. 1; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 231; [Frey 1952: 761; Sheppard 1979: 174-5; Trebilco 1991: 70, no. 4.3; *IJO* II, p.394 n. 148]. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/9).

Third century AD.

- Αὐρήλιος Γάϊος Ἀπ[ε]λ-
 λᾶ κατεσκεύασεν
 τὸ μνημίον ἑαυ[τῶ]
 καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ αὐτ[οῦ]
 5 καὶ τῆ μητρὶ καὶ χ[ρη]-
 στῶ φίλῳ Ὀνησ-
 ῖμῳ καὶ τῆ γυναι[κ]-
 κὶ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις
 ἐπιχειρήσει ἀνα[σ]-
 10 κευάσαι τὸν τόπον,
 ἔστω αὐτῶ κατ[ά]-
 ρα τέκνων τέκν[α]
 καὶ τῶ συνβουλευ[ύ]-
 σαντι. ❖ ὁ βίος
 15 ❖ ταῦτα. ❖

Lines 1-2: Ἀπ[ε]λ[λ]ᾶ P(aris), R(amsay); ‘On peut aussi avoir Ἀπ[ο]λ[λ]ᾶ’ (Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 390 n.6). Line 3: μνημίον P, R. Line 11: ἔστω P, R. Line 12: τέκνων τέκν[οις] P, R; τέκν[α] Robert, *OMS* V, 738 n.50. Line 13: συμ- P, R.

Aurelius Gaius, son of Apellas, constructed the memorial for himself and his wife and his mother and his excellent friend Onesimos and his wife; if anyone tries to dismantle the grave-plot, may there be a curse on him, to his children’s children, and on him who counsels it. Such is life.



A place in Gaius’ tomb is reserved for his friend Onesimos and his wife (Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 423 n.3). For this phenomenon at Eumeneia, compare the Christian epitaph *IGR* IV 731 (Robert 1963: 361-5), in which Aur. Nikeros reserves a place in his tomb for his friend Aur. Mannos, a Christian horse-archer from Edessa (ἔθηκα δέ φίλον· ἐνθάδε κεκήδευτε Αὐρ. Μάννος κτλ.). In *MAMA* IV 343, the weaver Attalos sets up a gravestone for his friend Iulius; in Drew-Bear 1978: 97-8, IV 34 (*SEG* 28, 1125), Severus Argentis admits the cabbage-seller Theodotos to his tomb. Cf. also *MAMA* IV 358 (Aur. Agapomenos and Aur. Artemidoros), and 36 above.

The verb ἀνασκευάσαι (lines 9-10) is very rare in this context; see also *TAM* IV 1, 376 (Nikomedea: Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 386-92). On the curse-formula in lines 11-12 (frequently, but not invariably, Jewish), see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 390; Robert, *OMS* V, 738-9; Trebilco 1991: 69-74; Strubbe 1994: 73-83; Strubbe 1997: 197-8, no. 290; *IJO* II, pp. 346-7, 394. For the concluding formula ὁ βίος ταῦτα, ‘such is life’ (lines 14-15), see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 426 n.5; *Hellenica* XIII, 185-6, 272-3; *OMS* V, 328.

40. Kızılcaşöğüt

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Antonia and family.

White crystalline marble *bomos* with *tabula ansata*, broken above. Found at Kızılcaşöğüt (territory of Eumeneia), in the garden of the mosque.

Ht. 0.80+; W. 0.48-0.50 (shaft), 0.58 (lower moulding); Th. 0.47 (shaft), 0.60 (lower moulding); letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/58).

Third century AD.

- [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - -] κατε[σ]-
 [κεύασε]ν ἐμαυτ[ῶ]
 κὲ τ[ῆ] γυνεκί μ[ου]
 [- - -] AN . . Υ . . [- -]
 5 [.]νη κὲ τῆ [θ]υ[γα]τ-
 ρί μου Αὐρ(ηλία) Αὐτω[νία]
 ΜΗΛΑΝΑΗ κὲ τῶ τ[υ]-
 χόντι ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆ[ς]
 καὶ ἐσομένω· εἴ τι[ς]
 10 δὲ ἕτερον ἐπεν-
 βάλῃ, [ἔσ]τ[αι] αὐτῶ]
 [π]ρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεὸν
 μηδὲ τέκνων τύχο[ιτ]-
 ον μήτε βίου μήτε τάφ[ου]
 15 ν. τύχουτον.

...constructed (the tomb) for myself and my wife... and my daughter Aur. Anto[nia...] and whoever her husband happens to be, and their future child. If anyone inters anyone else, he shall have to reckon with the living God, nor may he meet with children, nor may he meet with life nor tomb.

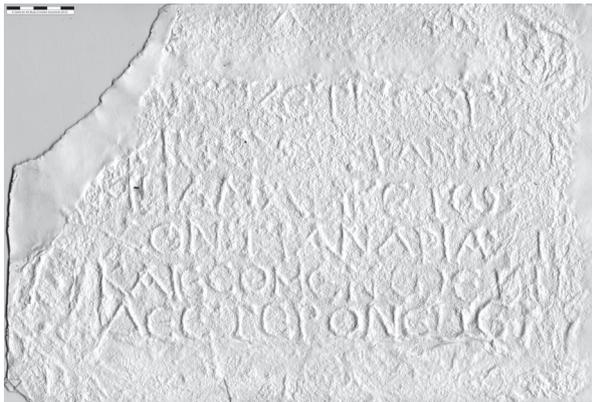
In line 7, the sequence ΜΗΛΑΝΑΗ could perhaps be read as ⟨Αρ⟩ηλ(ιαν)ῆ. I can find no close parallels for the description of Aurelia Antonia's potential future husband in lines 7-8 (τῶ τυχόντι ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς); I understand the phrase to mean something like 'her future husband, whoever he happens to be (τυχόντι).'



The participle ἐσομένω in line 9 ought to refer to a potential future child of Aurelia Antonia and her hypothetical husband. In the funerary epigraphy of Asia Minor, the future participle ἐσόμενος is frequently used of anticipated children (τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐσομένοις τέκνοις, *vel sim.*); see e.g. *I.Aph2007* 12.1205; *I.Pessinous* 153; *TAM* II 3, 863 (Idebessos); *TAM* III 1, 524 (Termessos). In a few cases, the noun is omitted: see e.g. *SEG* 16, 667 (Halikarnassos: ἐαυτῶ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις ζῶσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἐσομένοις). In a funerary inscription from Olympos in eastern Lycia, a certain Aurelius Pigres stipulates that his tomb is intended for himself, his wife, his three sons, 'their future wives' (τῆ ἐσομένη ἐκάστου γυναικί), his future grandchildren and their own future husbands or wives (*TAM* II 3, 947). In an inscription from Telmessos in western Lycia, the builder of a tomb states that it is intended for himself, his wife, his children, any potential

future grandchildren (τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἐσομένοις ἐκγόνοις μου), and his son's wife, 'so long as she stays with him' (ἐὰν μείνη μετ' αὐτοῦ: TAM II 1, 53). For this final stipulation, compare (1) *I.Milet* VI 2, 570, discussed by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 217-8; (2) the remarkable inscription *I.Aph2007* 13.112 (shortly after AD 212: Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 232), in which the odious M. Aur. Polychronios Charmides stipulates that his tomb is intended for himself and his wife Aur. Meltine, 'so long as she remains the wife of Polychronios and so long as he, Polychronios, fathers a male child' (ἐὰν μείνη γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυχρονίου καὶ ἐὰν γένηται τῷ Πολυχρονίῳ ἀρρενικὸν τέκνον: Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 218); it may be relevant that a place in the tomb is also reserved for a second woman, Aur. Zosime, who seems not to be a relative of either Polychronios or Meltine.

In funerary inscriptions from Eumeneia and neighbouring cities, the right of burial was often dependent on certain stipulated conditions. In Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 254 (*CIG* 3902m: Eumeneia, Işikli), a certain Cassius son of Teimotheos states that his tomb is for himself and his wife Apphia and no-one else, 'unless my daughter Apphion suffers anything before coming of age' (χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τι πάθῃ ἢ θυγάτηρ μου Ἀπφίον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας); the assumption is that Apphion will be buried separately with her



potential future husband, but if she happens to die before adulthood, she will be buried along with her parents. In 36 above (Eumeneia, Emircik), Aur. Alexandros reserves a place in his tomb for his daughters, 'whichever of them dies without children' (ἢ ἂν ἄτεκνος ἐξ αὐτῶν τελευτήσῃ); the assumption here is that his daughters will otherwise be buried separately along with their future children. Similarly, in *MAMA* VI 335 (Strubbe 1994: 117-8, no. 8: Akmoneia), the owner of the tomb states that it may be opened in order to inter his daughters Domna and Alexandria, 'but if they marry, it will not be permitted to open my tomb' (ἐὰν δὲ γαμηθῶσονται, ἐξὸν οὐκ ἔσται ἀνοῦξαι). In a Christian or Jewish funerary inscription from Apameia (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 537, no. 394), the tomb's owner permits 'the children of my blood' (τοῖς τέκνοις ἐκ τοῦ αἵματός μου) to be buried in his tomb only so long as they are minors (ἀνενηλίκων ὄντων αὐτῶν). In two further inscriptions, one of them certainly, the other possibly from Eumeneia, family members are only permitted burial in their father's tomb if they remain Christians (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 530-1, no. 380; *SEG* 55, 1431).

For the curse formula in lines 11-12 (the 'Eumeneian formula'), see the commentary to 36 above. The parasitic *nu* of τύχοιτον in lines 14 and 15 seems to have been particularly characteristic of the Acipayam plain north of Kibyra: Strubbe 1997: nos. 128-37; Brixhe 1987: 34, 89. For the triple curse, on children, life and tomb (apparently unparalleled at Eumeneia), compare *I.Ephesos* 2304, μὴ ἐνπλήσθοιτο μήτε βίου μήτε τέκνων μήτε σώματος (Strubbe 1997: no. 33). For the phrase μήτε τάφου τύχοιτον ('may he not receive burial'), see Feissel 1980: 471-2.

Three further inscriptions have been recorded at the village of Kızılcaşöğüt: Paris 1884: 247-8, nos. 14-15 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 266, and 394, no. 270), and 49 below.

41. Kocayaka

Funerary *bomos* of Aelia Neikomede and husband.

Plain *bomos* with fine mouldings, chipped at right, lower moulding broken at right. Found at Kocayaka (territory of Eumeneia), from a site above the village. Ht. 0.70; W. 0.33 (upper moulding), 0.27 (shaft), 0.39 (lower moulding); Th. 0.27 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.025. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; photograph (1954/21).

Third century AD.

Αἰλ(ία) Νεικομήδη
κατεσκεύασεν
[τ]ὸ κοιμητήριον
[τ]ῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆ[s]
5 Φουρίῳ κὲ ἐα[υτ]-
ῆ· μετὰ δὲ τεθ[ῆ]-
[ναι], οὐδὲν ἕξο[ν]
[ἔ]σ τε ἕτερον θ[άπ]-
[τ]ειν· ἔσ τε αὐτ[ῶ]
10 [π]ρὸς τὸν Θεό[ν].

Ael(ia) Neikomedē constructed the resting-place for her husband Furius and herself. After they have been placed (in the tomb), it will not be permitted anyone to bury another; he will have to reckon with God.



On the term *κοιμητήριον* (line 3), see the commentary to 37 above. For the formula in lines 9-10, see the commentary to 36 above.

42. Karayahşiler

Funerary *bomos* of the family of Menekrates.

Yellowish-brown *bomos*, split in two vertically, one half at either end of a modern grave. Inscription begins on front face (A: line 1 on upper moulding, lines 2-12 on shaft), and continues on left-hand side (B). Found at Karayahşiler (territory of Eumeneia), in a cemetery south of the village.

Ht. 0.99; W. --; Th. 0.43 (upper moulding), 0.33 (shaft), 0.45 (lower moulding); letters 0.030 (A), 0.030-0.035 (B).

Drew-Bear 1978: 81-2, IV 16 (right-hand half of A only); (*SEG* 28, 1153). Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy (1954); MB notebook copy (1957); photograph (1954/78=1957/167).

Third century AD.



A

(on upper moulding)

Μενεκράτης

(on shaft)

Ἀπολλωνίου

Εὐμενεὺς Ἀπο-

λλωνίῳ τῷ πα-

5 τρὶ καὶ Θεοδώ-
ρα τῇ μητρὶ κεκ-
ηδευμένοις

καὶ Θεοδώρα

τῇ ἀδελφῇ

10 μου καὶ Διο-
νυσίδι τῇ θυ-
γατρὶ

B

αὐτῆς τὸ ἠρώων

κατεσκεύασε-

ν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτη-

δεύσει ἕτερον

5 θεῖναι, ἔσται α-

ὕτῳ πρὸς τὸν

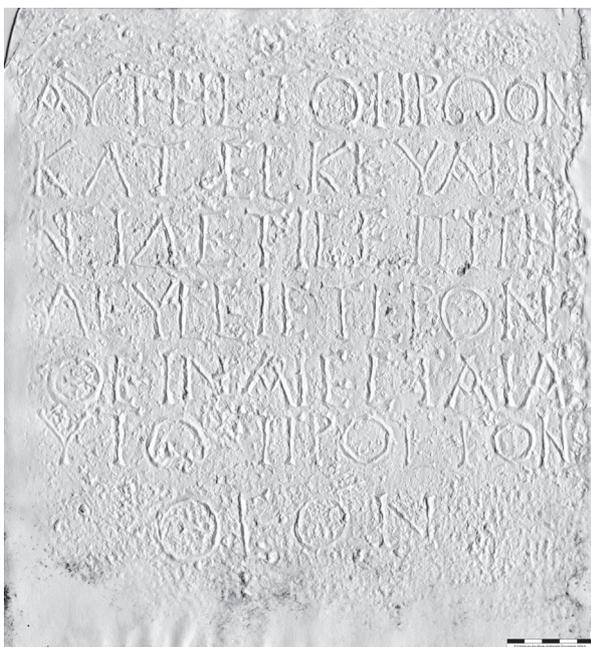
Θεόν.



Lines A 10-12: [καὶ παιδὶ Ἰου|λίῳ καὶ τῇ
θυγ|ατρὶ Drew-Bear; [καὶ Ἡρ(?)|κίδι Ἰου|λιαν]ῇ
τῇ θυγ|ατρὶ Vérilhac 1980: 236.

Menekrates son of Apollonios, citizen of Eumeneia, constructed the tomb for my father Apollonios and my mother Theodora, already deceased, and my sister Theodora and her daughter Dionysis. If anyone tries to inter another, he will have to reckon with God.

Drew-Bear published the right-hand side of Face A in 1978, with an incorrect restoration in lines A 10-12. For the use of the ethnic Εὐμενεὺς, see the commentary to 38 above. For the term κεκηδευμένοις ('already deceased') in lines A 6-7, compare Drew-Bear 1978: 86-8, IV 21 (SEG 12, 1152b); Drew-Bear 1978: 96-7, IV 33 (SEG 28, 1165). For the curse-formula in lines B 5-7, see the commentary to 36 above. For the name Dionysis at Eumeneia, compare MAMA IV 357.



43. Bozhüyük

Funerary inscription of Aur. Auxanon and Aur. Ammia.

White limestone fragment with *tabula ansata*, broken on all sides. Found at Bozhüyük (territory of Eumeneia), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.40+; W. 0.58+; Th. --; letters 0.031-0.034.

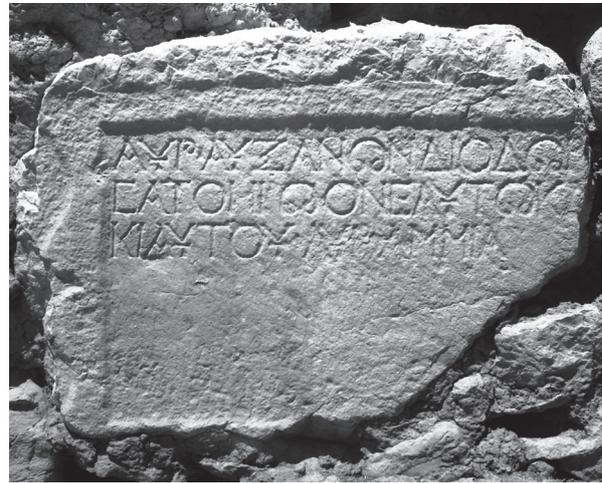
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/132=1956/78).

Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Αὐξάνων Διοδώρ[ου ἐποίη]-
σα τὸ ἠρώων ἐαυτῶ καὶ τῇ γυναι]-
κι αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀμμία.

I, Aur. Auxanon, son of Diodoros, constructed the tomb for himself and his wife Aur. Ammia.

This is the third inscription recorded at the village of Bozhüyük (subsequently renamed Yeşilhüyük):



see also Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 246, nos. 15-16 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 232, no. 78; 539-40, no. 401).

44. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Valerius Gaius, Christian, and family.

Marble *bomos*, broken below. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in a house.

Ht. 0.52+; W. 0.39 (upper moulding), 0.29 (shaft); Th. 0.37 (upper moulding), 0.27 (shaft); letters 0.025.

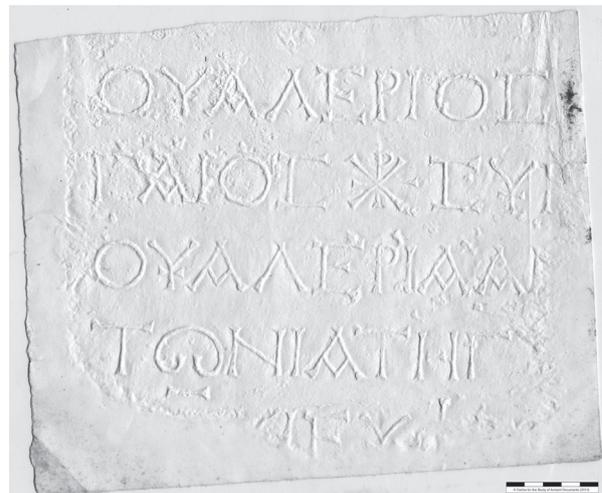
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook copy (RB 1954/15).

c. AD 275-300.

Οὐαλέριος
Γάϊος χρ(ιστιανὸς) σὺν
Οὐαλερία Ἀν-
τωνία τῇ γ[υ]-
5 [να]κι Εὐφρο-
[σύνη- -].

Valerius Gaius, Christian, with his wife Valeria Antonia, for Euphrosyne...

The Christogram in line 2 is also found in a Eumeneian funerary inscription of the late third



century, set up by Αὐρ. Γλυκων[ίδης] Εὐμενεὺς Χρ(ιστιανὸς) ἐπίσκοπος (Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 73-4, no. 200; Tabbernee 1997: 220-3, no. 32; cf. also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 526-8, no. 371, Eumeneia); MAMA VI 234 (Apameia).

45. Emircik

Funerary *bomos* of Aphia, set up by Patrokles of Eukarpia.

No description. Found at Emircik (near Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.84; W. 0.36 (upper moulding), 0.28 (shaft), 0.38 (lower moulding); Th. 0.26; letters 0.016-0.020.

Calder 1956: 49, no. 1; [BE 1958, 467; SEG 15, 810]. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook description (1954/13).

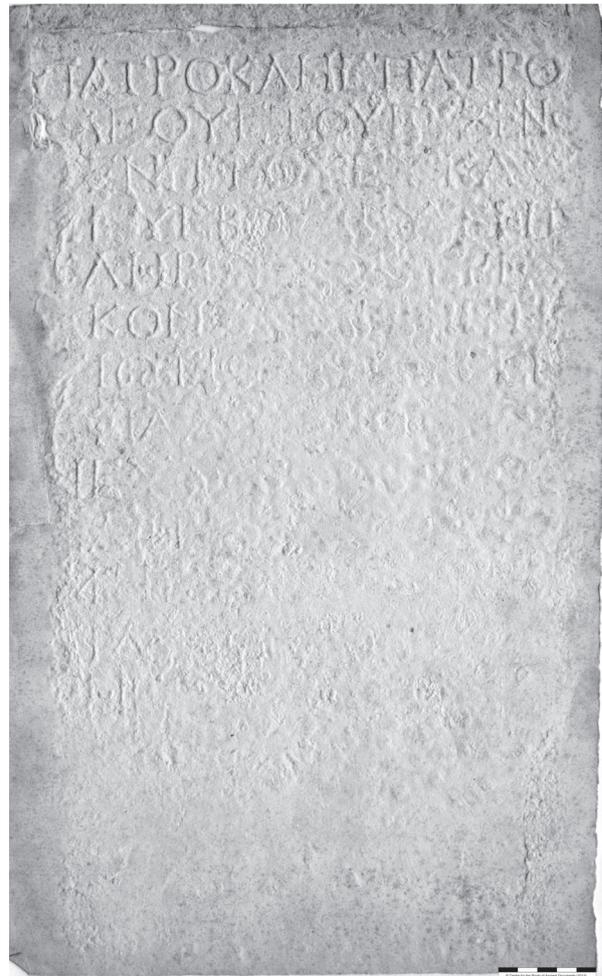
Roman imperial period.

Πατροκλῆς Πατρο-
 κλέους τοῦ Εὐξένο[υ]
 [π]ένπτου Εὐκαρ-
 πεὺς βουλευτῆς
 5 κληροῦχος τρε[ι]-
 ακουτάρχης ἰστρ[α]-
 τιώτης ἐ[ποί]ησεν
 Ἀφία Λ[- c. 8-10 -]
 [τ]ῆ συ[ν]βίῳ αὐτοῦ]
 10 καὶ Η[- c. 9-11 -]
 μνή[μης χάρις]
 εἰ δ[έ] τις ἐπιχει-
 ρήσ[ει] -----

Line 7: [ἐπύ]σεν C(alder). Line 8: Ἀφία Δου[λί]ω[νος] C.

Patrokles, son of Patrokles, grandson of Euxenos, the fifth of that name, citizen of Eukarpia, councillor, klerouchos, triakontarches, soldier, made (this tomb) for Aphia... his wife, and for... in memoriam. If anyone tries...

In his 1956 publication, Calder states that the monument was seen by ‘Ballance and Calder, 1954; photograph and impression; revised by Ballance, 1956’. We have been unable to locate a photograph of the stone, nor can we find any evidence that Ballance saw the monument again in 1956. The squeeze largely confirms Calder’s readings (which appear to have been established on the basis of the squeeze, since he did not copy



the inscription into his field notebook), with the exception of lines 7 and 8.

In line 2, the word [π]ένπτου was plausibly understood by Calder and by J. and L. Robert as signifying ‘the fifth of that name’; however, Koerner noted a lack of parallels for this mode of designating homonymity, and suggested that the word should be understood as the name of Patrokles’ great-grandfather, [Π]ένπτου (Koerner 1961: 60, 75).

The main point of interest in the inscription is the list of status-designations in lines 4-7. The titles of councillor (βουλευτῆς; Quass 1993: 382-94, and see the commentary to 38 above) and soldier (ἰστρ[α]τιώτης, presumably as an auxiliary in the Roman army) are reasonably common. Far more remarkable are the two status-

designations *κληροῦχος* and *τριακοντάρχης*, both also attested in Calder 1956: 49, no.2 (*SEG* 15, 812: Eukarpeia, Sandıklı). It is very likely that both of these titles go back to the Hellenistic period, and reflect the existence of a Hellenistic military colony, either Seleukid or Attalid, at Eukarpeia (Cohen 1978: 46 and 79 n.37; *MAMA* IX, pp. xli-xlii; Cohen 1995: 299-301). Neither title is attested elsewhere in the Seleukid or Attalid kingdom, although *κληροῦχοι* are widely attested in Ptolemaic Egypt (Uebel 1968). However, it is certainly the case that the land associated with Seleukid colonies was regularly divided into standardised *kleroi*, ‘allotments’ (Cohen 1978:

45-69; Schuler 2004: 525-6; cf. Thonemann 2009). In a deed of sale from the Seleukid colony of Dura-Europos, dating to the second century BC (*P.Dura* 15.1-2), a property is described as lying *ἐν τῇ Ἀρύββου ἐκάδι (ἐκάδι?) ἐν τῷ Κόνωνος [τοῦ δέινος?] κλήρῳ*, suggesting that *kleroi* at Dura were grouped together into larger units called (*h*)*ekades* (the meaning of the term is uncertain: Bikerman 1938: 161-2; Launey 1987: 51-2). It seems possible that the *τριακοντάρχης* was a middle-ranking officer in the colony, with authority over a group of thirty *κληροῦχοι*, but in the absence of further evidence this is pure speculation.

46. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Agathopous, public archivist.

Plain limestone *bomos*, broken below, chipped both sides. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in a field beyond the cemetery.

Ht. 0.70+; W. 0.34 (upper moulding), 0.29 (shaft); Th. 0.23; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/3).

Roman imperial period.

[Α]γαθόπους
 [δ]ημόσιος ἐπολί-
 [η]σεν ἐαυτῷ καὶ
 [τ]ῇ συνβίῳ Γρισφεί-
 5 [ν]ῆ μνήμης χά[ρ]-
 [ιν.] ὁ δὲ ἐπιχειρή-
 [σας θείναι ἕ]τερόν
 [τινα - - - - -]

Agathopous, the public archivist, made (this tomb) for himself and his wife Crispina, in memoriam. He who tries to inter anyone else...

For the name Agathopous at Eumeneia, see Drew-Bear 1978: IV 12 (*SEG* 28, 1163) and IV 28 (*SEG* 28, 1124). Agathopous was the public archivist (*δημόσιος*) at Eumeneia: for tombstones of *δημόσιοι* in Asia Minor, compare *I.Pessinous* 86; *MAMA* I 418 (Orkistos). For the role of the



public archivist in recording civic decisions, see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 644, no. 544; *IGR* IV 661.33; *AE* 2006, 1426.38-9; *AE* 2006, 1427.13 (all Akmoneia), with Weiss 2004: 70-84. Most, but perhaps not all, were of slave status: see Strubbe's commentary to *I.Pessinous* 86. Since Agathopous has no patronym, we may assume that he was a slave. The substitution of *gamma* for *kappa* in line 4 is paralleled in e.g. *SEG* 40, 1041 (Lydia, Iulia Gordos: Γρίσπῳ); see Brixhe 1987: 38, 40-2. For the formula in lines 6-7, compare *MAMA* IV 340 (Işıklı), ὁ δὲ ἐπιχειρήσας κη[δ]εῦσαι ἕτερόν τινα.

47. Yalınli

Funerary *bomos* of Papadion and family.

Marble *bomos*, recut as a Byzantine capital. On the front, traces of defaced upper mouldings and circular relief (encircled by lines 4-7). Found at Yalınli (territory of Eumeneia), by a well in the village.

Ht. 0.81+; W. 0.27; Th. 0.29; letters 0.013-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/50).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]
 [.]ω Παπαδίωvι κα[ι]
 τοῖς προκειμέ-
 νοις
 τέ^κοις
 5 μ|ου
 Δ|ιο-
 νυ|σί-
 αι καὶ Τα-
 τῖαι
 10 [μόνοις (?)] ἑτέρω
 [δὲ οὐδεν]ὶ ἐξέσ-
 [ται τεθῆν]αι· ὅς δὲ
 [ἂν ἐπιχει]ρήσει, θ-
 [ήσει προστ]είμου ἰ-
 15 [s-----]

...for Papadion and my predeceased children Dionysia and Tatia [only(?)]. It shall not be permitted for anyone else to be placed in the tomb; whoever tries to do so shall pay as a fine to...

The formulae of the inscription are standard at Eumeneia. For the use of the verb *προκεισθαι* (lines 2-3), compare Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 210 (*IGR* IV 735, Eumeneia: Haydan), *προκειμένης μου τῆς γυναικός*. I have restored lines 10-13 on the parallel of Drew-Bear 1978: 83-4, IV 19 (*SEG* 28, 1136, Eumeneia: Tuğcu Çiftliği), *ἑτέρω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι· ὅς δὲ ἂν ἐπιχειρήσει, κτλ.*

The reading of the name in line 1 is difficult. I have restored here an otherwise unattested name, *Παπαδίωv. This name would be a derivative



of regular formation from the very common Phrygian name Παπας, gen. Παπαδος (compare e.g. the common names Ἐρμᾶς, Ἐρμαδίωv). The female name Παπαδία is attested in Lykaonia (Laminger-Pascher 1992: no. 92; Zgusta 1964: §1199-14). I assume that Papadion was son, grandfather or brother of the man or woman who set up the inscription: e.g. [...ἑμαυτῶ καὶ τῶ τέκνῳ Παπαδίωvι.

On the rear of the stone, the word *θύρα* ('door') appears as a monogram: see Drew-Bear 1978: 59-62.

The only other monument recorded at Yalınli is Drew-Bear 1978: 106, IV 44 (*SEG* 28, 1161).

48. Serbanşah

Funerary *bomos* of Trophimos and Severa.

Plain *bomos* of whitish limestone, buried above. Found at Serbanşah (territory of Eumeneia), in the foundation of a wall.

Ht. 0.93+; W. 0.47 (upper moulding), 0.35 (shaft), 0.47 (lower moulding); Th. 0.47 (lower moulding); letters 0.022-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/56).

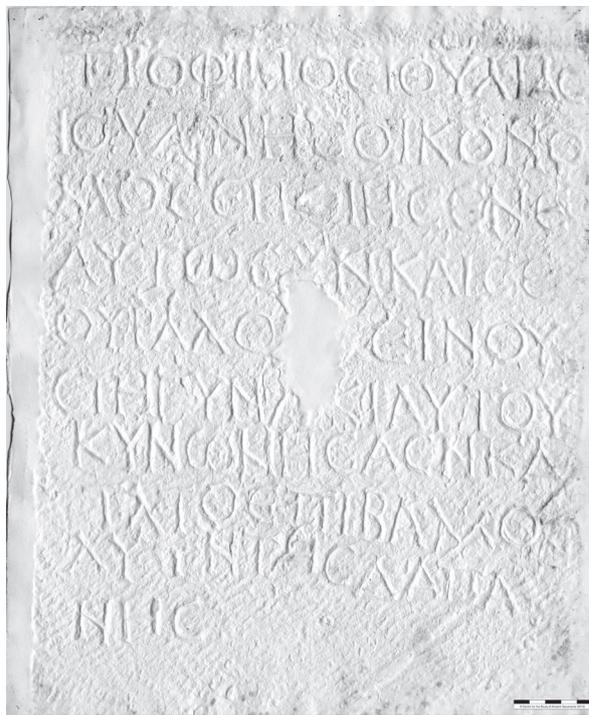
Roman imperial period.

Τρόφιμος Ἰουλίας
 Ἰουλιανῆς οἰκού-
 μος ἐποίησεν ἐ-
 5 αυτῶ σὺν καὶ Σε-
 ου(ῆ)ρα Λο[ν]γείνου
 {s} τῇ γυναι[ικ]ῇ αὐτοῦ
 κνωσησάσ(ῃ) κα-
 τ(ὰ) τὸ ἐπιβάλλον
 10 αὐτ(ῆ) τῆς δαπά-
 νης.

Line 5: ΟΥΡΑ. Lines 7-8: ΚΥΝΩΣΗΣΑΣΝ
 ΚΑ|ΤΛ. Line 9: ΑΥΤΝ.

Trophimos, agent of Iulia Iuliana, made (this tomb) for himself along with Severa, daughter of Longinus, his wife, who joined with him in taking her share of the expense (for the construction of the tomb).

Trophimos was the local estate-manager (*οἰκονόμος*, *vilicus*) of a land-owner by the name of Iulia Iuliana. Her name is not distinctive, and she cannot be identified with any confidence. A Iulia Iuliana is known as a member of a family possessing the Roman citizenship at Sebaste in the late first century AD (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 602-3, no. 475); another was honoured at Thyateira in Lydia in the late second century AD (*TAM* V



2, 963); a third (*SEG* 4, 407, restoring Ἰουλίαν Ἰουλιανῆν]; *PIR*² I 672) was the daughter of Sex. Iulius Maior of Nysa (*PIR*² I 397; Habicht 2005), consul in AD 126.

The fact that Trophimos has no patronym strongly implies that he was a slave, while his wife seems to have been of free status. This disparity in status between husband and wife may be the explanation for the curious expression in lines 7-10; for the phraseology here, compare *MAMA* IV 208 (Apollonia), [ὁ δεῖνα Ἀπολλωνίου ἰδία γυναικὶ μνήμης χάριν· Μ]εννέας Ἀπολλωνίου συνεδ[απ]άνησα.

The only other inscription recorded at Serbanşah is Drew-Bear 1978: 79-80, IV 11 (*SEG* 28, 1157).

49. Kızılcaşöğüt

Funerary *bomos* of Skylax.

Grey limestone *bomos*, broken above and below. Found at Kızılcaşöğüt (territory of Eumeneia), by the mosque. Ht. 0.83+; W. 0.46-0.49 (shaft); Th. 0.32-0.36 (shaft); letters 0.035-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/57).

Roman imperial period.

Ἀπολλώνιος
Μενάνδρου
Σκύλακι παπ-
πῶ μνήμης
ένεκεν.

5

Apollonios son of Menandros, for his grandfather Skylax, in memoriam.

For other inscriptions from Kızılcaşöğüt, see 40 above.



50. Yuvaköy

Funerary *bomos* of C. Iulius Neikias.

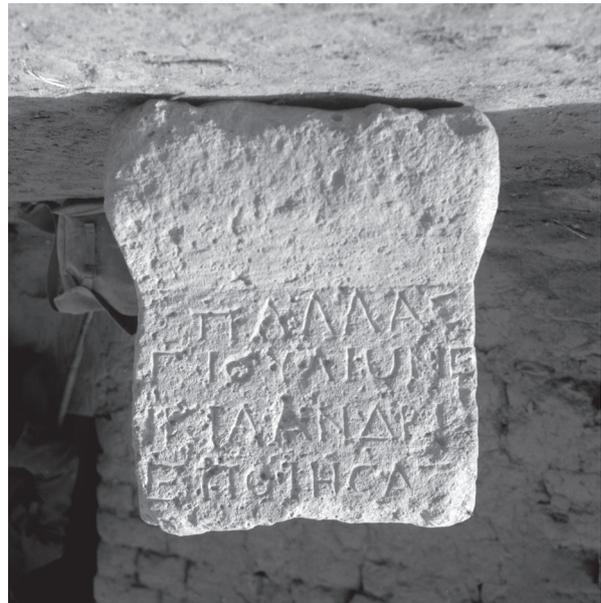
Upper part of limestone *bomos*, broken below. Found at Yuvaköy (near Eumeneia), exact location not recorded. Ht. 0.43+; W. 0.39 (upper moulding), 0.34 (shaft); Th. 0.39 (upper moulding), 0.42 (shaft); letters 0.030-0.045. Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/127). Roman imperial period.

Παλλὰς
Γ(αίω) Ἰουλίω Νε-
κία ἀνδρὶ
ἐποίησα τ-
[ὸ ἡρώου (e.g.)]

5

I, Pallas, made the [tomb] for my husband C. Iulius Neikias.

The *omega* in line 2 takes the form of a Latin letter *U*; line 5 is restored *exempli gratia*. Aside from the milestone published by Drew-Bear and Eck



1976: 294-6, no. 5 (Thonemann 2011a: 150-2), the only other inscription known from Yuvaköy is Drew-Bear 1978: 96-7, IV 33 (SEG 28, 1165).

51. Işikli

Funerary *bomos* of Diodoros and family.

Plain limestone *bomos*, broken above. Found at Işikli (Eumeneia), by the stream.

Dimensions not recorded. Letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook copy; photograph (RB 1954/3).

Roman imperial period.

 καὶ εἴ τιμι ἄ[λλω]
 ζῶν συνχωρήσει· ἐ-
 τέρω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐ-
 ξέσται τεθῆναι· ὅς δὲ
 5 ἂν ἐπιχειρήσει, θήσει
 ἰς τὸν Καίσαρος φίσ-
 κον *vac.*
vac.
 ἐξὸν δὲ ἔσται τε-
 10 θῆναι καὶ Διοδώρω
 τῷ υἱῷ μου.
 (δηνάρια) ,αφ'

...and anyone else to whom he gives permission while still living; it shall not be permitted for anyone else to be buried (here). Whoever tries to do so will pay to Caesar's fisc 1,500 denarii. It shall be permitted for my son Diodoros to be buried here also.

At the time when the original inscription was cut, the owner of the grave-plot presumably did not yet know what the appropriate or permitted



fine for illicit burial should be, and hence left a blank space at the end of line 7 for the figure to be inserted later. At a later date, the owner of the tomb decided that his son should also be buried in the same grave-plot, and lines 9-11 were added in a different hand from lines 1-7. The figure for the fine (1,500 *denarii*) was then inserted in the wrong place, after line 11, rather than in lines 7-8.

52. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Dionysodoros and Iounia.

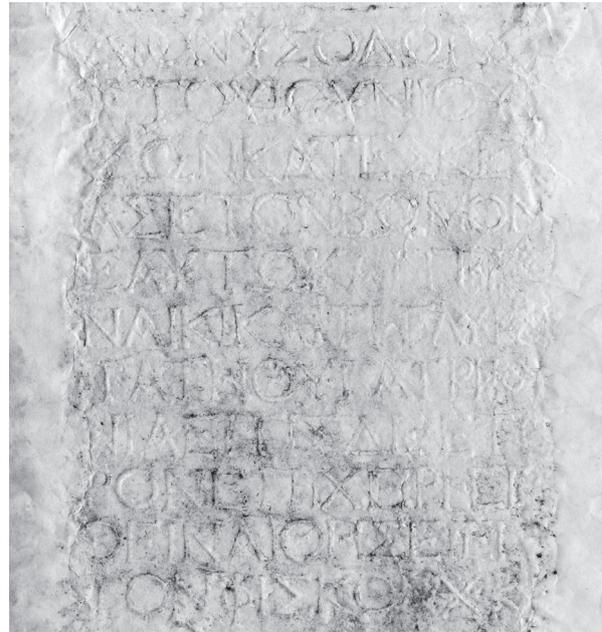
Plain limestone *bomos*, complete; upper moulding decorated with corner *acroteria*, with a garland suspended between them. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in a house.

Dimensions not recorded. Letters 0.018-0.022.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook copy; photograph (RB 1954/4).

Roman imperial period.

- Διονυσόδωρος
 τοῦ Ἰουνίου
 ζῶν κατεσκεύ-
 ασε τὸν βωμὸν
 5 ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γλυκυ-
 τάτῃ θυγατρὶ Ἰου-
 νία· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτε-
 ρον ἐπιχειρήσει
 θείναι, θήσει εἰ[s]
 10 τὸν φίσκον (δηνάρια) ,β'



Dionysodoros son of Iounios constructed the bomos while still living for himself and his sweetest daughter Iounia. If anyone tries to bury anyone else (here), he will pay 2,000 denarii to the fisc.

53. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Achilleus and family.

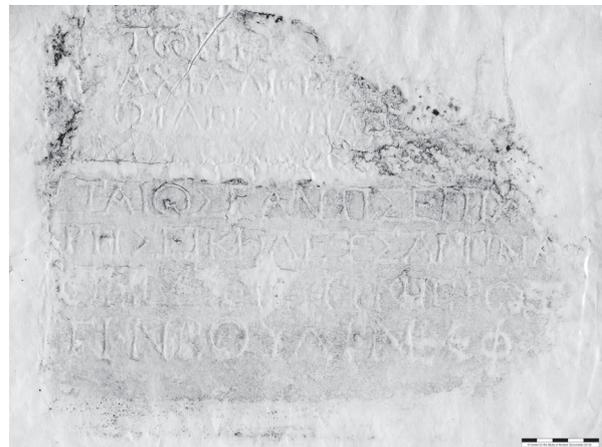
No description. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in a café.

Ht. --; W. 0.14; Th.--. Letters 0.017-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook copy (RB 1954/5).

Roman imperial period.

- τῷ ΠΙ . [-----]
 Ἀχιλλῆ· ἔτ[ερος δὲ]
 οὐδεὶς κηδευ[θήσε]-
 ται· ὡς ἂν τις ἐπιχ[ει]-
 5 ρήσει κηδεῦσαι τινα,
 θήσει εἰς τὴν ἱερωτά-
 την βουλὴν (δηνάρια) φ'



...and for... Achilleus. No-one else shall be buried (here); if anyone tries to bury anyone, he shall pay 500 denarii to the most sacred council.

For the name Achilleus in this region, cf. *IGR* IV 629 (Traianopolis); *IGR* IV 703 (Synnada); *MAMA* IV 59 (Synnada); *MAMA* IV 265 (Mossyna).

54. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Claudia Hippodameia and family.

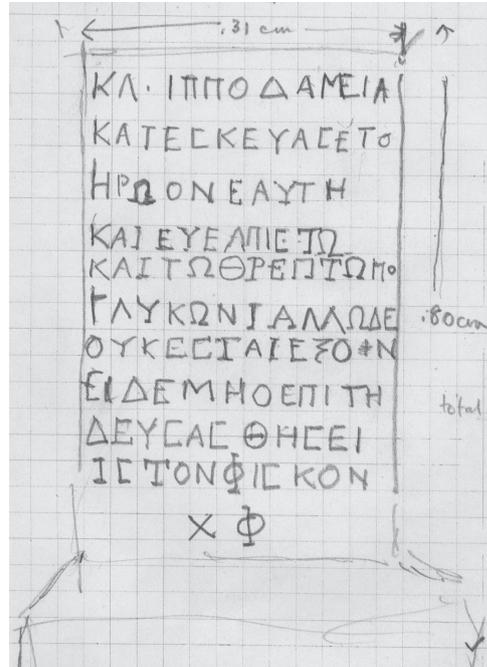
No description. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in a house.
Ht. 0.80; W. 0.31 (shaft), 0.41 (base); Th. 0.25 (shaft),
0.35 (base). Letters --.

Unpublished. Edition based on RB notebook copy (RB
1954/6).

Roman imperial period.

- Κλ(αυδία) Ἴπποδαμεία
κατεσκεύασε τὸ
ἠρώων ἑαυτῇ
καὶ Εὐελπίστῳ
5 καὶ τῷ θρεπτῶ μο[υ]
Γλύκωνι· ἄλλω δὲ
οὐκ ἔσται ἐξόν·
εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ ἐπιτη-
δεύσας θήσει
10 ἰς τὸν φύσκον
(δηνάρια) φ'

Claudia Hippodameia constructed the tomb for herself and for Euelpistos and my adoptive child Glykon; it shall not be permitted for anyone else; if not, he who attempts it will pay 500 denarii to the fisc.



For the name Hippodameia at Eumeneia, cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 227; Drew-Bear 1978: 93-4, IV 29 (SEG 28, 1154). On the term *θρεπτός*, see Cameron 1939; MAMA IX, pp. lxiv-lxvi; Ricci 2009.

55. Işıklı

Funerary *bomos* of Eleuther- and Polyneike.

Marble *bomos*, broken right and below. Found at Işıklı
(Eumeneia), in a vineyard.

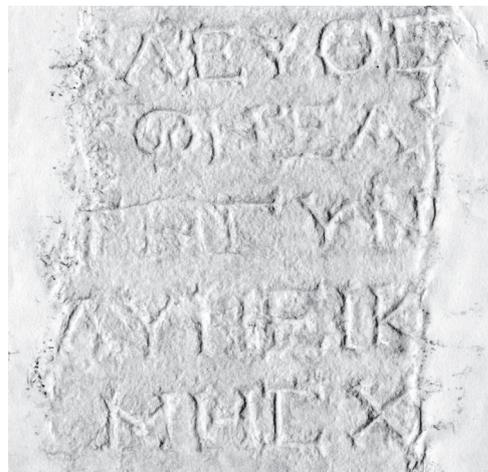
Dimensions not recorded. Letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; RB notebook
copy; photograph (RB 1954/16).

Roman imperial period.

- Ἐλευθε[ρ- -]
ζῶν ἑαυ[τῶ καὶ]
τῇ γυν[αϊκὶ Πολ]-
λυνείκ[η μνή]-
5 μης χ[άριυν]

Eleuther... (built this tomb) while still living for himself and for his wife Polyneike, in memoriam.



The name of Polyneike's husband cannot be restored with certainty (Ἐλεύθερος, Ἐλευθέριος, Ἐλευθερίων).

56. Işıklı

Funerary inscription of Proklos and family.

Cylindrical column, broken behind, chipped at top. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.67; Diameter 0.43; letters 0.020-0.030 (lines 1-8), 0.050-0.060 (lines 9-10).

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/6).

Roman imperial period.

Πρόκ(λ)ος κατε(σ)κε(ύ)ασ[ε]-
 ν τὸ μνημίον ἐαυτ[ῶ]
 καὶ τῷ ἀδε(λ)φῷ Σεκου[ν]-
 δείνω καὶ τῇ μήτηρ-
 5 ρὶ Σεκόνδα μνήμη-
 ς χάριν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερ-
 ον κηδε(ῦ)σ(ε)ι τινάν, θή-
 σει εἰ(ς) τὸ ταμειῖον
 (δηνάρια) ,αφ'
 10 θύ(ρα)

Proklos constructed the memorial for himself and his brother Secundinus and his mother Secunda, in memoriam. If anyone inters anyone else, he will pay 1,500 denarii to the treasury. Door.



The mason appears to have been illiterate; he omitted letters in lines 1, 3, 7 and 8, and added an inappropriate *nu* in line 4. However, the accusative form of the indefinite pronoun in line 7 (*τιναν*) should not be corrected: compare Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 379 (SEG 6, 194, Eumeneia: Işıklı), and see Brixhe 1987: 65-6. For the 'door' in line 10, see Drew-Bear 1978: 59-62.

57. Haydan

Altar-block with inscription.

Rectangular block, broken in two. Inscription at top of front face, large cross incised below. Found at Haydan (territory of Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.50; W. 0.95; Th. 0.91; letters 0.040-0.055; cross Ht.0.33; W. 0.20.

Paris 1884: 247, no.13; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 533, no. 381. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (B only) (1954/3a).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

A B
 |ἄ|γιον βῆ|μα Χριστοῦ
 |A † Ω

Holy altar of Christ.



Two short horizontal lines are placed above the *chi* and *iota-sigma* of *Χρίστου*. The monument probably derives from the same church as the marble chair published by Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 533, no. 382 (also discovered at Haydan).

58. Çöplü

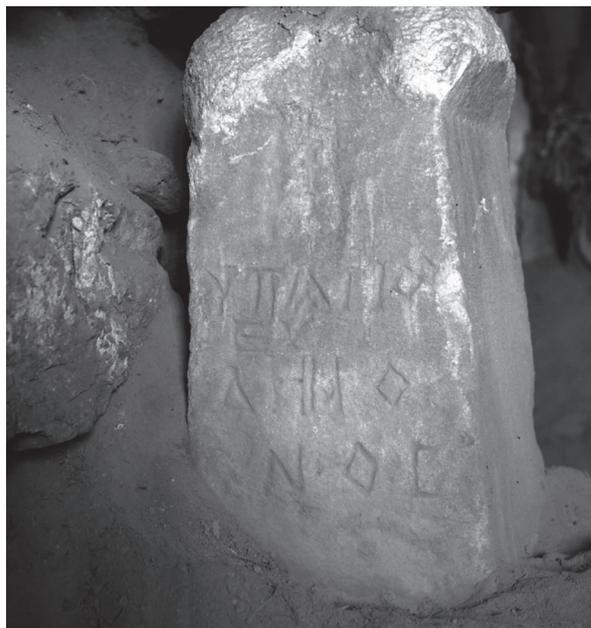
Funerary *bomos* of Hypatios.

Bomos of greyish-white crystalline marble, buried below. Above the inscription, defaced relief, apparently of a cross. Found at Çöplü (Şenköy), in the dede by the mosque.

Ht. 0.42+; W. 0.23 (upper moulding), 0.19 (shaft); Th. 0.25 (upper moulding), 0.20 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.040. Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/51). Fourth to sixth century AD.

Ἵπατίου
Εὐ-
δήμο-
νος.

(Tomb) of Hypatios son of Eudaimon.



59. Kocayaka

Prayer to Lord for help.

Cylindrical column with upper moulding, broken below. Found at Kocayaka (territory of Eumeneia), from a site above the village.

Ht. 0.27+; Diameter 0.14; letters --.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/22).

Late antique or Byzantine period.

† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη
Κοσταντί[νω].

Lord, save Constantine.

60. Işıklı

Byzantine closure slab with relief decoration.

White marble closure slab, broken above and left; uninscribed. On the front, eagle in relief; on the back, peacock (hen?) and eagle in relief. Found at Işıklı (Eumeneia), in the garden of a house in the southern part of the village.

Ht. 0.65+; W. 0.55+; Th. 0.070-0.080.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook description; photograph (1954/8a).

Middle Byzantine period.



61. Sökmen

Building inscription, possibly of Romanos IV Diogenes.

Shaped block of yellow limestone, broken left, right, above and behind. Found at Sökmen (territory of Eumeneia), in a yard.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.51+; Th. 0.52; letters 0.042-0.075.

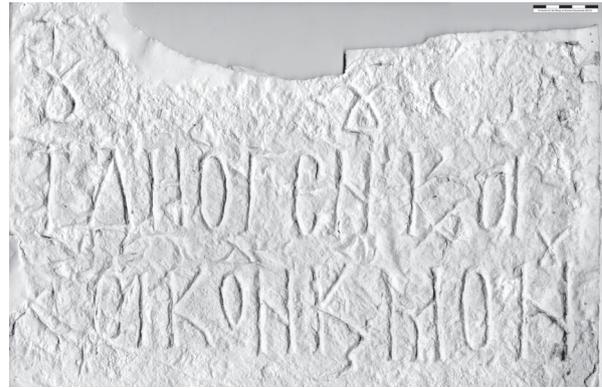
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; squeeze; MB notebook copy (1956/53).

Eleventh or twelfth century AD (letter forms)

[- -] τ^ο Δηογέν^{ου}(s) κ(αὶ) ΟΙ[- -]
[- -]. οἰκοδ^ο(ομη)ν Κ() μ^{ου} [- -]

The lettering of the inscription and the abundant use of abbreviations and diacritics suggest a date in the eleventh or twelfth century AD; compare the lettering and layout of Feissel 1987: 432, no. 52 (AD 1176).

In line 2, I have taken the abbreviation ΟΙΚΟ^ΑΝ to represent οἰκοδ(ομη)ν, ‘construction’. Assuming that the stone is part of a building inscription rather than a tombstone, two possible historical contexts might be suggested. First, in AD 1192, the fortress of Choma in the upper Maeander valley was reconstructed by Isaac II Angelos and renamed Angelokastron (Ahrweiler 1966; *TIB Phrygien* 222, s.v. Chōma; on the location of Choma (probably very close to the site of ancient Eumeneia), see Thonemann 2011a, Chapter 4. Second, an unpublished inscription dated to AD 1070/1 records the reconstruction of a *kastron* at a fortified *höyük* in the upper Maeander plain



south-east of Işıklı. The 1070/1 inscription is referred to by Foss 1982: 153, and by Belke and Mersich, *TIB Phrygien* 252, s.v. Eumeneia, who quote a single phrase from it: ‘[ἀνεκ]ενήσθ(η) ἐκ βάρω(ν) τῷ θ(ε)οφύλακτ(ον) κάστρ(ον)...’. A precisely contemporaneous inscription (dated to AD 1069/70) records the reconstruction of the fortress of Sozopolis (Uluborlu, ancient Apollonia by Pisidia) by the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes: [ἀνεκαινίσθη τὸ κάστρ]ον Σοζοπόλεος ἐπὶ Ῥομανοῦ [αὐτοκράτορος Ῥομέων τοῦ Δ]ιογένους ἐν ἔτη τῷ σφοῆ’ (*MAMA* IV 149; Foss 1982: 153-7).

It is tempting, therefore, to restore line 1 of our inscription [- - ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ] τοῦ Δηογένου(s), and to assume that it refers to the same building-works as those commemorated in the 1070/1 inscription from the *höyük* near Işıklı. Since the latter inscription remains unpublished, it is hard to say whether it could be another fragment of the same monument.

62. Çötel

Roof-tile.

Corner of a large roof-tile, found locally; letters in relief in a sunk panel (complete), 0.070 by 0.025. Found at Çötel (territory of Eumeneia), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.29+; W. 0.56+; letters 0.015.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1955/129).

Date uncertain.

ΠΣΚΛ

MB noted that the reading was very dubious; the second letter, which he read as a square *sigma*, could equally well be an *epsilon*.

APPENDIX

PUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF EUMENEIA

This list includes all the previously published inscriptions known to me which derive from Işıklı and the plain of Çivril, extending as far west as Sarılar, but omitting the inscriptions of Kavak, for the reasons explained in the commentary to 25 above. Also included are the villages of the marshy region south-west of the Ak Dağ (Sundurlu, Beyköy, Gümüşsu, Çandır, Duman, Yeşilhüyük), for the reasons laid out by Drew-Bear 1978: 104-6 (note, however, that his discussion is vitiated by his confusion of the villages of Sundurlu and Süngüllü: see below, P129).

I have omitted the inscriptions of the plain of Karbasan (the villages of Karbasan, Sırıklı, Dumanlı and Ekizbaba: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 558-60, nos. 445-7; 600, nos. 470-1; *MAMA* IV 339, 353-7), which seem to me more plausibly assigned to the Hyrgaleian *koinon* or Dionysopolis. I also omit three inscriptions recorded at villages near ancient Eumeneia which can be plausibly considered as *pierres errantes*: (a) a statue base of Marcus Aurelius (Işıklı), to be attributed to Sebaste: Pococke 1752: 11, no. 2; *CIG* 3884, with p. 1103; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 604, no. 478; (b) the funerary *bomos* of Aur. Dionysios (AD 236: Yamanlar), to be attributed to Akmoneia: Paris 1884: 252-4, no. 21; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 382, no. 218; [*IGR* IV 730]; Drew-Bear 1978: 84-7, IV 20; [*SEG* 28, 1081]; (c) the funerary doorstone of Prokle, set up by Eugenios (AD 350: Menteş), to be attributed to Sebaste (see the commentary to 78 above): Drew-Bear 1978: 110-11, IV 49; [*SEG* 28, 1129; Waelkens 1986: 183, no. 455].

In order to facilitate consultation of the long list of funerary inscriptions, I have assigned them to two groups: funerary inscriptions probably of the first or second century AD, and funerary inscriptions of probably the third or early fourth century AD (on the basis of the Aurelian *nomen* and/or explicitly Christian *formulae*). Within each of the two groups, inscriptions from Işıklı are listed first, followed by inscriptions from other villages on the territory of Eumeneia in alphabetical order. I have not included inscriptions which mention Eumeneians abroad, the most interesting of which is *IGUR* 902 [*SEG* 49, 1375].

Public monuments:

P1 (Yassihöyük): Edict of Hadrian on requisitioned transport (AD 129), Drew-Bear 1978: 16, I 8; [*SEG* 28, 1120]; Blümel 2012

P2 (Işıklı): Fragment of building inscription on cornice (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 72, no. 198; [*SEG* 6, 199]

P3 (Işıklı): Fragment of architrave with consular title (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 377, no. 200; *MAMA* IV 329

P4 (Işıklı): Fragment of decree of the *koinon* of Asia on the provincial calendar (c. 9 BC), Hamilton 1842: II 474, no. 367; [*CIG* III 3902 b; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 377, no. 202; Sherk 1969: no. 65]

P5 (Işıklı): Fragment of Diocletian's price edict (AD 301), *MAMA* IV 330

P6 (Işıklı): Building inscription of stoa (?) (AD 66/7), *MAMA* IV 334; [Thonemann 2011a: 145, n.29]

P7 (Işıklı): Building inscription of aqueduct (AD 173), *MAMA* IV 333; *I.Denizli* 20

P8 (Işıklı): Building inscription of *castra* (AD 197), *MAMA* IV 328; [Christol and Drew-Bear 1995: 64; *AE* 1995, 1511]; *I.Denizli* 21

P9 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription for Epigonos Philopatris (late first century BC or early first century AD), Pococke 1752: 12, no. 8 [lines 2-6]; [*CIG* III 3887, with p. 1103]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 377, no. 199; [*IGR* IV 741; Thonemann 2011a: 210]

P10 (Haydan-Kocayaka): Dedication to Germanicus (AD 18), Paris 1884: 245-6, no. 9; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 377, no. 201; [*IGR* IV 723]

P11 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription for Ti. Claudius Athenodotos (first century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 374-5, no. 196; [*IGR* IV 742]

P12 (Balçıkhisar): Statue base of the personified *demos* of Eumeneia, set up by Claudius Valerianus Terentullianus (AD c. 130-8), Drew-Bear 1978: 67-8, IV 2; [*SEG* 28, 1115]

P13 (Işıklı): Honorific stela of villagers at Koskinna for –minius Varus (first or second century AD), *MAMA* IV 332

P14 (Balçıkhisar): Honorific inscription set up by Claudius Valerianus Terentullianus for Hadrian (AD c. 130-8), Drew-Bear 1978: 68-70, IV 3; [*SEG* 28, 1116]; Weiss 2000b: 623-4; [*SEG* 50, 1245]

P15 (Işıklı): Honorific base for Iulianus, *bouleutes* (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 11, no. 3; [*CIG* III 3885; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 378, no. 204]

P16 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription of tribe Demetrias for Asklepiades (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 71, no. 196; [SEG 6, 197]; Drew-Bear 1978: 72-3, IV 5; [SEG 28, 1119]

P17 (Ömerli): Honorific inscription of tribe Artemeisias for Asklepiades (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 70-2, IV 4; [SEG 28, 1118]

P18 (Çivril): Honorific inscription of tribe Artemeisias for a Eumeneian with connections to Ephesos (AD 209-217), Drew-Bear 1978: 73-4, IV 6; [SEG 28, 1117]

P19 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription for M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus (AD 192-211), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 73, no. 199; *MAMA* IV 331; [SEG 6, 200]

P20 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription for –lius Fa–us, tribune (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II 475, no. 372; [CIG III 3902 c, with p. 1104]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 216; [IGR IV 728]

P21 (Işıklı): Honorific inscription for Monimos (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 12, no. 9; Hamilton 1842: II 470, no. 351; [CIG III 3886, with p. 1103]; Paris 1884: 237-8, no. 7; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 246-7, no. 88; II 375-6, no. 197; IGR IV 739]

P22 (Sarılar): Fragment of honorific inscription (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 86, no. 213; [SEG 6, 231]

P23 (Işıklı): Fragment of honorific inscription (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 335; [Drew-Bear 1978: 71-2]

P24 (Işıklı): Fragment of honorific inscription (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 378, no. 205; [IGR IV 726]

Votive inscriptions:

P25 (Işıklı): Votive monument of M. Iulius M.f. Pisonianus to Jupiter (AD 117-138), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 74-8, no. 201; [AE 1927, 95]; *I.Denizli* 35; [Thonemann 2011a: 152-3]

P26 (Işıklı): Fragment of votive inscription for emperor (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 11, no. 5 (final two lines); [CIG III 3899 (final two lines)]; Paris 1884: 236, no. 6; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, n.2; IGR IV 724]; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 78, no. 202; [SEG 6, 202]

P27 (Işıklı): Votive inscription to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 66-7, IV 1; [SEG 28, 1121]

P28 (Koçak): Votive inscription of Primigenes to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 374, no. 195

P29 (Koçak): Votive inscription of Epitynchanos to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1976: 260-1, no. 15; [SEG 26, 1376; Petzl 1994: 120-1, no. 104]

P30 (Işıklı): Votive inscription of Achilleus to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Tod 1904-5: 28-9, no. 1

P31 (uncertain): Votive inscription of Gaius to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Mamboury 1951: 439; [BE 1953, 129; BE 1964, 277]

P32 (Balçıkhisar): Votive inscription of Alexandros to Apollo Propylaios (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 66, no. 187; [SEG 6, 213]

P33 (Işıklı): Votive inscription to Asklepios and Hygeia (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 377, no. 198 (from an original publication by J. H. Mordtmann in the Constantinopolitan *Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* 15 (1884), *parartēma* p.65, no.12 [non vidi])

Milestones:

P34 (Balçıkhisar): Milestone under Decius, 4 miles from Eumeneia (AD 249-41), Ramsay 1890: 169; Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 246, no. 87; [IGR IV 771]; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 64, no. 184

P35 (Yuvaköy): Milestone under Vespasian, 28 miles from Apameia (AD 71-5), Drew-Bear and Eck 1976: 294-6, no. 5; [Thonemann 2011a: 151-2]

Funerary monuments (first or second century AD):

P36 (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* set up by Abaskantos and Optata (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 79, IV 10; [SEG 28, 1131]

P37 (Işıklı): Tombstone of P. Ael. Actiacus, *semeiographos* (second century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 471, no. 356; [CIG III 3902 d; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 379, no. 208]

P38 (Işıklı): Tombstone of the son of Alexandros and family (Roman imperial period), Strobel 1980: 125-6; [SEG 31, 1110]

P39 (Işıklı): Tombstone of Amiantos and family (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 472, no. 361; [CIG III 3902 e; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 275]

P40 (Işıklı): Tombstone of Andronikos and Gaius (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 224

P41 (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aneiketos and Tertia (Roman imperial period), Arundell 1828: pl.15; [CIG III 3889]; Hamilton 1842: II, 475, no. 371; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 384-5, no. 226; *MAMA* IV 348

P42 (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Antoninus, soldier (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 471, no. 357; [CIG III 3902 q]; Perrot 1876: 281 (Choisy); [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 215; IGR IV 729]

P43 (Işıklı): Tombstone of Fl. Apios and family (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 11, nos. 4-5; [CIG III 3899; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 227]

P44 (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Apollonios and Tatia (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 81, IV 15; [SEG 28, 1134]

P45 (Işıklı): Tombstone of Apphia and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 276

P46 (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Ariste and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 272; Drew-Bear 1978: 83-4, IV 19; [SEG 28, 1136]; *I.Denizli* 142

- P47** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Attalos and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 230 (Sterrett)
- P48** (Işıklı): Funerary *stele* for T. Claudius Zosimos, freedman of Claudius Valerianus Terentullianus (mid-second century AD), *MAMA* IV 336; [Drew-Bear 1978: 70]
- P49** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Damas, set up by Apphion (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 82, IV 17; [SEG 28, 1135]
- P50** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Dion and Karpos, set up by Kalliste (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 344
- P51** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Euxenia and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 395, no. 278
- P52** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Euxenos and Antonia (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 346
- P53** (Işıklı): Fragmentary tombstone of Gaius (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 12, no. 8 (line 1); [CIG III 3887]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 389, no. 237
- P54** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Gaius and Meltine (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 241, no. 2; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 261
- P55** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Glykon and family (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 475, no. 368; [CIG III 3902 h]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 388, no. 233 (Hogarth); *MAMA* IV 342
- P56** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Hermes, Akmoneian and Eumeneian, and family (Roman imperial period), Arundell 1828: pl. 17; [CIG III 3893]; LBW 738; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 389, no. 238; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/06/04]
- P57** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Iulia and family (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 473, no. 365; [CIG III 3902 l]; Ramsay 1884: 251-2, no. 3; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 247
- P58** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Iulius, set up by Attalos, weaver (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 277; [IGR IV 745]; *MAMA* IV 343
- P59** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Iulius Papias, *armorum custos*, and Menekrates (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 211; [IGR IV 736]
- P60** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Iuventius Rufus and Septimia Lucilla (second or third century AD), Arundell 1828: pl. 19; [CIG III 3898]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 379, no. 209; [IGR IV 734]; *MAMA* IV 340
- P61** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Kalliste (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 252
- P62** (Işıklı): Funerary *stele* of Kankarion (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 92, IV 26; [SEG 28, 1137]
- P63** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Kasios and Apphia (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 473, no. 366; [CIG III 3902 m]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 254]
- P64** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Kosmion and Tertia (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 255; *MAMA* IV 345
- P65** (Işıklı): Funerary plaque set up by Malaundas for Tation (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 92-3, IV 27; [SEG 28, 1138]
- P66** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Marcius Euboulos and family (Roman imperial period), Perrot 1876: 280-1, no. 11 (Choisy); Paris 1884: 235-6, no. 4; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 248; [IGR IV 747]; *MAMA* IV 337; *I.Denizli* 163
- P67** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Marcus and Iulia (Roman imperial period), Arundell 1828: pl.15; [CIG III 3897]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 258
- P68** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Meliton and Tatianos, linen-sellers from Antiocheia on the Maeander (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 349; [Robert, *OMS* III, 1617]
- P69** (Işıklı): Funerary *stele* of Messalina and family (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 81, IV 14; [SEG 28, 1133]
- P70** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Modicia Alexandria, in Latin (second century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 18-19, no. 10.
- P71** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Mousaios (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 271
- P72** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Myrismos and family (Roman imperial period), Hamilton 1842: II, 472, no. 362; [CIG III 3902 p]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 263 (Sterrett); *MAMA* IV 350
- P73** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Rupilia (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 70-1, no. 195; [SEG 6, 196]
- P74** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of M. Seius Demagoras and Melitine (first or second century AD), Hamilton 1842: II 470, no. 352; [CIG III 3902 i]; Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 242, no. 4; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 213; [IGR IV 738]; *MAMA* IV 341; *I.Denizli* 177
- P75** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Severus Argentis and family, and Theodotos *lachanopoles* (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 97-8, IV 34; [SEG 28, 1125]
- P76** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Telesphoros and Onesime (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 101, IV 37; [SEG 28, 1140]
- P77** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Tertia and family (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 12, no. 7; Hamilton 1842: II, 471, no. 358; [CIG III 3900, with p. 1104; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 268; IGR IV 746]
- P78** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Theophilos and Nike (Roman imperial period), Arundell 1828: pl.15; [CIG III 3895]; Hamilton 1842: II, 475, no. 370; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 246; *MAMA* IV 347
- P79** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Trophimos and Apollonios, *demokeryx* (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 351
- P80** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Tryphon *machairopoiios* and Neikopolis (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 102, IV 39; [SEG 28, 1140]
- P81** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Valeria Auriane (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 264

- P82** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Zotikos and Antonia (Roman imperial period), Ramsay 1884: 251, no. 2; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 242; Drew-Bear 1978: 90, IV 24; [SEG 28, 1160]
- P83** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Zotikos, in verse (Roman imperial period), Arundell 1834: I, 150; [CIG III 3894; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 241]
- P84** (Işıklı): Fragmentary tombstone with fine (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 395, no. 279
- P85** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* with the word ‘*thya*’ (Roman imperial period), Ramsay 1884: 251, no. 1; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 395, no. 280
- P86** (Işıklı): Sarcophagus with funerary inscription (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 103-4, IV 41; [SEG 28, 1147]
- P87** (Işıklı): Fragment of funerary inscription with fine (Roman imperial period), *MAMA* IV 352
- P88** (Işıklı): Fragment of funerary inscription with fine (Roman imperial period), Pococke 1752: 11, no. 1; LBW 739; [CIG III 3901, with p. 1104]
- P89** (Balçıkhisar): Funerary column of Araithon, set up by his sons (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 82-3, IV 18; [SEG 28, 1141]
- P90** (Balçıkhisar): Funerary *bomos* of Cl. Vibius Rufus, veteran, and family (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 243, no. 7; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 212 [IGR IV 737]
- P91** (Balçıkhisar): Funerary *bomos* of Zotike (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 90, IV 23; [SEG 28, 1142]
- P92** (Beyköy): Funerary *bomos* set up by Tertias for her children (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 101-2, IV 38; [SEG 28, 1139]
- P93** (Bucak): Tombstone of Alexandros and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 220 (Hogarth)
- P94** (Çandır): Tombstone of the son of Tatas son of Diokles (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 233, no. 81
- P95** (Çivril): Funerary *stele* of Alexandros and family (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 67, no. 188; [SEG 6, 215]
- P96** (Çivril): Sarcophagus with funerary inscription of son of Demetrios and Meltine (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 244, no. 7; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 264; IGR IV 748; SEG 46, 1652]
- P97** (Çivril): Tombstone of Fl. Diodoros, soldier (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 244, no. 6; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 381, no. 217; [IGR IV 732]
- P98** (Çivril): Funerary *stele* of Io[ulia] (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 67, no. 189; [SEG 6, 216]
- P99** (Çivril): Funerary *bomos* of Papas and family (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 95-6, IV 32; [SEG 28, 1146]
- P100** (Çivril): Funerary *bomos* dated on the 30th day of the 5th month (AD 115-215), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 69, no. 193; [SEG 6, 220]
- P101** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* of Damas and Apphion, set up by Marcellus (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 242, no. 3; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 257; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 59, no. 178; [SEG 6, 205]
- P102** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* of Dionysios and family (AD 205), CIG III 3892 (Laborde); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 388, no. 234; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 56, no. 174
- P103** (Duman): Tombstone set up by T. Camurius T.f. Quirina Marin- (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 232, no. 76
- P104** (Duman): Funerary *bomos* of Flavius Symphoros and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 232, no. 75; [IGR IV 763]; Drew-Bear 1978: 105-6, IV 43; [SEG 28, 1150]
- P105** (Emircik): Funerary *bomos* of Apphion and family (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 247 (line 1 only); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 228; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 61, no. 182; [SEG 6, 209]
- P106** (Emircik): Tombstone of Marcus Antonius, set up by Iulius Dometius and Claudia Dometia (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 250 (Sterrett)
- P107** (Emircik): Funerary *bomos* of Publius and family (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 60, no. 180; [SEG 6, 207]
- P108** (Emircik): Funerary *stele* of Theogenes and Meliton (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 241, no. 2; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 259; [IGR IV 727]
- P109** (Emircik): Funerary *bomos* with fine (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 102-3, IV 40; [SEG 28, 1151]
- P110** (Gümüşsu-Homa): Tombstone of Hermippos (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 245, no. 13; Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 233, no. 82
- P111** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Alexandros and family (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 243, no. 6; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 221
- P112** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Ammia and family (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 246, no. 10; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 384, no. 225
- P113** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Euxenos and Apphia (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 247, no. 12; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 389, no. 239
- P114** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Iulia and family (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 246-7, no. 11; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 249
- P115** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Funerary *bomos* of C. Iulius Myrtilos, veteran and *bouleutes*, and Laïs (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 242, no. 5; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 380, no. 210; [IGR IV 735]

- P116** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Marcia (AD 144/5), Drew-Bear 1978: 93, IV 28; [SEG 28, 1124]
- P117** (İğdir): Funerary *bomos* of Kalliste and Kallistos (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 251; *I.Denizli* 164
- P118** (İğdir): Tombstone of Skymnos and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 267
- P119** (Karamanlı): Funerary *bomos* of Agelais, set up by Attikos (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 86-7, no. 214; [SEG 6, 232]
- P120** (Karayahsiler): Tombstone of Domna, set up by Capito (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 253
- P121** (Karayahsiler): Tombstone of Elpis and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 260
- P122** (Kızılcaşöğüt): Tombstone of Tata and Ammias, set up by Papias, Hyrgaleus (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 247-8, no. 14; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 266
- P123** (Kızılcaşöğüt): Tombstone of Tryphon and Agathe (Roman imperial period), Paris 1884: 248, no. 15; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 270
- P124** (Kocayaka): Tombstone of Alexandros II, *bouleutes*, and family (AD 164), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 219
- P125** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* of Publius and Sextilia (Roman imperial period), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 84-5, no. 209; [SEG 6, 227]
- P126** (Ömerli): Tombstone of Alexandros and family (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 222; [IGR IV 744]
- P127** (Serbanşah): Tombstone of Agathemeros and Tatia (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 244-5, no. 11; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 378, no. 206 (Hogarth); Drew-Bear 1978: 79-80, IV 11; [SEG 28, 1157]
- P128** (Sökmen): Funerary pillar of Nikandros and Gaiane (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 94-5, IV 31; [SEG 28, 1145]
- P129** (Süngüllü): Tombstone of Poseidonis and family (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 245-6, no. 14; Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 232-3, no. 80; [Drew-Bear 1978: 104-5 (confusing the villages of Sungurlu and Süngüllü)]
- P130** (Süngüllü): Funerary cippus of a *familia* (Roman imperial period), Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 232, no. 79
- P131** (between Tuğcu and Doğlu [?]): Tombstone of Zotikos and Balbilla (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 245, no. 12; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 240
- P131** (Uğurlu): Funerary *bomos* of Tatia and family (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 244, no. 10; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 394, no. 273; Drew-Bear 1978: 99-100, IV 36; [SEG 28, 1158]
- P132** (Uğurlu): Tombstone of Titus and Apphia (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 244, no. 9; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 269
- P133** (Yamanlar): Funerary *bomos* of Antiochos, set up by Agathopous (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 80, IV 12; [SEG 28, 1163]
- P134** (Yamanlar): Funerary *bomos* of Menophilos and parents (Roman imperial period), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 243, no. 8; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 392, no. 262; Drew-Bear 1978: 94, IV 30; [SEG 28, 1164]
- P135** (Yamanlar): Tombstone with epitaph in verse (Roman imperial period), Drew-Bear 1978: 78-9, IV 9; [SEG 28, 1162]
- Funerary monuments (third or early fourth century AD):**
- P136** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Agapomenos and Aur. Artemidoros (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 519, no. 357; *MAMA* IV 358
- P137** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Anenketos and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 80, IV 13; [SEG 28, 1132]
- P138** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Aur. Attalis and family (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 472, no. 360; [CIG III 3902 f]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 520, no. 360
- P139** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Doulion, Xanthippe and children (AD 231/2), Perrot 1876: 279-80, no. 10 (Choisy); Paris 1884: 235, no. 3; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 388-9, no. 235; *MAMA* IV 338A-B; Corsten and Drew-Bear 1992: 135-7; [SEG 42, 1200]; *I.Denizli* 149
- P140** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Eutyches Helix, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Paris 1884: 234-5, no. 2; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 522-3, no. 364; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 80-2, no. 204; [SEG 6, 203]
- P141** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Aur. Fronto and family (third century AD), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 241, no. 1; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 378
- P142** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Glykon[ides], Christian *episkopos* (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 73-4, no. 200; [SEG 6, 201; Gibson 1978: no. 41; Tabbernee 1997: 220-3, no. 32]
- P143** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Aur. Hermes (?) and parents (third century AD), Pococke 1752: 12, no. 6; [CIG III 3890; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 522, no. 363]
- P144** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Marcia and family (AD 227), Arundell 1828: pl. 16; Hamilton 1842: II, 470-1, no. 354; [CIG III 3896, with p. 1104]; Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 242, no. 3; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 391, no. 256; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 71-2, no. 197; [SEG 6, 198]
- P145** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Meltine and family (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 472, no. 363; [CIG III 3902 r, with p. 1105; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 514-8, nos. 353-4; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/06/03]
- P146** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Menas, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Arundell 1828: pl. 18; Hamilton 1842: II, 470, no. 353; CIG III 3891 (Laborde); Perrot 1876:

- 281-2 (Choisy); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 520-1, no. 361; Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 436-9; [Strubbe 1994: 109-10, no. 4; *IJO* II, 186]; *I.Denizli* 148
- P147** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Aur. Menekrates and family (third century AD), Arundell 1828: pl. 16 (mentioned only); Hamilton 1842: II, 471, no. 355; [*CIG* III 3902 *n*, with pp. 1104-5]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 526, no. 370
- P148** (Işıklı): Funerary *stele* of Aur. Menophilos, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 472, no. 359; [*CIG* III 3902 *o*]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 526-8, no. 371
- P149** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Fl. Pollion and Cla. Gellia, with epigram (early third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 75-8, IV 8; [*SEG* 28, 1126; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/06/02]
- P150** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Prokla and family (third century AD), Ramsay 1883: 399, no. 17; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 529, no. 374; *MAMA* IV 359; *I.Denizli* 145
- P151** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Tation and Eutyches (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 377; *MAMA* IV 360; *I.Denizli* 146
- P152** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Zotikos and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 244; [*SEG* 6, 193]; Corsten 1995: 221-4, no. 5; [*SEG* 45, 1742]; *I.Denizli* 152
- P153** (Işıklı): Tombstone of Aur. Zotikos and Tatia (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 473, no. 364; [*CIG* III 3902 *k*]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 245]
- P154** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Zotikos Lykidas and family (third century AD), Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 429-35; Sheppard 1979: 175-6; *I.Denizli* 153
- P155** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Zotikos Praxias, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 525, no. 368; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 69-70, no. 194; [*SEG* 6, 221]; *I.Denizli* 155
- P156** (Işıklı): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Zotikos II and family (third century AD), Arundell 1834: I, 149; LBW 740; [*CIG* III 3902, with p. 1104]; Paris 1884: 236, no. 5; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 525-6, no. 369; Sheppard 1979: 172-3; *I.Denizli* 151
- P157** (Balçıkhisar): Funerary *stele* of Aurelius Papias and wife (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 66, no. 186; [*SEG* 6, 212]
- P158** (Balçıkhisar): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Praxias, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Tod 1904-5: 29-30, no. 2; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 65, no. 185; [*SEG* 6, 211]; *I.Denizli* 154
- P159** (Beyköy): Funerary *stele* of a presbyter and family (AD 257/8), Drew-Bear 1978: 109-10, IV 48; [*SEG* 28, 1144]
- P160** (Bozhüyük-Yeşilhüyük): Tombstone of Papias and family, set up by Aurelius Papias (shortly after AD 212), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 246, no. 15; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 232, no. 78; [*IGR* IV 807; Ramsay 1930: 266-9; *SEG* 6, 263]
- P161** (Bozhüyük-Yeşilhüyük): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Telesphoros and family (third century AD), Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 246, no. 16; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 539-40, no. 401
- P162** (Çivril): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Alexandros, set up by Aur. Moschas (AD 249), Ramsay 1883: 401, no. 19; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 528-9, no. 372; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 68-9, no. 192; [*SEG* 6, 219]
- P163** (Çivril): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Artemidoros and family (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 79-80, no. 203; [*SEG* 6, 222]
- P164** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* of Ammia and Tatiane and family (third century AD), Paris 1884: 243-4, no. 5; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530-2, no. 380; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 57-8, no. 176; [*SEG* 6, 195]
- P165** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* of Damas and family (third century AD), Ramsay 1883: 400, no. 18; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 521, no. 362; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 58, no. 177; [*SEG* 6, 204]
- P166** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* of Epiktetos and Eumenes, set up by M. Ulpius Klesippos (third century AD), Tod 1904-5: 31, nos. 3-4; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 59-60, no. 179; [*SEG* 6, 206]
- P167** (Dedeköy): Tombstone of Aur. Neikeros and family, and Aur. Mannos (late third century AD), Ramsay 1883: 401-2, no. 20; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 529, no. 373; [*ILS* 8881; *IGR* IV 731; Robert 1963: 361-5]
- P168** (Dedeköy): Funerary *bomos* with Eumeneian formula (third century AD), Paris 1884: 242-3, no. 4; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 379]; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 56-7, no. 175; [*SEG* 6, 194]
- P169** (Dedem): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Sokrates and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 98-9, IV 35; [*SEG* 28, 1149]
- P170** (Duman): Tombstone of Aur. Doulos and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* I, 232, no. 77
- P171** (Emircik): Funerary *bomos* of Gaius, with verse epigram (third century AD), Paris 1884: 238-41, no. 1; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 386-8, no. 232; [*IGR* IV 743]; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 61-4, no. 183; [*SEG* 6, 210]; Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, 414-29; Sheppard 1979: 176-80; [*SEG* 29, 1400; *SEG* 45, 1743; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/06/01]; *I.Denizli* 157
- P172** (Emircik): Funerary *bomos* of Aurelius Zenodotos and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 89-90, IV 22; [*SEG* 28, 1127]
- P173** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Tombstone of Aur. Symphoros and family (AD 260/1), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 375
- P174** (İğdir): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Doulion and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 389, no. 236, and 379, no. 207; Drew-Bear 1978: 87-9, IV 21; [*SEG* 28, 1152]
- P175** (Koçak): Funerary *bomos* of the *liberta* Eutychia and others (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 93-4, IV 29; [*SEG* 28, 1154]
- P176** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Alexandros, blacksmith, and family (AD 219/20), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 383, no. 223; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 85, no. 210; [*SEG* 6, 228]

- P177** (Kocayaka): Tombstone of Aur. Alexandros II, *bouleutes*, and Tation (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 519, no. 359
- P178** (Kocayaka): Tombstone of Alexandros and Amia (third century AD), Paris 1884: 249-50, no. 17; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 530, no. 376
- P179** (Kocayaka): Tombstone of Aur. Ariston and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 385, no. 229
- P180** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. [Mi]kka[los] and family (third century AD), Paris 1884: 250, no. 18; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 518-9, no. 356; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 83, no. 206; [SEG 6, 224]
- P181** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* of Tatia and family (third century AD), Paris 1884: 249, no. 16; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 518, no. 355; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 82-3, no. 205; [SEG 6, 223]
- P182** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* of Zenodotos and family (third century AD), Paris 1884: 251, no. 19; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 525, no. 367; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 83-4, no. 207; [SEG 6, 225]
- P183** (Kocayaka): Tombstone of Zenodotos and family (AD 263/4), Paris 1884: 251-2, no. 20; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 523-5, nos. 365-6
- P184** (Kocayaka): Funerary *bomos* with Eumeneian formula (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 84, no. 208; [SEG 6, 226]
- P185** (Ömerli): Tombstone of Teimotheos and Aur. Theophila (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 469, no. 349; [CIG III 3902 t]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 393, no. 265
- P186** (Ömerli): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Zotikos and Tryphoniane (third century AD), Hamilton 1842: II, 469, no. 350; [CIG III 3902 s]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 390, no. 243; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 87, no. 216; [SEG 6 233]; Drew-Bear 1978: 91, IV 25; [SEG 28, 1128]
- P187** (Ömerli): Funerary *bomos* with Eumeneian formula (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 107-8, IV 46; [SEG 28, 1155]
- P188** (Sarılar): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Antonius and family (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 85-6, no. 212; [SEG 6, 230]
- P189** (Sarılar): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Aquila and family (third century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 519, no. 358; Drew-Bear 1978: 106-7, IV 45; [SEG 28, 1156]
- P190** (Sarılar): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Menogenes (third century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 85, no. 211; [SEG 6, 229]
- P191** (Sökmen): Tombstone of Aur. Tatia and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 108-9, IV 47; [SEG 28, 1148]
- P192** (Sundurlu): Funerary *bomos* set up by Aur. –genes for his father (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 104-5, IV 42; [SEG 28, 1159]
- P193** (Yalınlı): Tombstone of Agatheinos and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 106, IV 44; [SEG 28, 1161]
- P194** (Yuvaköy): Funerary plaque from sarcophagus of P. Ael. Paulinus, *bouleutes*, and family (third century AD), Drew-Bear 1978: 96-7, IV 33; [SEG 28, 1165]
- P195** (uncertain): Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Charidemos Philokynegos (third century AD), Sheppard 1979: 180; [SEG 29, 1426; BE 1980, 496]; *I.Denizli* 156

Inscriptions of the fourth century or later:

- P196** (Işıklı): Funerary inscription of a soldier, in Latin (c. AD 350-400), Drew-Bear and Eck 1976: 309-12, no. 15; [AE 1976, 668]
- P197** (Haydan-Yeşilyaka): Inscribed marble chair from church (fourth to sixth century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 533, no. 382
- P198** (Işıklı): Chancel screen with indiction date (AD 563/4), Drew-Bear 1978: 111, IV 50; [SEG 28, 1130]
- P199** (Çivril): Prayer on behalf of Lykastos and Politeia (fourth to sixth century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 68, no. 191; [SEG 6, 218]
- P200** (Gençalı): Funerary inscription of Anastasios (fifth or sixth century AD), Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 533, no. 384
- P201** (Çivril): Fragment with dating formula of archdeacon Alexandros (fifth or sixth century AD), Paris 1884: 244-5, no. 8; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 533, no. 383; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 68, no. 190; [SEG 6, 217]
- P202** (Emircik): Fragment of middle Byzantine templon epistyle with decorative moulding (tenth century AD), Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 60, no. 181; [SEG 6, 208]

IV. DIONYSOPOLIS

63. Bekilli

Funerary epigram of Papias.

Block of coarse whitish marble, face rough-picked with a chisel, with defaced mouldings above, below and left; apparently complete. Found at Bekilli (Dionysopolis?), recently dug up in the vineyard of Kabak Hasan, 800m east of the village, on the south side of a valley; now (2012) in Pamukkale museum.

Ht. 1.02; W. 1.33; Th. 0.31; letters 0.035-0.047.

Corsten 1995: 218-21, no. 3; [SEG 45, 1756]; *I.Denizli* 183 (E. Miranda). Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/76).

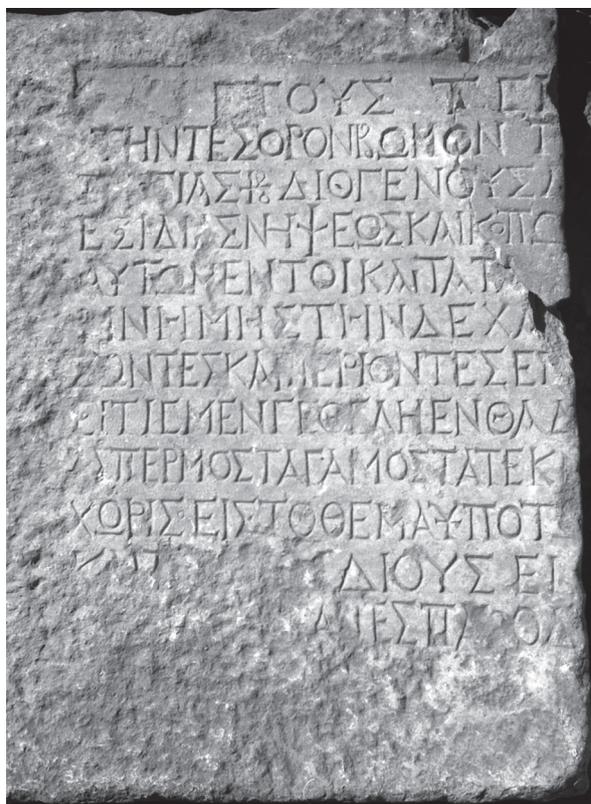
AD 221/2 (Year 306 of Sullan era).

- ἔτους τς', μ[η]νός -- -]
 τήν τε σορόν βωμόν τ[ε] -- -]
 Π[α]πίας β' Διογένους δ[ε] -- -]
 5 ἐξ ἰδίας νήψεως καὶ κόπω[ν] -- -]
 αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ Τατα ν. [- - -]
 μνήμης τήνδε χά[ρι]ν ---]
 ζῶντες καὶ περιόντες ἐπ[ὶ] -- -]
 εἴ τις μὲν γε θέλη ἐνθάδ[ε] ---]
 10 ἄσπερμός τ' ἄγαμός τ' ἄτεκν[ος] -- -]
 χωρὶς δ' εἰς τὸ θέμα ὑπὸ τῶ[ν] -- -]
 καὶ το [. . . ^{c.4} . . .] ἰδίου[ς] εἰ[- - -]
 [. . . . ^{c.8}] πάντες παροδ[ε]ίται [- -]

Line 3: [- - -]ias † Διογέν[ος] C(orsten); [- - -] σίας β' Διογέν[ος] M(iranda). Line 10: χωρὶς εἰς τὸ θέμα ὑπὸ τῶ [βωμῶ?] C; [συν]χωρῖσεις M.

Year 306, Month... this tomb and tombstone... Papias, son of Papias, grandson of Diogenes... through his own sobriety and labours... for himself and Tatas... in memoriam... while still living and surviving... but if anyone wants to [sc. inter another body] here... [sc. may he be] without seed, without marriage, without children... except for that which... into the tomb by the... [greetings to?] all passers-by.

The right-hand side of this inscription had been damaged by the time it was copied at the Denizli Museum at Pamukkale by Corsten 1995, and



Ballance's photograph shows several extra letters at the ends of lines 1-4. Although the face of the stone has been severely defaced by chiselling, the left-hand edge of the inscription appears to be preserved; presumably the text continued on a second block to the right.

The sequence of thought in the inscription is reasonably clear. I can find no parallels for the use of the rare term *νήψις*, 'sobriety', 'seriousmindedness' in line 4; for *κόποι* in this context, compare *I Aph 2007* 13.702, lines 10-11, ἐξ ἰδίων ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψα κόπων; *SEG* 43, 923 (Pompeiiopolis), lines 6-7, ἐκ κόπων ἐμῶν ποιήσας κενοτάφιν; cf. also Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 429-35 (*SEG* 29, 1400; *I.Denizli* 153: Eumeneia), A 5-12, κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἥρων... ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων. For the female name *Τατας* (line 5) in this region, cf. *SEG* 45, 1737 (sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos; the wife of a villager from Motella).

For the curse-formula in line 9, see Strubbe 1997: no. 292*bis* (suggesting that the monument might derive from Laodikeia). In line 10, the antecedent of the relative pronoun ὃ is presumably a phrase like (ἔτερον) πτώμα in line 8. If line 8 is intended to be a pentameter, we could restore e.g. εἴ τις

μέν γε θέλη ἐνθάδε[ε πτώμ' ἐπιθάψαι]; in line 10, I assume that the sense is something like χωρὶς ὃ εἰς τὸ θέμα ὑπὸ τῶν δηλουμένων τεθήσεται]: 'except for that (body) which [is placed] in the tomb by the [aforementioned]'; *vel sim.*

64. Durhanlı Havuzu

Prayer to Lord for help.

Block of poor greenish-grey marble, largely unworked; buried below. Found at Durhanlı Havuzu, 6km from Bekilli (Dionysopolis?), about 1.5km south of the main road, between Bekilli and Süller.

Ht. 1.00+; W. 0.54; Th. 0.18; letters 0.020-0.040.

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 540, no. 402. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook description (1956/77).

Fourth to sixth century AD?

(On front)

Κ(ύρι)ε βιώθι τῶ
πρ(εσβυτέρω) Λέων(τι) τ(ῶ) ΑΝΑΚ.

(On front, inscribed vertically to the left of lines 1-2)

ΚΕΛΥΣΥΝΤΙΣΙΚΟΝΟΣ

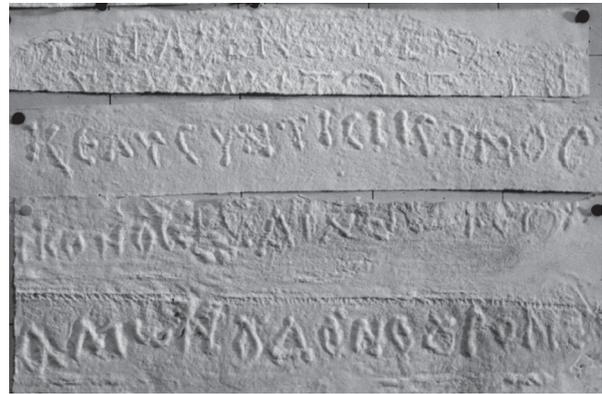
(On right-hand side)

ΚΕΛΥΣΥΝΤΙΣΙΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΜ. ΑΙΛΕΝ. . . .

5 † . . ΩΛΑ δραμῶν οὐδὲν εὐῦρον ἐν βιό[τ]ῳ

Line 2: Λεωντανα Κυρ[ιακοῦ?] R(amsay). Lines 3-5: 'I can read nothing but δραμῶν οὐδὲν σουρον (σῶφρον? εῦρον?) ἐν βιό[τ]ῳ and perhaps κελυσυντισικονος (κέλευσι τῆς εἰκόνας?)' R.

Lord, save the pr(esbyter) Leo... running, I found nothing in life...



Ramsay's readings seem to have been broadly accurate, although he does not indicate the repetition of the sequence ΚΕΛΥΣΥΝΤΙΣΙΚΟΝΟΣ on the front and right faces of the stone. At the end of line 2, the letters ANA are clear, with two (or three?) illegible letters following: this could be the beginning of a patronym (Ἀνανία?) or a moral quality (ἀναξί(ω)?).

I do not understand the sequence of letters in lines 3 and 4, and cannot explain the repetition. Ramsay may well have been right to take the last nine letters of line 3 as representing τῆς εἰκόνας (τῆς εἰκόνας). For δράμων in line 5, compare perhaps RECAM II 466 (Tavium): ἐνθάδε ἀναπαύετε ἀνεσείως τόπον εὔρων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις προσδράμων.

V. SEBASTE

65. Payamalani

Honorific base for C. Septumius C.f. Carbo.

Marble block in two fragments. Fragment A well-preserved, with two deep holes to left and right, and a shallow groove outlining a rectangular panel, perhaps for later re-use as a pier-base; fragment B severely battered. Found at Payamalani (Eibeos/-on), in the village.

Ht. 0.43 (fr. A), 0.31 (fr. B); W. 0.50; Th. 0.22; letters 0.030-0.035.

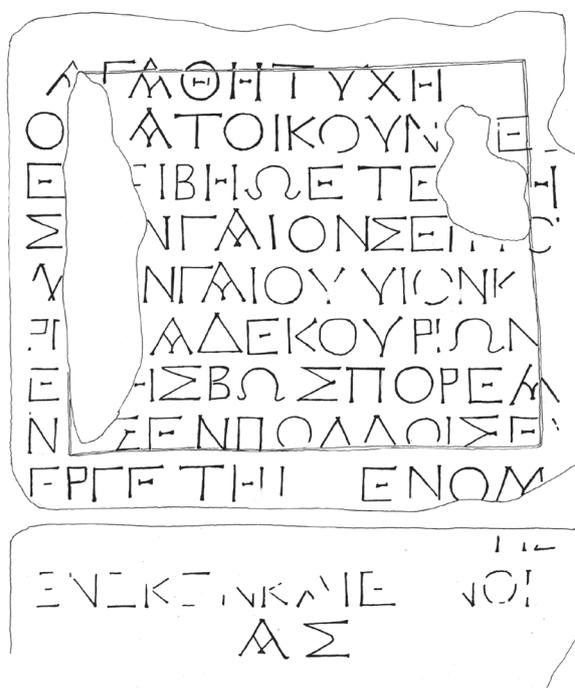
Unpublished; mentioned by Ballance 1995: 188-9; Thonemann 2011a: 152. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; WMC notebook copy (1954/25).

c. AD 73-113.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| | ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | A |
| | οἱ κατοικοῦντες | |
| | ἐν Εἰβῆω ἐτελίμῃ- | |
| | σ[α]ν Γαίου Σεπτο[ύ]- | |
| 5 | μ[ιο]ν Γαίου υἱὸν Κ[ά]- | |
| | ρβ[ων]α δεκουρίων[α] | |
| | ἐ[ἰ]λ[η]ς Βωσπορεα- | |
| | ν[η]ς ἐν πολλοῖς εὐ- | |
| | εργέτην [γ]κενόμ[ε]- | |
| 10 | [νον δικαιοσύ]νης | B |
| | ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί- | |
| | ας. | |

With good fortune. Those living in Eibeos/-on honoured C. Septumius C.f. Carbo, decurion of the ala Bosporeana, having acted as their benefactor in many respects, because of his justice and goodwill.

The village of Eibeos/-on, situated on a hill overlooking the hamlet of Payamalani, is also named in two unpublished inscriptions. In the first, copied by N. Firatlı in 1973 (Stillwell 1976: 293-4, s.v. Eibeos), the village's name also appears in the dative, Εἰβῆω. The second inscription, now on display in the Uşak museum, records the dedication by the 'village of the Eibeanoi' (ἡ] Εἰβεανῶν κατοικ(ί)α) of a temple and cult-statue to Helios Apollo Lairmenos (see the commentary



to 70 below). For the site at Payamalani (which dates back to the Hellenistic period, and continued to be home to a large settlement under the Roman empire), see Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 584-5, 597-8, 606; Buresch 1898: 171-2; Firatlı 1970: 118-9; Waelkens 1986: 182.

The *ala I Bosporanorum* is firmly attested in Syria in AD 54 (*PME* L 16: M. Licinius Rufus), where it seems to have remained until the end of the Judaeian war in AD 73 (*PIR*² R 261, *praef.* T. Rutilius Varus). The unit was stationed in Pannonia by 113 at the latest (*RMD* II 86). This inscription provides our only evidence that the unit was stationed in Asia for a period; their base was probably the garrison-town of Eumeneia, home to the *cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum ueterana equitata* from the reign of Hadrian (Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 74-8, no. 201; *I.Denizli* 35; Thonemann, 2011a: 152-3). The date at which the *ala I Bosporanorum* arrived in Asia is unknown; for arguments in favour of AD 75, see Thonemann, 2011a: 152.

66. Kabaklar

Dedication of building or other public work to Philip the Arab.

Bomos of coarse whitish marble, upper and lower mouldings defaced, chipped left; the inscription partially overgrown with moss. Found at Kabaklar (Dioskome?), in the base of the minaret.

Ht. 1.10; W. 0.47 (shaft); Th. 0.44 (shaft); letters 0.016-0.021.

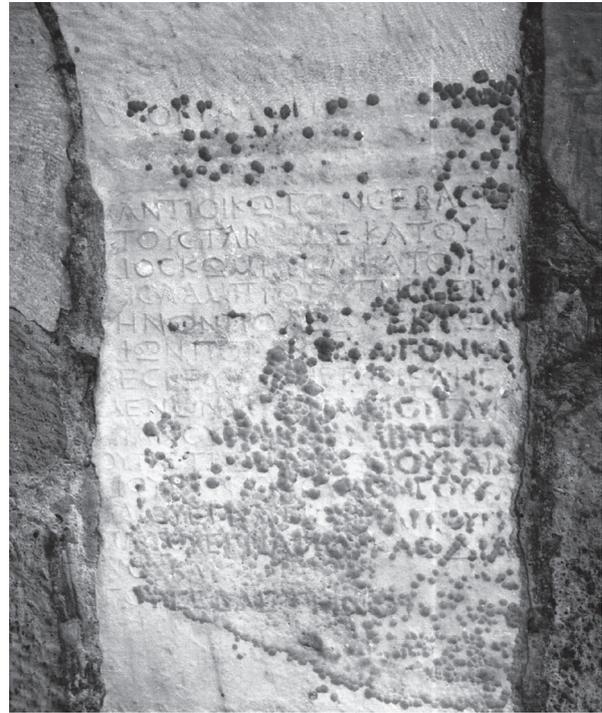
Ramsay 1883: 414-5, no. 29; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 608, no. 498; *IGR* IV 635; *SEG* 42, 1203]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/34).

AD 248 (Year 332, Month 10 of Sullan era).

Αὐτοκράτορι [[Καίσαρι]]
 [[Μ. Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ Εὐσεβ(εῖ)]]
 [[Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ(αστῶ) καὶ τῷ σύμ]-
 παντι οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶ[ν]
 5 [ἔ]τους τλβ', [μη(νὸς)] δεκάτου, ἡ
 Διοσκωμητῶν κατοικία
 [τ]ῆς λαμπροτάτης Σεβασ-
 [τ]ηνῶν πόλεως ἐκ τῶν
 [ἰ]δίων πόρων [τὸ] ἔ[ρ]γον κα[τ]-
 10 εσκευ[ασε]ν, ἐπιμελησα-
 μένων Μ(άρκου) Ἐγνατίου Γλυκ[ω]-
 νιανοῦ [. . . ^{c.6} . . .] καὶ Ποπλ[ί]-
 ου Πετρωνίου [. . . ^{c.3} . . .] καὶ [. . .]
 15 Ἰου Ἐγνατίου Λόνγου καὶ
 Γαίου Ἐγνατίου Παίτου καὶ
 . . . ανου Ἐγνατίου Κλωδια-
 νοῦ καὶ vac.
 ΓΟΥ Σεβαστηνοί.

Lines 2-3: [[Μ. Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ] Γερμανικῶ καὶ τῷ σύμ]- R(amsay 1883); [[Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ] Εὐσ(εβεῖ) Εὐτ(υχεῖ) Σεβ(αστῶ) καὶ τῷ σύμ]- Sijpesteijn 1992. Line 5: [ἔ]τους τλ', [μη(νὸς)] R.

To Emperor Caesar M. Iulius Philippus Pius Felix Augustus and the whole house of the Augusti. Year 332, Month 10. The village of the Dioskometai of the most glorious city of the Sebastenoi, from their own revenues, constructed the work. The following were responsible for the construction: M. Egnatius



Glykonianus... and Publius Petronius ...ius and ...ius Egnatius Longus and Gaius Egnatius Paetus and ...anus Egnatius Clodianus and... ?Sebastenoi.

This monument records the dedication to the emperor Philip the Arab of a public monument or building ([τὸ] ἔ[ρ]γον, line 9) by the village of Dioskome, on the territory of Sebaste. The lower part of the inscription is covered with moss and is extremely difficult to read. My restoration of the titlature of the emperor Philip the Arab in the erasure in lines 1-3 is a slight modification of that of Sijpesteijn 1992; this exact titlature is attested for Philip on a milestone between Ephesos and Magnesia (*I.Ephesos* 3164) and in a petition from Aragua in Phrygia (*MAMA* X 114; Hauken 1998: 140-61).

The inscription is dated to the tenth month of Year 332 of the Sullan era, the summer of AD 248: for the use of the Sullan era at Sebaste, see Leschhorn 1993: 265-7. Numbered months were in use both at Sebaste (80 below; probably 79) and at neighbouring Traianopolis (90).

The settlement of Dioskome is described as a village (*κατοικία*, line 6) ‘of’ the city of Sebaste, that is to say, a dependent community on the territory of Sebaste (Schuler 1998: 274; for the interchangeability of the terms *κώμη* and *κατοικία*, cf. Schuler 1998: 33-4). Unfortunately, the location of Dioskome is uncertain. The findspot of the inscription, the village of Kabaklar, seems too far north to have lain on the territory of Sebaste (Buresch 1898: 169-70; *TIB Phrygien* 234, s.v. *Dioskōmē*). It is possible that Dioskome is to be identified with the ancient site near the modern village of Kırka (*TIB Phrygien* 234, s.v. *Dioskōmē*). There is some slight evidence that Dioskome might already have existed in the Hellenistic period, before the synoecism of Sebaste, with the name *Diospolis vel sim.* (Le Rider 1990: 700).

The monument (whatever it was) was constructed by the village ‘from its own funds’ (*ἐκ τῶν [ἰ]δίων πόρων*, lines 8-9); compare e.g. *I.Ephesos* 3271 (*ἐκ τῶν τῆς κώμης πόρων*), and see Schuler 1998: 244-7.

One of the five individuals responsible for the erection of the monument carries the gentilician Petronius, and the remaining four all carry the

gentilician Egnatius. Both families are prominent in the public epigraphy of this region. A Publius Petronius Epigenes is attested at Akmoneia already during the reign of Augustus (99 below), and *Egnatius* is one of the many gentilicians carried by the polyonymous honorand of the Akmoneian inscription 101 below (on the Egnatii of Akmoneia, see further Thonemann 2010). It is no surprise to find members of the two families acting together in our inscription, since the families are known to have been connected by marriage. An inscription from neighbouring Diokleia dated to AD 196/7 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 660, no. 615; *IGR* IV 664) mentions a certain Q. Petronius Capito Egnatianus and his son Marcus; the *cognomen* Egnatianus derives from his mother’s *nomen* Egnatia (Salomies 1992: 61 n.2). Lines 17-18 of the inscription are puzzling. There are no traces of inscribed letters after *καί* in line 17, but the three letters ΓΟΥ at the start of line 18 are most easily interpreted as belonging to a sixth personal name in the genitive case. The ethnic *Σεβαστηνοί* in line 18 has been added in a different hand; its relation to the rest of the inscription is uncertain.

67. Sivasslı

Building inscription of reservoir.

Cornice-block of greyish-white crystalline marble, with decorated mouldings on the front and right-hand end. Found at Sivasslı (Sebaste), in a street, from a recently demolished fountain.

Ht. 0.30; W. 1.16; Th. 0.71; letters 0.05.

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 605, no. 483 (from a copy by J. R. S. Sterrett); K. Kourouniotes, *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* 1925, 407 (*non uidi*); [*BCH* 48 (1924) 511 (‘dans la fontaine de Balarçesmesi’); *SEG* 6, 181]. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/75).

Roman imperial period.

[- ἡ Σεβαστηνῶν πόλις τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἰ-
[δίων πόρων -----]

...the city of the Sebastenoi built the reservoir from its own funds...



For the construction of reservoirs to feed a city’s fountains, see *I.Perge* 195; *SEG* 28, 871 (Ephesos); compare *Sardis* VII 1, no. 17. For the phrase *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων* referring to a city’s revenues, compare *IGR* IV 615 (Temenouthyrai); 66 above (Dioskome).

68. Selçikler

Building inscription.

Greyish-white crystalline marble architrave block, broken left, upper moulding defaced. Found at Selçikler (Sebaste), in the wall of the mosque garden.

Ht. 0.34; W. 0.79+; Th. --; letters 0.050-0.055 (line 1), 0.045 (line 2).

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/116).

Roman imperial period.

[-]ος ♡ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων -]

[-]ν ♡ vac.

...from his/their own funds...



69. Between Samatlar and Çiftlik

Votive altar of Dionysios.

White crystalline marble *bomos* with upper and lower mouldings, complete. Guide-lines of inscription visible in lines 1-4. Found between Samatlar and Çiftlik (Yeni Erice), in a fountain (Geycek Çeşmesi).

Ht. 0.85; W. 0.58 (top), 0.50-0.52 (shaft), 0.59 (base); Th. 0.42 (top), 0.33-0.35 (shaft); letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/71).

Roman imperial period.

Διονύσιος Μην-

ἂ εὐξάμ-

ενος ἀνέθη-

κεν βωμόν τῷ Δι

5

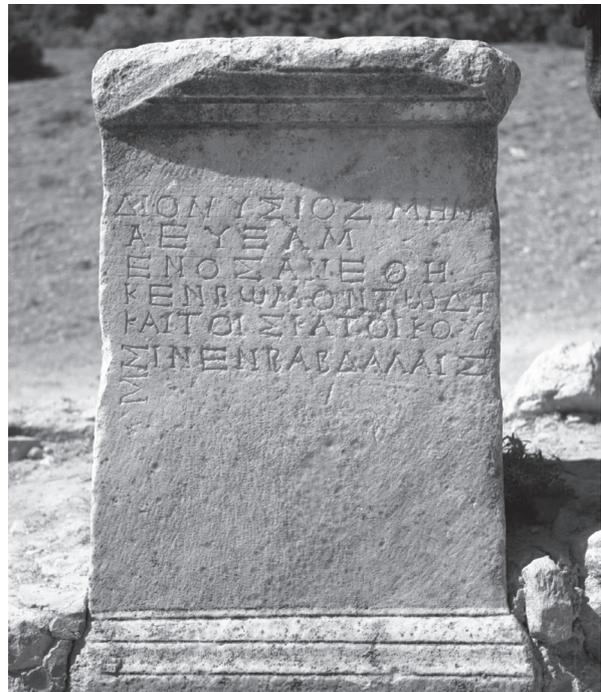
καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦ-

σιν ἐν Βαβδαλαῖς.

Σ

Dionysios son of Menas dedicated the altar to Zeus and to those living in Babdalai, in fulfilment of a vow.

For dedications to a deity and to a village community, compare *SEG* 16, 753 (Dorylaion): δόντες καὶ τεμένους... τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ κώμῃ. The village of Babdalai is not otherwise attested; in



the *Barrington Atlas* (Map 62 C4) it is located at Hacım, to the west of Samatlar, on the authority of T. Drew-Bear. For the termination -δαλαι, compare the deity Μητῆρ Σιμιδαληνή in eastern Lydia (*TAM* V 1, 76: Saittai), whose *epiklesis* is likely to derive from a toponym *Σιμιδαλα/αι.

70. Sivaslı

Votive stele of Aur. Agathos.

Marble *stèle* with pediment and *acroteria* above and tenon below. On the shaft, human leg in relief. Found at Sivaslı (Sebaste), in private possession.

Ht. 0.43; W. 0.33 (top), 0.30 (shaft), 0.34 (base); Th. 0.08; letters 0.010-0.022.

Unpublished; mentioned by Riel 1992: 95 n.102 ('dans le musée d'Uşak'); [Paz de Hoz 1999: 240, 40.26]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/125).

Third century AD.

Αὐρ. Ἄτταλος ἐγ μεγάλης
νόσου σωθεὶς εὐχαριστ-
ῶ Μητρὶ Λητώ καὶ
Νεμέσεσι προκα-
5 θημέναις καὶ ἰ-
εραῖς Νύμφαις

I, Aur. Attalos, having been saved from a great illness, thank Mother Leto and the presiding Nemeseis and the sacred nymphs.

This monument is a *εὐχαριστήριον*, an *ex-voto* expression of gratitude after recovery from illness. For the use of the verb *εὐχαριστεῖν* in votives of the second and third centuries AD, see Robert, *Hellenica* X, 55-8; for salvation 'from great illness', compare *SEG* 53, 1168 (Lepcis Magna), *ἐκ μεγάλης νόσου διασωθεὶς εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέθηκα*.

The goddess Meter Leto seems only to be attested in a relatively small stretch of territory in southern Phrygia and eastern Lydia. She is particularly associated with the god Apollo Lairbenos, whose sanctuary lay in the loop of the Maeander river north of Hierapolis-Pamukkale, near modern Bahadınlar. An inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos records the construction of a stoa in honour of *Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λυερμηνώ* (Bahadınlar: Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000: 8, D5), suggesting that she was formally worshipped alongside Apollo at this sanctuary. An *ex-voto*, also from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, records the fulfilment of the



vow of Aphias, daughter of Theodotos, to Meter Leto: *εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητώ, ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ πυνέ...* *Μητρὶ Λητώ εὐχὴν* (Ortaköy: Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000: 12, D18). Another *ex-voto* to Meter Leto is known from the close vicinity of the sanctuary, on the opposite bank of the Maeander in the Çal ovası (Bekilli, possibly the ancient Dionysopolis: *MAMA* IV 314).

In eastern Lydia, attestations of the goddess are more widely dispersed. An *ex-voto* of the *νεοὶ φιλιάνπελοι* to Meter Leto is known from the modern village of Hayallı, on the north-east flank of the Kogamos valley, on the borders of the territories of Philadelpheia and Maionia (*TAM* V 3, 1556); another *ex-voto* to Meter Leto, set up by a certain Tyrannis of Philadelpheia, was found at the modern town of Buldan, north-west of the confluence of the Maeander and Lykos rivers, on the borders of the territories of Apollonia-Tripolis and Sala (*SEG* 29, 1154; for the location of Sala, see Thonemann 2008: 50-1). Further to the north, in the upper Hermos valley north of Kollyda, the inhabitants of the villages of Dima and Kerbia dedicated a statue of Meter Leto 'on the order of

Apollo: οἱ [ἐ]ν Διμοῖς [καὶ Κερβείοις] κάτοικοι Μητέρα Λητῶ ἀνέστησαν κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (Ayazvıran: TAM V 1, 489). Two further votive dedications from Lydia name the goddess simply as Leto, without the title Meter: *I.Manisa* 85 (unknown provenance); TAM V 1, 250 (Kula: Ἀπολώνιος Δραλλᾶς δυνατῆ θεῶ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῶ).

A cult of Apollo Lairbenos and Meter is already attested at Sebaste, thanks to an ex-voto from the Byzantine church near Selçikler: Ἀμμία Μελίτωνος Ἡλίῳ Λερβήνῳ καὶ Μητρὶ εὐχὴν (Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000: 10, D12). J. and L. Robert (*BE* 1954, 233) noted that the *stèle* could either have been transported to Sebaste from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos at Bahadınlar, or could derive from a 'branch' sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos and Meter Leto on the territory of Sebaste (an ἀφίδρυμα: Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 120). This 'branch' sanctuary is in fact directly attested in an unpublished inscription from Payamalanı, on display in the Uşak museum, recording the dedication by the inhabitants of the village of Eibeos ([ῆ] Εἰβεανῶν κατοικί)α, cf. 65 above) of a temple (ναόν) and cult-statue (ἀνδρ[ιάν]τα) to Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρ[μηνῶ].

One further possible attestation of the cult of Meter Leto at Sebaste derives from a dedication of unknown provenance, which appeared on the London antiquities market in 1989: Ἀπόλλω[νι] Ἀλσίῳ καὶ Μητρὶ Λητῶ ὑπὲρ [Σ]τατειλίου Καίικιλι(?)ανοῦ καὶ Στατειλίας Ἀμμίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰούλιος Μαξίμου ἀνέθηκεν (*SEG* 39, 1726). The dedication is of a type

characteristic of Phrygia; what seems to be the only Phrygian attestation of the rare gentilician Statilius comes from Sebaste (*IGR* IV 688: Statilia Kalligone; for the gentilician, cf. Thonemann 2011a: 224-5). For the cult epithet Alsios carried by Apollo, compare the cult of Apollo Alsenos at Akmoneia (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1933-9).

The Nemeseis seem not to be otherwise attested at Sebaste. They appear on the coinage of Dionysopolis, a near neighbour of Sebaste to the south-west (von Aulock 1987: 56, no. 82), and Amorion (*SNG von Aulock* 3406); they are also depicted on a votive relief to Apollo from the ancient rural sanctuary at Çavdarlı near Afyon (Robert 1987: 338-9). North-east of Sebaste, in Lydia Katakekaumene, the Nemeseis appear in a funerary inscription from Maionia (*SEG* 34, 1202: τὰς Νεμέσις σοι, μὴ τίς μοι τὴν στήλην ἀδικήσεις), and in a confession inscription from the village of Perkös/-on (*SEG* 38, 1236: μεγάλοι Νεμέσις ἐν Περκῶ). In a dedication from the village of Axiotta in eastern Lydia, it is not clear whether the Nemeseis are invoked as separate deities or as qualities of the presiding deity of the village, Men Artemidorou (*SEG* 53, 1344: μεγάλοι σαι νεμέσις). The epithet προκαθήμεναι is elsewhere used of the 'presiding' or patron deities of a community: compare *I.Ephesos* 3252 (Almourenon *katoikia*) lines 7-8, τῶ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κώμης Μηνί; *Syll.*³ 694 (Pergamon) lines 49-51, τῆι τε [Δή]μητρι καὶ τῆι Κόρῳ ταις π[ροκαθημέναις] [θε]αῖς τῆς πόλεως ἡμ[ῶν]; *IAPH*2007 8.37, line 5, τὴν προκαθημένην τῆς πόλεως ὑμ[ῶν] θεόν].

71. Yayalar

Funerary *stèle* of Attalos.

Marble *stèle* with pediment and lateral pilasters with Ionic capitals, originally with tenon below; broken above and below. In the pediment, eagle facing l. with wings extended; on the shaft, wreath with fillets in high relief. Lines 1-7 on the shaft; lines 8-10 in the wreath. Found at Yayalar (territory of Sebaste), by the mosque. Now (April 2011) in the garden of the archaeological museum at Uşak.

Ht. 1.55+; W. 0.47 (pediment), 0.44 (shaft), 0.50 (base); Th. 0.17; letters 0.014-0.022.

Paris 1883: 457, no. 2; [Ramsay 1883: 411-12]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/73).

First century BC or first century AD.

Ἄριστίων
καὶ Θεογένης
καὶ Μητροδόδωρος
καὶ Εὐαγόρα]ς
5 Ἄτταλῶ τῷ πα-
τρὶ φιλο{τι}-
τέκνῳ
μνή-
μης χά-
10 ριν

Line 2: Θεοξένης P(aris); Θεο(γ)ένης R(amsay).
Lines 5-7: φίλ[ω] τ[ε] τέκνῳ P; 'It must be read πατρὶ φιλοτέκνῳ on the supposition that the engraver has twice engraved TE' R. Lines 8-10: om. P.

Aristion and Theogenes and Metrodoros and Euagoras for Attalos their father, a loving parent, in memoriam.

The letters TI at the end of line 6 are clear on Ballance's photograph; presumably the stone-cutter intended to inscribe φιλοτί(μῳ καὶ φιλο)-



τέκνῳ. The absence of Roman (or indigenous) names and the letter-forms (particularly the small *omega* in lines 1 and 7) suggest a date considerably earlier than most funerary monuments from this region.

72. Selçikler

Latin funerary inscription of Ursina.

White marble block, broken at top left and chipped at left, otherwise complete. Found at Selçikler (Sebaste), in the cemetery.

Ht. 0.78; W. 0.54; Th. 0.26; letters 0.020-0.022.

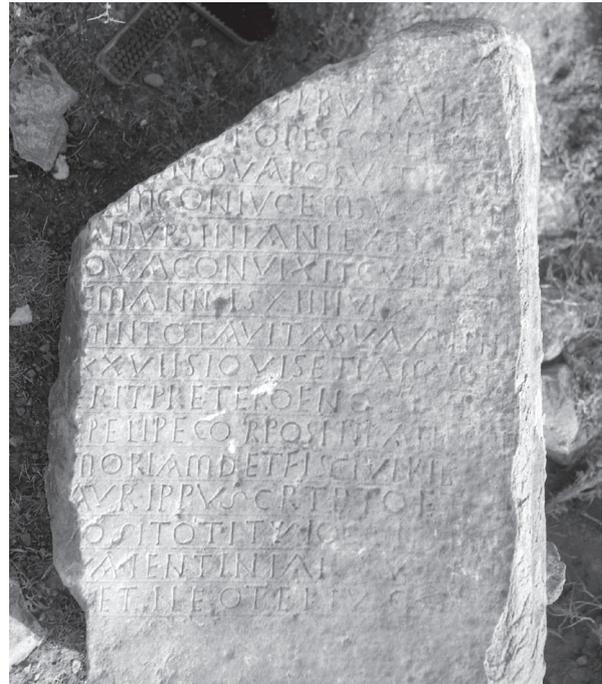
Speidel 1984; [AE 1984, 849]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/121).

AD 390 (consular dating).

- [H(anc) M(emoriam) F(aciendam)
 C(uravit) (?) Fl(auius) Buraido
 [pro]te[ct]or escolae ped[er]i-
 [tum] in <q>ua posuit Ursi[n]-
 am coniu(g)em suam fili-
 5 am Ursiniani ex trib(uno) v. (?)
 <q>ua convixit cum eod-
 em annis XIII vixit etiā-
 m in tota vita sua annis
 XXVII. si <q>uis etiam volu-
 10 erit preter <d>eno[ta]tam s-
 epeli(r)e corpus in hanc me-
 moriam, det fisci virib[us]
 auri pp(ondera) V (quinque). scr(i)pto et de-
 [p]osito titu(l)o cons(ulatu) d(omini) n(ostri)
 15 Valentinian[i] Aug(usti) IIII
 et Neoteri v(iri) c(larissimi) ♠

Line 3: OVA. Line 4: CONIUCEM. Line 6: OVA. Line 9: OVIS. Line 10: OENO[.]. Line 11: EPELIPE. Line 14: TITUIO.

Flavius Buraido, protector of the schola peditum, was responsible for constructing this tomb, in which he placed his wife Ursina, daughter of Ursinianus, former tribune, who lived with him for 14 years, and who lived in her whole life for 27 years; if anyone else wishes to bury bodies in this tomb other than the woman here indicated, he will pay to the fisc 5 litres of gold. This gravestone was written and set up in the consulate of our lord Valentinianus Augustus, for the fourth time, and his excellency Neoterus.



The condition of the stone had deteriorated significantly by the time it was published (from a poor photograph) by Speidel in 1984, and Ballance's photograph and squeeze allow us to make several improvements to Speidel's text. For comparison, Speidel's text (AE 1984, 849) reads as follows:

- [Flavi]us Buran[us]
 [qui e]t Cresce[us] e[qu]e[s] de
 [co]n(i)u(g)em suam [fil]-
 [i]am Ursiniani ex t[ri]b(uno) [de co]n(s)ulatu
 5 [N]ova. convixit cum eo p[er]
 [u]l[is] m(inus) annis XIII, ex[actis]
 in tota vita sua annis]
 XXVII. si quis etiam vo[lu]-
 10 [erit] preter s (feminam) eno[ta]tam s[er]-
 [v]e[m] corpus in ean[de]m me-
 moriam det fisci virib[us]
 auri pp(ondera) V (quinque). scripto et [de]-
 [p]osito titulo cons[ulatu]
 15 Valentiniani A[ug]ust(i) IIII (quarto)
 et Neoteri v(iri) c(larissimi).

The mason seems to have known no Latin: he inscribed the letter *G* as *C* (line 4) and *Q* as *O* (lines 3, 6, 9), and confused the letters *D* and *O* (line 10), *P* and *R* (line 11), and *I* and *L* (line 14).

This inscription is one of a small number of Latin funerary inscriptions for Roman army officers from fourth-century Asia Minor: see also *I.Kyzikos* I 482; *I.Prusias ad Hypium* 101; *TAM* IV 1, 118 (Nikomedea); *AE* 1976, 668 (Eumeneia: after c. AD 350); *AE* 1977, 806 (Nakoleia: AD 356); *AE* 2004, 1396a (Maionia: c. AD 350-75). The name Buraido (cf. *ILS* 2811) is apparently of Thracian origin (Detschew 1957: 80); an unusual number of fourth-century *protectores* seem to have originated in Illyria and the eastern Balkans (Lanski 2000: 509). The imperial *nomen* Flavius is a designation of rank, correctly used with an individual's last name only (Keenan 1973-4; Cameron 1988).

The evidence for the organisation of the corps of *protectores* (a branch of the imperial guard) into *scholae* is scanty and difficult to interpret (Stein 1959: 545-6; Jones 1964: II 636-7, III 195-6; Diesner, *RE Suppl.* XI [1969] cols. 1113-23, s.v. *protectores*). That the *protectores* were originally organised into a single *schola* seems to be the implication of an undated funerary inscription for a *protector* from Kyzikos in Bithynia (*ILS* 2783; *I.Kyzikos* I 482): *Fl. Marcus protector... militavit in scola protectorum annis quinque. Cod. Theod.* 6.24.3 seems to imply that there was still only a single *schola protectorum domesticorum* in AD 364 (cf. *Cod. Theod.* 6.24.1, 10; 6.25.1). The subsequent division of this single *schola* into separate *scholae* (*protectorum*) *seniorum* and *iuniorum* is attested by an inscription of uncertain date from Fanum Fortunae (*ILS* 9204): *Fl. Concordius protector divinorum laterum et prepositus iuniorum*. Finally, a funerary monument from Philippi (*AE* 1939, 45; *AE* 2001, 1787a) was set up by a *protector de scole seniore peditum* (i.e. *schola peditum seniorum*), implying a fourfold division of *scholae peditum/equitum seniorum/iuniorum*. This last text is dated to the first half of the fourth century by Drew-Bear 1977: 269-70, on very fragile grounds (suggesting that the *protector's* name, Licinianus,

may derive from that of the emperor Valerius Licinianus Licinius). Bartels 2002: 711 more plausibly dates it to the fifth century, following Frank 1969: 39-40 (who misunderstands the text: it was the *protector's* son, not the *protector* himself, who died at the age of four).

In the course of the fourth century, many Roman military regiments were divided into separate units of *iuniores* and *seniores*. It was previously believed that the earliest such divisions occurred in AD 364, with the 'senior' regiments going west with the senior Augustus (Valentinian I), the 'junior' regiments going east with the junior Augustus (Valens) (Hoffmann 1969-70: I 117-30; Tomlin 1972). However, a unit of *Cornuti seniores* is attested in the eastern part of the empire (at Nakoleia in Phrygia) in an inscription dated to AD 356, undermining this view of both the date and nature of the division between *seniores* and *iuniores* (Drew-Bear 1977: 267-74; Barlow and Brennan 2001: 238-42; Scharf 2005: 221-5; Drew-Bear and Zuckerman 2004: 421-2). It is more likely that the terms *seniores* and *iuniores* reflected the creation of 'daughter' units by conscription around a core of soldiers drawn from the parent regiment (Tomlin 1972: 261-5; Drew-Bear 1977: 270-2), a process which continued throughout the latter half of the fourth century.

The Sebaste inscription, firmly dated as it is to AD 390, is thus an important piece of evidence for the development of the *scholae protectorum*. To all appearances, the *schola* to which Buraido belonged was simply called the *schola peditum* (lines 2-3), although it is conceivable that a longer name should be restored here in abbreviated form, e.g. *escole ped[itum] / iun(iorum)* or *sen(iorum)*. For the spelling *escole* (= *scholae*) compare *CIL* VI 31971, *pri(micerius) escole secundae* (and cf. *CIL* VI 32965, *iscola*).

The former tribune Ursinianus, father of Buraido's wife Ursina, is attested in another inscription from Sebaste (*SEG* 6, 187: Selçikler) as a member of the *cohors Stablesianorum*, who were presumably stationed at or near Sebaste in the last two decades of the fourth century (Speidel 1984: 387-9).

73. Selçikler

Funerary doorstone of Ammia.

White marble doorstone with gabled pediment, broken below. In the pediment, mirror in relief; above, half-palmette *acroteria*. Inscription on the outer moulding of the pediment. Found at Selçikler (Sebaste), in a wall near the mosque.

Ht. 0.29+; W. 0.61; Th. --; letters 0.012-0.015.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/118).

Second or third century AD.



[...αἰος κὲ Ζηνόδοτος Ἀμμία τῇ μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν]

...aios and Zenodotos for Ammia, their mother, in memoriam.

74. Kırka

Funerary doorstone of Valerius Rufus and family.

White marble doorstone; no description. Inscription in two registers on the upper mouldings. Found at Kırka (territory of Sebaste), in a fountain (Kavaklı Çeşme) 1km SSE of the village.

Ht. 0.89; W. 0.85 (doors 0.54); Th. 0.32; letters 0.018-0.021 (lines 1-2), 0.008-0.012 (lines 3-4).

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing (inscription only); MB notebook copy (1956/38).

Second or third century AD.

[...α ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ Οὐαλέριος Ροῦφος ὁ υἱὸς [ἀγο]-
ρανομῆσαντι καὶ στρατηγήσαντι καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντι καὶ δεκαπρωτεύσα-
ντι μνήμης χάριν ζήσαντι ἔτη λγ'

...a his wife and Valerius Rufus his son, having held the offices of agoranomos and strategos and eirenarch and dekaprotos, in memoriam, having lived for 33(?) years.

For the practice of listing the offices held by an individual on his funerary monument, see the commentary to 120 below (Akmoneia).



75. Selçikler

Funerary doorstone.

White marble doorstone, broken above and left, buried below. Deeply-fluted pilaster with elaborate capital, supporting bi-partite entablature with dentils; gabled pediment above. Inscription on the lower moulding of the pediment. Found at Selçikler (Sebaste), in the cemetery.

Ht. 1.05+; W. 0.32+ (doors 0.54); Th. 0.27; letters 0.015-0.017.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/120).

Second or third century AD.

[- -]ς ζῶντες ☩

...while still living.



76. Kırka

Funerary doorstone of Gaios and Tatia.

Upper part of marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 162, Typ C Akmonia 1), broken below. Single door, with upper pair of blank panels visible. Ivy-scroll pilasters to right and left. Frame above the door, beveled below. Archivolt with three fascias; in the *tympanum*, a wreath. Inscription on the middle fascia of the archivolt, continuing onto the frame above the door. Found in a fountain about 1km west of Kırka, on the road to Kabaklar.

Ht. 0.66+; W. 0.88; Th. 0.15+; letters 0.020-0.035.

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 610, no. 507. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/35).

c. AD 175-250 (doorstone type).

Γάϊος Τατία γυναικὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλάνδρῳ
καὶ ἑαυ[τ]ῷ ζῶν μνή[μης χά]ριν.

Gaios, for Tatia his prudent and husband-loving wife, and for himself, while still living, in memoriam.



This monument was produced in an Akmoneian workshop, which also served the territory of Diokleia for a period in the late second century AD (Waelkens 1986: 178, no. 443).

77. Akarca

Funerary doorstone of Trophimos.

Upper part of white marble doorstone (similar to Waelkens 1986: 180-1, Typ C Sebaste and Typ C Payamalani 1), broken below. Single door with panels and archivolt; inscription in the *tympanum*. Found at Akarca (territory of Sebaste), in a fountain 100m west of the mosque.

Ht. 0.47+; W. 0.57+; Th. --; letters 0.014-0.018.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/115).

Late second or early third century AD (doorstone type).

χαίρετε πα-
ροδίται. ταῦτα λέ-
γει Τρόφιμος κατακ-
είμενος ᾧ ἐνὶ τύμβῳ

Greetings, passers-by. Trophimos speaks thus, lying in his tomb...



The words *ταῦτα... τύμβῳ* form a fairly accurate line of hexameter verse. For the possessive pronoun ᾧ, compare *RECAM II 74A* (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 15/03/01), [ν]αίε... ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (for the provenance of this text, from Obruk Minetler, near Iuliopolis, see *I.Pessinous xi n.10*).

78. Sivashi

Funerary doorstone of Asklas' mother.

Marble doorstone with gabled pediment (Waelkens 1986: 181 Typ C Payamalani 2), broken above. Single door, with two pairs of panels. In the upper panels: (left) plant; (right) key-plate. In the lower panels: (left) circular boss; (right) door-knocker. In the pediment, comb, mirror and perfume bottle; above, half-palmettes. Inscription on the frame above the door. Found at Sivashi (Sebaste), in a street.

Ht. 0.90+; W. 0.79; Th. 0.18; letters 0.015-0.020.

Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 605, no. 490. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/74).

Mid- or late Severan period (doorstone type).

Ἀσκλᾶς β' τῆ μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν

Asklas, son of Asklas, for his mother, in memoriam.

This funerary doorstone is of exactly the same design as Drew-Bear 1978: 110-11, no. 49 (*SEG 28, 1129*; Waelkens 1986: 183, no. 455), and is evidently a contemporary product of



the same workshop. The doorstone published by Drew-Bear was discovered at Menteş, on the territory of Eumeneia. Given the complete absence of doorstones of this type among the funerary monuments of Eumeneia, Drew-Bear had already suggested that the Menteş doorstone was a *pierre errante* from the province of Uşak;

Waelkens tentatively assigned it to Payamalanı on the basis of its similarity to another doorstone from Payamalanı (Waelkens 1986: 182-3, no. 454), while leaving open the possibility that its true origin was in fact Sivaslı. The similarity with our monument makes it clear that the Menteş doorstone ought also to be assigned to Sivaslı.

79. Payamalanı

Funerary doorstone of the parents of Menestratos and Trophimos.

White marble doorstone, broken below and right (Waelkens 1986: 181, Typ C Payamalanı 1). Single door, with three pairs of panels and ivy-scroll pilasters to left and right. In the upper panels: (left) distaff and spindle; (right) key-plate. In the middle panels: (left) comb (?); (right) unidentifiable. In the lower panels: (left) mirror; (right) missing. Frame and cornice above the door. Above, archivolt with fascia, shallow Lesbian cyma and moulding (?). In the *tympanum*, beveler, cobbler's anvil and awl in relief. Inscription on the frame above the door. Found at Payamalanı (Eibeos/-on), at the village. Ht. 0.90+; W. 0.56; Th. --; letters 0.012-0.014. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 609, no. 502. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1954/26). AD 212/3 (Year 297 of Sullan era).

Μενέστρατος καὶ Τρόφιμος τῷ πατρὶ
καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν. ἔτους σϞζ', μηνὸς [- -]

Line 1: Τε[ύτα]μος R(amsay). Line 2: μη(νὸς) ζ' R.

Menestratos and Trophimos for their father and mother, in memoriam. Year 297, Month...

This funerary doorstone is of almost exactly the same design as Waelkens 1986: 182, no. 453, also found at Payamalanı, and dated by him to the



early third century AD. The tools depicted in the archivolt suggest that the father of Menestratos and Trophimos was a leather-worker or cobbler.

80. Kırka

Funerary doorstone of Aur. Glykon and Ammia.

Marble doorstone with gabled pediment. Single door, with two pairs of panels and pilasters to left and right. In the upper panels: (left) lyre and plectrum (?); (right) keyhole. In the lower panels: (left) stilus-case; (right) spindle and distaff. In the pediment, circular boss. Inscription in the pediment, continuing onto the frame above the door and onto the left pilaster. Found at Kırka (Sebaste), in a fountain.

Ht. 0.85; W. 0.54; Th. --; letters 0.010-0.019.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/36).

AD 216 (Year 301 of Sullan era, Month 1).

top of pediment

ἔτει

around the circular boss

τριακοσιοστῶ α', μη(νὸς) α'

l. side of pediment

Αὐρ.

Γλύκων

5 Παιθου

ἑαυτῶ

καὶ Ἀμμία συνβίω

ζή-

σας

10 ἔτη

ος'

r. side of pediment

ὄς ἂν

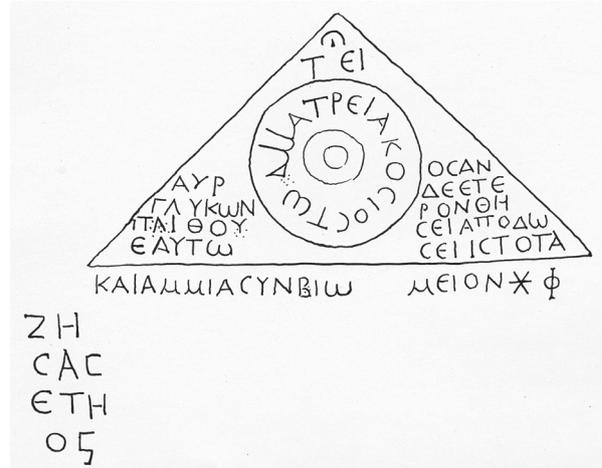
δὲ ἔτε-

ρον θή-

15 σει ἀποδώ-

σει ἰς τὸ τα-

μείον (δηνάρια) φ'



Year 301, Month 1. Aur. Glykon, son of Paithos, for himself and his wife Ammia, having lived for 76 years. Whoever places anyone else (in the tomb), he shall pay to the treasury 500 denarii.

In line 2 (inscribed in a circle around the boss in the centre of the pediment), we appear to have the normal abbreviation for *μη(νὸς)* (*eta* inscribed above *mu*). For this way of indicating the date, compare e.g. TAM V 1, 330 (Kula): ἔτους τριακοσιοστοῦ νς', *μη(νὸς)* Πανήμου β'. For the practice of numbering rather than naming the months in this region, compare 35 (Eumeneia: *μη(νὸς)* η'); 36 (Eumeneia: *μη(νὸς)* β'); 66 (Dioskome, territory of Sebaste: *μη(νὸς)* δεκάτου); 90 (Traianopolis: *μη(νὸς)* ιβ'); 143 (Koçhisar: *μη(νὸς)* βι'); 144 (Kilter [Çevrepınar]: *μη(νὸς)* γ'); probably 38 (Eumeneia); 79 (Eibeos, territory of Sebaste).

On the name Paithos, see the commentary to 85 below.

81. Dedeballar

Funerary doorstone of Epagathos.

White marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 181, Typ C Payamalan 1), broken below and right, embedded in mortar. Single door, with upper pair of blank panels visible. Pilasters to left and right with decorative capitals. Above, archivolt with fascia, shallow Lesbian *cyma* and moulding. In the *tympanum*, mirror and comb in relief. Inscription on the frame above the door. Found at Dedeballar (territory of Sebaste), in the wall of the school, said to have been brought from the cemetery.

Ht. 0.45+; W. 0.57+; Th. 0.15+; letters 0.013-0.015.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/123).

Early third century AD (doorstone type).

[Γ]άϊος καὶ Εὐμένης Ἐπαγάθῳ τῷ πατρ[ι]
μνήμης χάριν.

Gaius and Eumenes for their father Epagathos, in memoriam.

The mirror and comb depicted in the archivolt would lead us to expect a woman, not a man, to be commemorated in the funerary inscription. Either Gaius and Eumenes purchased an icono-



graphically inappropriate doorstone 'off the shelf', or – perhaps more likely – a woman (e.g. Epagathos' wife) was commemorated in an additional inscription on a missing part of the doorstone.

82. Kırka

Funerary doorstone of Heliades, Christian.

Upper part of doorstone, broken below. Single door, with upper pair of panels visible; right panel blank; in left panel, uncertain object. Pilasters to left and right with leaf-design and plain capitals. Pediment with rounded boss in centre; inscription on the upper frame of the pediment, continuing onto the lower frame. Found at Kırka (territory of Sebaste), in a fountain by the mosque.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.54; Th. --; letters 0.023-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/39).

Third century AD.

[Α]ρτεμίδ[ωρ]ος Ἡλιάδῃ Χρισ|τιανῶ

Artemidoros, for Heliades, a Christian.



For the name Heliades, compare Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 614, no. 523 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* V 25 (Dorylaion). For another third-century funerary monument from the territory of Sebaste designating the deceased as ‘Christian’, compare 85 below; see also 122 below (Akmoneia: Kızılcasöğüt); Tabbernee 1997: 174-6, no. 22 (Akmoneia: Ahat). In the absence of any close parallels in the region for the doorstone-type, the

precise date of this monument is uncertain; the decoration is quite unlike that of the distinctive group of early third-century Christian doorstones from Temenouthyrai discussed by Drew-Bear 1979: 299-302; Waelkens 1986: 146-50, nos. 366-7, 372-5. (This last group of doorstones will be discussed by Stephen Mitchell in a forthcoming paper, to appear in P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*.)

83. Erice

Funerary *bomos* of Kleopatra and husband.

Coarse marble *bomos*, broken below, upper mouldings cut off. On the front, below the inscription, male and female busts; on left side, writing-tablets and stilus-case. Found at Erice (territory of Sebaste), in the porch of the mosque.

Ht. 0.81+; W. 0.44 (shaft); Th. 0.38 (shaft); letters 0.025-0.028.

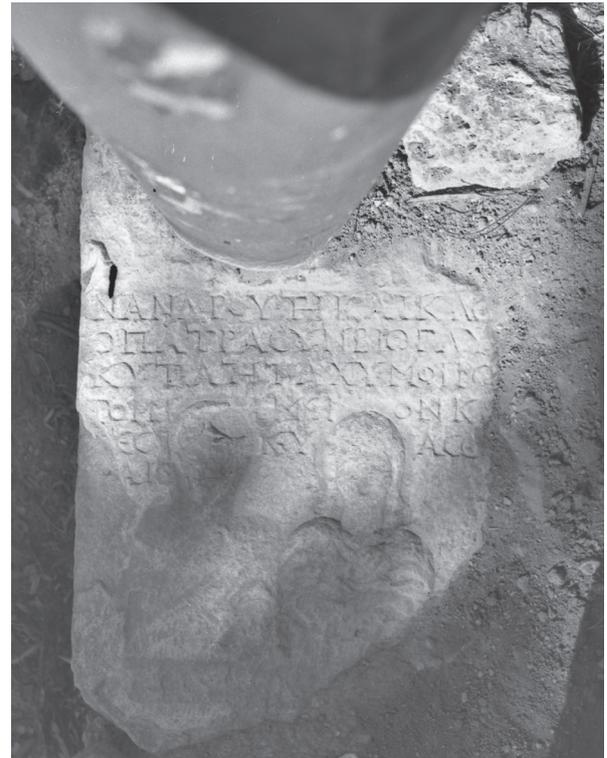
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/45).

Second or third century AD.

[----- Με]-
 νάνδρου τῆ καὶ Κλε-
 σπάτρα συνβίω γλυ-
 κυτάτη ταχυμοίρω
 5 τὸ μνημεῖον κ[α]-
 [τ]εσκεύασε[ν]
 [καὶ ἔ-
 [αυ]-
 [τῶ]

...constructed the memorial for... daughter of Menandros, also known as Kleopatra, his sweetest wife, who died young, and for himself.

The term *ταχύμοιρος* seems to have been particularly current in the funerary epigraphy of Akmoneia: see *MAMA* VI 275 (Arslanlar);



Michon 1906a: 39-43 (‘Acmonia’); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 614, no. 522 (İslâmköy); 615, no. 528 (Hasanköy); 655, no. 575 (İslâmköy); cf. also *MAMA* X 87 (Appia).

84. Kırka

Funerary *bomos* of Artas and family.

Marble *bomos*, complete. Found at Kırka (territory of Sebaste), by the mosque.

Ht. 0.77; W. 0.48 (upper moulding), 0.35-0.39 (shaft), 0.43 (lower moulding); Th. 0.41 (upper moulding), 0.34 (shaft); letters 0.033.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/40).

AD 255/6 (Year 340 of Sullan era).

- [ἔ]τους · τμ΄
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τειμοκρ-
 άτης Ἀρτᾶ τῶι
 [ι]δίῳ ἀδελφῶι
 5 Ἀρτᾶ β΄ {Σ} καὶ τῇ γυ-
 ναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀ-
 μμία καὶ τοῖς τέκν-
 οῖς αὐτοῦ Τειμοκ[κ]-
 ράτη{s} καὶ Κουαρτί-
 10 λλη μνήμης χάριν.

Year 340. Aur. Teimokrates, son of Artas, for his own brother Artas son of Artas {S} and his wife Ammia and his children Teimokrates and Quartilla, in memoriam.



85. Between Pıyanlı and Balıkkaya

Funerary *bomos* of Paithos and family, Christians.

Marble *bomos*, broken above, with defaced mouldings. On the left side, in relief, hammer and bill-hook; on the right, spindle, distaff and comb. Found at an ancient site, among rubble from the destruction of an early Christian church, between Pıyanlı and Balıkkaya.

Ht. 0.74+; W. 0.27-0.28 (shaft); Th. 0.26-0.28 (shaft); letters 0.016-0.020.

Firatlı 1970: 120, with Res. 70 (description and photo only); Gibson 1978: 106-7, no. 34; [SEG 28, 1084; Tabbernee 1997: 176-9, no. 23]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/44).

Third century AD.

- Μηνόφιλος καὶ
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
 Ἀμμία Παιθῶ ἀ-
 δελφῶ Χριστι-
 5 ανῶ κὲ Ἀλεξαν-
 δρία Παιθῶ ἀν-
 δρὶ κὲ τὰ παιδία
 αὐτῶν μνείας
 χάριν ἐπύησαν.

Menophilos and his wife Ammia for Paithos, his brother, a Christian; and Alexandria for Paithos, her husband, and their children; they made this, in memoriam.

For this type of funerary monument (*bomos* with relief depictions of domestic objects), highly characteristic of Akmoneia, see 121 below. This monument was seen and photographed by N. Fıratlı at Eski Erice in 1970; it was later copied in the Uşak museum by Gibson, who (unaware of Fıratlı's publication) attributed it to Akmoneia on the grounds of its decorative style. Sheppard 1980: 315 records (not quite accurately) that Ballance recorded its provenance as Pıyanlı; Tabbernee states incorrectly that Ballance found the stone at Payamalanı.

The name Παιθος also appears at Sebaste in 80 above, and seems otherwise only to be attested at Pessinous in Galatia (*I.Pessinous* 110). The name is taken to be indigenous by Zgusta 1964: 403 §1191, and by Strubbe 1978/9: 143. It may, however, simply be the Latin name *Paetus* with an incorrect aspiration (Strubbe 1978/9: 134-5; cf. Brixhe 1987: 110-13); the name Paetus is also attested at Sebaste (66 above).



86. Kırka

Table-leg in the form of a leopard.

Head and elongated neck of a panther in fine white marble, from a table-support. A flat fillet 6cm wide runs down the back, and originally continued above to support the table-top. Broken above and below. Found at Kırka (territory of Sebaste), in a house.

Ht. 0.27+; W. 0.115; Th. 0.24.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/37).

Roman imperial period.

Table-supports of this kind, with an animal *protome* at the head and a single animal-leg or claw at the base, are very widespread in the early Roman imperial period (Richter 1966: 111-2; Pfühl and Mobius 1977-9: II 363-5; Fabricius 1999: 88). For similar examples with a panther's head at the top and a single lion or griffin's claw at the base, see Richter 1966: Figs. 575-6 (Corinth);



Stephanidou-Tiberiou 1993: 291-2, nos. 159-60 (Athens). For animal table-supports from Sardis, see Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 149, nos. 218-20 (griffins and lion); for Aphrodisias, see Phillips 2008: 259 n.35 ('the best-preserved Aphrodisian table supports with animal motifs... all feature a

panther *protome* emerging from a calyx'). It is likely that this item is of Dokimeian origin; tables with supports of this kind are regularly depicted on Dokimeian sarcophagi of the Roman imperial period (e.g. Waelkens 1982: 93, no. 157 Istanbul B [Sidamaria], with Taf. 28.4).

87. Selçikler

Architrave block.

Architrave block of coarse greyish-white marble, with one end broken, the other recut for an Ottoman tombstone. Uninscribed. Found at Selçikler (Sebaste), near the mosque.

Ht. 0.45; W. 1.04+; Th. 0.36.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/119).

Roman imperial period.



88. Payamalanı

Relief panel.

White marble relief panel, with peacock and tree. Found at Payamalanı (Eibeos/-on), from a site one hour down the river to the west.

Ht. 0.90; W. 0.77; Th. 0.13.

Firatlı 1970: 119, with Res. 58 (now in Afyon museum) Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1954/27).

Middle Byzantine period.

For similar relief panels from Phrygia, compare Niewohner 2006: 448, no. 70 (Altıntaş); Ivison 2008: 497 with fig. 20 a-b (Amorion).



89. Payamalanı

Relief panel.

Decorative marble relief panel with bird in central medallion; two corner medallions with figured reliefs; between them, smaller medallions with abstract decoration. Broken on all sides; small part of right margin preserved. Found at Payamalanı (Eibeos/-on), in a wall; from a site one hour down the river to the west.

Ht. 1.00+; W. 0.50+; Th. 0.15.

Firatlı 1970: 119, with Res. 59. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1954/28).

Middle Byzantine period.



VI. TRAIANOPOLIS

90. Çarık Köyü

Honorific base for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

Block of blue-veined white marble, chipped at right. Found at Çarık Köyü (Traianopolis), in the *kibleh* wall of the mosque.

Ht. 1.66; W. 0.82+; Th. --; letters 0.050 (line 1), 0.035-0.040 (remainder).

Hamilton 1842: II, 404, no. 23; [CIG III 3865c]; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 612, no. 516; Buresch 1898: 169 (mentioned only); Körte 1902: 34-5, no. 62; [IGR IV 625]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/30).

AD 167 (Year 251 of Sullan era, Month 12).

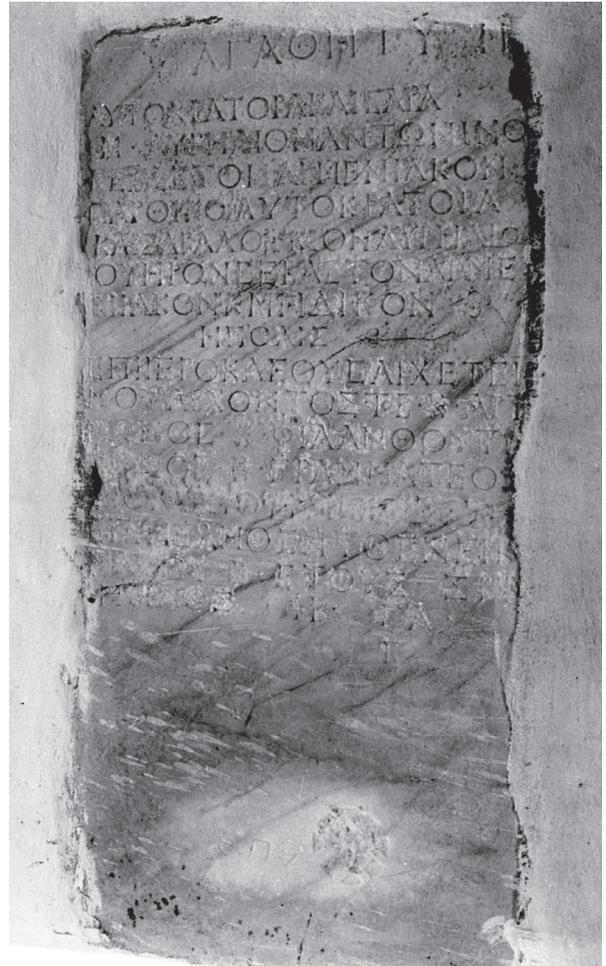
- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Αὐτοκράτορα · Καίσαρα ·
 Μ(άρκου) · Αὐρήλιον · Ἀυτωνινὸ[υ]
 Σεβαστὸν · Ἀρμενικὸν ·
 5 Παρθικὸν κὲ Αὐτοκράτορα
 Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιο[υ]
 Οὐήρον Σεβαστὸν · Ἀρμε-
 νιακὸν · κὲ Μηδικόν ♣
 ἡ πόλις
 10 ἐπὶ Ἱεροκλέους Ἀρχετεί-
 μου ἄρχοντος · τὸ β' · κὲ · Ἀρτέ-
 μωνος Ἑρμογένου · κὲ · Φιλάνθου Τρ[ύ]-
 φωνος · κὲ · γραμματέο[ς]
 Διονυσίου Πυθοδώρο[υ]
 15 ἐπιμεληθέντος Νεικ[ο]-
 μάχου · β' · ἔτους · σνα',
 μηνὸς · ιβ' · γ' ἀ(πιόντος) ·
 Γ.

Added later, below the main inscription, in

letters 0.025-0.045 high:

ΕΠΑ (defaced Maltese cross)

Line 12: Ἑρμογένου Hamilton; Ἑρμογένους Ramsay, Körte.



With good fortune. The city (honoured) Emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Parthicus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus and Medicus. When Hierokles son of Archeteimos was archon for the second time, and Artemon (son of Hermogenes) and Philanthos son of Tryphon (sc. were archons), and Dionysios son of Pythodoros was secretary; Neikomachos son of Neikomachos was responsible (for the erection of the monument). Year 251, Month 12, the antepenultimate day of the month.

In line 12, the patronym Ἐρμογένου was omitted by the mason and added later in smaller letters in the interlinear space between lines 11 and 12. An archon-college of three (lines 10-13) and a secretary (lines 13-14) are also attested at Traianopolis in 91 below.

In line 17, the month is indicated by a numeral (μηνὸς ιβ΄) rather than by month-name (see the commentary to 80 above). The means of indicating the month at Traianopolis seems to have varied: contrast IGR IV 623 (Ramsay, *Phrygia*

II 611-12, no. 515: month Dios), 94 (month Panemos) and 96 (month Dystros).

At the end of line 17, Ramsay suggested (*Phrygia* II 612) that ΓΑ at the end of the line might be a mason's error for ΙΑ, the eleventh day of the month. M. N. Tod recognised that the two letters must represent γ' ἀ(πιόντος) (*in margine* in his copy of IGR IV, in Oxford's Sackler Library), a common abbreviation in the inscriptions of NE Lydia (*TAM* V 1, 64, 361, 480 and *passim*). The solitary *gamma* in line 18 remains mysterious.

91. Ortaköy

Statue base for Septimius Severus.

Grey marble base, apparently complete; face of inscription damaged by modern channeling. Found at Ortaköy (Traianopolis), in a fountain on the main street.

Ht. 1.09; W. 0.56; Th. 0.52; letters 0.026-0.034.

Buresch 1898: 169 (mentioned only); Körte 1902: 33-4, no. 60; [IGR IV 626]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze; photographs (1955/113=1956/24).

AD 197/8 (Year 282 of Sullan era).

vac. ἀ[γ]αθῆ τύχη vac.
 [ἡ β]ουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ὁ]
 [Τ]ραιανοπολειτῶν
 [[Αὐ]τοκρά[τ]ο[ρ]α [Καί]σα[ρ]α]]
 5 [[Λ(ούκιον) Σεπτίμιον Σεουρή]-
 [[ρον]] [τ]ὸν γῆς καὶ θαλά-
 [σ]ης δεσπότην·
 [τ]ῆς ἀναστάσεως
 [ἐ]πιμεληθέντων
 10 [Μ]εν[ά]νδρου Κέλερος
 [κα]ὶ Φιλίππου Εὐόδου
 [κα]ὶ Αἰλ[ι]ανοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 [ἀρ]χόντων καὶ τοῦ γραμ-
 [μα]τέ[ω]ς Γαίου Ὀνησίμου,
 15 [λο]γιστεύοντος· Φλ(αουίου)·
 [Π]ρίσι[κ]ου· ἔτους σπβ΄.



Line 1: omitted by K(örte). Lines 4-6: [[Αὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα | Γ. Οὐίβιον Γάλλον | Σεβασ]]-
 τὸν γῆς K. Lines 6-7: θαλά[σ]σης K. Line 10:
 Κέλερο[υ] K.

With good fortune. The council and the people of the Traianopolitai (set up this statue of) [Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus], the master of land and sea. The archontes Menandros Celer and Philippos Euodos and Aelianus Valerius and the grammateus Gaius Onesimos were responsible for the erection (of the statue). Fl. Priscus was logistes. Year 282.

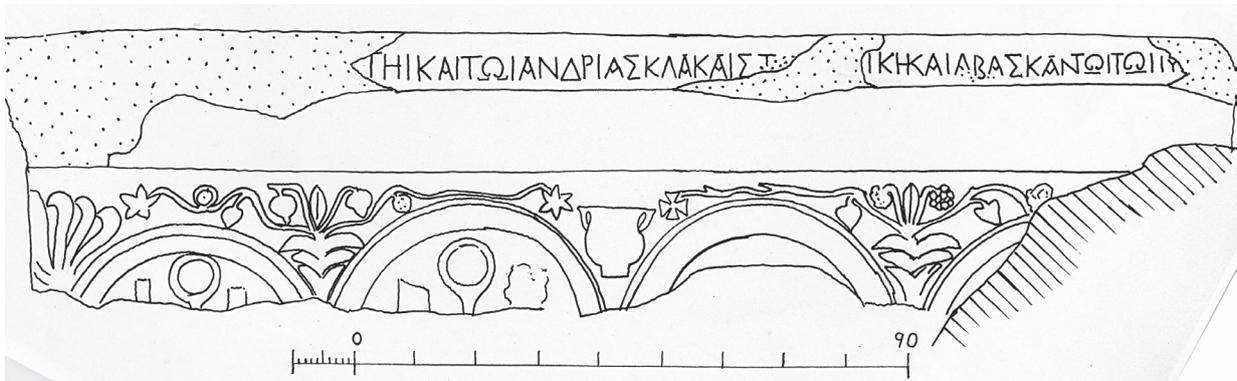
This inscription was first copied by Karl Buresch in 1895. By the 1950s, the inscription had been badly defaced by modern channelling on the face of the monument; underlined letters in the text above were read by Buresch.

This monument is a statue base of an emperor who subsequently suffered *damnatio memoriae* at Traianopolis (lines 4-6). The inscription is dated to Year 282 (line 16). It is clear from two other dated inscriptions of Traianopolis that the Sullan era (85/4 BC) was in use at the city in the second century AD. The first, dating to Year 204 (=AD 119/20), is an honorific statue-base for the emperor Hadrian (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 611-12, no. 515; *IGR* IV 623); the other, dating to Year 251 (=AD 167), is a statue-base for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 612, no. 516; *IGR* IV 625; **90** above).

If our inscription is also dated by the Sullan era, the monument would date to AD 197/8, during the reign of Septimius Severus. However,

Severus is not otherwise known to have suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Hence Körte assumed that at some point in the late second century AD the Traianopolitans shifted to using the Actian era, and therefore dated the inscription to AD 251/2, during the reign of Trebonianus Gallus, who did indeed suffer *damnatio memoriae*. However, this change of era is highly unlikely, and the fact that none of the individuals named in this inscription carry the gentilician Aurelius should suggest a date prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana* (Leschhorn 1993: 259-60). Most likely the inscription is to be dated to AD 197/8, and the name of Septimius Severus restored in lines 4-5 (thus already Buresch 1898: 169; W. Ruge, *RE* VI A 2, cols. 2085-6, s.v. Traianopolis). Why his name should have been erased on this monument is unknown.

The inscription is also dated by the tenure of office of the *logistes* Flavius Priscus (lines 15-16); on the office of the *logistes* in the Roman province of Asia, see Burton 1979; Dmitriev 2005: 189-97. If this inscription does indeed date to the Severan period, it is tempting to identify the *logistes* Flavius Priscus with T. Fl. Priscus the Younger (*neoteros*), a mint-magistrate at the neighbouring city of Akmoneia under Septimius Severus (*BMC Phrygia* 13-14, nos. 62-4; Campanile 1994: 98, no. 92). For an ancestor, T. Flavius Priscus Vibianus, see *MAMA* VI 266.



94. Karlık

Funerary doorstone of Arruntius and Julia.

Crystalline grey marble block with decoration of doorstone type on the front. Blank door with archivolt between two pilasters; pediment with half-palmette *acroteria*. Line 1 of the inscription on the entablature; lines 2-3 at the top of the field; lines 4-11 in a panel (perhaps representing a half-open scroll), below which is a comb in relief. Found at Karlık (Traianopolis), in a gravel pit (ancient cemetery) at the top of the village.

Ht. 1.02; W. 1.42; Th. 0.45; letters 0.015-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/28).

AD 217/8 (Year 302 of Sullan era).

- ἔτους τβ', μηνὸς) Πανήμου. Ἰ(ι)ούλιος Ἄρουντίου μετὰ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν μου
 ἀνεστήσαντο
 τῷ πατρὶ
 5 Ἄρουντί-
 ω καὶ τῇ
 μάμμῃ
 ἡμῶν
 Ἰουλείᾳ
 10 μνήμῃς
 χάριν.

Year 302, in the month Panemos. Julius son of Arruntius, with my brothers, set (this) up for our father Arruntius and our grandmother Julia, in memoriam.

For the name Arruntius in this region, see 32 (Eumeneia).



95. Çarık Köyü

Funerary doorstone of Theodoros, Christian.

Whitish marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 145-6, Typ F (oder J?) Uşak 2), with *tabula ansata* above an undecorated door. Found at Çarık Köyü (Traianopolis) in a fountain.

Ht. 1.13; W. 0.81; Th. 0.24; letters 0.022-0.030.
 Körte 1902: 34, no. 61; Gibson 1978: 107, no. 35; [Waelkens 1986: 154, no. 392; Tabbernee 1997: 87-90, no. 9]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/33).
 c. AD 200-225 (doorstone type).

Θεοδώρου
 Χριστιανού
 μνήμης χάριν.

Of Theodoros, a Christian, in memoriam.



96. Mesudiye

Funerary inscription of Damas.

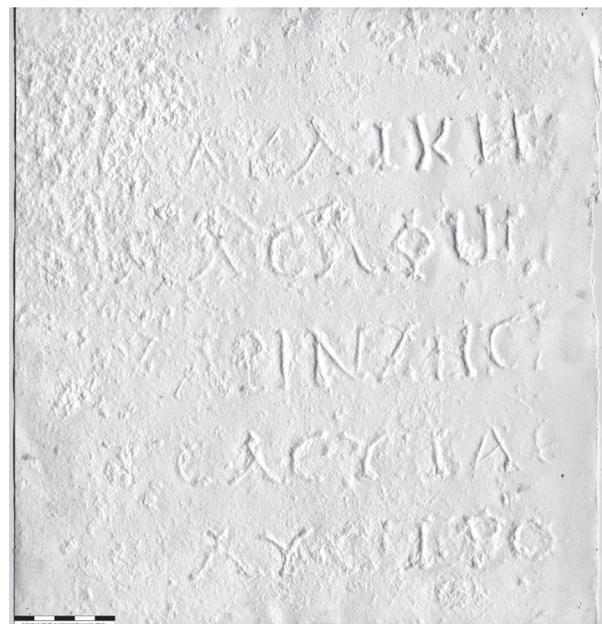
Grey-white marble *stèle*, broken above, buried right, damaged below. Found at Mesudiye (Gâvur Ören) (Traianopolis), in the stairs of a house in the upper part of the village.

Ht. 0.79+; W. 0.51-0.57; Th. 0.21-0.23; letters 0.023-0.030.
 Körte 1902: 32-3, no. 58. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/27).
 Roman imperial period.

Λαυδίκη [Δαμᾶ]
 ἀδελφῶ μ[νήμης]
 χάριν ζήσας [ἔτη - - ἐ]-
 τελεύτα ἐ[τους - -]
 5 [μη(νός)] Δύστρο[υ - -]

Laudike, for her brother Damas, in memoriam. Having lived for - years, he died in Year -, on the -th day of the month of Dystros.

Buresch was able to read several more letters on the right-hand side of the *stèle*, underlined in the text above.



97. Karlık

Inscription of uncertain type.

Irregular block of local brown tufa; uncertain whether complete or not. Found at Karlık (Traianopolis), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.25; W. 0.64; Th. 0.21+; letters 0.025-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/29).

Uncertain.

ΟΔΕΠΙΘΑΨΙΝΑ . ΤΙΣ
ΕΠΟΠΗΧΟΒΤΟΥΤΗΣ

Line 1 may contain a part of the verb *ἐπιθάπτειν*, but both reading and sense are very uncertain.



VII. KADOI

98. Uşak

Funerary *stèle* of Quintus and Cornuta.

White marble *stèle*, with pediment above and tenon below; complete, cracked across the middle. In the pediment: (1) lion facing r., (2) ox-head, (3) lion facing l. In the field: (4-5) two wreaths, (6) comb, (7) mirror, (8) writing-tablet, (9) stylus-case, (10) spindle, (11) distaff, (12) tear-bottle, (13) crescent. First line of inscription on pediment; lines 2-6 in field. Found at Uşak (Kadoi), in a street.

Ht. 2.05; W. 0.67 (pediment), 0.56-0.58 (shaft), 0.75 (base); Th. 0.18; letters 0.016-0.023.

Mouseion 3 (1880) 171, no. 348 [*non uidi*]; Noack 1894: 327-9, from a copy by K. Buresch (Buresch 1898: 48); [Pfuhl and Möbius 1977-9: II 551, no. 2288; *MAMA X* 181 P8]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze (1955/114)

AD 117/8 (Year 202 of Sullan era).

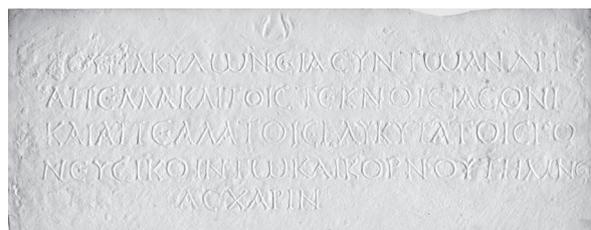
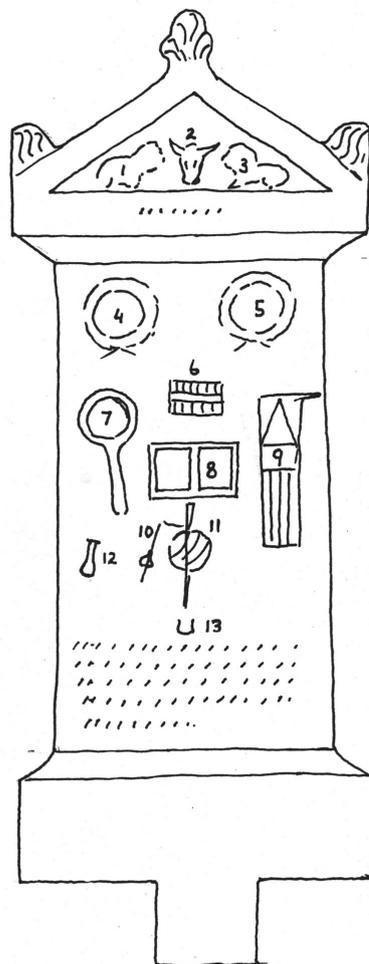
vac. ἔτους σβ' *vac.*

[Φ]ουρία Κυδωνεία σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ
Ἀπελλᾶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Ἰάσωνι
καὶ Ἀπελλᾶ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις γο-
νεῦσι Κοίντῳ καὶ Κορνούτῃ μνεί-
ας χάριν

5

Year 202. Furia Kydoneia, with her husband Apellas and her children Iason and Apellas, for her sweetest parents, Quintus and Cornuta, in memoriam.

In 1880, when this inscription was first seen and copied, it was located at Karabacaklar, '6 hours from Gediz'. It was subsequently brought to Gediz by the local *kaimakam*, who passed it on to a Greek landowner, who moved it to his farm Tekessian Çiftlik (between Güre and Yenişehir, on the main road from Uşak to Kula), where it was copied by Karl Buresch in 1894 (Buresch 1898: 48). In 1955, Ballance copied the inscription at Uşak, recording in his field notebook that the inscription was 'said to have been brought from Hamitli köy'. The inscription is now (2011) located in the Uşak Museum (not, as stated by *MAMA X* 181, P8*, at Izmir).



The remarkable decoration on the *stèle* finds close parallels in other funerary *stelai* from the region south of Kadoi (Lochman 1991: 13 [fig. 4], 19 [figs. 9 and 10]). Pace Pfuhl and Möbius 1977-9: II 551, the inscription is probably to be dated according to the Sullan era (Leschhorn 1993: 250-4).

VIII. AKMONEIA

99. Íslámköy

Honorific *stele* for Tatia, daughter of Menokritos.

White Dokimeian marble *stele* with pilasters at sides and tenon below. Broken above and at sides of base. Found at Íslámköy (territory of Akmoneia), in a fountain.

Ht. 2.12+ (including base and tenon); width 0.66 (pilasters 0.14; tenon 0.35); thickness 0.19-0.21 (base and tenon 0.28); letters 0.018-0.025.

Thonemann 2010. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/109).

AD 6/7 (Year 91 of Sullan era).

[----- γυ]-
 ναίκες Ἑλληνί-
 δες τε καὶ Ῥωμαί-
 αι ἐτείμησαν Τα-
 τίαν Μηνοκρίτου
 5 τὴν καὶ Τρυφῶσαν
 γυναῖκα δὲ Μηνο-
 δότου Μενελάου
 τοῦ καὶ Σίλλωνος
 τὴν ἀρχιέρηαν εὐ-
 10 ν. ἐργέτιν ἐμ παν-
 τὶ καιρῷ γενηθεῖ-
 σαν αὐτῶν πάσ-
 ης ἀρετῆς ἔνε-
 κεν. vac.
 15 τὴν ἐπιμέληαν
 ποιησαμένου Κρά-
 τητος Μηνοκρίτου
 τοῦ καὶ Μενελάου καὶ
 20 Ποπλίου Πετρω-
 νίου Ἐπιγένους
 καὶ Μηνοκρίτου
 Ἀγαθοκλέως.
 ἔτους ν. α. ν. ρ'

... the women, both Greek and Roman, honoured Tatia, also called Tryphosa, daughter of Menokritos, wife of Menodotos, also called Sillon, son of Menelaos, the high-priestess, having acted as



their benefactor in all circumstances, for the sake of all her virtue. Krates, also known as Menelaos, son of Menokritos, Publius Petronius Epigenes, and Menokritos son of Agathokles were responsible (for setting up the stele). Year 91.

This monument is an honorific *stele*, voted by 'the Greek and Roman women' for a certain Tatia, daughter of Menokritos, who has acted as high-priestess of a civic cult or group of cults, possibly, but not necessarily, the civic imperial cult. One of the three men responsible for the erection of the monument is named Menokritos (line 21), and another is a 'son of Menokritos' (line 17); it seems likely that at least one of these two men is a close relative of the honorand (father or brother?). The inscription is dated 'Year 91' (line 23). Since the Sullan era (from autumn 85 BC) was in use at Akmoneia (Leschhorn 1993: 263-5), our text can be firmly dated to the year AD 6/7.

Two of the individuals mentioned in this inscription also appear on the coinage of Akmoneia. Krates son of Menokritos (lines 16-17) is attested as a mint-magistrate at Akmoneia in the latter years of the reign of Augustus (*RPC* I 3168), and Menodotos Sillon (lines 6-8) is known from the autonomous bronze coinage of Akmoneia (*BMC Phrygia* 6, nos. 15-16; *SNG Von Aulock* 3366; *GM Winterthur* 4011; *Triton V* 500). The precise dating of this autonomous bronze coinage has hitherto been uncertain (late second/first century BC); we can now say with some confidence that it immediately precedes, or even overlaps with, the earliest Roman provincial coinage of Akmoneia, around the turn of the era. Publius Petronius Epigenes (lines 19-20) has evidently gained the Roman citizenship through

a member of the *gens Petronia*, no doubt through manumission. P. Petronius (*PIR*² P 269), proconsul of Asia AD 29-35, is too late, and neither P. Petronius (*PIR*² P 270), prefect of Egypt 25-22 BC, nor his son P. Petronius Turpilianus, *triumvir monetalis* c. 19 BC (*PIR*² P 314), are known to have had any connection with the province of Asia. The most likely candidate is perhaps P. Petronius, an Italian *negotiator* on Delos in the early first century BC (*I.Delos* 2612, II 9). For other Petronii in the region of Akmoneia, see the commentary to 66 above (Sebaste).

The main point of interest in this text is the honouring body (lines 1-2): [γυ]ναῖκες Ἑλληνίδες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖαι, 'the women/wives, both Greek and Roman'. For a full discussion of this phrase and its significance, see Thonemann 2010.

100. Ahat

Honorific statue-base for Q. Claudius Pollio.

Whitish marble block re-used as a water-pipe. Dowel-hole in top, bored through from left to right. Broken below, sunk in concrete right, chipped above. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in the wall of the school garden, by the main gate.

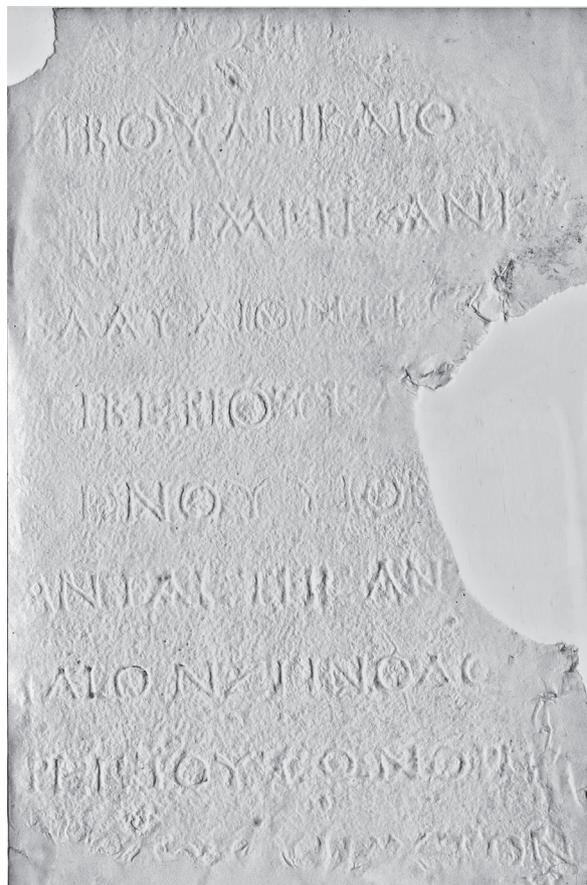
Ht. 0.53+; W. 0.40; Th. 0.39; letters 0.017-0.022.

Thonemann 2012. Edition based on partial squeeze (left hand side only); MB notebook copy (1955/97).

c. AD 150-175 (prosopography).

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἐτίμησαν Κυ[ίντου]
 Κλαύδιον Πωλίω[α]
 5 Τιβερίου Κλα[υδίου] Εὐ-
 ξένου υἱὸν, [τὸν ἀνδρ]ι-
 ἀντα στησάντ[ων] ἐκ τῶ[ν]
 ἰδίων Ζηνοδότ[ου] καὶ [Ἄ]-
 ρέστου τῶν Ὀρέσ[του]
 10 [. . . ^{c.6} . . .] . . . ἀὐτὸν . [- -]

With good fortune. The council and the [people] honoured Qu[intus] Claudius Pollio, son of Tiberius Cla[udius] Euxenos; the statue was set up from



their own funds by Zenodotos and Orestes, the sons of Orestes...

This monument is the base of a statue voted by the *boule* and *demos* of Akmoneia and set up at the expense of two brothers, Zenodotos and Orestes, the sons of Orestes. In line 7, one would have expected *ἀναστησάντων*; it is possible that the mason accidentally omitted the first three letters of the word through haplography (*ἀνδριάντα* <*ἀνα*>στησάντων).

The honorand, Q. Claudius Pollio, son of Ti. Claudius Euxenos, is twice attested at the neighbouring city of Hierapolis, in the Phrygian Pentapolis, although this is the first text to give his full name and patronym. His is the sole magistrate's name to appear on the provincial bronze coinage of Hierapolis, in the form 'Claudius Pollio, asiarch'. Pollio minted five different issues at Hierapolis, with obverse types depicting Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina II, Herakles, and the personified *demos* of Hierapolis. The types for Marcus and Verus (nos. 1-2) carry the reverse legend *ἐπιμεληθέντος Κλ. Πωλλίωνος ἀσιάρχου Ἱεροπολιτῶν*; the other types (nos. 3-5) have an abbreviated version.

- (1) M. Aurelius/Zeus: *SNG Von Aulock* 8386
- (2) L. Verus/Zeus: *BMC Phrygia*, 267, no. 14; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM I* 244, no. 4
- (3) Faustina II/Cybele: *BMC Phrygia*, 268, no. 15; *BM 1921-4-12-96*; *Coll. Wadd.* 6189; *KM I* 244, no. 3
- (4) Herakles/bucranium with crescent moon and stars: *BMC Phrygia*, 265, no. 1; *Coll. Wadd.* 6186; *KM I* 244, no. 1; *Münzen u. Medaillen Deutschland Auction* 16 (2005) 515
- (5) Demos/Men: *BMC Phrygia*, 265, no. 4; *Coll. Wadd.* 6187; *KM I* 244, no. 2

We may assume that all five types were minted on the same occasion, presumably that of Pollio's asiarchate, which thus ought to fall between AD 161 and 169 (Campanile 1994: 90). That his asiarchate is not mentioned on our inscription from Akmoneia may, but not need, imply that the inscription predates the coin-issues.

Pollio also appears in a hagiographical text of the late fourth or early fifth century, the *Life of Abercius*, the fictionalised biography of a second-

century bishop of Hierapolis (Nissen 1912: 3-55; Thonemann 2012). The historical setting of the *Life of Abercius* is the period of the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. One of the leading characters in the *Life* is a certain Euxeinianos Pollio, there described as 'the greatest man in the city [sc. Hierapolis], and possessing great influence, since he was respected and highly honoured by the emperor' (Εὐξείνιανοῦ τοῦ Πολλίωνος τοῦ μεγίστου ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυναστεύοντος ὡς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γνωρίμου καὶ τιμιωτάτου ὄντος: *Vita Abercii* 20). All three individuals – Q. Claudius Pollio, son of Ti. Claudius Euxenos (inscription from Akmoneia); Claudius Pollio, asiarch (coinage from Hierapolis); Hieropolitan magnate Euxeinianos Pollio (*Life of Abercius*) – are evidently to be identified with one another (Franco 2005: 500-3; Thonemann 2012).

The form Euxeinianos in the *Life of Abercius* is simply a patronymic adjective or *signum* representing 'son of Euxe(i)nos'. This onomastic phenomenon is fairly common in Roman Asia Minor (Lambertz 1914: 149-51). A near-contemporary of Pollio at Apameia-Kelainai, in southern Phrygia, carried the name Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μιθριδάτου υἱὸς Κυρέϊνα Πείσων Μιθριδατιανός ('Ti. Claudius Piso, son of Ti. Claudius Mithridates, of the tribe Quirina, also known as Mithridatianos': *MAMA VI* 180; *IGR IV* 790); also at Apameia, in the late third century AD, we find an individual by the name of Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Τ[ρυφωνα]νῶς Ἀπολλινάριος, son of [Π]ροκλιανὸς Τρύφων (*IGR IV* 784). It is not difficult to assume that Q. Claudius Pollio, son of Ti. Claudius Euxenos, was also commonly known as Euxe(i)nianos.

The name Euxenos is not especially common; it was, however, current in central Phrygia during the Roman imperial period. A native of Eukarpia, also in the Pentapolis, carried the name Πατροκλῆς Πατροκλέους τοῦ Εὐξένο[υ] π[έ]νπτον Εὐκαρπεύς (45 above [*SEG* 15, 810]: Emircik, territory of Eumeneia). The name is twice attested at Eumeneia (Ramsay, *Phrygia*

II, 389, no. 239: Haydan, territory of Eumeneia; MAMA IV 346: Işıklı). At Sebaste, we find a Euxenos son of Apollonios (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 600, no. 472: Selçikler). At Akmoneia itself, a woman by the name of Euxenis is known (MAMA VI 301: Ahat), and an inscription from Hocalar, south-east of Ahat (territory of Diokleia?), records the name of a woman called Basilo, daughter of Euxenos (MAMA VI 358). Further to the north, in the highlands north of Afyon, we find a Demas

son of Euxenos (Haspels, *Highlands* 353, no. 141: Ilıca), and at Nakoleia, a Euxenides (MAMA V 272: Seyitgazi).

The spelling of the name Pollio in this text is paralleled in another inscription from Akmoneia (101 below: Πωλίωv[a]) and in a text from Brouzos in the Pentapolis (136 below [IGR IV 681]: Πωλίωvος, gen.). The coinage from Hierapolis has the more accurate spelling Πωλλίωvος (gen.).

101. Ahat

Honorific base for C. Claudius Terentullianus.

Off-white marble base with mouldings above and below. Upper moulding broken, otherwise complete. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in the wall of a house near the school.

Ht. 1.04; W. 0.44-0.47 (shaft), 0.56 (lower moulding); Th. 0.43-0.46 (shaft), 0.51 (lower moulding); letters 0.027-0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/99).

c. AD 150-200 (letter-forms; prosopography)

[ῆ] βουλή · καὶ ὁ δῆ-
 [μ]ος · ἐτίμησεν
 [.] μ[.] · Γάϊου Κλαύδιου
 [Ε]γνάτιου Βιγέλλιου
 5 Οὐαλέριου Οὐλπίου
 Ἀντώνιου Πωλίωv[a]
 Τερεντυλλιανὸν
 ἀρχιερέων · Ἀσίας
 ἔκγονον · ἱερέα ·
 10 διὰ βίου τοῦ ἐπιφα-
 νεστάτου · θεοῦ
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ · καὶ ἀγω-
 νοθέτην τῶν μεγά-
 λων Ἀσκληπέϊων
 15 ἀρετῆς καὶ παιδείας
 ♡ ἔνεκεν ♡



The council and the people honoured [.] Gaius Claudius Egnatius Vigellius Valerius Ulpianus Antonius Pollio Terentullianus, descendant of high-priests of Asia, priest for life of the most manifest god Asklepios, and agonothete of the Great Asklepeia festival, for the sake of his virtue and culture.

This monument is an honorific base voted by the *boule* and *demos* of Akmoneia for a certain [...] Gaius Claudius Egnatius Vigellius Valerius Ulpius Antonius Pollio Terentullianus. The honorand appears to have possessed two *praenomina* (Salomies 1987: 414-8), the first of which stood in abbreviated form at the beginning of line 3. An upright stroke with a serif at its base is clearly visible before the interpunct; it is not clear whether this stroke is an *iota*, or the right-hand bar of a *mu* or *pi*. The stone is broken at left, and there is space for a single letter or part of a letter before the upright stroke. The readings [T] · or M · or Π · all seem possible. For the gentilician Egnatius (line 4), see the commentary to 66 above (Sebaste).

The honorand's name also includes the relatively rare gentilician Vigellius (Βιγέλλιον, line 4: the reading is certain). A family of Vigellii is known to have resided in eastern Lydia in the late Republican and early imperial period: TAM V 3, 1692 (Philadelphiea, first century BC: Gaius Vigellius); AE 2005, 1452 (Salihli, near Philadelphiea, 17 BC: M. Vigellius Rufus); SEG 48, 1428 (NE Lydia, either 23/2 BC or AD 33/34: Tertia Vigellia). The family were presumably Roman *negotiatores* in origin, but they settled in the region permanently: a certain M. Vigellius Capito is found making a dedication at the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos in the late second or early third century AD (SEG 50, 1257). It seems likely that the honorand is a descendant of a member of this family.

The most prominent bearer of the gentilician Vigellius in the high imperial period is P. Vigellius Saturninus (Stiglitz, RE VIII A 2569-70; Alföldy 1977: 365-7), legate of Pamphylia-Lycia c. AD 159-162 (Şahin 1992: 78-81; I.Side 58; I.Perge 141-3; I.Perge 158), suffect consul c. AD 165, proconsul of Africa 180/181 (Thomasson 1996: 71). It has been argued that the name of an earlier proconsul of Africa (c. AD 150), M. Atilius Metilius Bradua Caucidius Tertullus [- -] licus [- -]llius Pollio Gavidius Latiaris Atrius Bassus (IRT 517), is to be restored [Vige]llius

Pollio (Di Vita-Évrard 1981: 199-202; Thomasson 1996: 95-6; *contra*, Settiani 2000: 474-6). If this restoration is correct, it becomes a little more likely that our honorand (who also carried the *cognomen* Pollio: line 6) was a relative of these two African proconsuls.

The honorand is described as 'descendant of high-priests of Asia' (lines 8-9). On the basis of the patronymic adjective Τερεντυλλιανός (line 7), we can identify four of these ancestors: (1) M. Claudius Valerianus and his wife (2) Claudia Terentulla, high-priest and high-priestess of Asia during the reign of Domitian (RPC II 1386-8 [Eumeneia], as corrected by Weiss 2000a: 236-9; Campanile 1994: 44, no. 20); (3) their descendant Claudius Valerianus Terentullianus, high-priest of Asia c. AD 130-138 (SEG 28, 1115; SEG 50, 1245 [Balçıkhisar: Eumeneia]; MAMA IV 336 [Işıklı: Eumeneia]; Drew-Bear 1978: 67-70; Campanile 1994: 45, no. 20a; Weiss 2000b: 623-4 [date]); (4) M. Flavius Valerianus Terentullianus, high-priest of Asia in the mid-second century AD (SEG 52, 1342). The family appears to have been domiciled at Eumeneia. Connections between Eumeneia and Akmoneia were close: a funerary inscription from Eumeneia of the second century AD was set up by an individual with joint Eumeneian and Akmoneian citizenship (Ramsay, Phrygia II 389, no. 238 [Işıklı]; Strubbe 1997: no. 289), and a coinage celebrating *homonoia* between the two cities was minted in the reign of Maximus (AD 236-238: Franke and Nollé 1997: nos. 35-8). See further 123 below.

The honorand is further stated to be priest for life of the 'most manifest' (ἐπιφανέστατος) god Asklepios and agonothete of the *megala Asklepeia* at Akmoneia (lines 9-14). That Asklepios was the principal deity of Akmoneia may be inferred from the fact that he appears as the city's representative on the *homonoia*-coinages of Akmoneia (with Aizanoi and Eumeneia, Franke and Nollé 1997: nos. 34-8; Riethmüller 2005: II 388); his cult titles at Akmoneia included *Soter* (IGR IV 661.23 [SEG 50, 1236]: AD 95) and *Sebastos* (AE 2006, 1426, lines 39-40: διὰ βίου [ἱερεὺς Σεβαστοῦ

Ἀσκληπίου). Ἀσκληπεία festivals are attested at numerous cities of Asia Minor in the imperial period (Robert 1969: 291-4; Riethmüller 2005: I 60-1); the title *μεγάλα* may suggest that the Akmoneian Asklepeia were penteteric (cf. *I.Prusias ad Hyrium* 6, with commentary).

In lines 15-16, we are told that the honorand is distinguished particularly for his 'virtue' (*ἀρετή*)

and his '(literary) culture' (*παιδεία*). For the latter quality, see Robert 1938: 25 n.5, and cf. e.g. *TAM V* 2, 976 (Thyateira): *ἄνδρα ἥθους ἔνεκα καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς τε πάσης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἀσίας καταριθμούμενον*, 'a man counted among the foremost in Asia for the sake of his character, culture, and all his virtue'.

102. Ahat

Honorific base for Aelia Polla.

White marble base moulded above and below, bored vertically for use as a water pipe. Broken behind and below. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), outside a house.

Ht. 0.36; W. 0.63 (upper moulding 0.70); Th. 0.60+ (upper moulding 0.63+); letters 0.025-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/102).

Second century AD.

ἀγαθῇ τύχη·
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησαν Αἰλίαν
Πῶλλαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν

With good fortune. The council and the people honoured Aelia Polla, for the sake of her virtue.



The honorand appears not to be attested elsewhere; the gentilician Aelia may suggest a date during or after the reign of Hadrian. The mason originally inscribed only *ἀρετῆς EN* in the final line, through haplography. Since he had calculated the spacing of the text so as precisely to fill the space available, when he later came to add the final four letters (*-εκεν*), he had to squeeze in the final two letters (*-εν*) in a minuscule hand.

103. İslâmköy.

Statue base, probably of Caracalla.

Bluish-white marble block, said to have been brought from Hatıplar; later re-cut as the winch-bed of a wine-press. Broken above, at front only. Found at İslâmköy (Akmoneia): in a yard near the railway station.

Ht. 0.95; W. 0.545; Th. 0.545; letters 0.025-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/69).

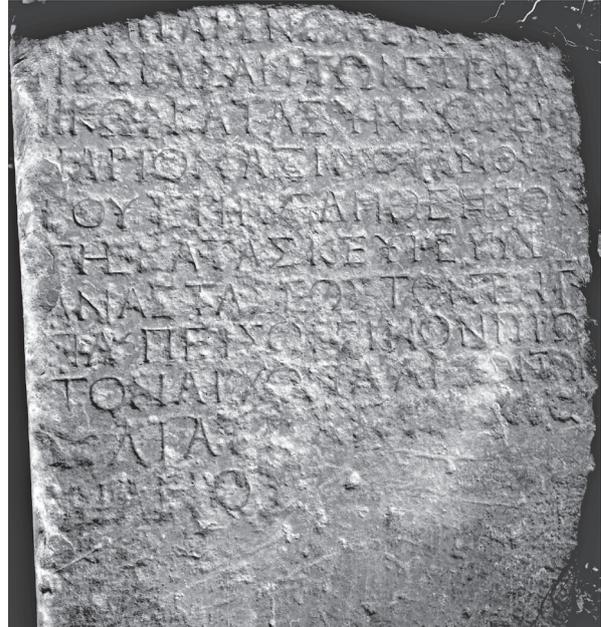
c. AD 215 (proconsul Marius Maximus)

[. . .]ησαμένων ἐκ [τῶν πε]-
ρισσευσάντων στεφα-
νικῶν κατὰ συνχώρησιν
Μαρίου Μαξίμου ἀνθυπά-
του · ἐπιμεληθέντων
5 τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ
ἀναστάσεως τῶν περὶ Γ(άϊον)
Πακ(ώνιον) Πεισωνεινὸν πρῶ-
τον ἄρχοντα ἀρχ[χ]όντων
10 καὶ Ἀτ[-----]-
νιανοῦ.

...from the surplus *aurum coronarium*, by permission of the proconsul Marius Maximus. The board of archons for whom C. Pac(onius) Peisoneinos was first archon took care of the construction and erection (of the statue), and At...
...nianus.

L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus (lines 4-5) held the proconsulate of Asia for two years c. AD 215 (PIR² M 308; TAM V 2, 943). The reading of the abbreviated *cognomen* in line 8 is doubtful; I have assumed that Peisoneinos carried the gentilician Paconius. For C. Paconii in the province of Asia, compare Wiegand 1901: B62 (Kyzikos: Γ. Πακ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος); Smith and Rustafjaell 1902: 204-6, no. 13, line 24 (Kyzikos: Γ. Πακόνιος Μάρκελλ(ος)). Lines 10-11 were subsequently added in a different hand; to all appearances, a second member of the board of *archontes* demanded that his name be added to the inscription (see the commentary to 136 below).

The *aurum coronarium* ('crown-tax') was a regular money-tax in the Roman imperial period, voted on the occasion of each emperor's accession and collected in small cash instalments throughout his reign (Bowman 1967; Neeson 1980: 142-5). The term *στεφανικόν* (lines 2-3) seems first to be attested in the second century AD (Bowman 1967: 60). Individual emperors could also impose extraordinary levies of money in place of *aurum coronarium*, nominally in celebration of particular events; Caracalla is said to have repeatedly demanded extraordinary cash payments from his subjects 'in place of' gold crowns to celebrate his numerous victories (Dio 78.9.2). We have a few cases of emperors refusing or remitting such extraordinary levies as a favour to particular provincial communities (SEG 50, 1096 A11-13: Hadrian refuses the offer of extraordinary *aurum coronarium* from the city of Aphrodisias) or the empire as a whole (Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* 275 = *P.Fayum* 20: Severus Alexander renounces the



aurum coronarium marking his accession in AD 222).

In our text, the city of Akmonēia appears to have collected an excess of *aurum coronarium*, and has been left with surplus funds; the proconsul Marius Maximus has permitted the city to spend it for another purpose, probably the erection of a statue of the emperor Caracalla (lines 6-7, τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως). For the various purposes to which cities put their surplus revenues, including the erection of imperial statues, see Robert, *OMS* I 533 n.1; Robert 1937: 319; *AE* 2006, 1457 (Hierapolis: statue of Septimius Severus erected ἐκ περισσείας [τ]όκων ἀγῶνος Οὐ[α]λεντήων), with Ritti 2006-7: 294-6. It is possible that the participle in line 1 of our text ought to be restored [αἰτ]ησαμένων, a genitive absolute recording the request of the civic authorities (e.g. [τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰτ]ησαμένων) to the proconsul for permission to spend the excess *aurum coronarium* on a statue. The verb αἰτεῖσθαι is regularly used of petitions both by individuals to civic authorities and by civic communities to Roman officials: see Weiss 2000a.

104. Ahat

Honorific base for T. Fl. Montanus Maximianus.

Whitish marble base with small mouldings above and below. Cut in two and bored vertically to make aqueduct pipes. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in a lane below the acropolis.

Ht. 0.60+ (A), (B) 0.60+; W. 0.59 (upper moulding), 0.53-0.55 (shaft), 0.62 (lower moulding); Th. 0.58 (upper moulding), 0.55-0.58 (shaft), 0.63 (lower moulding); letters mostly 0.029-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/105-6).

c. AD 231 (prosopography)

A

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι

Τ. Φλ. Μουτανόν

Μαξιμιανόν τόν

κράτιστον κυαίστορα

5 ταμίαν Ἀφρικῆς

ἀγορανόμον κερεάλιον

στρατηγόν δήμου

Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελητήν

[------] ΝΟ .

B

ἡγεμόνα Θράκης

ὑπατου ἡ πατρις

τόν κτίστην καὶ εὐ-

εργέτην ♡ ἐπιμελησα-

5 μένου · Τ · Φλ · Λεντούλου

vac. ἀρχιερέως vac.

τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ.

(A) *With good fortune. His homeland (honoured) T. Fl. Montanus Maximianus, the most excellent quaestor, quaestor of Africa, aedilis cerealis, praetor of the Roman people, curator...*

(B) *...governor of Thrace, consul, founder and benefactor. T. Fl. Lentulus the high-priest, his relative, was responsible (for setting up the base).*



This monument is an honorific base for a member of the local Akmoneian elite, T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus, who pursued a successful senatorial career, culminating in the consulship. He is no doubt descended from an earlier T. Flavius Montanus of Akmoneia, high-priest of Asia during the reign of Trajan, attested both at Akmoneia and in several inscriptions from Ephesos (*IGR IV* 643+1696; *I.Ephesos* 498, 698, 854, 1130, 2037, 2061-3; Campanile 1994: 96). Although the loss of the central part of the inscription has obliterated several of his praetorian offices, Maximianus' career seems to have followed a standard pattern:

quaestor (urbanus)
quaestor prov. Africae
aedilis Cerialis
praetor
curator [- -]

legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Thraciae
consul

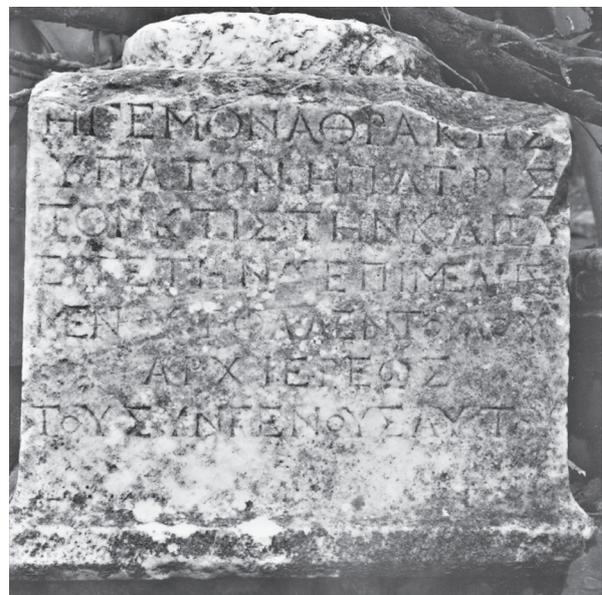
In lines 4-5, the terms *κναίστωρ* and *ταμίας* both denote the Latin *quaestor*. Maximianus has evidently held office as *quaestor* twice, once in Rome, and once in the province of Africa. The double *quaestorship* is well-paralleled; it is usually assumed that the second appointment arose in cases when one of the provincial *quaestors* died during the period between election and the start of the proconsular year (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II 259; Birley 1981: 282).

It seems not previously to have been noted that although in Latin the term *quaestor* is regularly used for both the urban and provincial *quaestorships* (e.g. Q. Petronius Melior [ILS 1180; PIR² P 290], *quaest(or)*, *quaest(or) prov(inciae) Narbon(ensis)*), in Greek the two posts are consistently distinguished, as in our inscription (the transliteration *κναίστωρ* for the urban *quaestorship*, the Greek translation *ταμίας* for the provincial *quaestorship*). Compare: (1) IGR IV 1741 (Kassaba), anonymous, *ταμίαν Λυκίας Παμφυλίας, κναίστορα* (Corbier 1974: 454-8; Christol 1986: 315-25); (2) I.Ephesos 3038, Cn. Pompeius Ant. Amoenus, *κναίστορος, ταμίου Λυκίας Παμφυλίας* (PIR² P 590); (3) SEG 6, 555 (Pisidian Antioch), P. Flavonius Paulinus, *κναίστο[ρα], ταμίαν ἐπαρχίας Κύπρου* (PIR² F 448). The sole alleged use of the transliteration *κναίστωρ* for a provincial *quaestorship* occurs in RECAM II 414 (Tavium: Galatia), in the *cursus*-inscription of M. Antonius Memmius Hiero (PIR² A 850; Corbier 1974: 328-32). Hiero is here described as *κναίστορα [ἐπαρχίας Λυκί]ας Παμφυλ[ίας]*. Since the use of the term *κναίστωρ* for a provincial *quaestorship* would



be unparalleled, we ought presumably to restore a double *quaestorship* here too: *κναίστορα, [ταμίαν Λυκί]ας Παμφυλ[ίας]*.

After his second *quaestorship*, Maximianus held office as *aedilis Cerialis*. The use of the mixed Graeco-Latin phrase *ἀγορανόμον κερέαλιον* to represent *aedilis Cerialis* seems to be unparalleled; in SEG 6, 555 (Pisidian Antioch), the Latin title is simply transliterated, *αἰ[δίλιον] κερέαλιον*. After his praetorship, Maximianus held an uncertain number of praetorian offices, beginning with



a curatorship of some kind (*curator viarum, reipublicae*, etc.), and concluding with the governorship of Thrace.

Maximianus' consulship is the latest office to be mentioned in our inscription. However, we have good reason to infer a subsequent proconsulship of Asia. *I.Ephesos* 698 is an honorific inscription for a proconsul of Asia, dated to the third century AD: Φλ. Μον[τανόν]|| Μαξιμιλ[λιανόν]|| τὸν λαμπρό[τατον ἀνθ]|| ὑπατον (lines 1-4). Nollé suggested identifying the proconsul of *I.Ephesos* 698 with the proconsul [- -]ος Μαξιμι[ι]λλιανός[s] of *TAM* V 3, 1422 (Maionia), whose term of office can be firmly dated to AD 253/4 (Nollé 1982: 66-7; endorsed at *PIR*² M 390). However, Eck and Roxan have now proposed a more plausible identification for the proconsul of AD 253/4, namely P. Marcus Maximilianus, *legatus Augusti* of Pannonia superior in AD 240, *cos. suff. c.* AD 237/8 (*AE* 1998, 1619; Eck and Roxan 1998: 107). We ought instead to restore the name of the proconsul of *I.Ephesos* 698 as Φλ. Μον[τανόν]|| Μαξιμια[νόν], permitting us to identify him with the *consularis* T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus of the new inscription from Akmoneia.

The only possible external evidence for the date of T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus' proconsulship of Asia comes from *CJ* 7.45.5, a rescript of the emperor Philip the Arab to a certain Montanus, likely to be a provincial governor (Peachin 1990: 109-11): *Imp. Philippus A(u)gustus) et Philippus C(aesar) Montano, etc.* The presence of Philip (II) as Caesar in the imperial titulature fixes the date of the rescript between July/August 244 and July/August 247 (Loriot 1975: 791-2). The proconsulship of Asia for the year 244/5 is securely occupied by L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, who held the post for a *triennium* between 242/3 and 244/5 (Christol, Drew-Bear and Taşlıalan 2003: 354-6). Hence if the governor Montanus of *CJ* 7.45.5 is indeed identical with the proconsul T. Flavius Montanus Maximianus, the only possible dates for his tenure of office are AD 245/6 and AD 246/7. Assuming an interval of fifteen years between consulship and the proconsulship of Asia, as seems to have been normal from the reign of Hadrian onwards (Alföldy 1977: 110-24; Leunissen 1989: 213-29; Thomasson 1996: 7-8), Maximianus' *suffect* consulship (and hence also our inscription) ought to be dated *c.* AD 231.

105. Ahat

Honorific base for a Roman senator.

White marble base with traces of upper moulding, with moulded panels on front and left (back and right hidden), broken below. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.54+; W. 0.58 (panel 0.42); Th. 0.58; letters mostly 0.012-0.031.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/104).

Roman imperial period.

Right face (?)

[- - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - σή]-

Surviving face

βυρα λόχου δευ-
τέρου τριβοῦνον
πλ.α.τ[ύ]σημον [λεγ]-
[ιῶνος - - - - - - -]

...[Se]vir (equitum Romanorum) turmae II,
tribunus laticlavus [legionis]...

This monument is an honorific base for an unidentifiable Roman senator. The surviving text consists of three lines from the middle of the description of the senator's *cursus*. There is nothing inscribed on the panel above line 1, and no sign of an erasure; the text must have begun on the invisible right face of the monument. For another monument laid out in the same manner (beginning on one face, then continuing on the face to the left), see 164 below (Kidyessos).

The first four letters of the surviving text, *βυρα*, can only represent the end of the accusative [σή]-*βυρα*, a transliteration of the Latin term *sevir*. The term seems otherwise only to be attested in Greek in the fragmentary career inscription *IGUR* I 72, in which the anonymous senator is described as [χιλίαρχον] πλατύσημοῖν λεγιῶνος . . . ?Γεμίλης, σήουρα [- - -]. I know no exact parallel for Gk *βύρ = Lat. *vir*, but compare *I.Ephesos* 3035 (C. Iulius Thrason Alexandros: *PIR*² I 600), in which the office of *triumvir capitalis* is transliterated as τριούμβουρα καπιτᾶλιν. The spelling *vyr* for *vir* is castigated in the Latin grammatical tradition (Baehrens 1922: 52-3).

In all three of these texts, the Latin noun *vir* is treated as though it were a Greek third-declension noun (nom. -βυρ/-βουρ/-ουρ, acc. -βυρα/-βουρα/-ουρα). Similarly, in several inscriptions from Pergamon, C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus (*PIR*² I 507; Halfmann 1979: 112-5) is described as σεπτέμουρα ἐπουλώνουμ, i.e. *VIIvir epulonium* (*IGR* IV 275, 374, 383). Elsewhere, the transliterated noun *vir* is occasionally treated as if it were a Greek second-declension noun: so in *TAM* II 278 (Xanthos), the consul Pollienius Auspex (*PIR*² P 537; Birley 2005: 348-51) is described as κινυδεκεμουίρου (gen.), and in *IG* XII 2, 235 (Mytilene), M. Pompeius Macrinus (*PIR*² P 628) is described as κουαττόρουρον



(acc.). Most frequently, however, the Latin second-declension accusative *-um* is simply transliterated: cf. *IGR* IV 384, σεμπεμουίρουμ (Pergamon); *SEG* 17, 569 (+*SEG* 42, 1227), σεμπεμουίρουμ ἐπουλώνουμ (Attaleia, M. Petronius Umbrinus: *PIR*² P 320); *SEG* 17, 571, κουαττορουίρουμ οὐιάρουμ κουρανδάρουμ (Attaleia, L. Marcius Celer Calpurnius Longus: *PIR*² M 221).

For the *seviri equitum Romanorum* and the six *turmae equorum publicorum*, see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 523-5; Taylor 1924; Demougin 1988: 217-43. The Greek term λόχος normally translates the Latin *centuria*; our text appears to be the first unambiguous instance of Gk λόχος = Lat. *turma*. However, the absence of any apparent reference to the *turmae* in Dionysios of Halikarnassos' description of the *transvectio equitum* at 6.13.4 is surprising to say the least (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 522 n.1; Le Bohec 1975: 118-9; Demougin 1988: 252-3), and it is possible that his phrase κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ λόχους should be translated 'by tribes and by *turmae*'.

106. Ahat

Bilingual building inscription.

Architrave block, broken above and below. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in the stairs of a house near the river. Ht. 0.24+; W. 1.02; Th. 0.44+; letters 0.06 (line 1), 0.042 (line 2).

LBW III 753; [CIG III 3860 k 2; CIL III 360; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 644, no. 542; CIL III 13658; IGR IV 662; Kearsley 2001: 167a]. Edition based on partial squeeze; MB notebook copy (1955/108).

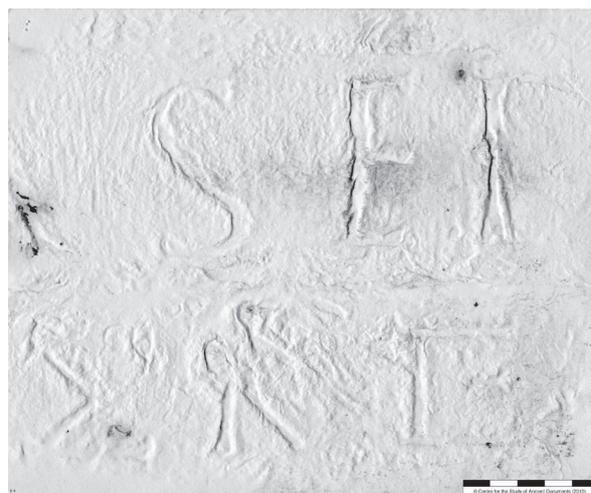
Roman imperial period.

[- -] v. redemptis a se d[- -]

[- -] v. σὺν τοῖς προσκε[ιμένοις - - -]

...having been redeemed by him... along with the contiguous...

This inscription originally formed part of the architrave of a monumental building. A second fragment of the same architrave (*b*) was seen by Ramsay at Şaban, north of Ahat: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 644, no. 542; [CIL III 7049; CIL III 13658; IGR IV 662; Kearsley 2001: 167b]. A third fragment (*c*), recorded by Buckler and Calder at Kayılı, ought also to be assigned to the same monument (*MAMA* VI 333): the size and style of the lettering perfectly matches that of the Ahat fragment (*a*). The ordering of the three fragments is uncertain:



(a)

[- -] v. redemptis a se d[- - - - -]suo

[- -] v. σὺν τοῖς προσκε[ιμένοις - - -] τοῦ

(b)

vac. pecu[nia sua? - - - -] al[i]p[terio] et[- -]

ἐξ ἀγορᾶς[- - - - -] αὐτος εν[- -]

(c)

To all appearances, a benefactor has funded from his own resources (*pecunia sua*) part or all of a monumental complex near the *agora* of Akmoneia. Two buildings are mentioned in the text, a bath-house (*alipterium*, Gk. ἀλειπτήριον: Foss 1975) and a *τρίστοον*, a portico enclosing three sides of an open space (not, as Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 644, a ‘three-storied building’): for the term *τρίστοον*, see *IGLS* XXI/2, 23 (Philadelphia-Amman); *IGR* III 822, with Bean and Mitford

1970: 235-6 (Claudiopolis-Mut); compare *ILS* 5557 (Lat. *triporticus*). In fragment (*a*), I assume that we have the end of an ablative absolute (...-is/-ibus *redemptis a se*; Gk. ἀποκομισθέντων ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ *vel sim.*), referring to some property which has been redeemed or bought back by the donor. Compare *ILS* 6271 (Ferentinum), *ex(enatus) c(onsulto) fundos... ab r(e) p(ublica) redem(it)... et in auit(um) r(ei) p(ublicae) reddid(it)*; *I.Kibyra* 41.6, ἐγνικῆσαντα... κτήσιν Κομ[...].ρα.

107. Susuz

Building inscription.

White marble architrave block, apparently complete. Found at Susuz (territory of Akmoneia), in a fountain (Kavacık Çeşmesi).

Ht. 0.35; W. 1.35; Th. --; letters 0.057 (line 1), 0.049 (line 2).

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/60).

Roman imperial period.

[-----θεοί]ς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ ἱερῶ συν[εδρίῳ - -]
[- - τὰ διάστ]υλα καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν κόσ[μον - -]

*To the divine Augusti and the sacred council of...
the pairs of columns and their decoration...*

This architrave block originally formed part of a building inscription, recording the dedication of a number of pairs of columns to the divine Augusti and to a local 'sacred council' (ἱερῶ συν[εδρίῳ e.g. τῆς γερουσίας, τῆς βουλῆς]). The term διάστυλον literally means the space between two columns, the *intercolumnium*; at Ephesos, the term is used of a stand between two columns in a stoa, which could be granted to tradesmen's guilds to use as shops (*I.Ephesos* 2076-82; *SEG* 35, 1109-10; Knibbe 1985: 75). The term can thus also be used, by extension, for a pair of columns, as in Prott and Kolbe 1902: 93-4, no. 83 (Pergamon): τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῆι πατρίδι... τὰ III διάστυλα (i.e. four columns) σὺν τῶ περι αὐτὰ κόσμῳ... ἀφ[ιέ]ρωσε (cf. Hepding 1910: 445-9, no. 27); see Hellmann 1992: 216 n.15.



The phrase ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν κόσμος refers to all the various decorative elements of the pair of columns (capitals, stylobate, etc.): compare *I Aph*2007 12.404-8, 12.503-6, 13.503, each recording the dedication of 'an epistyle and its decoration' (τὸ ἐπιστύλιον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κόσμον) to the *demos* of Aphrodisias. These decorative elements are listed in full in an inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, in the loop of the Maeander river north of Hierapolis-Pamukkale: ἀνέστησα διάστυλλον ἐκ [θεμελί]ων (thus edd.; I should prefer ἐκ [τῶν ἰδί]ων) σὺν στυλοβάτη καὶ σπείρη, κίονι, κεφαλῇ, ἐπιστυλλίῳ ζῶφόρῳ, γείσι, κτλ. (Öztürk and Tanriver 2008: 105-6, no. 19).

108. Şaban

Dedicatory *bomos* of M. Larcius Lentulus.

White marble *bomos*, broken below. On the front face, below the inscription, fish (carp?) and trident; on left and right faces, wreaths with ribbons; on rear face, dolphin or shark (?). Found at Şaban (territory of Akmoneia), in a house; said to have been recently (in 1956) dug up nearby.

Ht. 0.50+; W. 0.31+; Th. 0.32+; letters 0.02-0.03.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (front and rear faces) (1956/63).

Roman imperial period.

Μ· Λάρκιος
Λέντουλος
ἀνέθηκε·

M(arcus) Larcius Lentulus dedicated this.

For other Larcii at Akmoneia, see 126 below. The depiction on the front face of the *bomos* of a fish (apparently a carp) being speared by a trident is very striking. It is possible, as Stephen Mitchell has suggested to me, that Lentulus' votive offering was intended to commemorate a spectacularly successful fishing trip. At the nearby city of Eumeneia, the enormous carp of the river Glaukos (still visible today) were proudly depicted on the



city's bronze coinage (Thonemann 2011a: 143, with n.27, 'fine carp of an extraordinary size'). The Glaukos would not be too far away for a carp-fishing expedition from Akmoneia.

109. Banaz köyü

Dedicatory base set up by two Kouretes.

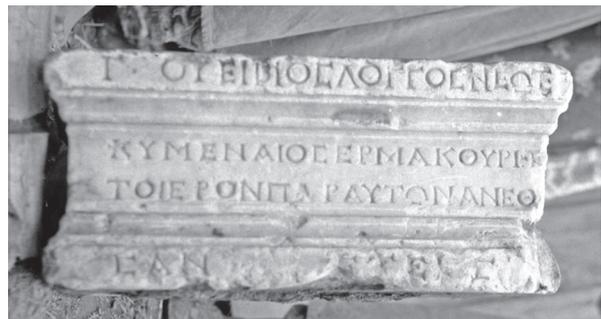
White Dokimeian marble base, moulded above and below. Apparently complete. Found at Banaz köyü (territory of Akmoneia), in a house.

Ht. 0.19; W. 0.44 (mouldings), 0.40 (shaft); Th. 0.28 (mouldings), 0.26 (shaft); letters 0.015-0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/111).

AD 114/5-213/4 (Year 200+ of Sullan era)

Γ· Ουείβιος Λόγγος νεώτερ(ος)
κ(ἐ) Ὑμέναιος Ἑρμᾶ Κουρήτε[s]
τὸ ἱερόν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνέθ[ε]-
σαν vac. ἔπει σ'[-]



G(aius) Vibius Longus the younger and Hymenaios son of Hermas, Kouretes, dedicated the sanctuary at their own expense. Year 200+.

For the abbreviation of *νεώτερ(ος)*, compare *SEG* 40, 1223 (Sebaste). Several Vibii are attested at Akmoneia: Gaius Vibius Crispus, *c.* AD 150-175 (Waelkens 1986: 173-4, no. 435); Vibius Smaragdus, AD 220/1 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 657, no. 598); T. Flavius Priscus Vibianus (*MAMA* VI 266).

This document is our first evidence for a college of Kouretes at Akmoneia (for the college of Kouretes at Ephesos, see Knibbe 1981: 70-92). The cult of the Kouretes is also attested on coins of Akmoneia minted under Trebonianus Gallus and Gordian (Robert 1987: 266; Lindner 1994: 165-6; *RPC* VII.1

679), which depict Cybele-Rhea and the baby Zeus being protected by three Kouretes clashing their shields. No doubt Akmoneia was one of the many cities of Asia Minor which claimed to be the real birthplace of Zeus. Although there is no direct evidence for this claim, it is relevant that Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 13.143-5 names Akmon, the eponymous founder of Akmoneia, among the seven Korybantes 'who, dwelling in the heart of Phrygia... ringed Bacchos with their shouts, while he was still a child' (Robert, *OMS* VII, 200-6; Chuvin 1991: 43-6; Lindner 1994: 183-5).

110. Kayılı

Dedication of an altar to Zeus Alsenos.

Marble *bomos* broken below left, and behind. Lines 1-2 of the inscription on the upper moulding, lines 3-4 on the bevelling below, lines 5-9 on the shaft. Found at Kayılı (territory of Akmoneia), in a lane.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.54+ (shaft); Th. 0.38+; letters 0.020-0.025.

Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1929-31; [*SEG* 40, 1192; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/03/02]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/94).

AD 215/6 (Year 300 of Sullan era)

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

[ῆ] συνβίωσις

[Ἀ]λσηνῶ εἵλεως τῇ

κατοικία ν. ἔτους τ' .

5 [Ἀ]λσηνῶ πατρίῳ μεγάλῳ Δι·ι· βω-
vac. μὸν ἔθηκαν vac.

[ἐ]ννεακαίδεκα φῶτες λαμπροὶ

[vac.] καὶ σεμνοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ vac.

[- - - - -] φ[. . .] Λυκείῳ τ[. .]

Lines 7-8: φῶτες, λαμπρ|ἐ Δί, σεμνοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ
Drew-Bear and Naour. Line 9: 'Les traces de lettres préservées à la l. 9 pourraient être interprétées comme les restes du génitif poétique λύκοιο, suivi par un trait horizontal en haut de la ligne' (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1930 n.66)



With good fortune. The association, to Alsenos; may he be kindly to the village. Year 300. The 19 men, splendid and noble Achaeans, dedicated the altar to the great ancestral Zeus Alsenos... Lykeios/n...

This monument is the upper part of an altar to Zeus Alsenos, set up by a cultic association (*συνβίωσις*, line 2) of nineteen men (*ἐννεακαίδεκα φῶτες*, line 7) for the protection of their village. Lines 1-4 are in prose; lines 5-8 form two (rather careless) dactylic hexameters. The monument is dated to Year 300 of the Sullan era (=AD 215/6).

The cult of Zeus Alsenos was very widespread in central and northern Phrygia (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1915-31; Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturhan 1999: 13-15, 371). The phrase *εἴλεως τῇ κατοικίᾳ* in lines 3-4 signifies 'may he be kindly to the village', with an implicit optative of wish (*γέννοιτο, εἴη*): compare e.g. *TAM V 1, 523* (Maionia: dedication to Hekate), *σῶζέ με τόνδ' ἀναθέντα καὶ εἴλεως ἴσθι βροτοῖσιν*; *TAM V 2, 881* (Thyateira), *εἴη οὖν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἴλεως διὰ παντὸς Ἀργείωι*; *TAM V 2, 1148* (Thyateira), *μήτε οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεως αὐτῶ γένοι[ν]το*; *MAMA VIII 297* (Ikonion), *[εὐχομαι θεοὺς σωτήρας... ἴλεως καὶ εἰύνοος εἶναι τῇ] κολωνείᾳ Εἰκονίωι*. The letters *ΕΙΛΕΩΣ* probably represent an indeclinable adjective *ἴλεως* (Naour 1981: 21); note however that Petzl in his commentary on *TAM V 3, 1539.46-7* (Philadelpheia) takes the word to be an adverb, and accents accordingly (*ιλέως*). The *συνβίωσις* consisted of 19 men; Drew-Bear and Naour compare *TAM V 1, 537* (Maionia), a

συνβίωσις of 18 men, and *TAM V 1, 187* (near Saittai), a *συνβίωσις* of 17 men (including the honorand). The members of the association describe themselves as 'splendid and noble Achaeans' (the reading *λαμπροὶ* at the end of line 7 is certain). The inhabitants of this *katoikia* on the territory of Akmoneia, like many communities in central and southern Phrygia (including the neighbouring cities of Eumeneia, Temenouthyrai, Sebaste), claimed to be colonists from Argos (Weiss 2000b). In the second century AD, the inhabitants of Eumeneia called themselves the *Εὐμενεῖς Ἀχαιοί*, and a cult of *θεὸς Ἀχαιός* is attested in Phrygia (Robert 1987: 392-4). The dative *Λυκείω* in line 9 may also suggest a connection with Argos; Apollo Lykeios was the principal deity of Argos (Pausanias 2.19.3), and the claim of the citizens of Tarsos in Kilikia to Argive origins was based on their cult of Apollo Lykeios, said to have been brought from Argos to Tarsos by the hero Perseus (Robert 1987: 54-69).

111. Ahat

Relief of Pan.

Marble slab with moulded border and relief of Pan, holding shepherd's crook in his right hand and supporting one end of a large garland in his left. Broken below and right. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), near the school.

Ht. 0.37; W. 0.43; Th. 0.04.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/98).

Roman imperial period.



112. Banaz Köyü

Votive dedication of marble lion.

Head of a lion in white marble, bored for use as the spout of a fountain. Broken below and behind; the inscription runs across the lion's forehead. Found at Banaz Köyü (territory of Akmoneia), in a house.

Ht. 0.30+; W. 0.32; letters 0.010-0.022.

Mango and Ševčenko 1978: 19, no. 22; [SEG 28, 1114]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1955/110).

Fourth to sixth century AD (letter-forms; PN Constantine).

ὕπὲρ ἐὺχῆς Κοσταν-
τίνου πρήσμονος

In fulfilment of the vow of Constantine, (?) sawyer.

This monument is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, having been purchased from an antiquities dealer in 1969. In their publication of the monument, Mango and Ševčenko describe it as a 'marble water spout in the shape of a lion's head'; however, Ballance was certain that the stone had been bored for re-use as a spout at a later date. Mango and Ševčenko 1978 give the provenance of the monument as 'Possibly Eskişehir', whence the classification of the monument under 'Dorylaion (?)' in *SEG*.

The fourth letter of line 2 appears to be an *omicron* and *upsilon* in ligature. The reading and sense



of the final word are not certain; Ballance read ΠΡΟΣΜΟΝΟΣ, but his photographs seem to support the reading ΠΡΗΣΜΟΝΟΣ (thus also Mango and Ševčenko), presumably the genitive of an unattested word *πρίσμων, πρίσμονος, meaning 'sawyer'. The normal term for a sawyer is (ξύλο-, λιθο-)πρίστης (Robert, *OMS* VII 76-8), while the thing sawed is a (παρα-, ἀπο-)πρίσμα; the hypothetical term *πρίσμων could have been coined on the model of τέκτων, 'carpenter'.

113. Gedikler

Church ambo.

White marble post, probably from the banister of an ambo. In the bottom, a dowel-hole; chipped above. Found at Gedikler (territory of Akmoneia), in a wall; said to have come from a site at a *höyük* between Gedikler and Öksüz.

Ht. 0.74; W. 0.13; Th. 0.115; letters 0.020-0.025.

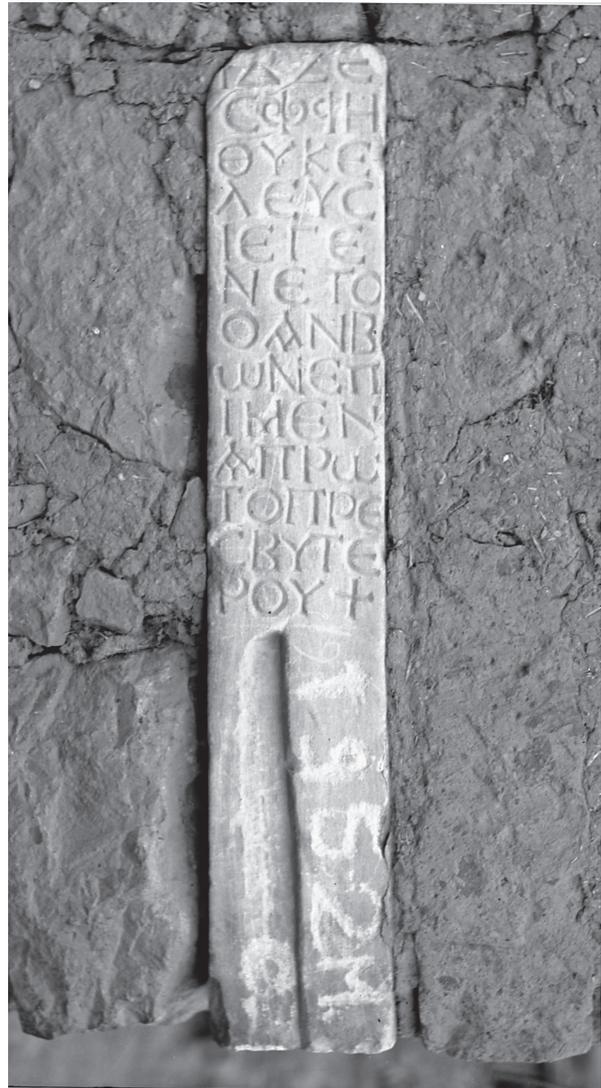
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/70).

AD 1083/4 or 1089/90.

ἰ(ν)δικτιῶνος ζ', ἔ(τους)
 ,σφρη'
 θεοῦ κε-
 λεύσ-
 5 ι ἐγέ-
 νετο
 ὁ ἄνβ-
 ων ἐπ-
 ἰ Μεν-
 10 ἄ πρω-
 τοπρε-
 σβυτέ-
 ρου †

The seventh indiction, year 6598. The ambo was constructed on God's command, when Menas was protopresbyter.

The creation-year 6598 corresponds to AD 1089/90, but this does not fit with the indiction date: 1089/90 ought to be the thirteenth year of the indiction. Hence one of the two numerals must be wrong; the indiction date, being the one



more commonly in use, is perhaps more likely to be correct. On ambos in middle Byzantine Asia Minor, see Peschlow 1994; Sodini 1994; Dennert 1995; Niewöhner 2007: 108-16.

114. Susuz

Marble bowl with acclamation.

White marble bowl with spout and three handles, inscribed on upper surface of the rim. Found at Susuz (territory of Akmoneia), in private possession. Diameter 0.19 (internal), 0.26 (external), 0.31 (incl. handles); Depth 0.08 (internal), 0.10 (external). Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1956/62). Byzantine period.

† νικᾶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ κυροῦ μου ΧΕΤΑΩ

The fortune of my lord... is victorious!

The last five letters of the inscription, if I have read them correctly, could conceivably be expanded Χ(ριστ)ὲ τ(ὸ) ἄ(λφα καὶ τὸ) ὦ(μέγα).



115. Susuz

Latin funerary inscription of L. Aelius Venustus and others.

White marble block with *tabula ansata*, apparently complete. Found at Susuz (territory of Akmoneia), in a fountain (Kırkpinarlar Çeşmesi). Ht. 0.65; W. 0.73; Th. --; letters 0.022-0.028. Thonemann 2010: 170-1. Edition based on partial squeeze (lines 5-8); MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/61). Late first century AD (prosopography).

♥ V(ivi) ♥

L · Aelius · L · f · Fab · Ve-
nustus · Tyrrani-
ae · Veneriae · uxo-

5 ri · suae · et · sibi · [et]
[[M · Iuni]] · et · M · Iuni-
us · M · f · Sab · Lupus
Aeliae · L · f · Mar-
cellae · uxori ♥
10 suae · et · sibi



They are living. L(ucius) Aelius Venustus, son of L(ucius), of the tribe Fab(ia), for his wife, Tyrannia Veneria, and himself; and M(arcus) Iunius Lupus, son of M(arcus), of the tribe Sabatina, for his wife, Aelia Marcella, daughter of L(ucius), and himself.

M. Iunius M. f. Sabatina Lupus is attested as a member of the archon-college at Akmoneia in *AE* 2006, 1426 (dated to 8 April AD 68), and as one of the city's three *dogmatographoi* in *AE* 2006, 1427 (dated to 17 September AD 64). The fact that his funerary inscription was set up in Latin makes it clear that he was a member of the community of resident Romans (οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι:

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 641, no. 533 [*IGR* IV 632]), not a native of Akmoneia.

The name Venustus reappears at Akmoneia in the mid-second century AD (M. Ulpius Venustus Vibianus, attested in two unpublished lists of Akmoneian delegates to Claros dated to the mid-140s: information courtesy of J.-L. Ferrary).

116. Ahat

Funerary doorstone of Zotion.

Marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 162, Typ C Akmonia 1). Twin door with four large panels; between upper and lower panels, a pair of small panels with concave sides. In upper right panel, key-hole; in lower right panel, door-knocker; upper and lower left panels blank. Ivy-scroll pilasters to right and left. Frame above the door, beveled below. Archivolts with three fascias (outer fascia beveled below); in the *tympanum*, bevel, round knife, and awl. Inscription on the middle fascia of the archivolts (line 1), continuing onto the *tympanum* (line 2) and the frame above the door (line 3). Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in a lane beyond the bridge, at the foot of the acropolis.

Ht. 0.85 (doors 0.49); W. 0.73 (doors 0.45); Th. 0.25; letters 0.012-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/103).

c. AD 175-250 (doorstone type).

Πέδιος Τερκουάτος Ζωτίωνι ἀδελφῶ μνήμη|ς
 χάριν.
 εἴ τις αὐτὸ ἄρρη, πενθήσεται τοὺς ἰδίους.

Pedius Torquatus, for his brother Zotion, in memoriam. If anyone moves it (the tombstone), may he mourn his family.

The gentilician Pedius is extremely rare; a certain Pedia Secunda is attested as a mint-magistrate at Eukarpeia in the Pentapolis during the reign of Hadrian (*BMC Phrygia*, 203-4, nos. 1-5; 206, no. 15; *Coll. Wadd.* 5987, 5989, 5994; *SNG Von Aulock*



3575; *SNG Cop.* [Phrygia] 369). For the spelling Τερκουάτος, compare *MAMA* IX 187 (Aizanoi); Robert 1969: 300, no. 12 (Laodikeian delegation to Claros). The tools depicted in the pediment suggest that Zotion was a leather-worker (σκυτότομος).

The curse formula does not seem to be paralleled elsewhere. For the phrase *εἴ τις αὐτὸ ἄρη* ('if anyone moves it', with *ἄν* omitted), compare e.g. SEG 34, 1231 (near Saittai), *ὃς ἂν τοῦτο ἄρη ἢ κατεάξῃ*; I.Kyzikos I 192, *ὃς ἂν τοῦτο ἄρη*.

πάθοιτο πᾶν κακόν. I assume that *πενθήσεται* represents *πενθήσαιοτο*, 'may he mourn'; for the prevalence of the aorist optative middle in funerary imprecations, see Robert, OMS V, 711.

117. Between Şaban and Erciş

Funerary doorstone of Hermogas and Prima.

Marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 162, Typ C Akmonia 1). Twin door with four large panels (blank); pilasters with a leaf pattern to left and right. Archivolts with three fascias (outer fascia beveled below); in the *tympanum*, spindle, distaff, mirror and comb. Above the archivolts, central palmette (?). Inscription on the middle fascia of the archivolts, continuing onto the frame above the right pilaster. Found between Şaban and Erciş, in a fountain (Deydivan Çeşmesi).

Ht. 0.80; W. 0.51; Th. --; letters 0.013-0.026.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/64).

c. AD 175-250 (doorstone type).

Ἑρμογᾶς τῇ γυναικὶ Πρίμα μνήμης χάριν

Hermogas, for his wife Prima, in memoriam.

On the name *Ἑρμογᾶς* (a hypocoristic form of *Ἑρμογένης*), see MAMA IX 135.



118. Kızılcasöğüt

Funerary doorstone of Cl. Euneikos.

Marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 162, Typ C Akmonia 1). Twin door with four blank panels; pilasters with ivy-leaf pattern to left and right. Archivolt with three fascias; between the outermost two fascias, Lesbian *cyma*. Above, half-palmettes to left and right; flattened palmette at centre. In the field below the archivolt, a pickaxe and closed *diptychon* with strap, of identical design to that on Waelkens 1986: 164 nos. 405-6; 173, no. 434 (all Akmoneia). Inscription on the outer fascia and Lesbian *cyma* of the archivolt; the last two letters of line 1 on the *abacus* of the right-hand pilaster. Found at Kızılcasöğüt (territory of Akmoneia), in the main fountain.

Dimensions not recorded; letters 0.015-0.019 (line 1), 0.026-0.029 (line 2).

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 610, no. 510. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1956/43); CVC photograph.

AD 175-200 (doorstone type).

ΚΛ· Εϋνεϊκος ἑαυτῷ καὶ Δόμνη γυναι|κὶ
μνήμης χάριν.

Cl(audius) Euneikos for himself and for his wife Domna, in memoriam.

Ramsay saw this monument at Kırka in 1883. In line 1, Ramsay read Κλεύεικος, but the squeeze



clearly shows an interpunct after ΚΛ. The inscription was still located in the main fountain at Kızılcasöğüt in September 2010.

119. Ahat

Funerary doorstone of Sosthenes.

Marble doorstone without pediment. Twin door with four panels. In upper right panel, key-hole; in lower right panel, door-knocker; upper and lower left panels blank. Inscription on the frame above the door. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in a lane.

Ht. 0.65; W. 0.58; Th. 0.23; letters 0.014-0.017.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/107).

Second or third century AD.

Σωσθένης Σωσθένου τοῦ Γλύκωνος
Σωσθένη πατρὶ καὶ Διονυσία μητρὶ μνήμης
χάριν.

Sosthenes son of Sosthenes, grandson of Glykon, for his father Sosthenes and his mother Dionysia, in memoriam.



120. Susuz

Funerary *bomos* (?) of Alexandros the rhapsode.

White marble base or *bomos*, cut off below; left side recut as a basin, with drain behind; top rough as if mouldings cut off. Inscribed on front and right faces; lines 1-2 of both inscriptions on the upper moulding (?), remainder in moulded panel. Found at Susuz (territory of Akmonēia), in the yard of a house by the river.

Ht. 1.06+; W. 0.46+; Th. 0.52; letters 0.030-0.036.

(A only) Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 564, no. 462; [MAMA VI 149, List 168*; Robert, *Hellenica* X, 253 n.4]. Edition based on partial squeezes; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1956/67).

Second or third century AD.

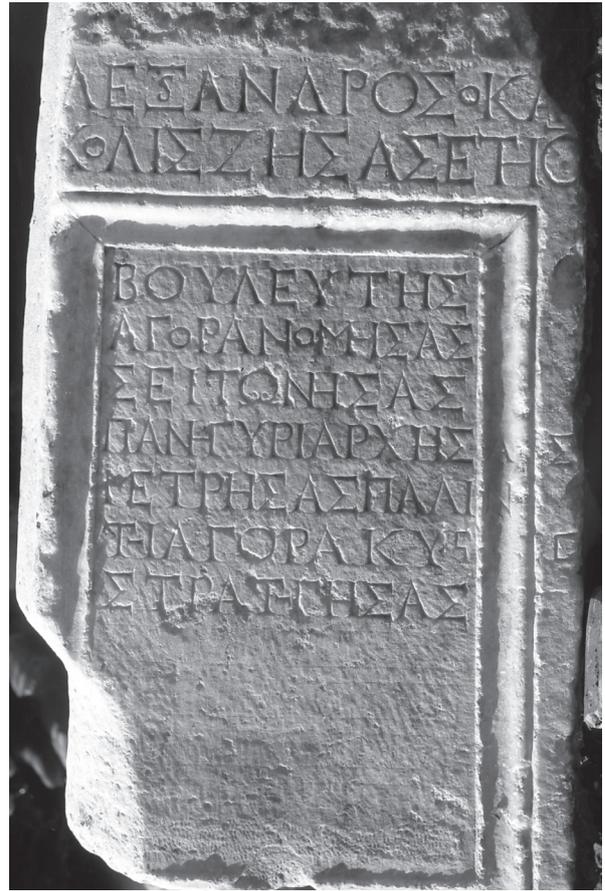
A

[A]λέξανδρος ὁ κα[λ]
 [A]χόλις ζήσας ἔτη ο'
 βουλευτῆς
 ἀγορανομήσας
 5 σειτωνήσας
 πανηγυριαρχήσ|ας
 μετρήσας πάλι | ν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ κύ(πρους) ,σ|σ'
 στρατηγήσας
 10 vac.

B

πολλῶν κληρονόμ[ων]
 ἐπιγινώσκων ἀμέλια[ν]
 Εὐτυχίδης ῥαψω-
 δος Ἀλέξανδρος
 5 τόδε σῆμα ἑαυτῶ
 ζῶν ἀνέθηκα
 καὶ τῇ φιλίῃ συν-
 ομεύνω Ἄντω-
 νία ζῶση μνήμα
 10 μακροῦ βίотου.
 ἴδ' εἰ τις ἢ τύμβου
 πρίατε ἢ γράμμα
 [- - - - -]

Line A-8: [ἐν?] τῇ ἀγορᾷ κυ(άθους) σ' Ramsay; κύ(πρους) Robert.



(A) Alexandros, also known as Acholis, having lived for 70 years, councillor, having held the offices of agoranomos, seitones and panegyriarch, having measured out again for the agora 6,200 kyproi (of grain), having held the office of strategos.

(B) Having known the freedom from care which comes from many heirs, I, Alexandros, son of Eutychos, the rhapsode, dedicated this tombstone for himself while still living, and for my dear wife Antonia, while she was still living, as a memorial to a long life. If anyone either sells the tomb or... the inscription, ...

This monument is a funerary *bomos* for a certain Alexandros, also known as Acholis (Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 99 n.2). The inscription lists the civic offices held by Alexandros at Akmonēia (*agoranomos*, *seitones*, *panegyriarches*, *strategos*). Comparable lists of offices are found on two other funerary inscriptions from Akmonēia: Robert,

Hellenica X, 249-50 (Strubbe 1994: 115-7, no. 7: Aur. Frugianus, *agoranomos*, *seitones*, *paraphylax*, *strategos*); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 653, no. 564 (Strubbe 1994: 119-20, no. 9: T. Fl. Alexandros, *bouleutes*, *archon*, *eirenarches*, *seitones* [twice], *boularches*, *agoranomos*, *strategos*); compare also Waelkens 1986: 170-1, no. 423 (*dekaprotos*, *chreophylax*, *argyrotamias*, *agoranomos*, *strategos*). For examples at other cities, compare 74 (Sebaste); *I.Prusias ad Hypium* 87; *I.Iznik* 1254. On the office of *seitones* in the cities of Asia Minor in the Roman imperial period, see Strubbe 1987-9; Zuiderhoek 2008.

In lines A7-8, Alexandros is described as having ‘measured out again (*πάλιw*) for the *agora* 6,200 *ΚΥ()*’. For this use of *πάλιw* (i.e. subsequently to his tenure of the offices of *agoranomos* and *seitones*), compare *IGR* III 493.10-11 (Oinoanda), *σειτομετρήσαντα πάλιw τοὺς πολείτας*. Ramsay understood the abbreviation *ΚΥ()* in line A8 to refer to *κύ(αθοι)*. This is, however, very unlikely. The *kyathos* is a small dry or liquid measure of around 45.5 ml. If Alexandros had indeed distributed 6,200 *kyathoi*, it is hard to see why he did not phrase this in terms of a larger dry or liquid measure (around 5 *medimnoi* or 7 *metretai*). Moreover, the total quantities involved do not seem particularly generous (6,200 *kyathoi* = 282.1 litres); to put Alexandros’ putative provision of around 5 *medimnoi* of grain in context, the *grammateus* T. Flavius Damianus at Ephesos furnished 201,200 *medimnoi* of grain to the army of L. Verus over a thirteen-month period in AD 166/7 (*I.Ephesos* 672, 3080; Alföldy and Halfmann 1979: 209-10; Kalinowski 2006).

Hence the abbreviation in line 8 should be resolved not as *κυ(άθους)* but as *κύ(πρους)* (thus already Robert, *Hellenica* X, 253 n.4). The *κύπρος* is frequently attested in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor as a dry measure and, by extension, as an areal measure (the area sown with one *κύπρος* of seed: see Thonemann 2009: 381-2). At Sebastopolis in Karia, in the late second century AD, a civic benefactor was honoured for having sold 2,000 *kyproi* of grain at a price of 2 *denarii* per



kypros, at a time when the going rate was 4 *denarii* per *kypros* (Robert and Robert 1954: 320-3, no. 172). The *κύπρος* is known to have been in use in the region of Akmoneia thanks to an early imperial *ponderarium* from Uşak, on which the *kypros* dry measure was apparently equivalent to two *modioi* (Wagener 1856). The Lydo-Phrygian *kypros* thus contained c. 17.5 litres (1 *modios* = 8.75 litres), and Alexandros’ 6,200 *kyproi* would represent around 2,000 *medimnoi* of grain.

The inscription on face B, not seen by Ramsay, begins with three more or less accurate hexameters (*πολλῶν... συνομεύνω*); it is not clear whether the following lines are intended as verse. For the formula in the final clause of face B, compare *MAMA* VI 325 (Strubbe 1994: 123-5, no. 12: Akmoneia, Banaz), *ὄς ἀν... ἡ τύνβου πρίατε ἢ γράμμα μιάνι*; *SEG* 32, 1256 (Nikomedeia), *εἴ τις τολμήσει... ἡ γράμμα τὸ λοιπὸν τούτων ἐκκόψαι ἢ τὴν καμάραν μου πρίασθαι*; *IJO* II, 178 (Rome; attributed to an expatriate Akmoneian by Ameling, *ad loc.*), *εἰ δέ τις ἡ τύνβου πρίαται ἢ γράμμα μιώση*.

121. Ahat

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Tryphon and family.

Marble *bomos* with omphaloid top; broken above, buried below. On *omphalos*, ivy-scroll relief decoration. Front panel: inscription. Right panel: large mallet and two bevelers. Left panel: beveler, leather-knife and awl. Rear panel: mirror and spindle with distaff (above), comb (below). Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), outside a mosque by the river, below the acropolis.

Ht. 1.10+; W. 0.50 (shaft 0.39); Th. 0.49 (shaft 0.38); front panel Ht. 0.44, W. 0.245; letters 0.027-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze (front face only); line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (rear face only) (1955/101); PJT photographs (2004: front and left faces).

AD 216/7 (Year 301 of Sullan era).

ἔτους τα΄
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) · Τρύ-
 φων Διογέ-
 νου ζῶν ἐ-
 5 αυτῶ καὶ τῇ
 γλυκυτάτῃ
 γυναικὶ Ἀμ-
 μία καὶ τοῖς
 10 τέκνοις κα-
 τεσσεύα-
 σεν μνήμης
 vac. χάριν.

Year 301. Aur(elius) Tryphon, son of Diogenes, constructed (the tomb) while still living for himself and his sweetest wife Ammia and his children, in memoriam.

This type of funerary monument (*bomos* with moulded panels on all four sides, with domestic objects depicted in relief on the lateral and rear faces) is highly characteristic of Akmoneia: Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247-56, and see also 123 and 124 below (cf. 85 above, territory of Sebaste). The mirror, spindle, distaff and comb depicted on the rear face of the monument are sufficiently similar in design and treatment to those depicted on the tombstone of Aur. Frugianus from Akmoneia



(Robert, *Hellenica* X, 249-50, with Pl. XXXIII; compare Pl. XXXII and XXXIV) to suggest that the two tombstones were produced by the same workshop. The tools depicted on the left and right sides of the monument (a round knife, three bevelers, mallet and awl) suggest that Aurelius Tryphon was a leather-worker (*σκυτότομος*).

For the spelling of *κατεσκευάσεν* with double *sigma*, compare e.g. *MAMA* VI 335a (Akmoneia); *IGR* IV 760 (Eumeneia); *TAM* V 2, 1384 (Magnaesia under Sipylos).

The monument was still located in the village of Ahat, opposite a mosque beside the river, in September 2004.

122. Kızılcaşöğüt

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Julia and family, Christians.

White marble *bomos*. On the left side, raised hand supporting scroll; on the back, raised hand gripping a wreath. Line 1 of inscription on fascia of moulding, remainder on shaft. Found at Kızılcaşöğüt (terretory of Akmoneia), in the courtyard of the mosque.

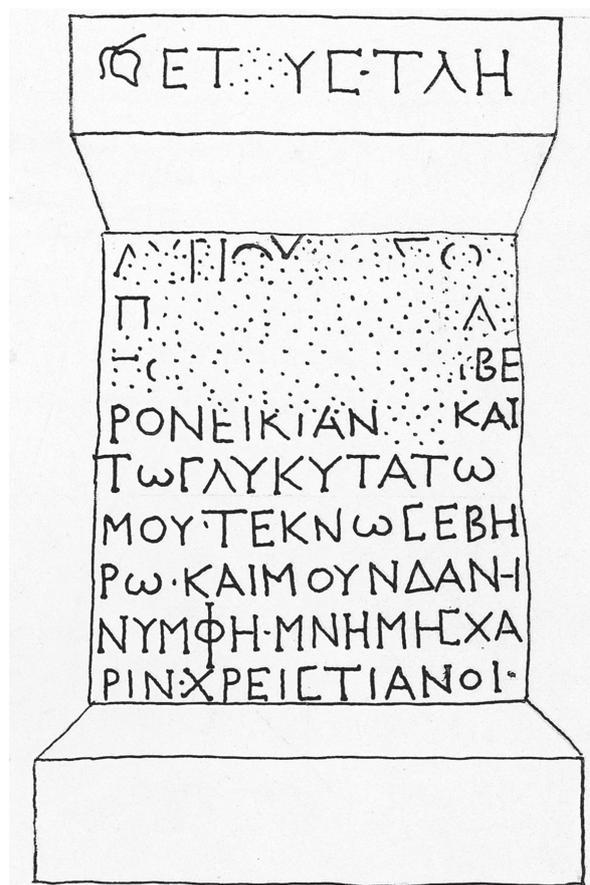
Ht. 0.66; W. 0.36 (top), 0.30-0.33 (shaft), 0.40 (base); Th. 0.36 (top), 0.30-0.32 (shaft), 0.40 (base); letters 0.024-0.026.

Gibson 1978: 103-4, no. 32; [SEG 28, 1082; Tabbernee 1997: 170-3, no. 21]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/41).

AD 253/4 (Year 338 of Sullan era).

5
10
vac.

✠ ἔτ[ο]υς · τλη΄
 Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἰου[λία] τῶ
 πατρί (?) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Ἰουλ-
 ίω [καὶ τῆ μητρ]ι Βε-
 ρονεικιαν[ῆ] καὶ
 τῶ γλυκυτάτῳ
 μου · τέκνῳ Σεβή-
 ρῳ · καὶ Μουνδάνη
 νύμφη μνήμης χά-
 ριν · Χριστιανοί ·



Line 1: *ταπ'* Gibson; *τλη΄* Rigsby 1981: 93-4. Lines 3-4: *πατ[ρι] - - -|Α|ΤΟ* [καὶ τῆ μητρ]ι] Gibson.

Year 338. *Aur(elia) Julia, for my father Aur(elius) Julius and my mother Beroneikiane and my sweetest child Severus and my daughter-in-law Moundane, in memoriam. Christians.*

For full bibliography on this inscription and its possible significance for the development of Phrygian Montanism, see Tabbernee 1997: 170-3. For the single word 'Christians' in line 10, compare 164 below (Kidyessos).

123. Emiraz

Funerary bomos of Regulianus of Eumeneia.

Marble *bomos* with omphaloid top; moulded panels on all four sides. On left side, *patera* (?) in relief; on right side tablets and stilus-case. Broken above and below. Found at Emiraz (Ayvacık), in a lane.

Ht. 0.80+; W. 0.47+ (top), 0.41 (shaft); Th. 0.42 (top), 0.36 (shaft); letters 0.013-0.022.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/93).

Third century AD (personal names).

- [- -] Ρ . ΜΗ . . Λ . . ΡΟ . [- -]
 Ῥηγλιανὸς Εὐμενεὺς βου[λευ]-
 τῆς φυλῆς Ἀρτεμεισιάδο[ς]
 τὸ θέμα καὶ τὸν ἐφ' αὐ-
 5 τοῦ βωμὸν ζῶν ἐα[υ]-
 τῶ καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ
 τεκούσῃ Αὐρηλία
 Ῥηγλιανῇ καὶ τῇ γυναῖκί
 μου Αὐρ(ηλία) Αὐφιδία
 10 Ἄντωνία καὶ τοῖς
 {καὶ τοῖς} ἐκγόνοις
 μου κατεσκευάσα
 τὸ ἡρώον · οὐδεὶν
 ἐτέρω ἐξὸν ἔστα[ικη]-
 15 δευθῆναι ἐν αὐτῶ.
 [ὄς] δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύ-
 [ση, θήσει] εἰς τὸ ἱερότα-
 [τὸν ταμεῖον (δηνάρια) φ'

...Regulianus, citizen of Eumeneia, councillor, of the tribe Artemeiasias, (constructed) the base and the bomos on top of it while still living, for himself and his sweetest mother Aurelia Reguliana and my wife Aur. Aufidia Antonia and my descendants, I constructed the heroon: it shall not be permitted for anyone else to be buried in it. Whoever tries to do so shall pay to the most sacred fisc 500 denarii.

For this type of funerary monument at Akmoneia (*bomos* with relief depictions of domestic objects), see 121 above. The tablets and stilus-case on the right face of the monument are very similar



to those depicted on the funerary monuments of Aur. Basileus and Aur. Macedon (Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247-8 with Pl. XXXII; 251-2 with Pl. XXXIV).

The name Ῥηγλιανός is an ordinary patronymic formation from the common Latin name *Regulus* (normally transcribed in Greek as Ῥῆγλος); cf. SEG 28, 1015 (*TAM* IV 1, 150). On the term τεκούσα ('mother') in line 7, see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 388-9, and cf. 14 above (Apollonia); 23 (Apameia); 138 below (Otluk). The text switches mid-way through from the third person (ἐα[υ]-τῶ, lines 5-6) to the first person (τῇ γυναῖκί μου, lines 8-9; τοῖς ἐκγόνοις μου κατεσκευάσα τὸ ἡρώον, lines 10-13), and it is unclear whether the reader is meant to supply another verb to govern the accusatives τὸ θέμα καὶ τὸν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ βωμὸν in lines 4-5. For the meaning of the term θέμα, see Kubinska 1968: 73-8; Coulton 2005: 132.

I assume that Regulianus is a citizen of Eumeneia but a member of the *boule* of Akmoneia. For citizens of neighbouring cities acting as members of the *boule* at Akmoneia, compare [Aῦρ.] Φιλόδ[η]μος Ἀντω[νει]νιανὸς Δομν[ι]ανὸς Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτῆς (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 658, no. 605: Akmoneia); Πατροκλῆς Πατροκλέους τοῦ Εὐξένο[υ] π[έ]μπτου Εὐκαρπεὺς βουλευτῆς (45 above [SEG 15, 810]: Eumeneia). The tribe Artemisias is attested at both Akmoneia (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 641, no. 532; IGR IV 642 [wrongly reported as 'Asklepias' in MAMA VI 149, List 166*]) and Eumeneia (Drew-Bear 1978: 70-2, IV 4 [SEG 28, 1118]; 73-4, IV 6 [SEG 28, 1117]).

Regulianus and his wife, Aur. Aufidia Antonia, seem both to have been members of old

Akmoneian families. An Aufidius Regulus and an Aufidius Glykon appear in an unpublished list of Akmoneian delegates to the sanctuary at Claros in AD 146/7 (information courtesy of J.-L. Ferrary); Aufidius Auxeitōs and Aufidia Marcella appear in an Akmoneian delegation-list of AD 180/1 (Macridy 1912: 55, no. 28; date courtesy of J.-L. Ferrary).

For the find-spot of this inscription, the village of Emiraz (modern Ayvacık), roughly equidistant from Akmoneia (Ahat) and Diokleia (Ahrhisar [Yeşilhisar]), see Robert, *Hellenica* X, 120 n.5; for other monuments from Emiraz, see MAMA VI 240 (dedication to Severus Alexander by a *κατοικία*, probably dependent on Akmoneia), 241, 309, 326, 335, 348.

124. Kızılcaşöğüt

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Ammia and family.

White marble *bomos*, broken above. On the front, lines 1-6 of the inscription (line 1 on upper moulding; lines 2-5 in panel; line 6 on lower moulding); on left side, in relief, tongs, hammer and anvil; on the back, spindle, distaff and comb; on the right, mirror and lines 7-13 of the inscription. Found at Kızılcaşöğüt (territory of Akmoneia), in the courtyard of the mosque.

Ht. 0.41+; W. -- (top), 0.29-0.31 (shaft), 0.35 (base); Th. -- (top), 0.28-0.31 (shaft), 0.35 (base); letters 0.016-0.028.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/42).

Third century AD.

Face A

[A]ῦρ(ηλία) Ἀμμία]
 ἀνδρὶ
 Ἀλεξάν-
 δρω καὶ
 5 θυγατρὶ
 Ἀφφία σὺν τῷ



Face B

ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
 Διο- m δώρω
 καὶ i τῷ πα-
 ιδί- r ω αὐ-
 5 τῶν r μνή-
 μης o χάριν
 ἐπύ- r ησα.

I, Aur(elia) Ammia, made this for my husband Alexandros and my daughter Apphia with her husband Diodoros and their child, in memoriam.

For this type of funerary monument at Akmoneia (*bomos* with domestic objects depicted in relief), see 121 above. Presumably the child of Apphia and Diodoros had not yet been born at the time this inscription was erected; alternatively, it might have died before it had been named: compare Dittenberger on IG VII 690 (Tanagra) and Hallof on IG IX 1² 4 1270 (Leukas); Waelkens 1986: 107-9, no. 252.

125. Susuz

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Rufus and Tertia.

Marble *bomos*, buried below; on the front face, below the inscription, a wreath. Found at Susuz (territory of Akmoneia), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.60+; W. 0.46 (top), 0.39 (shaft); Th. 0.41 (top), 0.38 (shaft); letters 0.024-0.048.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/66).

Third century AD.

[Αὐρ(ήλιος)] Ῥοῦφος ἑαυτῷ ♡
 [κα]ὶ τῇ γυναικί μο[υ]
 Τερτία ζῶν κατε-
 σκεύασεν · τὸ μνη-
 5 μείον · εἰ δέ τις ἀν-
 [ύ]ξει μετὰ τὸ τεθῆν[αι]
 τοὺς δύο, ἄωρα τέ[κνα]
 πρόθοι[το].

Aur(elius) Rufus constructed the memorial while still living for himself and for my wife Tertia. If anyone opens (the tomb) after these two have been laid in it, may he lay out his children for burial before their time.



For the curse formula in lines 7-8, see the commentary to 126 below.

126. Ahat

Funerary inscription of Larcius Dionysios and Zotike.

Plain limestone block, apparently complete. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in the wall of a half-built house at the north end of the village, by the track to Banaz (Islâmköy).

Ht. 0.82; W. 0.57; Th. 0.27; letters 0.020-0.030.

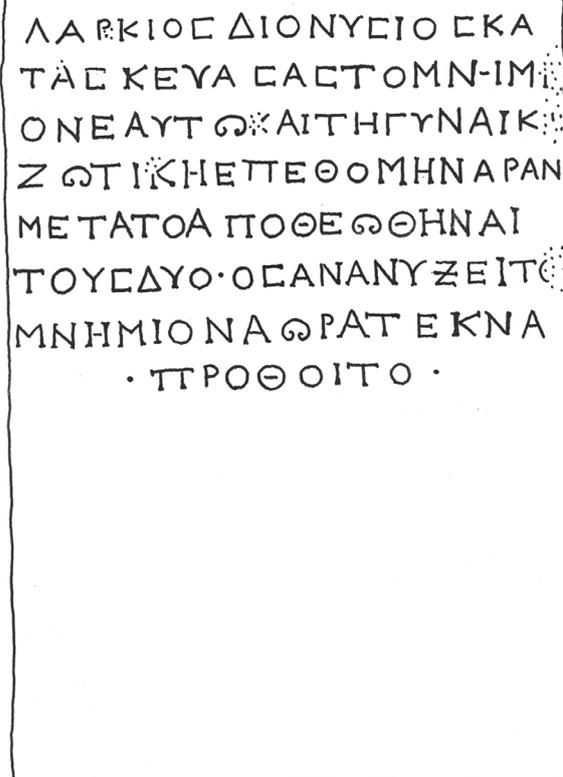
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/68).

Second or third century AD.

5 Λάρκιος Διονύσιος κα-
 τασκευάσας τὸ μνημί-
 ον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί
 Ζωτικῇ ἐπεθόμην ἄρᾶν·
 μετὰ τὸ ἀποθελθῆναι
 τοὺς δύο · ὃς ἂν ἀνύξει τὸ
 μνημίον, ἄωρα τέκνα
 · πρόθοιτο ·

Larcus Dionysios, having constructed the memorial for himself and his wife Zotike, I laid a curse on it: after these two have been buried, whoever opens the memorial, may he lay out his children for burial before their time.

For 'laying a curse' on a tomb (line 4), compare MAMA VI 272 (Akmoneia: Susuz), lines 5-6, ἄρᾶν καὶ νόμον θέμενος ὅπως μ[η]δενὶ ἐξέεται, κτλ. For the curse-formula (ἄωρα τέκνα πρόθοιτο, lines 7-8), see Robert, OMS V, 719, discussing the same formula in a funerary inscription from Phrygian Diokleia (Waelkens 1986: 178-9, no.



446), and compare 125 above. For the use of the verb ἀποθεοῦσθαι (line 5: literally 'deified'), see Waelkens 1984: 278, with 301 n.192, and compare e.g. *I Aph2007* 12.908 (II AD), line 7, with Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 195-6; *SEG* 34, 1351 (Karapınar). For another Larcius at Akmoneia, see 108 above. A third Larcius is attested in an unpublished list of Akmoneian delegates to Claros in the mid-second century AD (information courtesy of J.-L. Ferrary).

127. Ahat

Fragment of public document.

Upper part of a marble *bomos*, with decorated upper mouldings. The text presumably continued on a separate block below. Broken right, behind, and at top of left side; complete at bottom. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in a house.

Ht. 0.36; W. 0.49+ (shaft 0.34+); Th. 0.43+ (at top); letters 0.045.

CIG III 3858g; LBW 757; [MAMA VI 149, List 170*]. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/100).

Roman imperial period.

ἀγαθῆ [τύχη]

With good [fortune...]

The stone is probably, but not certainly, identical to that copied by Philippe Le Bas in 1843-4 ('Dans



la cour de la mosquée; couronnement de base, no dimensions given). If so, the stone has since been broken in half; Le Bas read ἀγαθῆ τύχη.

128. Ahat

Fragment of building inscription.

Marble architrave and frieze block. The architrave has a soffit-panel containing two tritons, a fish-tailed bull and a fish-tailed wolf or lion. The frieze is decorated with an *acanthus* scroll, with a lion among the foliage. Broken left and right. Found at Ahat (Akmoneia), in a lane.

Ht. 0.54; W. 1.46+; Th. 0.50 (above), 0.33 (below); letters 0.073-0.078.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/95).

Roman imperial period.

[-] τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τ[-]

... to his/her sweetest homeland...



129. Ahat

Fragment of building inscription.

Marble architrave fragment, re-used as a water pipe.
Broken above, below, left and right. Found at Ahat
(Akmoneia), in the wall of the school garden.
Ht. 0.39+; W. 0.67+; Th. 0.48+; letters 0.065-0.070.
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB
notebook copy; photograph (1955/96).
Roman imperial period.

[-Κλα]ύδιος Γλύκ[ων (?) - -]

[... *Cla*]udius Glyk[on...]



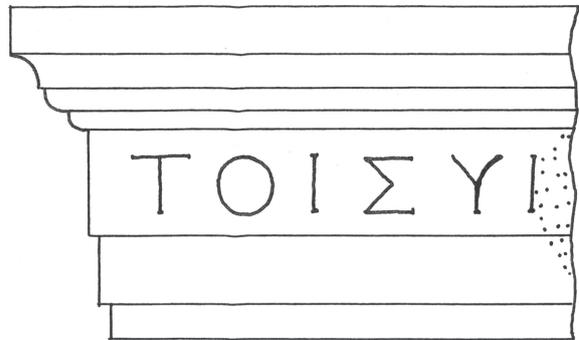
130. Hasan Köyü

Fragment of inscription of uncertain type.

Marble architrave block, moulded on front, back and
left; broken at right. Found at Hasan Köyü (territory of
Akmoneia), in a lane.
Ht. 0.29; W. 0.50+; Th. 0.37 (above), 0.17 (below);
letters 0.049-0.052.
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB
notebook copy (1956/65).
Roman imperial period.

τοῖς υἱοῖς - -]

...for/with his sons...



IX. UPPER TEMBRIS VALLEY

131. Çalköy

Votive *stèle* to Tetraprosopos.

White marble *stèle* with tenon, broken above. In the upper register, four female figures in relief, each dressed in a chiton with a loose *himation* draped over the left arm. Each figure holds an object in both left and right hand: the second figure from the left appears to be carrying a loaf of bread in her right hand and a bird in the left hand; the figures at far left and far right each carry a drooping object, perhaps a bunch of grapes, in their left hand. In the lower register, a mounted male figure in relief, dressed in trousers, tunic, belt, flowing cape and Phrygian cap, holding palm-leaf in his right hand. Found at Çalköy (Zafertepe), in a yard.

Ht. 0.68+; W. 0.35 (shaft), 0.39 (base); Th. 0.07 (shaft), 0.10 (base); letters 0.016-0.022.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/22).

Roman imperial period.

Τρόφιμος Εὐφήμο(υ)
 Τετραπροσώπῳ κατὰ
 ὡς ἐπέτ(α)ξεν ἀνέ(σ)τησα.

Line 1: *upsilon* omitted by the mason. Line 3: *alpha* and *sigma* om. mason.

I, Trophimos son of Euphemos, set this up for Tetraprosopos, just as she ordered.

The ‘four-faced’ goddess is known from two votive monuments from the region of Dorylaion: see *MAMA* V 101 (Keskin: Μητρὶ Τ[ετρ]απροσώπῳ) and *SEG* 14, 782 (museum at Eskişehir: θεᾶ Τετραπροσώπῳ). A third dedication to the goddess was copied by Anderson at the village of Küçükhasan, in eastern Phrygia (Anderson 1899: 303, no. 237: Μητρὶ Τετραπ[ρο]σώπῳ); on the findspot, see further the commentary to 218 below. From the upper Tembris valley, a statuette of four women carrying garlands, standing back-to-back around a pillar, from Beşkariş Hüyük, 13km north-east of Çalköy (Zafertepe), was plausibly identified by Cox and Cameron as a representation of Meter Tetraprosopos (*MAMA* X 53).



However, the closest parallel for this monument comes from the village of Hasanköy, on the territory of Akmoneia 30km south-west of Çalköy. *MAMA* VI 245 is a votive *stèle* to Μητρὶ θεῶν Κασμινῆ, set up by Ammias on behalf of her foster-father Markos. The formula at the end of the inscription (τὴν στήλην ἀνέθηκα κατὰ ὡς ἐπέταξε, lines 3-8) is almost identical to that of the *stèle* from Çalköy; note in particular the use of κατὰ ὡς for καθὼς. Above the inscription, the feet and lower bodies of three female figures are visible; the editors of *MAMA* VI comment ‘part of three female figures, broken away’ (thus also Lochman 1990: 461, n.30: ‘La partie inférieure de trois corps féminins juxtaposés indique très certainement la Triple Hécate’). However, it is clear from the layout of the relief that there must originally have been four female figures depicted here, as on the *stèle* from Çalköy.

It therefore seems extremely likely that the goddess (Μητῆρ) Τετραπρόσωπος of the Çalköy votive *stèle* is identical to the goddess Μητῆρ θεῶν Κασμινῆ of the Hasanköy inscription. A second votive *stèle* from central Phrygia also carries a dedication to Μητρὶ θεῶν Κασμεινῆ (Naour 1985: 45-6; *SEG* 35, 1399). The original

location of this *stèle* is unknown; it was copied by Buresch at Uşak in 1895 (Körte 1902: 32, no.57), and is now in the Louvre (Michon 1906a: 184-7, with Pl. III). The Μητῆρ θεῶν Κασμινῆ also appears in a votive *stèle* from the rural sanctuary at Çavdarlı near Afyon (BE 1967, 587: Νίκη Μητρὶ θεῶν Κασμινῆ εὐχήν; for this sanctuary, see Akok 1965; Robert 1987: 335-40).

It is likely enough (as suggested by Brixhe, BE 2000, 597) that the epithet Κασμ(ε)ινῆ derives from an unattested toponym Κασμ/ος. Κασμος appears as a personal name at Thionta, north of Hierapolis (Ramsay, *Phrygia* 143-4, no.31; Zgusta 1964: 686, Nachtrag [‘unklarer Name’]; Robert, *OMS* VII 563-7), and the female name Κασμεινα is now attested in Phrygia, as the name of a dedicant at the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos at Kurudere, north of Afyon: see Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturhan 1999: 173, no. 242 (Κασμεινα Δεὶ Ἀλσηνωῦ εὐχήν), with p.394.

The rider in the lower register of our *stèle* is depicted wearing a Phrygian cap and carrying in

his right hand a palm branch, resting on his right shoulder. This certainly represents the god Men, who is depicted in exactly this style in four votive reliefs from northern Phrygia, from Nuhören, south of Kütahya, Süpü Ören, south of Eskişehir, Değişören, in the territory of Nakoleia, and an unknown location near Eskişehir (Delemen 1999: 58, nos. 317, 320, 323, 353). Men is also depicted carrying a palm branch alongside Hekate *triformis* on a funerary *stèle* from the upper Tembris valley (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977-9: II 502-3, no. 2089; Lochman 1990: 457).

The village of Çalköy-Zafertepe (*TIB Phrygien* 218, s.v. Çalköy), south of Appia in the upper Tembris valley, should not be confused with the homonymous village of Çalköy in the Gireğiovası, further to the north; for monuments from the more northerly Çalköy, see *MAMA* X 276-9. For other monuments from Çalköy-Zafertepe, see *MAMA* VI 275 and 285 (Waelkens 1986: 119, no. 285); *MAMA* X 156 (doorstone); 132 below (statuette of Hekate *triformis*).

132. Çalköy

Statuette of Hekate *triformis*.

White marble statuette on a low base, depicting three female figures (heads broken off) standing back-to-back, each wearing ankle-length *chiton* and short *peplos* belted at the waist with a reef-knot. Each figure holds flaming torches in left and right hands. Found at Çalköy (Zafertepe), in the same yard as 131.

Ht. 0.57+; W. 0.34 (base); Th. 0.17 (base).

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/23).

Roman imperial period.

The threefold Hekate carrying torches in each hand is depicted on five funerary reliefs from the upper Tembris valley, collected and discussed by Lochman 1990. A very similar statuette, with the three goddesses standing back to back, holding a flaming torch in each hand, was seen by Cox and Cameron at Akça Köy, 14km north of Çalköy (*MAMA* X 171); cf. also *MAMA* VI 402 (Emirdağ). For two further statuettes of this type, one in the Musée Rodin in Paris, the other in



the Louvre, and probably both deriving from the upper Tembris valley, see Lochman 1990: 460-1, n.31. On the cult of Hekate in Phrygia, see further Robert, *Hellenica* X, 115 n.2.

It is likely enough that this statuette derives from the same rural sanctuary as 131 above (dedication to the ‘four-faced’ goddess).

X. PENTAPOLIS

133. Sandıklı

Fragment of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices.

Greyish-white marble block, cut away on the left, chipped above and right. Inscription in two columns, with horizontal guidelines visible in places. Found at Sandıklı (Pentapolis), built into the Üç Kurnalı Fountain, now (2011) in the garden of the Hudai Kaplıcası near Sandıklı.

H. 1.09; W. 0.44+; Th. 0.53; letters 0.006-0.012. Unpublished. Referred to by Lauffer, *PE*, esp. 300-1; Giacchero 1974. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/47); line-drawing by R. K. Pitt. AD 301.

Column I

1 1	[frumenti	K. Mo. i × c]	1 1	wheat	1 army measure	100 denarii
2	[hordei	K. Mo. i × lx]	2	barley	"	60
3	[centenum sive sicale	K. Mo. i × lx]	3	rye	"	60
4	[mili]pis]ti	K. [Mo. i × c]	4	millet, crushed	"	100
5	[mili]ntegri	[K. Mo. i × l]	5	millet, whole	"	50
6	[panicii]	K. Mo. i [×] l]	6	panic grass	"	50
7	[spel]te munde	K. Mo. i × c	7	spelt, hulled	"	100
8	[scal]ndulae sive spelte	K. Mo. i × xxx	8	spelt (scandula)	"	30
9	[fab]e f[r]esae]	K. Mo. i × c	9	beans, crushed	"	100
10	[fa]be non frese	K. Mo. i × lx	10	beans, not crushed	"	60
11	[le]nticle	K. Mo. i × c	11	lentils	"	100
12	[he]r]bilie	K. Mo. i × lxxx	12	chickling vetch	"	80
13	[pi]se fracte	K. Mo. i × c	13	peas, crushed	"	100
14	[pi]se non fracte	K. Mo. i × lx	14	peas, not crushed	"	60
15	[ci]lceris	K. Mo. i × c	15	chickpea	"	100
16	[h]ervi	K. Mo. i × c	16	bitter vetch	"	100
17	[albene	K. Mo. i × xxx	17	oats	"	30
18	[f]laeni Greci	K. Mo. i × c	18	fenugreek	"	100
19	[l]upini crudi	K. Mo. i × lx	19	lupines, raw	"	60
20	[l]upini cocti	S. Ital. i × iiiii	20	lupines, cooked	1 Italian pint	4
21	[f]asioli sicci	K. Mo. i × c	21	kidney beans, dried	1 army measure	100
22	[li]ni seminis	K. Mo. i × cl	22	flaxseed	"	150
23	[ol]rile munde	K. Mo. i × cc	23	rice, cleaned	"	200
24	[ti]sane munde	K. Mo. i × c	24	barley grits, cleaned	"	100
25	[al]lice munde	K. Mo. i × cc	25	spelt grits, cleaned	"	200
26	[ses]lami	K. Mo. i × cc	26	sesame	"	200
27	[fa]l]eni seminis	K. Mo. i × xxx	27	hay seed	"	30
28	[Ma]l]dice seminis	K. Mo. i × cl	28	alfalfa seed	"	150
29	[ca]l]nabis seminis	K. Mo. i × lxxx	29	hemp seed	"	80
30	[vi]cie sicce	K. Mo. i × lxxx	30	vetch, dried	"	80
31	[pa]paveris	K. Mo. i × cl	31	poppy	"	150
32	[cy]mini mundi	K. Mo. i × cc	32	cumin, cleaned	"	200
33	[se]minis rafanini	K. Mo. i × <c>l	33	radish seed	"	150
34	[si]l]naps	K. Mo. i × cl	34	mustard	"	150
35	[si]l]naps confecte	S. <Ital.> i × viiii	35	mustard, prepared	1 Italian pint	8

2	1	[Ite]m vini Piccni	S. Ital. i x xxx	2	1	Likewise, Picene wine	1 Italian pint	30
	2	[Ti]bortini	S. Ital. i x xxx		2	Tiburtine	"	30
	3	[Sa]bini	S. Ital. i x xxx		3	Sabine	"	30
	4	[A]minnei	S. Ital. i x xxx		4	Aminean	"	30
	5	[Sa]liti	S. Ital. i x xxx		5	Setine	"	30
	6	[Su]rrentini	S. Ital. i x xxx		6	Surrentine	"	30
	7	[Fa]lerni	S. Ital. i x xxx		7	Falernian	"	30
	8	[item] vini veteris			8	likewise, mature wine,		
		[pr]imi gustus	S. Ital. i x xxiii			first quality	"	24
	9	[vin]i veteris seq(uentis) gu(stus) S. <Ital. > i x xvi			9	mature wine, second quality	"	16
	10	[vin]i rustici	S. Ital. i x viii		10	rustic wine	"	8
	11	[cer]vesiae sive cami	S. It. i x iiiii		11	beer, cervesia or camum	"	4
	12	[zyt]hi	S. It. i x i<i>		12	zythi, malt beer	"	2
	13	[item] carveni Meonii	S. It. i x xxx		13	likewise, Maeonian wine	"	30
	14	[chr]usattici	S. It. i x xxiii		14	chrysattic wine	"	24
	15	[de]clocti	S. It. i x xvi		15	must, boiled down	"	16
	16	[de]friti	S. It. i x xx		16	must, boiled down to syrup	"	20
	17	[con]diti	S. It. i x xxiii		17	spiced wine	"	24
	18	[aps]inthii	S. It. i x xx		18	wine with wormwood	"	20
	19	[rhos]lati	S. It. i x xx		19	rose wine	"	20
3	1	[Item] olei		3	1	Likewise, for oil		
	1a	[olei] floris	S. It. i x xl		1a	young olive oil	1 Italian pint	40
	2	[olei] s[e]quentis	S. It. i x xxiii		2	oil, second quality	"	24
	3	[olei] c[li]bari	S. It. i x xii		3	oil, ordinary	"	12
	4	[olei] r[af]anini	S. It. i x viii		4	oil from radish seeds	"	8
	5	[acet]i	S. It. i x vi		5	vinegar	"	6
	6	[li]qua[m]inis p[ri]mi	S. It. i x xvi		6	fish sauce, first quality	"	16
	7	[li]qua[m]inis secu[nd]i	S. It. i x xii		7	fish sauce, second quality	"	12
	8	[salis]	K. Mo. i x c		8	salt	1 army measure	100
	9	[salis] conditi	S. It. i x viii		9	spiced salt	1 Italian pint	8
	10	[mellis] optimi	S. It. i x xl		10	honey, best quality	"	40
	11	[mellis] secundi	S. It. i x xxi[iii]		11	honey, second quality	"	24
	12	[mellis] foenicini	S. It. i x viii		12	Phoenician (date) honey	"	8
4	1	[Item] carnis		4	1	Likewise, for meat		
	1a	[carni]s porcine	It. po. i x xii		1a	pork	1 Italian pound	12
	2	[carni]s bubule	It. po. i x viii		2	beef	"	8
	3	[carni]s caprine sive vac. verbecine	It. po. i x viii		3	goat's meat or mutton	"	8
	4	[bul]bae	It. po. i x xxiii		4	sow's womb	"	24
	5	[sumi]nis	It. po. i x xx		5	sow's udder	"	20
	6	[fici]ati optimi	It. po. i x xvi		6	liver of swine, best quality	"	16
	7	[larid]i opt[i]mi	It. po. i x xvi		7	pork, salted, best quality	"	16
	8	[per]nale optima[e] petaso- [nis] sive [M]enapicae			8	ham, best quality, Menapic		
		[vel] Ce[r]ditane	It. po. i x xx			or Cerritane,	"	20
	9	[Marsic]lae	It. po. i x xx		9	Marsic	"	20

Column II

10	[adipis recentis	It. po. i × xii]	10	pork fat, fresh	1 Italian pound	12
11	[axungiae	It. po. i × xii]	11	ointment of pork fat	"	12
12	[ungellas quattuor et aqualic]- [ulum] p[re]t[er]io, quo car]- [o] distrah[itur]		12	The four feet and the stomach are sold at the same price as the flesh.		
13	isicium porc[inum]	unciae i × ii]	13	pork sausage	1 ounce	2
14	isicia bubul[a]	It. po. i × x]	14	beef sausage	1 Italian pound	10
15	Lucanicarum	[It. po. i × xvi]	15	Lucanian pork sausage	"	16
16	Lucanicarum [bubula-] vac. rum	It. [po. i × x]	16	Lucanian beef sausage	"	10
17	fasianus past[us]	× ccl]	17	pheasant, fattened		250
18	fasianus agre[s]tis	× cxxv]	18	pheasant, wild		125
19	fasiana pasta	[× cc]	19	hen pheasant, fattened		200
20	fasiana non past[a]	× c]	20	hen pheasant, not fattened		100
21	anser pastus	[× cc]	21	goose, fattened		200
22	anser n(on) pastus	[× c]	22	goose, not fattened		100
23	pullorum	par i [× lx]	23	chickens	1 pair	60
24	pe<r>dix	un[us] [× xxx]	24	partridge	1	30
25	turtur pingu<i>s	[sing(ulus) × xvi]	25	turtledove, plump	1	16
26	turtur agre[s]tis	unus × xii]	26	turtledove, wild	1	12
27	turdorum	decuria [× lx]	27	thrushes	10	60
28	palumborum	par × [xx]	28	wood pigeons	pair	20
29	columbinorum	par × [xxiii]	29	pigeons	pair	24
30	attagena	× xx	30	francolin		20
31	anatum	par × xl	31	ducks	pair	40
32	lepus	× cl	32	hare		150
33	cuniculus	× xl	33	rabbit		40
34	ampeliones ping(ues)	no. x × [xl]	34	ampeliones, plump	10	40
35	agrestes	no. x × x[x]	35	wild	10	20
36	ficedulae	no. x × xl	36	figpeckers	10	40
37	passeres	no. x × x[vi]	37	sparrows	10	16
38	glires	no. x × xl	38	dormice	10	40
39	pavus masculus	× ccc	39	peacock		300
40	femina	× cc	40	peahen		200
41	coturnices	no. x × xx	41	quails	10	20
42	sturni	no. x × xx	42	starlings	10	20
43	aprunae	It. po. i × xvi]	43	boar meat	1 Italian pound	16
44	cervinae	It. po. i × xi[i]	44	venison	"	12
45	dorci sive capreae vel vac. dammae	It. po. i × x[ii]	45	gazelle or wild goat or roe meat	"	12
46	porcelli lactantes vac.	in po. i × xvi]	46	suckling pig	for 1 pound	16
47	agnus	in po. i × xii]	47	lamb	"	12
48	haedus	in po. i × xii]	48	kid meat	"	12
49	sebi	It. po. i × vi]	49	suet, beef or mutton	1 Italian pound	6
50	buturi	It. po. i × xvi]	50	butter	"	16

5	1	Item piscis		5	1	Likewise fish			
	1a	piscis aspratilis ma- vac. rini	It. po. i x xxiii[i]		1a	sea fish with rough scales	1 Italian pound	24	
	2	piscis secundi	It. po. i x [xvi]		2	sea fish, second quality	"	16	
	3	pis(cis) flubialis optimi vac.	It. po. i x xii		3	river fish, best quality	"	12	
	4	piscis secu(nda) flub(ialis)	< It. > po. [i] x vi[ii]		4	river fish, second quality	"	8	
	5	piscis salsi	It. po. i x vi		5	fish, salted	"	6	
	6	ostriae	no. c x c		6	oysters	100	100	
	7	echini	no. c x l		7	sea urchins	100	50	
	8	echini recentis pur- vac. gati	S. It. i x l		8	fresh sea urchins, cleaned	1 Italian pint	50	
	9	echini salsi	S. It. i x c		9	sea urchins, salted	1 Italian pint	100	
	10	sphonduli marini vac.	num. c x l		10	sea mussels		100	50
	11	<casei sicci	It. po. i x xii>		11	cheese, dried	1 Italian pound	12	
	12	<sardae sive sardinae	It. po. i x xvi>		12	sardines	1 Italian pound	16	
6	1	<Item cardus maiores	nu. v x x>	6	1	Likewise artichokes, large	5	10	
	2	<sphonduli	nu. x x vi>		2	hearts of artichokes	10	6	
	3	intiba optim(a)	nu. x x x		3	endive, best quality	10	10	
	4	sequentia	nu. x x iiiii		4	endive, second quality	10	4	
	5	malbae maxi(mae)	nu. v x iiiii		5	mallow, largest size	5	4	
	6	malbae seq(uentes)	nu. x x iiiii		6	mallow, smaller	10	4	
	7	lactucaae opt(imae)	nu. v x iiiii		7	lettuce, best quality	5	4	
	8	sequentes	nu. x x iiiii		8	lettuce, second quality	10	4	
	9	coliculi opt(im)i	nu. v x iiiii		9	cabbage, best quality	5	4	
	10	sequentes	nu. x x iiiii		10	cabbage, second quality	10	4	
	11	cumae opt(imae)	fasce(m) i x iii[i]		11	cabbage sprouts, best quality	1 bunch	4	
	12	porri maximi	nu. x x i[iii]		12	leeks, largest size	10	4	
	13	sequentes	nu. xx x iii[i]		13	smaller	20	4	
	14	betae m<a>xime	nu. v x iii[i]		14	beets, largest	5	4	
	15	sequent[es]	nu. x x ii[ii]		15	smaller	10	4	

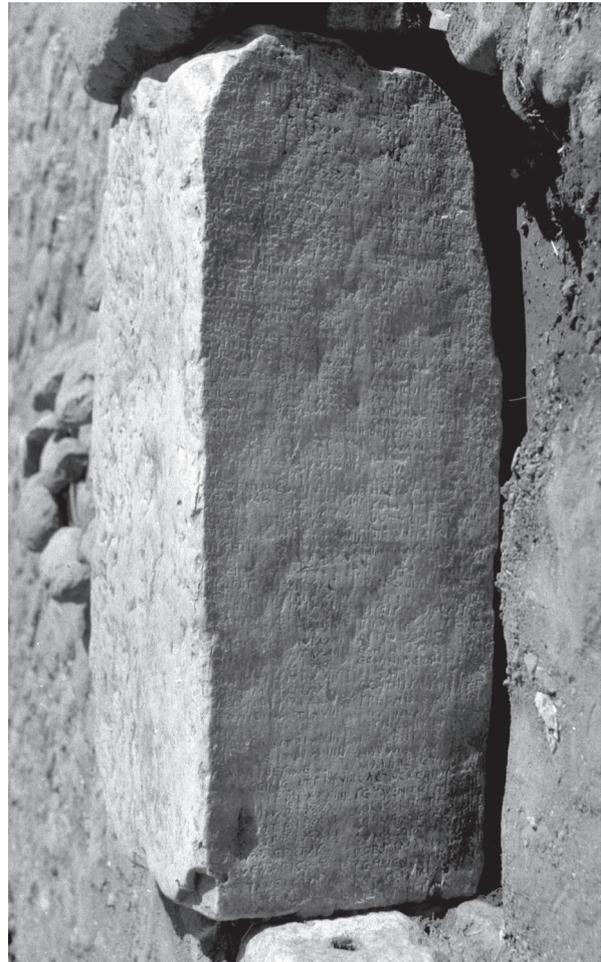
(Translation adapted from Graser 1940.)

The chapter- and line-numbering of this edition, as well as the referencing of other Greek and Latin copies, follows that of Lauffer, *PE*, unless otherwise noted. References to the Aphrodisias text are to M. H. Crawford, *The Aphrodisias copy of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices* (forthcoming). Col. I, 1. 17 [a]bene for *avenae*. Col. I, 1. 23 [o]rile for *oryzae* or *orizae*, from $\delta\rho\upsilon\zeta\eta\varsigma$ of the Greek copies; [oryz]ae Stratonikeia, [oryza]e mun[dae] Ptolemais X. Col. I, 1. 33 *c(entum)* omitted in error. Col. I, 1. 35 *Ital(icum)* omitted, probably because of crowding in the line. Col. I, 2. 9 *Ital.* omitted. Col. I, 2. 12 *duobus* Strat., $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ [bus] Aphrodisias; β' in Greek copies at Aigeira I, Lebadeia V, and Megara III. Col. I, 3. 3 *duodecim* Strat. (Mommsen, *CIL* III 2 p.804), but Lauffer and Giacchero have *viginti quat[uaor]* copied in error from the line above; $\iota\beta'$ in Greek copies at Aigeira I and Lebadeia V. Col. I, 4. 8 *Venapicae* lapis; *Cerditane* for *Cerritanae*.

Col. II, 4. 22 *non* is abbreviated as *N* with a horizontal line above it. Col. II, 4. 24 *pedix* lapis. Col. II, 4. 25]r *singul[--]s* Bargylia, *turtur singul[ari]s* Lauffer from Strat., *turtor pingu(i)s* Giacchero from Sandıklı, but Crawford informs me *per ep.* that Stratonikeia actually reads *turtur [pinguis singu]lus*. The Sandıklı copy has very little room in this line, and *singulus* may have been omitted even in abbreviated form, or perhaps represented by *i*. Col. II, 4. 34 [am]pe[liones singulares] Strat., which should now be restored [am]pe[liones pingues]; *ping(ues)* Giacchero, from the Sandıklı copy. Col. II, 5. 1 The first letter of *item* is written to the left of the column, extending above and below the line, as a paragraph mark. Col. II, 5. 4 *It.* omitted because of lack of space. Col. II, 5. 11 – 6. 2 omitted in error; the cutter presumably looked back at his copy and took *sphonduli* in 5. 10 to be that of 6. 2, and continued from that point. Col. II, 6. 14 *mxime* lapis.

The Prices Edict is perhaps the largest inscription in the Graeco-Roman world, and certainly its most complicated epigraphic puzzle, being represented by many hundreds of fragments from over 40 different sites. For an introduction to the Edict and the history of its discovery, see Crawford 2002; Lauffer, *PE*, remains the most useful consolidated text and commentary, but see also Giacchero 1974, who includes a volume of images. Corcoran 2000 devotes a chapter to the background of the Edict (205-33). Ballance provided notes on the text of the Sandıklı fragment to S. Lauffer for his collated text of the Prices Edict, which includes a (not entirely accurate) list of divergences between this and other copies at 300-1 (taken over in the edition of Giacchero 1974).

After a lengthy preamble detailing Diocletian's reasons for implementing his inflation-curbing measures, there follows a list of some 1500 commodities with the maximum price for which each item could be sold. Although every city was ordered to implement the measure, relatively few seem to have inscribed the text in permanent form, and those cities fall into the territories of only four governors in the East: Caria-Phrygia, Egypt, Achaia, Crete and Cyrenaica (probably combined). (This discounts the fragments found at Pettorano, which probably migrated from Achaia, and those found at Samos and Odessos, which may well have travelled from Asia Minor: see Crawford 2002: 147 n.6; 156 n.27; 163; Reynolds and Crawford 1975: 162-3.) The local governor in Caria-Phrygia, Fulvius Asticus, is known from a decree appended to the Aizanoi copy of the Edict, in which he explained in Greek what the Edict was about (not entirely accurately: see Reynolds and Crawford 1975; Corcoran 2000: 179). The only governor to translate the whole edict into the local Greek was the governor of Achaia (perhaps Lucius Sul(picius?) Paulus: Davenport 2013: 234). In Phrygia, fragments of four copies of the Edict have so far been identified: Aizanoi, Eumeneia, Synnada, and our inscription from modern Sandıklı, which was probably brought there



from the most important city of the Pentapolis, Eukarpia (Koçhisar). The dimensions of the block suggest that the Eukarpia copy of the Edict was inscribed on an already existing large public building, as was certainly the case at Aizanoi (inscribed on the outer wall of the *macellum*), Aphrodisias (covering the façade of the basilica), and Stratonikeia (on an outer wall of the *bouleuterion*).

The surviving fragment of the Edict from Sandıklı includes the very opening of the list of prices down to the start of the sixth chapter, and so provides the maximum prices a trader could charge for grains, wines, oil, meat, fish, and vegetables; for discussion of the individual commodities, see Lauffer, *PE*: 213-93. Damage has removed the first lines of the block, which may have included above both columns the introduction '*quae pretia*

singularum specierum excedere nemini licitum sit, infra ostenditur, surviving in the Latin copies of Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia, and in Greek at Pharae and Aigeira. In general, the layout of text and prices in the Sandıklı copy is more cramped and poorly spaced than elsewhere, with numerous errors of spelling and omission throughout. As with the Aphrodisias copy, the cutter often writes *-e* for *-ae* and *b* for *v* (along with other errors), perhaps indicating a Greek-speaking cutter (Erim and Reynolds 1970: 123).

Abbreviations are plentiful, if inconsistent, in this copy, many of them the same as those of the Aphrodisias copy: *K* with a horizontal line through the middle for *kastrensis*, *M* with a small *o* hovering above for *modius*, *P* with a small *o* hovering above for *pondus*, *S* with a horizontal line through the middle for *sextarius*, and an *X* with a horizontal line through the middle for *denarius*. *Numero* is first represented by *N* with a small *o* above, then by *NVM* and finally by *N* with a small *v* hovering above. Prices are given as Roman numerals, as at Synnada and Aizanoi, rather than being written out.

Towards the end of Column II, at the start of chapter 5, a 2.5cm vertical stroke is preserved before the start of the line; this may be the first letter of *item*, but certainly marks the beginning of a new chapter. No other chapter-beginning survives on the Sandıklı copy, but in other copies paragraphs are also indicated with an indented first line, as at Stratonikeia.

(I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Peter Thonemann for asking me to prepare this edition, and to the staff at CSAD for facilitating work on the Ballance archive. For Diocletian-hunting expeditions in Greece and Turkey, and for access to his forthcoming edition of the Aphrodisias copy of the Edict, I warmly thank Prof. Michael Crawford. R. K. Pitt.)

Fragment of a Latin inscription from Pentapolis, showing two columns of text with various abbreviations and Roman numerals. The text is highly fragmented and difficult to decipher, but includes words like 'FASIANUS', 'ANFER', 'PVLORVM', 'PEDI', 'TVRTVR', 'TVRTVRAS', 'TVRDO', 'PALVMBORVM', 'COLUMBINORVM', 'ATTAS', 'ANATVM', 'LEPV', 'CVNICV', 'AMPELION', 'ASRETER', 'FICEDV', 'PASSER', 'SLIRE', 'PANNI', 'FEMINA', 'COTVRNICE', 'STVRN', 'APRVNA', 'CERVINA', 'DORCIV', 'DAMMAE', 'FORCIV', 'ASIN', 'HAEDV', 'REI', 'BYTVRI', 'TEMP', 'PISCIV', 'PISCIV', 'PISCIV', 'PISCIV', 'ECHINI', 'ECHINI', 'SATI', 'ECHINI', 'PHON', 'NIF', 'INTIBA', 'RECVNTIA', 'MALB', 'SCAPRINE', 'VERBECINE', 'IS', 'OPT', 'IOPT', 'EOPT', 'EVEN', 'RAITANE', 'VE'.

135. Menteş

Honorific statue-base for Nerva with Latin inscription.

Plain limestone block, buried below. Found at Menteş (territory of Stektorion), low down in the west corner of the *tekke* of Menteş-Baba.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.58; Th. 0.55; letters 0.042-0.055.

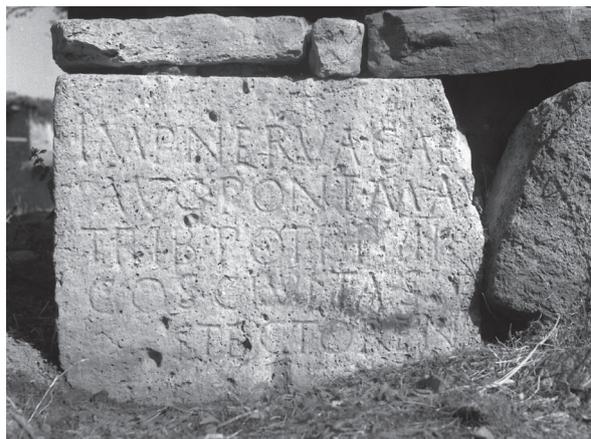
Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 704, no. 640; [CIL III 12238]. Edition based on drawing; squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/76).

AD 97 (imperial titles).

Imp(eratori) Nerva(e) Cae[s](ari)
 Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo)
 trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriae) III
 co(n)s(uli) civitas
 5 vac. Stectoren(orum) [vac.]
 vac.

Line 1: CAES Ramsay.

The city of the Stektorenoi, to Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, vested with the tribunician power, pater patriae, consul for the third time.



As Ramsay correctly notes, the sequence *p(atri) p(atriae) III cos* in lines 3-4 must be an error for *cos III p(atri) p(atriae)*. The inscription therefore dates between January and September AD 97 (Kienast 1996: 120).

On the basis of this inscription, Ramsay identified Stektorion with the ancient site at Kocahüyük, three kilometres NE of Menteş (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 689). The attribution is probable, though not absolutely certain: cf. Habicht 1975: 87; *TIB Phrygien* 389, s.v. Stektorion.

136. Karasandıklı

Honorific statue-base for Septimius Severus.

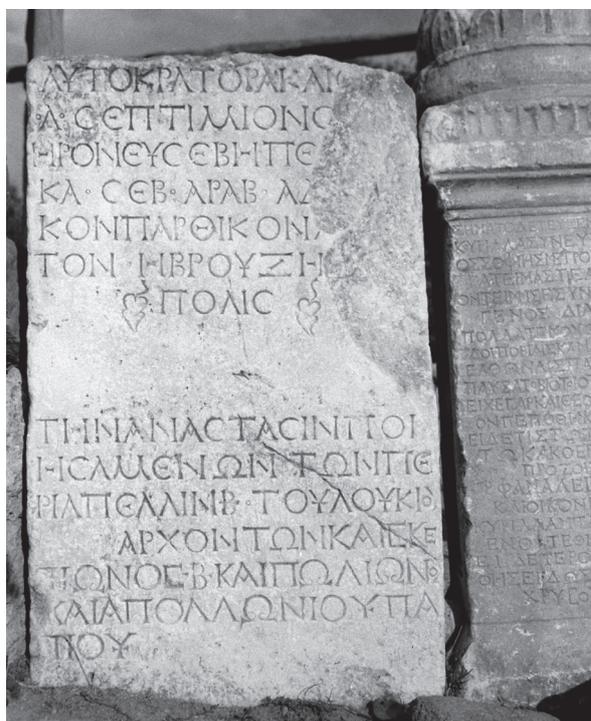
Greyish-white marble block, unmoulded. Found at Karasandıklı (Brouzos?), outside the mosque.

Ht. 0.90; W. 0.50; Th. 0.50; letters 0.030.

Ramsay 1882: 514-5, no. 1; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 700, no. 634; *IGR* IV 681]. Edition based on partial squeeze (ll. 5-7); line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/38).

AD 198-210 (imperial titles).

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα]
 Λ(εύκιον) · Σεπτίμιον Σ[εου]-
 ἦρον Εὐσεβῆ Περτίνα]-
 κα · Σεβ(αστὸν) · Ἀραβ(ικὸν) · Ἀδ[ιαβηνι]-
 5 κὸν Παρθικὸν Μ[έγισ]-
 του · ἡ Βρουζηνῶν]
 ♡ πόλις ♡
 vac.



τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποι-
 ησαμένων τῶν πε-
 10 ρὶ Ἀπέλλιν β' · τοῦ Λουκίου
vac. ἀρχόντων καὶ Σκε-
 πίωνος β' καὶ Πωλίωνος
 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Πα-
 πίου.

Line 1: omitted by R(amsay). Line 10: Ἀπέλλιν (sic) R. 1882; Ἀπέλλ[η]ν (sic) R. Phrygia. Lines 11-12: Σκε[πι]ώνος R. 1882; Σκ[ει]πίωνος (sic) R. Phrygia. Lines 13-14: Πά|που R.

The city of the Brouzenoi (honoured) Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus. The board of archontes over whom Apellis son of Apellis, grandson of Lucius presided were responsible for the erection (of the statue) <and Scipio son of Scipio and Pollio and Apollonios Papias>.

This monument, a statue base of the emperor Septimius Severus, constitutes our only evidence for the location of Brouzos at Kara Sandıklı (Ramsay 1882: 503-5; *TIB Phrygien* 215; Cohen 1995: 292-3). The emperor's titlature dates the monument to the period AD 198-210 (Kienast 1996: 156-8).

The erection of the statue was the responsibility of the college of *archontes* at Brouzos, described as τῶν περὶ Ἀπέλλιν β' τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων (lines 9-11). For the phrase οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἄρχοντες as a means of denoting the archon-college in Phrygia, compare e.g. *IGR IV 686* (Sebaste); *IGR IV 567* (Aizanoi); for the expression οἱ περὶ + acc., Dow 1960: 395-7. At Synnada and Alia, the president of the archon-college was regularly known as the πρῶτος ἄρχων, and the board was given the fuller title of οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα πρῶτον ἄρχοντα ἄρχοντες: *MAMA IV 59, 63; MAMA VI 378; SEG 28, 1209* (all Synnada); *SEG 41, 1174* (Alia). To all appearances, the archon-college at Brouzos consisted of at least four men, as at the neighbouring cities of Orkistos (*MAMA*

VII 304) and Otrous (*IGR IV 693*): boards of at least five men are attested at both Apameia-Kelainai (*IGR IV 792*) and Synnada (*IGR IV 704*). The word ἀρχόντων in line 11 is placed at the centre of the line and preceded by a *vacat*, suggesting that the inscription originally ended here. Three other members of the board of *archontes* subsequently insisted that their names should also appear on the monument, presumably since they had helped pay for the statue (Ramsay, *Phrygia II 700*); their names are inscribed in a different hand. For a parallel, cf. Robert, *Hellenica VII, 197-205*, with *BE 1965, 210*: a statue has been set up by a professional association at Tarsos 'under the board of *grammateis* over whom Neon presided, for the second time' (ἐπὶ γραμματέων τῶν περὶ Νέωνα τὸ β', lines 14-15); the text then goes on, unusually, to name all the other members of the board (καὶ Λούκιον τὸ β' καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ β' καὶ Μυραγένην τὸ β', lines 15-16); the text concludes by recording that 'the same *grammateis* dedicated the *statio* to the sacred association from their own funds' (οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς τὴν στατίωνα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶ ἱερῶ συνεργίῳ, lines 16-17). Although the name of the presiding *grammateus* alone would have sufficed as a dating mechanism, since the whole board of *grammateis* had contributed financially, all members wanted their names to appear on the *stela*; compare 103 above (Akmoneia).

The name of the president of the board of *archontes*, Ἀπέλλιν (Masson, *OGS III 168-70*) is exceptionally rare in the Roman imperial period. but the reading is not in doubt. In the Hellenistic period, the name is attested at Priene (*I.Priene 4*), Philippoi (*LGPN IV, s.v.*), and Hierapolis in Syria (*SEG 48, 1861*). The phonetic confusion Σκεπίων (lines 11-12) for Latin *Scipio* is well-attested in Anatolian epigraphy in the Roman imperial period. see Brixhe 1987: 54 (*Δομετία, ὠρδεναρίου, Βρεττανικόν* etc.). For the orthography of the name Πωλίων, see the commentary to 100 above (Akmoneia). For the name Παπίας (not, as Ramsay, Παπας), see Zgusta 1964: 409-12.

137. Oda Köyü

Funerary column with sundial.

Grey-white crystalline marble column, broken below and behind, buried above. Found at Oda Köyü, in a field 300 m. SW of the village.

Ht. 0.95+; diameter 0.35; letters 0.019-0.022.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/36).

Second century AD.

Ἄτταλικὸς Ἄττ[ά]λῳ
καὶ Ἀμμία τοῖς γο-
νεύσι καὶ Ἀουιδίῳ καὶ
Ἀκύλα τοῖς ἀδελ-
5 φοῖς καὶ Ἀττάλῳ ἀνε-
ψιῶ εὐσεβείας τε καὶ
μνήμης χάριν τὸν κίο-
να σὺν τῷ ὠρολόγιῳ
καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον.

Attalikos (set up) the column with the sundial and the memorial to Attalos and Ammia, his parents, and to Avidius and Aquila, his brothers, and to Attalos, his cousin, as an act of piety and remembrance.

This funerary monument consists of a marble column (κίων, lines 7-8), originally supporting a sundial (ὠρολόγιον, line 8). For sundials in funerary contexts, see Wiemer 1998 (*SEG* 48, 1558); *I.Ephesos* 3214.15, with Kubińska 1968: 125-6; Petron. *Sat.* 71. For a catalogue of inscribed sundials, see Gibbs 1976: 85-8 (with Wilhelm, *Inscriftenkunde* I, 753-66; Rehm, *RE* VIII [1913] cols 2416-33); for non-funerary dedications of sundials in Asia Minor, see e.g. *I.Asklepieion* 103, *I.Tralleis* 162.



The name Ἄτταλικός is very rare, and seems to be confined to the very late Hellenistic and Imperial periods: it appears once only in Phrygia, at Eumeneia (*SEG* 28, 1154); in Lydia, at Daldis (*TAM* V 1, 633) and Philadelphieia (*RPC* I 3025-6); in Aiolis, at Myrina (*SEG* 38, 1248). It is tempting here to regard the name as a patronymic adjective ('son of Attalos'), but I know no parallels for the suffix -ικός being used in this sense; when attached to personal names, the suffix generally indicates membership of a group associated with an individual, not his descendants (Chantraine 1956: 104-5, 150-1). It is, however, very striking that all known instances of the name seem to derive from the territory of the former Attalid kingdom (188-133 BC), ἡ Ἄτταλικὴ βασιλεία (*SEG* 39, 1244: Claros).

138. Otluk

Funerary doorstone of Philodespotos.

Marble doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 162, Typ C Akmonia 1). Single door with four large panels; between upper and lower panels, a pair of small panels with concave sides (form no. 2) decorated with lozenges and nails at both ends. In upper left panel, spindle and distaff; in upper right panel, circular lock-plate; in lower left panel, door-knocker (or mirror?); in lower right panel, comb (?). Fluted pilasters to right and left; capitals decorated with palmettes. The upper part of the door is defaced by a circular hole; probable frame above the door. Archivolt with three fascias; in the *tympanum*, relief of man leading horse, deliberately defaced. Above the archivolt, corner and central (?) palmettes, *diptychon* at left. Inscription on the outer and middle fascias of the archivolt, continuing onto the frames above the pilasters and possibly on the *tympanum* or the frame above the door. Found at Otluk, in a wall between the upper and lower villages; said to derive from Yanıkören. Now (2011) situated in the garden of the Hudai Kaplicasi near Sandıklı.

Ht. 1.31; W. 0.63; Th. 0.22-0.27; letters 0.012-0.016.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1955/31).

c. AD 175-250 (doorstone type).



Ἀσίννιος [-^{c.5-6}-]λυτος [καὶ Ἀχι]λλεύς κ[αὶ] ἡ χρηστὴ αὐτῶν τεκούσα
 τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Φιλοδέσποτῳ, ἐπεὶ ἠδέως μετὰ αὐτοῦ
 ἔζησε [ἔτεσι -----] Αἶλας
 [-]ΥΣΠΡΟ[-] -----] Ἰτῶν Χρη
 5 ΝΠΙΛΤ[-] -----] ΑΛΩ[-]

*Asinius [...]*lytos and *Achilleus* and their good mother, to her own sir husband
Philodespotos, since she lived happily with him for [... years...].

The monument, recorded by Ballance at Otluk, now (2011) situated in the garden of the Hudai Kaplicasi near Sandıklı, is said to have been brought from nearby Yanıkören (see also 153 below). The underlined letters depend on a copy made between 1930 and 1954 by Calder's friend Habip Zebir, a tinker living at Sandıklı (Calder 1956: 49), who saw the stone when it was still in use as a well-head.

For the spelling Ἀσίννιος with a geminate *nu*, see Salomies 2007: 66. His *cognomen* could be restored [Ἰππό]λυτος (the name is attested in

Phrygia: *MAMA* IV 68 [Synnada]), were it not that the name seems a little short for the lacuna. For τεκούσα = 'mother', see the commentary to 123 above (Akmoneia). After τεκούσα, we would expect the woman's name; this may have been inscribed on the *abacus* of the right-hand pilaster (compare the layout of two other doorstones of this type from Akmoneia, *MAMA* VI 288 [Waelkens 1986: 173, no.434] and 118 above) or in the *tympanum*, although no trace of it is visible (compare 116 above). Φιλοδέσποτος is a typical slave name (Robert 1969: 357-8). The

man was probably a freedman; cf. *MAMA* IV 336 (Eumeneia), where an ἀπελεύθερος is described as φιλοδέσποτος, 'master-loving'.

The expression τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ is also attested in *SEG* 28, 1041 (Nikomedeia); in both cases, the phrase is simply an expression of courtesy ('sir husband'), synonymous with τῷ κυρίῳ ἀνδρὶ (Cameron 1939: 43; Robert, *OMS* III, 1607-11; *BE* 1974, 573, 593). For the phrase

ἡδέως ζῆν or συμβιοῦν as a means of describing a happy marriage, often of a stated number of years (Robert, *OMS* V, 314-5), cf. *IGUR* II 786, συνβίῳ κλυκυτάτῳ, μεθ' οὗ ἔζησα ἡδέως ἔτεσι ἰδ'; *TAM* V 1, 717 (Julia Gordos), τὴν γλυκυτάτην γυναῖκα συνβιώσασαν ἔτεσι λζ' ἀμάχως, ἡδέως, εὐσεβῶς; Körte 1900: 427, no.44 (Dorylaion), γυναικὶ γλυκυτάτῃ συνζή[σάσῃ] ἔτη · κ' · ἡδέως καὶ [ἀμ]έμπτως.

139. Emirhisar

Funerary doorstone of Aur. Alexandros and family.

White marble doorstone, broken below (Waelkens 1986: 189, Typ J Dokimeion 4). Single door, with only uppermost pair of door-panels surviving, each framed with Lesbian *cyma*; the central field of each panel was left unfinished. Below the main door-panels, shallow rectangular panels with spiral relief decoration. Doorframe with fascia, Lesbian *cyma* and plain fillet, with broad 'ears' at upper left and right; the outermost part of the doorframe was left unfinished. High cornice

above, with broad upper panel, concave moulding and plain strips. Inscription on upper panel (lines 1-5), continuing onto upper frame of door (line 6) and the door itself (line 7). Found at Emirhisar (Eukarpia), in the porch of a house at the east end of the village; said to have been dug up at the west end of the village.

Ht. 0.55+; W. 0.65; Th. 0.17-0.24; letters 0.011-0.015.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeezes; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/33).

AD 255/6 (Year 340 of Sullan era).

[vac. ἔτο]υς · τμ' · Αὐρ(ήλιος) · Ἀλέξανδρος · Γαΐου Εὐκαρπεύ[ς]
 [β]ουλευτῆς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ (Αὐρηλία Ζωτικὴ
 Δαμᾶ κατεσκεύασαν τὸ μνημεῖον ζῶντες ἑαυ-
 τοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν· εἴ τις δὲ ἢ ἐκ τῆς
 5 συγγενείας ἢ ἕτερον θάψῃ ἢ κακῶς ποιήσῃ τῷ
 μνημείῳ τούτῳ, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· εἰρή[νη]
 τοῖς παροδείταις. vac.

Line 2: ΛΥΡΗΛΙΑ lapis.

Year 340. Aur(elius) Alexandros, son of Gaius, councillor of Eukarpia, and his wife Aurelia Zotike, daughter of Damas, constructed the tomb while still living for themselves and their children; but if anyone, even from our family, inters anyone else or harms the tomb, he shall have to reckon with God. Peace to passers-by.

In lines 1-2, Alexandros is described as Εὐκαρπεύς βουλευτής, 'councillor of Eukarpia'; for the combination of the ethnic with the title of



βουλευτής, cf. 38 above (Eumeneia); Thonemann 2007: 457. For the 'Eumeneian formula' in line 6, cf. 36 above (Eumeneia). Alexandros and his wife were Jews or Christians: for Christian councillors at Eumeneia, see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 423. The Christian salutation formula εἰρήνη τοῖς παροδείταις is characteristic of the Pentapolis: cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 719, no. 654 (Macil: εἰρήνη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς); 720, no. 655 (Macil: εἰρήνη πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελ[φότη]τι); 721, no. 656 (Karadirek: εἰρήνη παράγουσιν καὶ μνησκομένοις περὶ ἡμῶν); 730, no. 658 (Sandikli: εἰρήνη τοῖς παράγουσιν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ).

For the extension of the interdiction on burial to other members of the family (lines 4-6), see Robert, *OMS* II, 1200-1, and especially Feissel 1980: 462-3, discussing *SEG* 29, 250 (Attica), ὃς ἂν δὲ οἰώποτε χρόνῳ ἢ τρόπῳ ἐπι[χ]ιρήση θε[ί]νε ξένου ἢ ἐντόπιου ἢ συγγενῆ αὐτῆς ἔχη πρὸς [τὸ]ν [Θ]εόν, κτλ. (citing parallels from Concordia, Georgia, and Olympos in Lykia); cf. also *TAM* III 436 (Termessos), ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ [ἐξέσ]τε ἀνῦξε ἢ ἐπιθάψει τινὰ μήτε ἀπὸ

συγγενίας τινά; *TAM* III 425, οὐκ ἐξέσται δὲ οὔτε ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐξωτικῶ οὔτε τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐπιθάψαι τινά; *CIG* 1997e (Macedonia), εἰ μὲτὰ τὸ ἐμὲ τεθνάναι εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τολμήσῃ ἕτερος ἀνοιξάει (ἢ) ἀπὸ συγγενείας ἕτερον σῶμα θέλη καταθέσθαι; *SEG* 6, 263 (Bozhüyük, territory of Eumeneia), εἰς ὃ μνημεῖον ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται, οὐδὲ συγγενῆς οὐδὲ ἐξωτικός, πλέον Παπίας ὁ ἐπιγράψας ἢ τέκνον αὐτοῦ; *I.Iasos* 393, τούτου δὲ ἕτερος οὐδεὶς μεθέξει οὐ[τ]ε συγγενεύς μου οὔτε ἐξωτικός τις εἰ μὴ τι ἐπερωτηθῆσομαι ἐγὼ ἀ[ὐ]τός κτλ.; probably *MAMA* III 743 (Korykos), μηδένα ἐξ[ὸ]ν προσευβ[αλεῖν] τῇ κλισίᾳ ταύτῃ [μήτε ἐξωτικὸν μή μή[τε συγγενῆ]. For the use of the term *συγγένεια* = 'extended family', see also Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 33-4, no. 250 (Çakırsaz, upper Tembris valley), λύπησεν δὲ γουῖς κὲ τὴν συγγένειαν ἅπασαν. The context of the phrase ἐκ τῆς συγγεν[εί]ας in the inscription published by Radet and Lechat 1887: 398 (Mysia: near Soma) is not clear; the phrase is typical of the Septuagint (e.g. *Judges* 17:7; *Ruth* 2:1; *Isaiah* 38:12; cf. *Luke* 1:61).

140. Saltik

Funerary doorstone without surviving inscription.

Doorstone of white Dokimeian marble (Waelkens 1986: 1889, Typ J Dokimeion), broken above. Twin door with four large panels; between upper and lower panels, and below the lower panels, two pairs of small panels with concave sides. In upper left panel, male bust in relief, defaced; in upper right panel, female bust, defaced; in lower left panel, comb and mirror, in lower right panel, wool-basket. Ivy-scroll pilasters to right and left. Left pilaster defaced; on the right pilaster, vine and grapes in relief. Found at Saltik (territory of Eukarpia), in a yard.

Ht. 0.85+; W. 0.67; Th. 0.27.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy, photograph (1955/87a).

AD c. 225-75.

The stone was recorded at Saltik, 4km west of Emirhisar, the site of ancient Eukarpia (*TIB Phrygien* 250-1, s.v. Eukarpia). For another Typ J Dokimeion doorstone from the Pentapolis, see



also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 700, no. 635 (Waelkens 1986: 185-6, no. 463, second quarter of second century AD).

141. Karasandıklı

Funerary doorstone of Aurelius Gaius and family.

Rectangular slab of purple-veined Dokimeian marble. Recessed panel in the lower half of the slab representing a door, with central astragal in relief with simple capital (similar to Waelkens 1986: 196-7, nos. 486-7) and base. On the left door, in relief, a female bust above, spindle and distaff below; on the right door, in relief, mirror above, comb below. Found at Karasandıklı (Brouzos), said to derive from the *höyük*. In a house opposite the *hamam*.

Ht. 0.53; W. 0.26; Th. 0.075-0.090; letters 0.012-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on photos; squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/41).

Third century AD.

- Ἀὐρήλιοι Γάϊος Λευκί-
 ου καὶ Μαρκία Ζωτικῶ
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Βρουζηνοί
 (ἰ)ῶν φρον[ῶ]ν ΗΕΘΗΚΑ
 5 ΗΕΝΗΕΣΤΟΝ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ
 τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις τέκνοις
 Ἀὐρηλίοις Ζωτικῶ καὶ
 Ἀφφιανῶ ☽
 εἴ τις δὲ προσοίσι
 10 χεῖρα τὴν
 βαρύ-
 φθονου,
 δισσοῖς ἄωροις
 περιπέσοιτο
 15 συνφο-
 ραῖς.

Aurelius Gaius, son of Lucius, and Aurelia Marcia, daughter of Zotikos, his wife, citizens of Brouzos, while still living and in their right minds... (set this up) for themselves and for their sweetest children Aurelius Zotikos and Aurelius Apphianos; and if anyone lays a hand with heavy envy (on this tomb), may he fall victim to twofold untimely misfortunes.

This monument is a simplified version of a doorstone, on which only the central astragal of the door is represented, with objects depicted in relief to left and right on the 'doors'. The inscription provides the second epigraphic



attestation of the ethnic Βρουζηνοί, thereby confirming the location of the city of Brouzos at Karasandıklı (cf. 136 above). Lines 4-5 are extremely difficult to read, and it is not at all clear what the mason intended here. The sense would require a verb for 'to set up' in the third person plural, and a noun meaning 'funerary monument' in the accusative.

The curse formulae in lines 9-16 are well attested in northern Phrygia (Strubbe 1997: Appendix 1, 285-8); for a similar formula in the vicinity of Brouzos, compare Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 702, no. 636 (Ürküt), ὃς ἂν κακουργέσι τοῦτο, τοιούταις περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς. The violator of the tomb is here threatened with ἄωροι συμφοραί, the premature death of his children (Robert, *OMS* V, 709-10, 715-23). The 'doubling' of the curse (line 13, δισσοῖς ἄωροις) appears to be unattested elsewhere; compare, however, *MAMA* X 47 (πολλῶν ἄωρων περιπέσοιτο συνφορῶν); *MAMA* X 105 (where read πολλο(ί)ς ἄωρο(ι)ς περιπέσοιτο συνφοραῖς); *MAMA* X 235 (πάσαις ἄωροις περιπέσοιτο συνφοραῖς); for similar examples from Kotiaion and Eumeneia, see Robert, *OMS* V, 717.

142. Menteş

Funerary *bomos* of Sestullianos and his wife.

Limestone *bomos*, broken in two. Found at Menteş (Stektorion), in a lane.

Fragment *a*: Ht. 0.45+; W. 0.63 (upper moulding), 0.50 (shaft); Th. 0.43 (upper moulding), 0.35 (shaft).
Fragment *b*: Ht. 0.92+; W. 0.50 (shaft), 0.56 (lower moulding); Th. 0.34 (shaft), 0.36 (lower moulding); letters 0.040-0.055.

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 734, no. 661 (*b* only). Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/75).

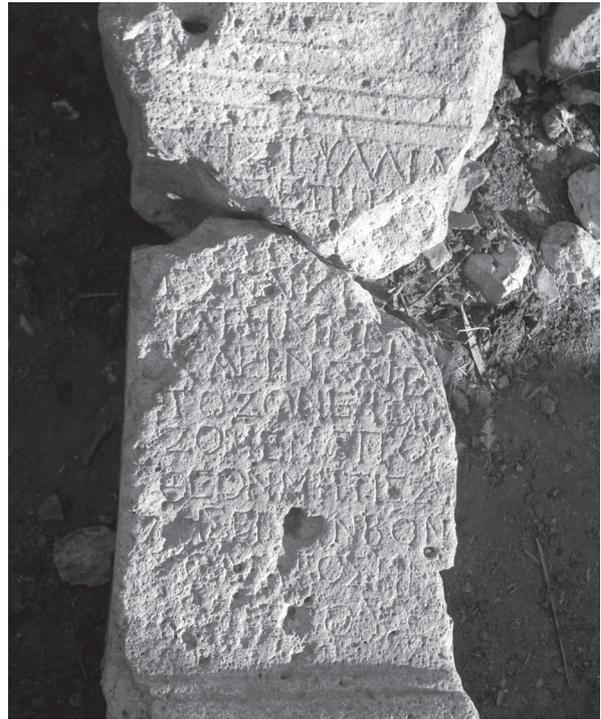
Second or third century AD.

	Σηστυλλια-	<i>a</i>
	[νὸ]ς Ἐπικτ[ή]-	
	[του - - - - -]	
	γυναικί [γλυκυ]-	<i>b</i>
5	τάτη μνήμ[η]ς]	
	χάριν καὶ ἑα[υ]-	
	τῶ ζῶν· ἐνορκ[ί]-	
	ζόμε σο(ι) τὸν	
	Θεὸν μὴ τις συ-	
10	λήσει τῦνβου	
	σώματος ἡμ-	
	ετέρου.	

Lines 6-7: ἑ[αυ]τῶ R(amsay). Line 8: ZOMENOΠION *lapis*; ἐνορκ[ι]ζόμενο(ι) τ)ὸν R.
Lines 9-10: σ[κυ]λήσει R.

Sestullianos, son of Epiktetos, (built this tomb) for ..., his beloved wife, in memoriam, and for himself, while still living; I call (the) God to witness, that nobody plunders the tomb of our bodies.

The lower half of this stone was seen by Ramsay at Menteş in 1891. The accuracy of his copy is confirmed by Ballance's photograph; in lines 10-12, a few letters read by Ramsay are no longer legible. In line 3, probably the name of Sestullianos' wife alone is missing; for the word order here, compare *MAMA* IX 118a, 129, 145, 406 (Aizanoi); Körte 1900: 427, no. 44 (Dorylaion); *MAMA* VII 274 (Piribeyli).



The name Sestullianos (a patronymic formation from the rare Italian gentilician Sestullius) was also carried by a mint magistrate at Stektorion in AD 161/2, Fl. Sestullianos (Φλ. Σηστυλλ(λ)-ιανοῦ). Six different types are known: see *RPC* IV (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>) 2161, 2166, 2194, 2265-6, 3009; Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 57-8. If the two men are identical (which is by no means certain), our inscription would date to the last third of the second century AD. Numerous Sestullii are attested in Phrygia during the Roman imperial period, all of whom can ultimately be traced back to a senatorial family of the mid-first century BC, who are known to have had financial interests at Akmoneia, just north of Stektorion (Mitchell 1979b; Badian 1980; Drew-Bear 1980b: 179-82; *I. Varsovie* 19). Sestullianos' father's name, Ἐπίκτητος, is also attested at Stektorion in Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 705, no. 642 (Menteş). The reading in line 8 is not quite certain; in the fifth letter space we appear to have a *nu* lightly corrected to a *sigma*. Ramsay interpreted the clause as ἐνορκ[ι]ζόμενο(ι) τ)ὸν |Θεόν, but the present participle would be hard to explain.

Hence I interpret the sequence of letters as ἐνορκί[ι]ζόμε σο(ι τ)ὸν |Θεὸν: compare IG IX 12 4, 1556 (Kephallenia), ἐνορκίσζομαί σοι τὸν Σεβάσσιον ὄρκιον; SEG 54, 1344 (Hierapolis), ἐνορκίζομαι σοι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς οὐράνους, ἐνορκίζομαι σοι τοὺς ἀγγέλους Χερουβειν, κτλ. At the end of the line 9, there is only space for a single letter, and hence the reading συ|λήσει (rather than Ramsay's preferred σ[κυ]|λήσει; cf. Robert, *OMS* V 727-8 n.7) is certain. For the phraseology, compare *TAM* V 1, 743 (Julia Gordos: II AD), ὃς ἂν τύμβον ἐμὸν συλήσει χωρὶς μητρὸς καὶ γυνεκός; *I.Heraclea Pontica* 12, ὃς ἂν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον συλήση, σεσυλημένος ἐξαπόλοιτο.

The religious affiliations of Sestullianos and his wife cannot be established with certainty. Funerary invocations with ἐνορκίζεσθαι and ἐνορκοῦν were used by Jews, Christians, and pagans (Feissel 1980: 464-5; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 101-2). For a Jewish example from Lykaonia, see *IJO* II no. 226 (Konya): ἐνορκίζομ[ε]θ[α] τὸν παντ[ο]κράτορα θ(εό)ν. Pagan instances are known from Diokaisareia (*MAMA* III 77:

ἐνορκίζομεν τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους), and from several cities in Lykaonia (e.g. *I.Konya* 125 [*MAMA* VIII 234a, Savatra], ἐνορκῶ τρὶς θ' Μῆνας ἀνεπιλύτους μηδένα ἕτερον ἐπεισενεχθῆναι, with the further bibliography cited in the commentary to 319 below [Perta]).

An important local parallel instance is furnished by a funerary doorstone from the neighbouring city of Brouzos (Karasandikli: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 700, no. 635; Waelkens 1986: 185-6, no. 463), ἐνορκίζομεθα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας μηδένα ἀδικῆσαι τὸ μνημῖον. Ramsay fancifully attributed this inscription to a Christian 'not fully emancipated from his old religious ideas' or to a 'philosophic pagan in the late third century, when Christianity had produced a strong effect on pagan sentiment'; Waelkens, who dated the Brouzos monument to the second quarter of the second century AD on stylistic grounds, more plausibly argued that it was of pagan origin, 'but possibly influenced by Jewish or Christian formulae' (cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 405-6).

143. Κοçhisar

Funerary *bomos*.

Limestone *bomos*, broken above. Found at Κοçhisar (Hierapolis), outside the mosque.

Ht. 0.50+; W. 0.35-0.45; Th. 0.34-0.43; letters 0.012-0.037.

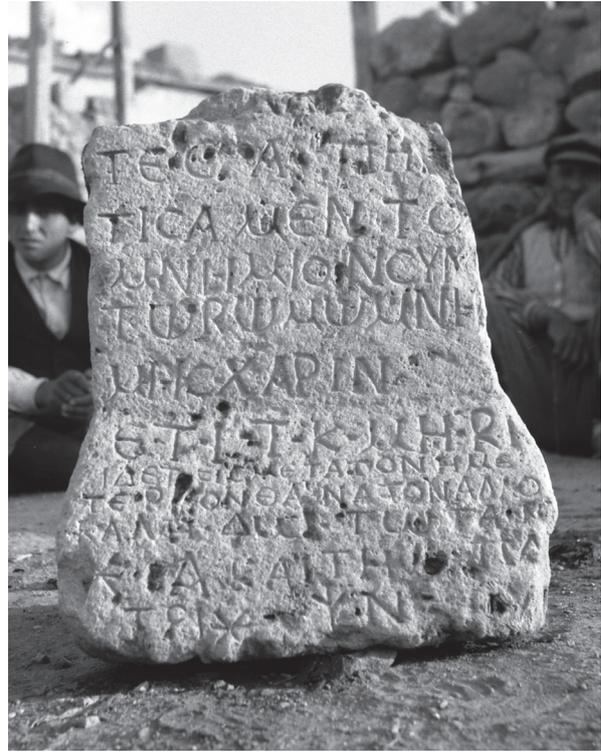
Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1955/46).

AD 236 (Year 320, Month 12 of Sullan era).

- [- - - - ζῶν]-
 τες vac. ἄ- vac. πη[ρ]-
 τίσαμεν vac. τὸ
 μνημῖον σὺν
 τῷ βωμῷ μνη-
 5 μης χάριν vac.
 ἔ · τ · ι · τ · κ' · μνη(νὸς) · βι'
 ἰ δέ τεις μετὰ τὸν ἡμέ-
 10 τερον θάνατον ἄλλο
 βάλῃ, · δῶ · τῷ τα·μ(είω)
 (δηνάρια) · ,α' καὶ τῆ vac. πα-
 τρί(δι) (δηνάρια) · vac. ψν'.

...while still living, we finished the memorial and the altar, in memoriam. In the year 320, the 12th month. If anyone inters another after our death, he will pay 1,000 denarii to the fiscus and 750 denarii to our homeland.

For the verb ἀπαρτίξειν ('finish off, make good'), cf. 7 (Apollonia). Lines 7-11 (in a smaller script than that of lines 1-6) were added later in a different hand; the second mason omitted syllables at the end of line 8 and in line 11, possibly in error, possibly in order to fit the text of lines 7-11



into the space remaining. For the practice of numbering rather than naming the months in this region (line 6), see the commentary to 80 above (Sebaste); here, the order βι' rather than ιβ' is surprising. In line 8, understand probably (σῶμα) with ἄλλο. In line 9, the letters ΔΩ presumably represent δῶ, the aorist subjunctive of δίδωμι; the future indicative δώσει would be more usual, but cf. IGR IV 799 (Apameia), εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος ἐπιτηδεύσει, δῶ τῷ ταμίῳ δηνάρια λφ'; BE 1987, 400 (two Athenian instances of the late form δῆ in similar contexts). For the confusion between aorist subjunctive and future indicative, cf. Brixhe 1987: 89-94.

144. Kilter

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Asklepiodora and family.

Bomos of grey-white marble, broken below, face slightly chipped to left and right. Found at Kilter (Çevrepinar), beside a fountain; said to have been brought from Yanikören.

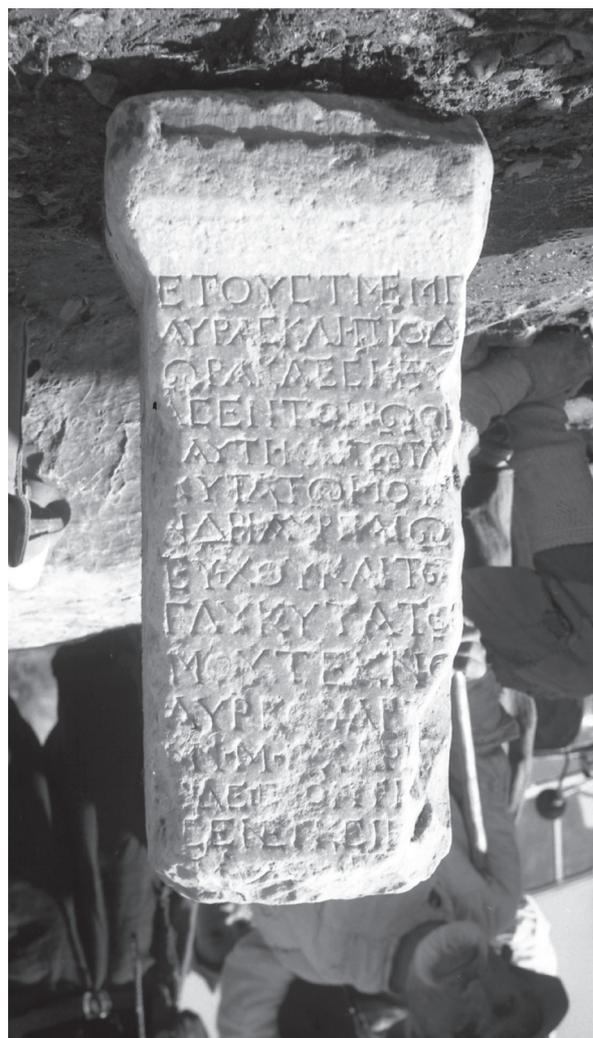
Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.28 (upper moulding), 0.22 (shaft); Th. 0.26 (upper moulding), 0.22 (shaft); letters 0.015-0.022. Ramsay 1883: 405, no. 21; [Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 718, no. 652]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/88)

AD 260 (Year 345 of Sullan era, Month 3).

- Ἔτους τμεί, μ(ηνός) γ΄.
 Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀσκληπιοδ-
 ώρα κατεσκευ-
 ασεν τὸ ἡρώων
 5 [ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλυ-
 κυτάτῳ μου ἄ-
 νδρὶ Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Γαίῳ
 Εὐτ(ύ)χου καὶ τῷ
 γλυκυτάτῳ
 10 μου τέκνῳ
 Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Κουάρτῳ
 μνήμης χάριν·
 εἰ δ' ἕτερόν τις ἐπι-
 σενέγκει εἰς τ-
 15 ὀ μνημεῖον, ἔστω τῷ
 πρὸς
 [τὸν Θεόν.]

Line 8: The mason originally inscribed ΕΤΧΟΥ through haplography, then inserted a small *tau* between the *upsilon* and *chi*. Lines 11-15: R(amsay) was able to read considerably more of the inscription here. Lines 13-14: ἐπι|ισενέγκει R.

Year 345, Month 3. Aur(elia) Asklepiodora built the heröon for herself and for my sweetest husband Aur(elius) Gaius, son of Eutychos, and for my sweetest child Aur(elius) Quartus, in memoriam. If anyone inters another in the tomb, he shall have to reckon with [God].



The stone was copied by Ramsay at Kilter (today Çevrepinar) in 1883, 'in a courtyard'; both Ramsay and Ballance were informed that the stone had been brought from Yanikören (perhaps the ancient Lysias or Otrous: cf. 153 below. The lower part of the stone had suffered damage between 1883 and 1955, but Ramsay's restoration of the Eumeneian formula (see 36 above) in lines 15-16 is very likely to be correct. For the use of the Sullan era in the Pentapolis, see Leschhorn 1993: 268-70; for the use of numbered months in this region, see the commentary to 80 above (Sebaste). For the atonic personal pronoun τῷ (= αὐτῷ) in line 15, see Brixhe 1987: 80, and compare Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 525, no. 367 (Eumeneia).

145. Karasandikli

Funerary *bomos* for Eutropios.

Grey-white marble funerary *bomos* topped by a torus and a pine cone. On left side, in panel, stylus-case in relief; on right, in panel, scroll. Found at Karasandikli (Brouzos), outside the mosque.

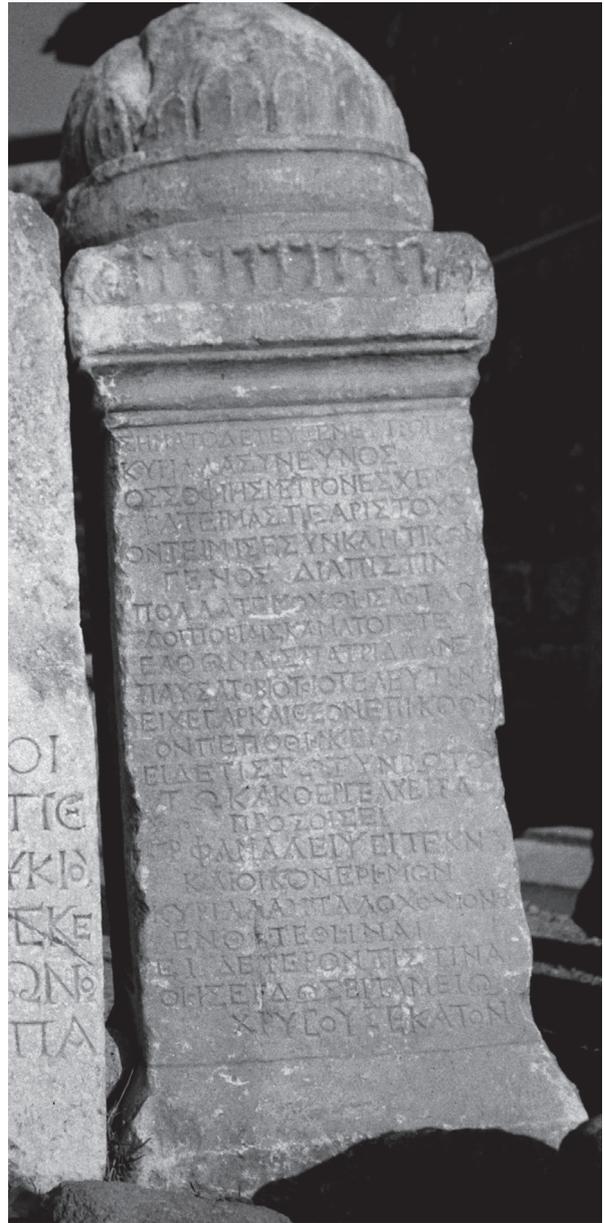
Ht. 1.18; W. 0.38 (upper moulding), 0.33-0.34 (shaft), 0.40 (base); Th. 0.33 (upper moulding), 0.33-0.35 (shaft), 0.42 (base); letters 0.012-0.018.

Unpublished. Edition based on partial squeeze (end of lines 1-7 and 16-21); MB notebook copy; photographs (1955/39).

AD c. 200-250 (*bomos*-type).

- Σῆμα τόδ' ἔτευξεν Εὐτροπίῳ
 Κυρίλλα σύνευνος *vac.*
 ὃς σοφίης μέτρον ἔσχε μέ-
vac. γα τειμάς τε ἀρίστους
 5 ὄν τείμησε συκκλητικῶν
vac. γένος *vac.* διὰ πίστιν *vac.*
 πολλά τε μοχθήσαντα ὀ-
 δοιπορίας καμάτοις τε *vac.*
 ἔλθων δ' ἰς πατρίδα ἀνε-
 10 παύσατο βιότοιο τελευτῆν·
 εἶχε γὰρ καὶ θεὸν ἐπήκοον
 ὃν πεπόθηκει. ☩ *vac.*
 εἰ δέ τις τῷ τύνβῳ τού-
 τῳ κακοεργέα χεῖρα *vac.*
 15 *vac.* πρόσσεισι, *vac.*
 ὀρφανὰ λείψει τέκνα
vac. καὶ οἶκον ἔρημον. *vac.*
 Κυρίλλαν τ' ἄλοχον μόνην
vac. ἔνθα τεθῆναι. *vac.*
 20 εἰ δ' ἕτερον τίς τινα
 θήσει, δώσει ταμείῳ
vac. χρυσοῦς ἑκατόν.

Kyrilla, his wife, built this monument for Eutropios, who had a great measure of wisdom, and whom a senatorial family (?) honoured with the highest honours on account of his trustworthiness, having laboured greatly during his journeys and his toils. On his return to his homeland, he found rest at the end of his life, for he had a listening God whom he yearned for. And if anybody lays a harmful hand on



this tomb, he shall leave his children orphans and his house deserted. Only Kyrilla, his wife, shall be interred here; and if anyone inters anyone else, he shall pay to the treasury one hundred aurei.

This monument belongs to a distinctive group of third-century funerary *bomoi* with a pine cone-shaped top and relief depiction of domestic objects on the panelled sides. The type is attributed to an Akmoneian workshop by Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247-8; see further 85 above (Sebaste); 123 (Akmoneia), 124 (Akmoneia).

The first twelve lines of the inscription form six rather inaccurate hexameters. Eutropios (assuming he was the author of the text) was concerned to demonstrate his knowledge of classical culture (*σοφίης μέτρον μέγα*): the point is emphasized by the papyrus roll and stylus-case depicted in relief on the left and right hand panels of the *bomos*. In lines 4-6, Eutropios is honoured by the ‘race/family of senators’ (*συνκλητικῶν γένος*). The phrase *γένος συνκλητικόν* is regularly used (usually in the genitive) to indicate that an individual is ‘of senatorial descent/family’, and the phrase here may well indicate that Eutropios was a dependent, presumably a freedman, of a great senatorial household. His ‘travels and toils’ (lines 7-8) probably allude to a period of labour as a skilled member of a senatorial *familia*, at Rome or elsewhere, before his eventual manumission (‘honoured with the highest honours’) and a return to his native Phrygian village (line 9, *ἔλθων δ’ ἰς πατρίδα*). This would fit well with the fact that Eutropios was honoured for his ‘trustworthiness’ (*πίστις*, line 6), a quality often attributed to loyal slaves and estate-managers (Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 36). In an unpublished funerary inscription in the Uşak museum, a certain Cl(audius) Aristion honours his slave (*δοῦλον*) Maryllos, *πίστον γενόμενον καὶ φιλοκύριον*.

There is some reason to think that Eutropios and Kyrilla may have been Christians. It is true that

the curse formula in lines 13-17 of the inscription (‘he will leave his children orphans and his house deserted’) seems primarily to be used in pagan funerary contexts (Strubbe 1997: 289-92); however, a comparable curse on the violator’s children (*ἄ(ω)ρ]α τέκνα [ἔ]χωσι*) appears in an indisputably Christian inscription from the Pentapolis (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 730, no. 658). The notion of a ‘listening God’ (*ἐπήκοος*, line 11), although common in pagan votive epigraphy (see the commentary to 365 below [Komitanassos]), seems not to have any direct parallels in Christian epigraphy (Versnel 1981: 26-37). Nonetheless, the verb *ποθεῖν* has strong Judaeo-Christian connotations, at least in its application to deities; cf. Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 33-4, no. 250 (Çakırsaz, upper Tembris valley), a funerary epigram for a Christian Eutychnos, *ὄς ἐπό[θ]ησε Θεόν*.

The curious phrase in lines 9-10, *ἀνεπαύσατο βιότοιο τελευτήν*, may also indicate the author’s Christianity. The Homeric formula *βιότοιο τελευτή* (*H. Il.* 7.104; 16.787) is here combined ungrammatically with the verb *ἀναπαύεσθαι*, a verb which is used overwhelmingly in Christian contexts (e.g. *TAM* V 2, 1159, Thyateira), referring to the notion of death as a period of sleep in anticipation of the resurrection.

The text is further discussed by É. Chiricat, in P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society* (forthcoming).

146. Koçhisar

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Andragathos and family.

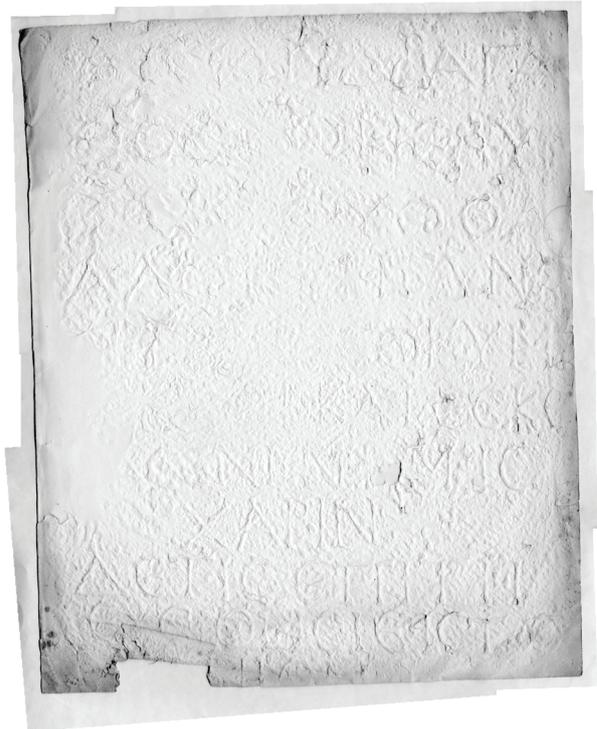
Limestone *bomos*, broken below. Found at Koçhisar (Hierapolis), in a cemetery west of the village, on the track to Çorhisar.

Ht. 0.98+; W. 0.55 (upper moulding), 0.47 (shaft); Th. 0.50 (upper moulding), 0.41 (shaft); letters 0.030-0.045. Legrand and Chamonard 1893: 276, no. 76 (lines 1-8); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 733, no. 659. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/86). Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀνδράγα-
 θος ζῶν ἐαυ-
 τῷ κὲ τῷ υἱῷ Θά-
 λλω κὲ τῇ γυναι-
 5 κὲ Τ[. .³⁻⁴. .] τὸ κυμη-
 [τ]ήριον κατεσκε-
 [ύ]ασεν μνήμης
 vac. χάριν vac.
 ἰ δέ τις ἐπιτη-
 10 δεύσι, θήσι εἰς τὸ
 ταμίον (δηνάρια) [- -].

Line 3: [καὶ τ]ῷ L(egrand) and C(hamonard).
 Lines 3-4: Θά|λ[λω καὶ] L. and C.; Θa|λ[ά]
 μ[ω] κὲ R(amsay). Lines 4-5: γυναι|[ικὴ] L. and
 C.; γυναι|[ικὴ] R. Line 5: Τ[ατία (?)] R. Lines 5-6:
 κυμ|[ητήριον] L. and C.; R. Line 9: εἰ R.

*Aur(elius) Andragathos constructed the resting-
 place while still living for himself and his son
 Thallos and his wife T[...], in memoriam. If anyone
 tries (to bury another here), he shall pay to the
 fiscus [...] denarii.*



For the term *κοιμητήριον* (lines 5-6), used only by Christians and Jews, see the commentary to 37 above. The name *Ἀνδράγαθος* is not especially common; it is attested elsewhere in Phrygia among several members of a leading family at Synnada in the early imperial period (*RPC* I 3179-80, 3185-6; Müller 1980: 464-6) and in a votive dedication to Zeus Alsenos in the Afyon museum (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1916, no.1; *SEG* 40, 1203).

147. Elli Mescit

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Apphianos.

Upper part of limestone *bomos*, broken below, upper moulding defaced. Found at Elli Mescit (Alamescit), in a lane.

Ht. 0.55+; W. 0.35; Th. 0.37; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/82).

Third century AD.

vac. ἀδελφῶ *vac.*

Αὐρ(ήλιος) · Πρόκλο[s]

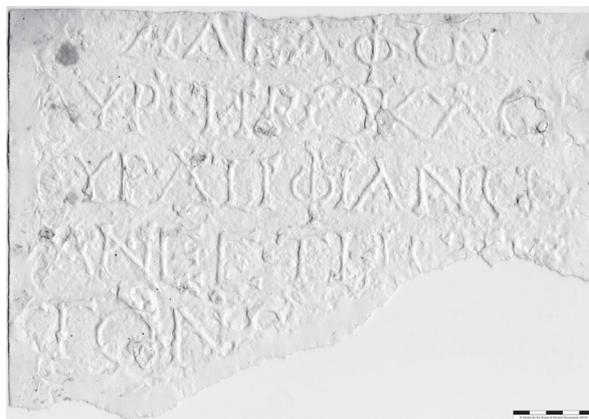
Αὐρ(ηλίω) · Ἀφφιανωῶ

ἀνέστησεν

5 τὸν β[ωμὸν]

Aur(elius) Proklos set up the a[ltar] for his brother Aur(elius) Apphianos...

The emphatic placement of the term ἀδελφῶ (without the article) at the beginning of the inscription is very surprising, and I know of no parallels. It is possible that the term should be taken to indicate that Apphianos was Proklos' spiritual brother; cf. the commentary to 302 below



(Zivecik), and cf. also the Christian inscription 292 below (Maydos), in which the phrase γνήσιος ἀδελφός is used to indicate biological (as opposed to spiritual) fraternity. For the term ἀδελφός as used of Christian spiritual brothers in the Pentapolis, cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 719, no. 654 (Macil: εἰρήνη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς); 720, no. 655 (Macil: εἰρήνη πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελ[φότη]τι).

Elli Mescit (today Alamescit) lies very close to the ancient site at Kocahüyük, probably ancient Stektorion (135 above).

148. Kozvankuyucak

Lid of columnar sarcophagus.

Sarcophagus-lid of grey-veined white marble, complete. Sculpted figures of husband and wife reclining on a *kline* (0.015m high), the husband behind, the wife in front, with sockets for separate portrait busts. Both figures lean on their left elbows. The wife grips in her left hand the corner of her *himation*, which droops forwards over the front of the *kline*. The husband holds in his left hand a half-opened scroll. On all four sides of the *kline*, depictions in relief of Erotes hunting wild animals (badly damaged). On the front face of the *kline*, three bands of decoration representing embroidery. At the centre of the front face, two Erotes hold up a bouquet (damaged); at the corners of the *kline*, the remains of large Erotes acting

as quasi-*acroteria*, holding up garlands across the corners. Below, decorative moulding with dentils; three rectangular sections on each long side and one on each end left undecorated, to act as leverage-points while lid was lifted into position on the sarcophagus (Wiegartz 1965: 37) Found at Kozvankuyucak, re-used upside down as a trough by a well; by 1994 it had been moved to the garden of the Hudai Kaplicası near Sandıklı.

Ht. 0.70+; W. 2.27; Th. 1.10. Internally: Ht. 0.27; W. 2.00; Th. 0.84.

Unpublished. Description based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1955/44).

AD c. 250-270.

This sarcophagus lid derives from a columnar sarcophagus manufactured at Dokimeion (Wiegartz 1965; Waelkens 1982: 68-101). The lid-type is entirely standardised, with sockets for the insertion of distinctive portrait busts; the portrait-busts survive on examples of the

lid-type from Konya (Özgan 2003: 3-7, no.1, with Taf. 1-7) and Antalya (Özgan 2000: 365-76). For other well-preserved examples of the type, see e.g. Özgan 2003: 8-12, no.2 (Konya); Wiegartz 1965: 156-7 (Sidamaria), with Taf. 34a (especially close to our example).



149. Odaköy

Funerary inscription for a councillor.

Block of greyish-white marble, buried below, broken at right. On the left side of the block, Byzantine interlacing decoration (no image). Above the first line, a *psi*, 0.08m high, perhaps a mason's mark dating from the re-use of the stone. Found at Odaköy, in the wall of the mosque, by the door.

Ht. 0.84+; W. 0.23+; Th. 0.55; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/34).

Third century AD.

ἀγαθ[ῆ τύχη]]
 Αὐρ · Ν[- - - εἰ]-
 τεῖμη[σεν vac. (?)]
 Αὐρ(ήλιου) · Πα[- - -]
 5 ἀνδρ[α βου]-
 λευτῆ[ν, τὸν γλυ]-
 κύτατ[ου ἀνδρα/υῖδν/πατέρα (?)],
 ἥρωα, [ζήσαντα]
 vac. ἔτη [- - -]



With good fortune. Aurelia/us N... honoured Aurelius Pa..., a councillor, my sweetest husband/son/father, deceased, who lived for... years.

For the phrase *ἄνδρα βουλευτήν*, see also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 378, no. 204 (Eumeneia), *ἄνδρα βουλευτήν καὶ ἀξιόλογον*; *I.Side* 102, *ἄνδρα βουλευτήν τῆς Σιδητῶν πόλεως*. The phrase could plausibly be restored in Calder 1956: 49, no.2 (*SEG* 15, 812: Eukarpeia, Sandıklı): in line 3, read perhaps *ἄνδ[ρα βουλευτήν]*. In

line 8, the term *ἦρως* simply means ‘deceased’ (Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 207; *OMS* V, 315): cf. also 160 below (Kidyessos); 306 and 307 (Perta). For monuments from this region which indicate the deceased’s decurial status, see the commentary to 38 above (Eumeneia).

150. Başkuyucak

Funerary inscription of Claudia Asia and family.

Double half-column of veined grey marble, cut off above. Found at Başkuyucak, in a fountain.

Ht. 0.97+; W. 0.37; Th. 0.26; letters 0.022-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/45).

Third or fourth century AD.

†
 ΚΛ(αυδία) · Ἀσία ·
 ΚΛ(αυδίω) · Φιλήτω
 ΚΛ(αυδίω) Φιλοκά-
 5 λω καὶ Αὐ(ρηλία)
 Ἀσία μνή-
 μης χάριν
 ἐὰν δέ τις
 ἕτερον
 10 θήσει, ἕσ-
 ται αὐτῷ
 πρὸς τὸν
 Θεόν.

Cl(audia) Asia (constructed this tomb) for Cl(audius) Philetos, Cl(audius) Philokalos and Au(relia) Asia, in memoriam. If anyone intert another, he shall have to reckon with God.

Ἀσία was used as a slave name in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Masson, *OGS* I 151; Bechtel 1902: 59), but became common among women of all classes in Roman Asia Minor. The relationship between the text and the monument on which it is inscribed is unclear. The Eumeneian formula in lines 10-13 (cf. 36 above) suggests a date in the late third or early fourth century AD, whereas the



double half-column is typical of early Byzantine architecture (Niewöhner 2007: 177-9). There is, however, no sign that the stone has been re-cut. For an inscription from the Tabai plateau in Caria, reused to carve a Byzantine double half-column, see *MAMA* VI 161 (Robert and Robert 1954: 152, no. 38; *I.Denizli* 217); for an example from Yalınayak (Karacadağ) in Galatia, see 232 below.

151. Menteş

Fragmentary building inscription.

White marble slab forming part of a small arch, probably from a *ciborium*. The outer edges are moulded and decorated with an incised vine-pattern. Broken right and below, upper moulding defaced. Inscription at crown of arch; in the spandrel, incised circle with monogram. Found at Menteş, in a yard; said to derive from the site at Kocahüyük (Stektorion?).

Ht. 0.37+; W. 0.71+; Th. 0.09+; letters 0.020-0.027.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/79).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† ἔτους - - - ἐγένετο
 τοῦτ[ο τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ]
 ἐπισκ[όπου τοῦ δεῖνα]

This [work was constructed] in the year [..., when... was] bishop.

This inscription commemorates the completion of (apparently) the *ciborium* of the altar of a church; for the incised vine-pattern, cf. 185 below (Bedeş [Kayabelen]). The monogram in the spandrel may well represent the name of the bishop. The monogram includes the letters Θ, Ε, Π, Ρ and the diphthong ΟΥ. This could perhaps be resolved as Θεοπροπίου (attested as the name of a bishop at



Aphrodisias: *ala2004* nos. 165-6) or Θεοπροπίου (attested as the name of a bishop at Keramos: *I.Keramos* 69-71).

Several other Late Antique and Middle Byzantine architectural fragments have been recorded at Menteş (152 below; *TIB Phrygien* Abb. 131-2, 134); it is likely that all of these derive from the site at Kocahüyük, probably the site of ancient Stektorion (see the commentary to 135 above), the seat of a bishopric (*TIB Phrygien* 389, s.v. Stektorion).

152. Menteş

Banister of ambo stair.

Marble banister of ambo stair, broken above and right; decorated with moulded panels and a peacock in relief. Found at Menteş, in a yard; said to be from the 'ören' (probably the 'ruins' of Kocahüyük [Stektorion?]).

Ht. 1.04+; W. 0.57+; Th. 0.07.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy, photograph (1955/78).

Sixth century AD.

This ambo banister is of a type well-known in sixth-century Asia Minor; for a comprehensive catalogue and discussion, see Niewöhner 2007: 110-13, 196-7. This particular example appears to be unpublished elsewhere. For the relief depiction of a peacock in the lower polygonal field, compare e.g. Niewöhner 2006: 450, no. 72 (Domaniç: Kotiaion); Peschlow 1994: Taf. 150, no.16 (Afyon Museum, stylistically extremely close to our example); Niewöhner 2007: 253, Cat. 307 (İlicikören); 276, Cat. 381 (Aizanoi); 282, Cat. 411 (Sıcaeddin); 294, Cat. 477 (Seyitgazi). For depictions of peacocks on middle Byzantine architecture, cf. also 60 (Eumeneia); 88 (Sebaste).



Ballance's photograph of this banister also shows a Byzantine architectural fragment with guilloche-decoration in relief (Ht. 0.61; W. 0.17; Th. 0.12), apparently also deriving from the site at Kocahüyük. For a similar, but not identical, fragment with guilloche-decoration from Menteş, see *TIB Phrygien* Taf. 134.

153. Güre Köyü

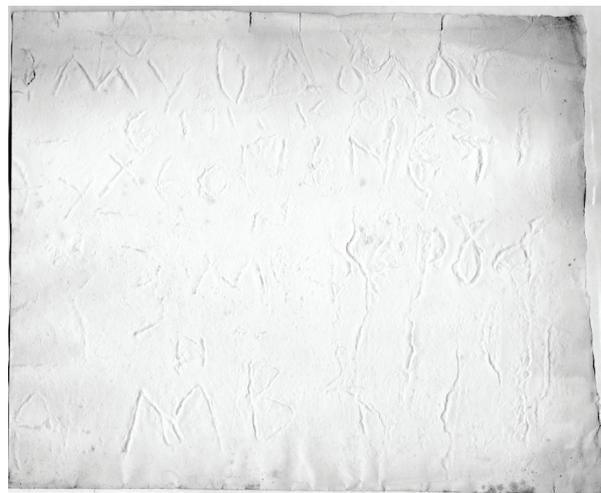
Funerary inscription of the bishop Leon.

Rough limestone slab, said to have been brought from Yanıkören. Found at Güre Köyü, in the steps of a house; by 1994 it had been moved to the garden of the Hudai Kaplıcası near Sandıklı.

Ht. 0.95; W. 0.85; Th. 0.060-0.100; letters 0.020-0.080.

TIB Phrygien 415, s.v. Yanıkören (mentioned only); Drew-Bear 2011; [BE 2011, 720]. Edition based on squeezes; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/30). AD 1059.

† ἐκυμύθ(η) ὁ δοῦλος
τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Λέον, ἐπίσκοπος). ἐν ἔτι
γ(ε)ν(έσεως) ,σφξζ μ(η)ῖ Φερουα-
ρίου θ', ἡμ(έρα) β' †



Leon, the servant of God, bishop, went to sleep in the year of creation 6567, on the 9th of the month of February, on the second day of the week.

The 9th of February 1059 was a Tuesday (Lietzmann and Aland 1984: 8; 45), and hence we should have here ἡμ(έρα) γ' (the first day of the week being Sunday). Errors of this kind are not uncommon; Worp 1991 collects 26 weekday indications in Greek documentary texts before AD 700, of which no fewer than 12 involve conflicting data. Cf. also *I.Apameia* 59, with *BE* 1989, 939-40.

This inscription is mentioned in *TIB Phrygien* 414-5, s.v. Yanıkören: 'Im Ort Grabstein eines Bischofs Leōn aus dem Jahre 1059, der aus der Ruinenstätte stammen soll'; it is published, with a slightly defective text, by Drew-Bear 2011, and is now (2011) situated in the garden of the Hudaï Kaplıcası near Sandıklı. The site at Yanıkören was first described by Hamilton 1842: II 167-8 (not noted by the *TIB*): 'Foundations and heaps of

building-stones were lying about in all directions; a large building on a low rising ground, extending from east to west, had perhaps been a church, but of rude and rough construction, and the circular bema at the eastern end was gone: at a short distance from it was a low tumulus, round which were the foundations and remains of a wall and ditch; it was apparently formed of the ruins of fallen buildings, and near it were a few blocks of white marble.' Hamilton seems to have been the only traveller to have seen the ruins of this particular church at Yanıkören. The tumulus is also mentioned by Philippson 1910-15: IV 74 ('Giovrek', i.e. Güre); cf. also Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 623 n.1. The site is identified with ancient Lysias by Drew-Bear *ap. TIB Phrygien* 414-5, s.v. Yanıkören, and with ancient Otrous by Drew-Bear 2011.

154. Karasandıklı

Building inscription of church of St John Prodomos.

White marble moulding, perhaps the coping of a screen. The inscription is on the upper surface and may belong to a secondary use of the stone. Broken right. Found at Karasandıklı (Brouzos), in a stable; said to have been found near the mosque.

Ht. 0.185; W. 0.93+; Th. 0.115; letters 0.017-0.030 (1955/37).

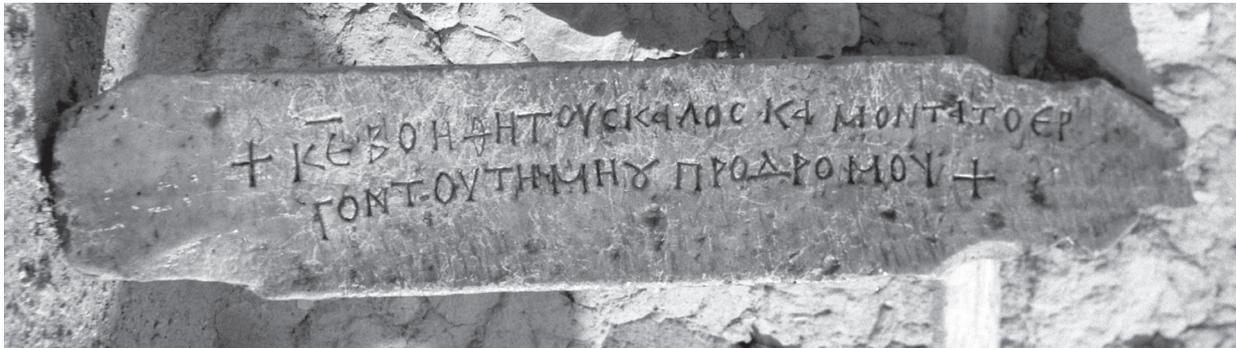
Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/37).

Middle Byzantine period.

† Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τοὺς καλῶς κάμοντα(ς) τὸ ἔργον τοῦ τημήνου Προδρομοῦ. †

Lord, save those who have laboured well on the work of the venerable Forerunner.

The building (τὸ ἔργον) referred to was presumably a church or a *martyrion* dedicated to St John the Baptist (ὁ Πρόδρομος, the 'forerunner').



155. Odaköy

Byzantine architectural fragment.

White marble hexagonal column with cabled torus and decorative capital, cut from a single block; cut off below. The capital has a defaced cross on the front, rosettes on both sides and a plain back. Found at Odaköy (territory of Brouzos), in the mosque.

Ht. 0.66+; W. 0.23 (capital), 0.22 (shaft); Th. 0.23 (capital), 0.22 (shaft).

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy, photograph (1955/35).

Middle Byzantine period.

Odaköy is situated 3 km south-west of Karasandıklı, on the territory of ancient Brouzos. This column derives from a middle Byzantine church; it might be an iconostasis-pillar, as suggested by the plain back of the capital. A very close parallel is a middle Byzantine hexagonal engaged iconostasis-pillar from Koçhisar (Hierapolis), *TIB Phrygien* fig. 129 (identical cabled torus, but with palm-tree decorations on the capital).



156. Ekinova

Inscribed fragment, perhaps of milestone.

Fragment of limestone column, perhaps a milestone, apparently complete above. Found at Ekinova, in a lane.

Ht. 0.35+; W. 0.33+; Th. 0.30+; letters (line 1) 0.09.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/84).

Date uncertain.

[-- -]VII[-- -]

[-- -]XI[-- -]



XI. MOXEANOI

157. Doğla.

Honorific statue base for Septimius Severus.

Whitish marble block, originally the shaft of a large base, complete. Found at Doğla (Yazıtepe), in a fountain (Yeni Çeşme), 1km WSW of the village.

Ht. 0.94; W. 0.54; Th. 0.46; letters 0.025-0.035.

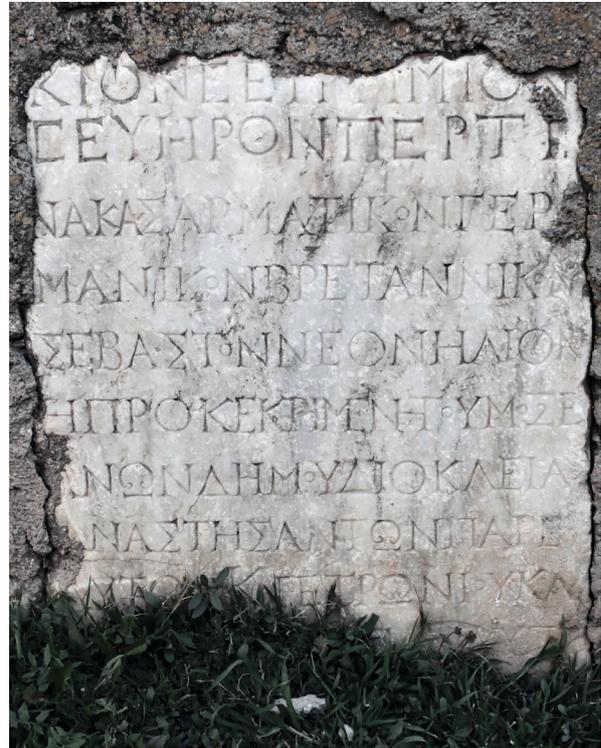
Ramsay 1883: 422-3, no. 34 (from a copy by J.R.S. Sterrett, 1883); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 660, no. 615 (from a copy by Ramsay, 1887); [IGR IV 664]. Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/91); photograph (CVC 2011).

AD 196/7 (Year 281 of Sullan era).

- [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λεύ]₁-
 1κιον Σεπτίμιου₁
 2Σευῆρον Περτί₁-
 3νακα₁ Σαρματικὸν Γερ-
 4μανικὸν Βρεταννικὸν
 5 Σεβαστόν [Νέον Ἥλιον]₁
 6 ἠὲ προκεκριμένη₁ τοῦ Μοξέ-
 7 ανῶν δήμου [Διόκλεια]₁
 8 ἀναστησάντων παρ' ἐ-
 9 αυτῶν Κ(οίντου) Πετρωνίου Κα-
 10 πίτωνος Ἐγνατιανοῦ ὑπὲρ
 11 τοῦ υἱοῦ Μάρκου ν. καὶ Ῥούφου Ῥου-
 12 φρίου Κρίσπου ν. καὶ Φιλαδέλφου
 13 Δημητρίου (γραμματεῦ-
 14 οντος τοῦ δήμου
 15 Μάρκου β' τοῦ Οὐά-
 16 λερίου· ἔτους· σπα')

Line 4: Βρεταννικὸν Ramsay 1883; 'My [1887] copy (made very carelessly) has Βρεταννικὸν and γραμματεῦόντων; but I follow Sterrett in both cases', Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 660, n. 1.

1Diokleia, judged to preside over₁ the people of the Moxeanoi, (set up the statue of) 1[Imperator Caesar Lu]cius Septimius Severus Pertinax₁ Sarmaticus Germanicus Britannicus Augustus, 1New Helios₁. (The statue) was set up at their own expense by Q. Petronius Capito Egnatianus, on behalf of his son Marcus, and by Rufus Rufrius Crispus and Phila-



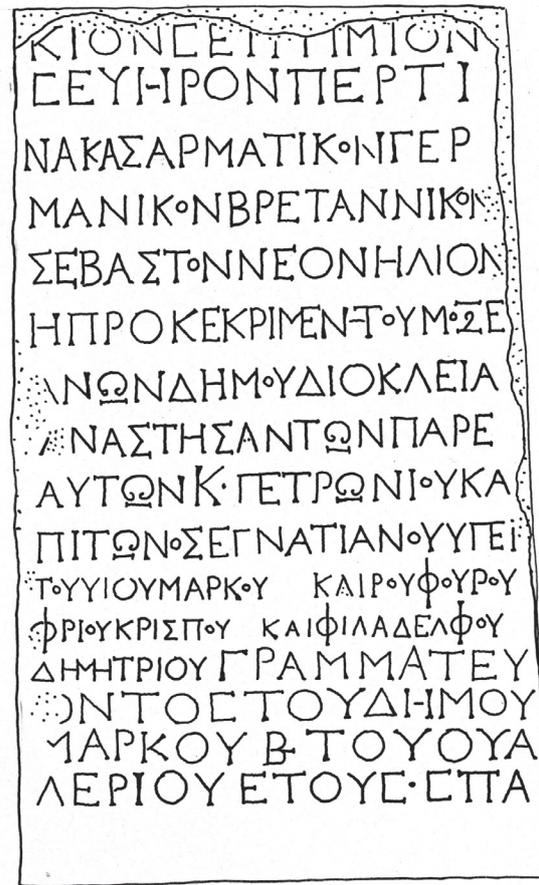
delphos, son of Demetrios. <Marcus, son of Marcus, grandson of Valerius, was secretary of the demos. Year 281.>

The stone appears to be complete, and hence the beginning of the imperial titulature was presumably originally inscribed on a separate upper moulding. The extant titulature in lines 1-5 is a curious conflation of two different emperors. The victory titles *Sarmaticus Germanicus Britannicus* (lines 3-4) can only pertain to Commodus (AD 184-192, Kienast 1996: 147-51); however, the remainder of the name and titulature, [Imperator Caesar Lu]cius Septimius Severus Pertinax... Neos Helios, clearly refers to Septimius Severus. Hence Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 660 notes that 'The titles of Commodus are here transferred to Severus' (cf. IGR IV 664: 'nomina Commodi errore translata sunt ad Severum').

In fact, as renewed study of this inscription reveals, the history of this monument is considerably more complicated and interesting than that. The inscription was originally cut in a highly distinctive hand, with wide interlinear spaces, very small *omicrons*, and four-bar *sigmas*. The surviving original parts of the inscription are as follows: (1) lines 3-5, *Σαρματικὸν Γερμανικὸν Βρεταννικὸν Σεβαστόν*; (2) lines 6-7, *τοῦ Μοξεαῶν δήμου*; (3) lines 8-13, *ἀναστησάντων... Δημητρίου*. (Lines 11-13, although inscribed in smaller letters, are recognisably in the same original hand.) At a later date, the original text in lines 1-3, 5-6, and the end of line 7 was carefully erased. A second hand, with large *omicrons* and square *sigmas*, then inserted a different imperial titulature in lines 1-3 and at the end of line 5, and made further alterations to the text at the start of line 6 and the end of line 7. The final four lines (lines 13-16) were also added in this second hand, although this apparently did not involve the erasure of any original text. The second hand is particularly obvious in lines 1-2 and 13-16, where the letters are considerably larger (and the interlinear spaces much smaller) than in the remainder of the inscription.

The rationale behind the erasure and re-inscription of lines 1-5 is obvious enough. After Commodus' murder on December 31 AD 192, he suffered *damnatio memoriae*; his name was to be erased from all private and public monuments, and statues pulled down and destroyed (*HA Comm.* 18.12-13, 20.4-5; Varner 2004: 136-55). The *damnatio* effectively lasted only three months, since his memory was reinstated later the same year by Didius Julianus; in AD 197, he was deified by Septimius Severus. Nonetheless, there is abundant evidence that his images were deliberately mutilated throughout the empire: just to the west of Diokleia, at Silandos in north-eastern Lydia, his portrait was erased from a local bronze coin (*RPC IV* [<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>] 1492, #3, Berlin).

Inscriptions in which Commodus' name has been erased are very numerous. In a very few cases, as



on our monument, his name has been replaced by that of Septimius Severus: see (1) *ILS* 5465 (Gordon and Gordon 1958-65: II 159-61, no. 252), a private dedication from Portus of a statue of Hercules on behalf of the emperor Commodus, subsequently changed to Septimius Severus; (2) *IRT* 396, an inscription recording the restoration of the Hadrianic baths at Lepcis Magna by a local civic magnate, in honour originally of Commodus, subsequently (after AD 198) altered to Septimius Severus and the imperial family. It is difficult to say what might have led to the permanent displacement of Commodus' name in these cases, since there are other examples in which his name is restored where it had previously been erased: see e.g. *I.Ephesos* 287 (1) and 288 (1), with Merkelbach 1979 (statue-bases for Commodus, restored under Septimius Severus with expanded titulature). Similarly, there seems to have been some ambiguity in

the status of provincial temples of the imperial cult under Commodus: Tarsos appears never to have lost the title *neokoros* (Burrell 2004: 213-7), while Laodikeia on the Lykos seems to have been 'downgraded' for a period, with its *neokoria* of Commodus being restored only during the reign of Caracalla (Robert 1969: 281-9; Burrell 2004: 119-25).

This statue-base must reflect the change of imperial regime: a monument originally set up in honour of Commodus (AD 184-192) was subsequently re-used as a base for a statue of Septimius Severus in AD 196/7 (as indicated by the date in line 16: for the use of the Sullan era at Diokleia, see Leschhorn 1993: 267). It is more difficult to explain the alterations which appear to have been made in lines 6-7. Only the phrase τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου survives from the original text of the inscription; the term *δήμος* here signifies an autonomous rural collectivity without *polis*-status (Schuler 1998: 41-5). The name of the city of Diokleia (Διόκλεια, line 7), and the participle stating its primacy within the *demos* of the Moxeanoi (ἡ προκεκριμένη, line 6), were inscribed over erasures at the same time as the alteration of the imperial titulature in lines 1-5. Little can now be read of the original text at the start of line 6 and the end of line 7, although there appear to be the traces of a *sigma* beneath the first letter of the word Διόκλεια.

The only possible explanation for these alterations is that the relative statuses of the two communities concerned, Diokleia and the *demos* of the Moxeanoi, must have changed between the time of the original erection of the monument under Commodus and its re-use under Septimius Severus in AD 196/7. In the early third century AD, two cities are known to have existed within the wider ethnic unit of the Moxeanoi, namely Diokleia and Siocharax. Each of the two communities issued coinage on a single occasion: Siocharax minted a small issue under Septimius Severus in AD 202-5 (Aulock 1980: 90-1 and 154-5, nos. 899-907: Σιοχαρακειτῶν Μοξεανῶν), while Diokleia minted an equally small issue

under Elagabalus (Aulock 1980: 51-3, 106-7, nos. 251-8: Διοκλεανῶν Μοξεανῶν). However, to judge from the Flavian *conventus*-inscription from Ephesos, neither community seems to have possessed civic status in the early Roman imperial period; here, the Μοξοανοί (*sic*) are listed as a single rural collectivity (*I.Ephesos* 13 II.35; Habicht 1975: 86). Habicht reasonably infers that Diokleia and Siocharax must have been granted civic status at some point between the Flavian period and Severus' reign.

I conclude that the changes made to lines 6-7 of the inscription in AD 196/7 reflect a grant of civic status to Diokleia and Siocharax by Septimius Severus in the mid-190s. The title assigned to Diokleia (ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου) ought then to indicate a novel claim to primacy over Siocharax within the wider ethnic grouping of the Moxeanoi. In particular, the participle *προκεκριμένη* ought to indicate that Diokleia has been 'judged' (*κεκριμένη*) (*sc.* by the Roman authorities) to be the 'leading' (*προ-*) civic community within the wider *demos* of the Moxeanoi. For the use of the verb *κρίνειν* in this context, compare the titulature of Nikaia in Bithynia, ἡ μητρόπολις κατὰ τὰ κρίματα τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου: *I.Iznik* 29-30; Heller 2006: 197-200.

A close parallel here is provided by another rural district immediately to the west of the Moxeanoi. An inscription of the late Hellenistic period informs us of the existence in eastern Lydia of a rural community known as ὁ περὶ Μοκαδα δήμος (*SEG* 33, 1004); the Μοκαδηνοί reappear as a non-civic rural collectivity in the Flavian *conventus*-list (*I.Ephesos* 13 I.4-5; Habicht 1975: 66 and 72). The emergence of civic bronze coinage suggests that three village communities among the Mokadenoi, Temenouthyrai, Silandos, Bagis, all received civic status during the reign of Domitian. Subsequently, two different communities in the region, Silandos and Temenouthyrai, claimed to be the *metropolis* of Mokadene (*TAM* V 1 47a and *IGR* IV 618). It is not clear whether the title was transferred from one city to the other, or whether

both laid claim to it simultaneously (Herrmann, *TAM V*, 1 p.1; on civic rivalries in the Greek east over the title *metropolis*, see Puech 2004).

It is hard to judge the geographical extent of the Moxeanoi; they appear to have occupied the hill-country that separated the territories of Akmoneia to the west and north-west, Kidyessos to the north-east, Sebaste to the south-west, and Brouzos and Eukarpia to the south-east. Diokleia seems to have been situated at modern Yeşilhisar, formerly Ahırhisar: see *MAMA VI*, xvi-xviii; Robert, *Hellenica X*, 120-1 n.5; Drew-Bear 1980a: 937-8; *TIB Phrygien* 233-4, s.v. Diokleia. It is conceivable that the name Doğla (Yazitepe) echoes the ancient name Diokleia (Drew-Bear 1980a: 938). The location of Siocharax is unknown (*TIB Phrygien* 383-4, s.v. Siocharax).

The original text of lines 6-7 is difficult to recover. The genitive phrase τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου could depend on a different honouring group in the nominative (e.g. οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ γεραῖοι); alternatively, the honouring group may not be mentioned at all, and τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου could be part of a phrase describing Commodus (e.g. [τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ] τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου [σωτήρα] *vel sim.*).

The first of the three individuals responsible for erecting the original statue of Commodus, Q. Petronius Capito Egnatianus (lines 9-10), was descended from two long-established Italian families in the region, the Petronii and Egnatii: see further 102 above (Akmoneia), and especially 66 (Dioskome/Sebaste), where we see members of both families collaborating on a monument dedicated to Philip the Arab. The *cognomen* Egnatianus derives from Petronius' mother's *nomen* Egnatia (Salomies 1992: 61 n.2). The rare gentilician Rufrius (lines 11-12) is also attested in this region on a doorstone of the late second century AD (Λούκιος Ρούφριος: *MAMA VI* 356 = Waelkens 1986: 178, no. 443); the name

is of Umbrian origin, and once again we are presumably dealing with dependents or freedmen of an Italian family. It is likely enough that the final three and a half lines of the inscription (γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δήμου Μάρκου β' τοῦ Οὐαλερίου· ἔτους · σπα'), added in AD 196/7, reflect the emergence of formal civic institutions at Diokleia (including a γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) after the grant of civic status by Septimius Severus in the mid-190s.

The original monument to Commodus can be conjecturally reconstructed as follows:

[[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]]
 [[Μᾶρκου Αὐρήλιου]]
 [[Κόμμοδον Ἄντωνεῖ]-
 [νον]] Σαρματικὸν Γερ-
 5 μανικὸν Βρεταννικὸν
 Σεβαστόν [(e.g.) τὸν τῆς οἰ]-
 [[κουμένης καὶ]] τοῦ Μοξε-
 ανῶν δήμου [σωτήρα]-
 ἀναστησάντων παρ' ἑ-
 10 αυτῶν Κ(όιντος) Πετρωνίου Κα-
 πίτωνος Ἐγνατιανοῦ ὑπέρ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Μάρκου *vac.* καὶ Ρούφου Ρου-
 φρίου Κρίσπου *vac.* καὶ Φιλαδέλφου
 Δημητρίου.

[[*Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus*]] *Sarmaticus Germanicus Britannicus Augustus*, [saviour of the inhabited world and of] the *demos* of the Moxeanoi. (The statue) was set up at their own expense by Q. Petronius Capito Egnatianus, on behalf of his son Marcus, and by Rufus Rufrius Crispus and Philadelphos, son of Demetrios.

In April 2011, the stone was still visible, mortared into the wall of the mosque garden at Doğla (Yazitepe).

158. Urumbey Çeşmesi

Funerary doorstone of the family of Aur. Quintus.

White marble doorstone, broken above; upper part of stone cracked left to right. Single door, with two pairs of panels and plain pilasters to left and right; gabled pediment above. In the upper right door-panel, lock-plate; in the lower right panel, door-knocker. In the tympanum, plain round boss. Above the pediment, half-palmettes to left and right; palmette at top. Lines 1-4 of inscription to the left and right of central palmette; lines 5-6 on the moulding of the pediment; lines 7-10 on left-hand pilaster; line 11 between upper and lower panels of door. Found at Urumbey Çeşmesi, a fountain between Doğla (Yazitepe) and Emiraz (Ayvacık); said to have been brought from Doğla (Yazitepe).

Ht. 0.84+ (upper fragment 0.14; lower fragment 0.72); W. 0.76; Th. 0.23; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on partial squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/92).

AD 260/1 (Year 345 of Sullan era).

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κόϊ|ντος
 γ' πατρὶ Κ|οίντῳ καὶ [μη]-
 τρὶ μ[ο]λυ Ἀντ|ωνία τῆ καὶ
 Ἀγαθῆ | γονεῦ-
 5 σι γλυκυτάτοις μνήμης χά-
 ριν καὶ τέκνοις Ζωτίκῳ κὲ Ποίμνῃ Ἀ-
 χολί|
 vac. ω
 I[- -]
 10 [- - -]
 ἔτους τμεί'.

Aur(elius) Quintus, the third of that name, for my father Quintus and my mother Antonia, also called Agathe, my sweetest parents, in memoriam; and for my children Zotikos and Poimne Acholion [...] Year 345.

The name Ποίμνη (line 6) is extremely rare; in Asia Minor it appears to be attested only once, at Daldis (*LGPN V.A s.v.*). In lines 6-8, we appear to



have a female nickname Ἀχόλιον (diminutive of Ἀχολίς). The male nickname Ἀχόλιος is relatively common in Asia Minor: cf. 120 above (Akmoneia: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ καὶ Ἀχολίς); *I. Didyma* 207 (Φανία τῷ καὶ Ἀχολίῳ); *I. Tralleis* 250 (Thonemann 2007: Πανσανίας ὁ καὶ Ἀχόλιος).

Urumbey Çeşmesi is situated between the villages of Emiraz (modern Ayvacık) and Doğla (modern Yazitepe). Doğla itself may have formed part of the third-century territory of Diokleia, apparently situated at modern Yeşilhisar, formerly Ahırhisar: see the commentary to 157.

The monument is a relatively plain Typ C gabled doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 4-5, 177) of a type attested in the region of the Moxeanoi in the third century AD (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 661, no. 620 = Waelkens 1986: 178-9, no. 446, dated to AD 241/2).

In April 2011, the lower part of the monument, now much damaged, was still lying by a fountain just to the west of the modern village of Doğla (Yazitepe). Another, unpublished doorstone of a similar type was mortared into the wall of a house in the village near the mosque.

159. Yavaşlar

Templon epistyle mentioning the maistor Leon.

White Dokimeian marble templon epistyle, with inscription on the upper fillet. Below, decorative strap-work encircling a medallion with relief portrait of a beardless male figure with large nimbus, holding in his right hand a book emblazoned with a cross. Found at Yavaşlar, in the wall of a sugar-mill.

Ht. 0.15; W. 0.33+; Th. 0.09+; letters 0.01-0.02.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/90).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.



On the fillet above the medallion

[(?) ὑπὲρ ἐὺχῆ]s μαῖστωρος Λέωντος

In the medallion

ὁ ἅγιος Φίλιπος

[? *In fulfillment of the vow of*] the master Leon.
Saint Philip.

For the monument-type (templon epistyle with portraits of saints on medallions), compare 173

below (Kidyessos). For a very similar epistyle fragment from the neighbouring village of Hocalar, see *MAMA VI* 359; however, the two fragments do not appear to derive from the same building. I have restored line 1 as a memorial dedication (cf. 184 below [Synnada]). For the term μαῖστωρ, 'master-craftsman', see 336 below (Perta).

XII. KIDYESSOS

160. Sinanpaşa

Honorific inscription for Agathemeros.

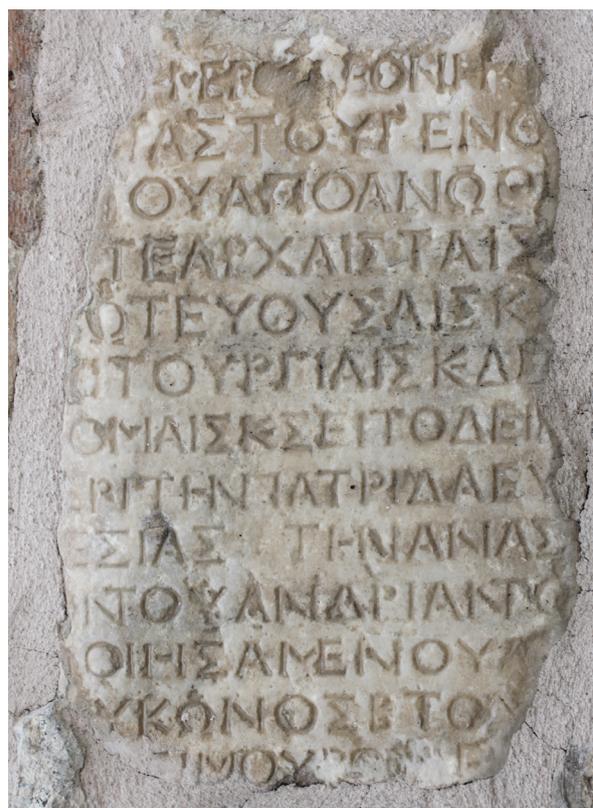
White marble block, broken on all sides, hidden behind. Found at Sinanpaşa (Sincanlı, territory of Kidyessos), in the wall of the main mosque.

Ht. 0.61+; W. 0.41+; Th. --; letters 0.029-0.032.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/21).

Third century AD.

- [- ----- Ἄγ]-
 [αθ]ήμερον <ν>έον ἤ[ρωα]
 [διὰ] τὰς τοῦ γένο[υς]
 [αὐ]τοῦ ἀπὸ ἄνω[θεν]
 5 [ἐν] τε ἀρχαῖς ταῖς
 [πρ]ωτευούσαις κ[αὶ]
 [λε]ιτουργαῖς κὲ δι[α]-
 [ν]ομαῖς κὲ σειτοδεία[ις]
 [π]ερὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐ[ερ]-
 10 [γ]εσίας ν. τὴν ἀνάσ[τα]-
 [σι]ν τοῦ ἀνδριάντο[ς]
 [π]οιησαμένου Α[ὐρ(ηλίου)]
 [Γλ]ύκωνος β' τοῦ [ἐλ]-
 [λο]γίμου βουλευ[τοῦ]



[... Agath]emeros, the young deceased, because of the benefactions of his family towards his homeland over many generations, in the principal offices and liturgies and distributions and grain-shortages. The setting-up of the statue was undertaken by Aur(elius) Glykon, son of Glykon, the well-reputed councillor ...

If the restoration of the gentilician Aur(elius) in lines 11-12 is correct, this honorific inscription ought to date to the third century AD. For the phrase νέος ἥρως = ‘young deceased’ (line 1), see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 207; *OMS* V, 315; and cf. 149 above. For the use of the adverb ἄνωθεν to

signify ‘from earlier generations’ (line 3), cf. *IGR* IV 779 (Apameia-Kelainai), Πομπήιον Φάλκωνα ἀνθύπατον ἄνωθεν εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν; *I.Prusa* 21, ἄνωθεν ἐκ προγόνων ὄντα φιλότιμον; *I.Ephesos* 989, γένος ἔχουσαν ἄνωθεν ἱερείων καὶ κοσμητειῶν. I can find no parallels for the pleonastic ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν. For the adjective ἐλλόγιμος in lines 12-13, compare Calder 1956: 49, no.2 (*SEG* 15, 812: Eukarpeia, Sandıklı), line 12 (the restorations here are questionable). The stone was still visible mortared into the wall of the mosque at Sinanpaşa in April 2011.

161. Bal Mahmut

Milestone measured from Kidyessos.

Coarse breccia column, broken below. Found at Bal Mahmut (near Kidyessos), in the courtyard of a house. Ht. 1.20+; Diameter 0.33; letters 0.040-0.060.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze (1956/20).

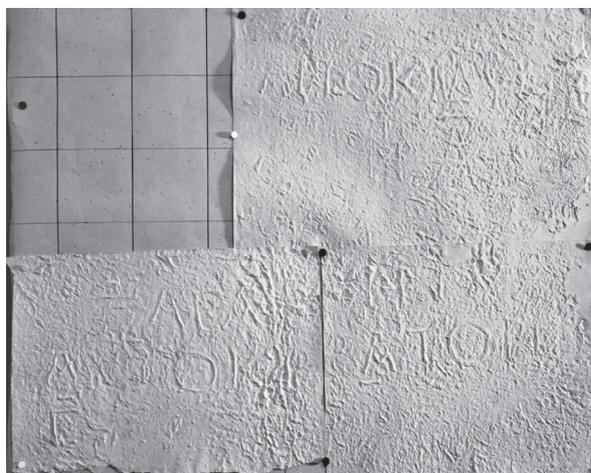
Roman imperial period.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Αὐτοκράτορι[- -]
 Γ[- - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - -]
 5 [- - - - - - - -]
 ἀπὸ Κιδυήσ[σου]
 μί(λιον) α΄

With good fortune. To emperor... from Kidyessos, one mile.

Ballance was uncertain whether lines 3-5 had been deliberately erased, naturally worn away, or never inscribed in the first place. At the bottom of the shaft, inverted, Ballance read traces of a very worn inscription (letters 0.035-0.045), καὶ Μαξιμι[άνω - - -].

This is only the second known inscription to carry the name of the city of Kidyessos. The city's name also appears on a badly worn inscription, copied by Ramsay in 1883 at the village of Bulca on the north-eastern flank of the Büyüksincanlı ovası, a little under 2km SW of Bal Mahmut (Γρατιανόν... ἡ Κιδυησσέων πόλις: see Ramsay 1887: 467-8; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 662, no. 625). Ramsay claimed that 'the actual site is, I think, at a village reported in 1883 by my companion, Mr. Sterrett, as Cutch Eyuk, the modern village of Küçükhüyük, 3km south of Bulca (Ramsay 1887: 468; cf. Gönçer 1971: 183). More recently, Thomas Drew-Bear has proposed locating the site of Kidyessos in the far south-west of the Büyüksincanlı ovası, at Hisar Tepe, a rocky mound just NNW of Çayhisar, 13km south-west



of Bulca (personal communications *ap.* Aulock 1980: 71 n.199a; *TIB Phrygien* 301, *s.v.* Kidyessos). There was certainly a site of some kind at Hisar Tepe: the site was visited by Norbert Mersich in 1985 (*TIB Phrygien* 301), who saw the remains of ruined walls, large quantities of pottery, some Roman inscriptions and spolia, the remains of an aqueduct and large quantities of early Byzantine architectural fragments.

This milestone furnishes welcome evidence in support of Ramsay's placement of the site in the north-eastern part of the Büyüksincanlı ovası. Indeed, if the milestone was *in situ* when it was copied by Ballance, then Kidyessos could well be situated at Bulca itself, which lies almost exactly one Roman mile south-west of Bal Mahmut. At any rate, we may be reasonably confident that Drew-Bear's identification of the site at Hisar Tepe (a full 15km SE of Bal Mahmut) as Kidyessos is incorrect.

Ballance visited Küçükhüyük in the summer of 1956; a photograph (MHB neg. 5032) shows a group of locals around a decorative column capital of the fifth or sixth century AD. There appears to be no record of the capital in his notebooks.

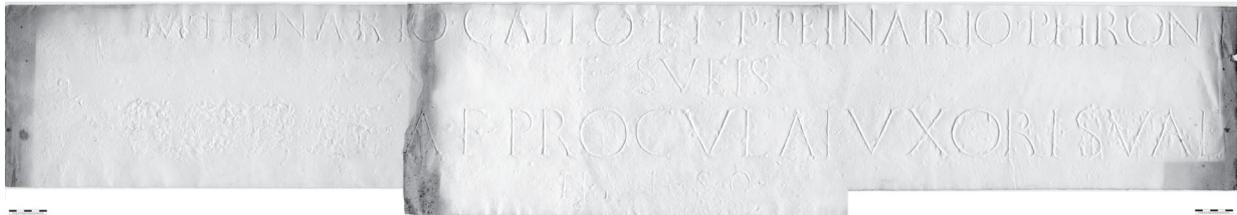
162. Bal Mahmut

Latin funerary inscription of Pinarii.

White marble block, broken right, buried behind and above (1956). Found at Bal Mahmut (near Kidyessos), built into a step in the vestibule of the mosque (1956); in use as a bench outside the mosque (2011).

Ht. 0.31+; W. 1.72+; Th. 0.20+; letters 0.035-0.065. Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze (1956/18); photographs (CVC, 2011). Late first century BC or first century AD.

[- -]V · M(arcus) · Peinarius · T(iti) · f(ilius) · Aem(ilia) · Tertiu[s]
 M(arco) · Peinario · Gallo · et · P(ublio) · Peinario · Phront[oni]
 f(iliis) · sueis
 [[e]t^{c. 6-8}] e · A(uli) · f(iliae) · Proculai · uxori · suae · [- -]
 5 H · M · H · S · O ·



... *M(arcus) Peinarius Tertius, son of T(itus), of the tribe Aemilia, for M(arcus) Peinarius Gallus and P(ublius) Peinarius Fronto his sons and for [- - -] Procula, daughter of A(ulus), his wife. This tomb follows... (?)*

Lines 2-5 of the inscription were recorded by Ballance in 1956, at which point line 1 (not seen by Ballance) was presumably concealed in the mosque steps. By 2011, the stone had been removed from the steps of the mosque, and was in use as a bench in the mosque garden; lines 2-5 had been worn to illegibility, but line 1 was now fully visible.

The family's gentilician (Lat. *Pinarius*) is not an especially common one; the patrician family of the *Pinarii* was one of the oldest at Rome. The Kidyessian *Pinarii* were presumably Italian immigrants rather than Phrygians who had been granted the citizenship, although I am unable to find any plausible connection with any other holders of the *nomen*. Most likely we are dealing with a Italian *negotiator* who settled permanently with his family at Kidyessos in the Late Republican period: for this phenomenon, see Thonemann 2010: 169-74, and a forthcoming

study by P. Thonemann, in *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society* (Cambridge, 2013). For other Latin funerary inscriptions of the Late Republican and early Imperial period from central Phrygia, see e.g. *MAMA VI* 202 (Apameia: bilingual); 115 above (Akmoneia: L. Aelius Venustus). A legionary tribune by the name of Q. Pinarius L.f., also of the tribe Aemilia, is attested at Ephesos in the triumviral period: *I.Ephesos* 705A; *AE* 1992, 1581; Schäfer 2000: 131-2.

It is difficult to be certain of the date of the monument. The earliest coinage of Kidyessos, minted under Domitian, was struck in the name of a high-priest Flavius Peinarius (ἐπὶ Φλαουίου Πειναρίου ἀρχιερέως: Aulock 1980: 70-2, 127-8; *RPC II* 1390-2), clearly a member of this same family. In line 4, Procula's gentilician has been deliberately erased, for unknown reasons. In line 5, I can offer no convincing resolution of the abbreviation HMHSO. A tiny handful of examples are known where the common formula *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)* is inverted (e.g. *CIL VI* 11451; 27839; 38697, *hoc monumentum heredem sequitur*), but I can find no parallel for the addition of an O: conceivably *hoc monumentum heredes sequitur omnes*?

163. Güney

Funerary *bomos* of Zosimos and family.

Whitish marble *bomos*, broken above and below; upper moulding defaced. Found at Güney (territory of Kidyessos), in a house wall.

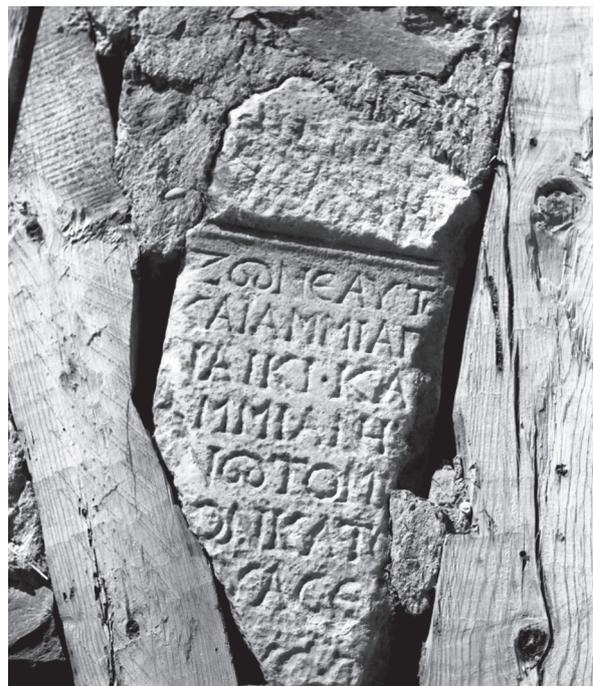
Ht. 0.56+; W. 0.25; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.035.

Legrand and Chamondard 1893: 273-4, no. 67 ('dans le mézarlik'); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 662, no. 623 (from a copy by J.R.S. Sterrett, 1883). Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/11).

Second or third century AD.

Ζώσι[μος]
 ζῶν ἐαυτῶ
 καὶ Ἀμμία γυ-
 ναικὶ καὶ
 5 Ἀμμιανῆ τέ-
 κνω τὸ μνη-
 μεῖον κατε-
 σκεύασεν.
 [ἐ]τους [- -]

Zosimos constructed the tomb for himself and his wife Ammia and his child Ammiane, while still living. Year - -.



The stone has suffered some damage since it was first copied by Sterrett in 1883. Line 1 (ΖΩΣΙ) was seen only by Legrand and Chamondard, and line 9 (ΤΟΥΣ) only by Sterrett; otherwise the two earlier copies are confirmed by Ballance's photograph.

164. Güney

Funerary *bomos* of Apphia and family, Christians.

Whitish Dokimeian marble *bomos*, broken above, the lower end recut as a moulding. The shaft rough-picked, with smoothed panels for the inscription on front and left-hand faces. Inscription begins on front face (lines 1-6) and continues on left-hand face (lines 7-8); on the left-hand face, above the inscription, the base of a large incised cross. Found at Güney (territory of Kidyessos), by the new mosque.

Ht. 0.74+; W. 0.28-0.30; Th. 0.27-0.28; letters 0.012-0.017.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/10).

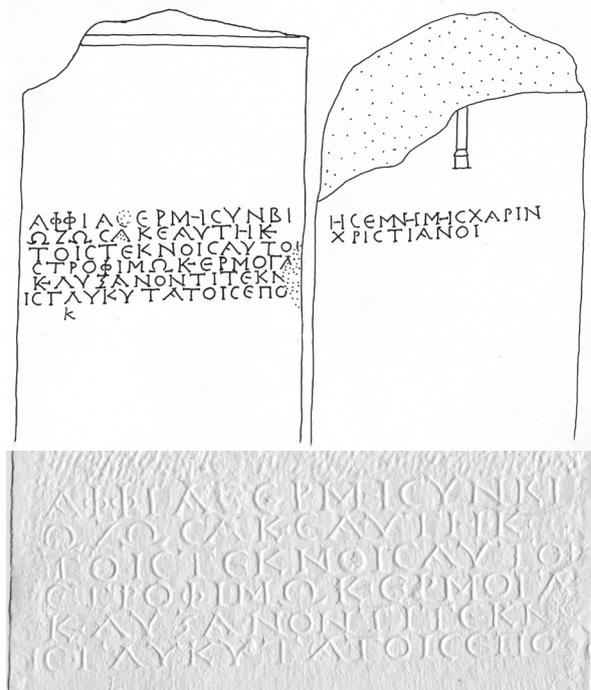
Second or third century AD.

front face
 Αφφια[ς] Ἑρμῆ συνβί-
 ω ζῶσα κὲ ἐαυτῆ κὲ
 τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῖ-
 σ Τροφίμω κὲ Ἑρμογᾶ
 5 κὲ Αὐξάνοντι τέκν[ο]-
 ις γλυκυτάτοις ἐπο[ί]-

left-hand face
 ησε μνήμης χάριω
 Χριστιανοί.

Apphia made this while still living for her husband Hermes and for herself and for the children themselves, Trophimos and Hermogas and Auxanon, sweetest children, in memoriam. Christians.

In line 1, the mason seems originally to have inscribed ΑΦΦΙΑΣ, before erasing the sigma. Both Αφφια and Αφφιας are attested as women's names in this region (Zgusta 1964: 83-4, §66-51 and §66-53). In lines 3-4, τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῖς is likely to be a confusion for τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, 'their children'. For the layout of the inscription (beginning on one face, then continuing on the face to the left), compare 105 above (Akmoneia). The single word Χριστιανοί is not uncommon in this region as a way of indicating the deceased's faith: cf. e.g. 122 above (Akmoneia); MAMA VI 235-6 (Apameia); Waelkens 1986: 197-8, no. 488 (Temenouthyrai). For discussion, see Gibson 1978; Mitchell 1993: II 37-43. It is unfortunate that this monument cannot be more closely dated. The absence of the nomen Aurelius, combined with the fine lettering, could be taken to support a date before AD 212.



165. Tokuşlar

Funerary *bomos* of Theodoule and her children.

White marble *bomos* with mouldings above and omphaloid top; broken below. Found at Tokuşlar (territory of Kidyessos), in the boundary wall of the cemetery, on the road west to Kınık.

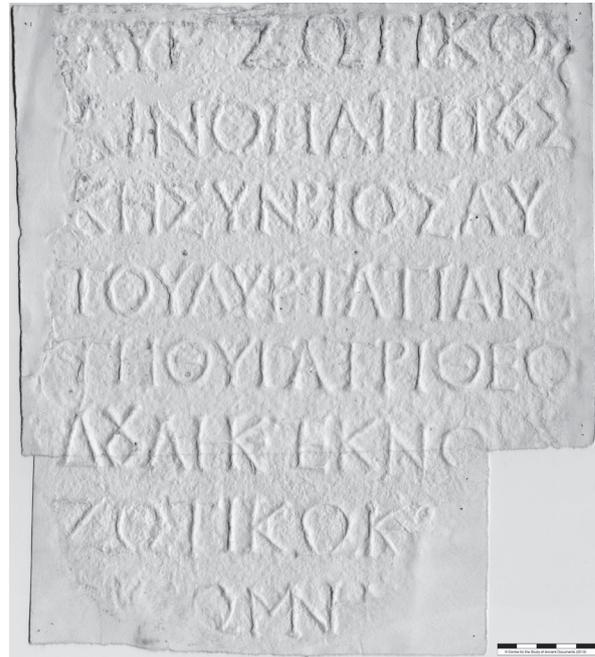
Ht. 0.67+; W. 0.33 (upper moulding), 0.26-0.28 (shaft); Th. --; letters 0.027-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze (1956/7).

Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζωτικὸς
 ΛΙΝΟΠΑΠΠΟΥΣ
 κὲ ἡ σύνβιος αὐ-
 τοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Τατιανῆ
 5 τῆ θυγατρὶ Θεο-
 δούλῃ κὲ τέκνο[ις]
 Ζωτικῶ κὲ [. . c. 4 . .]
 [. c. 2 .]ω, μνήμ[η]ς χά[-
 [ρι. vac. (?)]

Aur(elius) Zotikos... and his wife Aur(elia) Tatiane (set this up) for their daughter Theodoule and her children Zotikos and ..., in mem[oriam].



The reading in line 2 seems certain, aside from the first letter, which could be a *lambda* or an *alpha*. I do not know how to interpret this sequence of letters; I know of no personal name, ethnic, or designation of profession that looks anything like this.

166. Çayhisar

Votive base of tribune of Constantiniani.

White Dokimeian marble base or column-plinth, broken above and behind. Inscribed on all three surviving faces; on the under surface, an incised circle, perhaps a setting-mark. Found at Çayhisar (territory of Kidyessos), outside a house on the right bank of the stream, said to have been brought from the *hisar*.

Ht. 0.36+; W. 0.45 (shaft), 0.51 (lower moulding); Th. 0.40+ (shaft), 0.43+ (lower moulding); letters 0.045 (front), 0.018-0.021 (left side), 0.020-0.031

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; squeezes; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/6).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

I

(front face)

[Ἐμμανου]-

[ήλ·]

μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ

θεός

II

(left hand face)

[- - - -]ΤΗ[- -]ΩΝ

[- - - -]τω ρύσσο πάτρη

[ἀπό τῶν]δε κακῶν· πανυπερ-

[τάτων] δ' ἀγαθῶν αὔξη-

5 [σιν α]ὐτός γε θέλις.

III

(right hand face)

[- - - - - - - - - -] ὁ λαμ[-

πρ(ότατος) τριβ(ούνος) νομέροϋ [τῶν]

γενν(αιοτάτων) καὶ καθοσιω[μ(ένων)]

Κωνσταντιανῶ[ν]

εὐξάμενος τῇ ἀγία]

5 τριάδι ἀνέστησα. ♡



I: [Emmanuel]: God is with us.

II: ...you might save the homeland [from the]se evils; for you yourself seek the incr[ease] of the greatest blessings.

III: ...the most glorious (clarissimus) tribune of the numerus of the most brave and loyal Constantiniani, in fulfillment of a vow, I set this up to the Holy Trinity.

The invocation on the front face derives from Matthew I:23, Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον· μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. Epigraphical instances of the formula are collected by Feissel 1983: 230-1, no. 274 (Stobi). If my restorations on the left-hand face are correct,



either an emperor or God is being praised for saving (ῥύσσο, II line 2, i.e. ῥύσαιο) the region from evils of some kind.

The inscription on the right-hand face records the erection of the monument (whatever it was) by a tribune of a military unit described as a *numerus Constantinianorum*. The epithets *γενναϊότατος* and *καθωσιωμένος* are regularly used of soldiers and military units from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD: see in particular *I.Beroia* 443 (fifth or sixth century AD), *στρατευσαμένου ἐν τῷ γεννεοτάτου ἀριθμοῦ τῶν καθωσιωμένων σαγιπταρίων*, with the parallels collected by Feissel 1983: 69-70 (add *RECAM* II 450 [Tavium], ὁ καθωσιωμένος Φλαβιάλις)). The *numerus Constantinianorum* must surely be identical to the elite infantry unit (*auxilium palatinum*, 600-700 men) of the *Constantiniani*, mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* (VI 52) as belonging to the forces (stationed in Asia Minor) of the second *magister militum praesentalis*. The *Constantiniani* are epigraphically attested elsewhere in western Asia Minor, on the tombstone of a member of a subdivision (*bandon*) of the *Constantiniani* at



Pylai in Bithynia, dating to AD 531 (*SEG* 45, 1692: [σ]τρατοῦτης δευτέ[ρο]ν [β]άνδου Κοσταν[τ]-ινηκῶν; see further Zuckerman 1995; Scharf 1997; Zuckerman 1998). The fragmentary state (and uncertain dating) of the present inscription is frustrating. The left-hand face could well be referring to a campaign in which the unit took part; in that case, the anonymous tribune may well have dedicated this monument in fulfillment of a vow made in advance of the campaign.

167. Çobanözü

Building inscription, perhaps of a church.

Irregular yellowish sandstone block, broken at bottom left and bottom right. Found at Çobanözü (territory of Kidyessos), in the wall of the mosque.

Ht. 0.96+; W. 0.86+; Th. --; letters 0.035-0.055.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/8).

Sixth century AD.

θεοῦ προ-
νύα διὰ τοῦ
ἀρχαγγέλου

Μιχαήλ ἐγένετο

5 ἔργον ἐπὶ Ἑσυχίου ἐν λ(αβεστάτου) [.]

[. 1-2.] Ἡμένω, μηνὶ πρώτ(ω) ἐν δι(κτιῶνος) αἰ΄

[ὕ]περὶ εὐχῆς Τροφίμου ΤΡΟ[-]

[-]ν κὲ παντὸς τοῦ ἔκου [-]

[- -] εὐλογία πάση τ[-]

10 [- -] ἀμήν· vac.

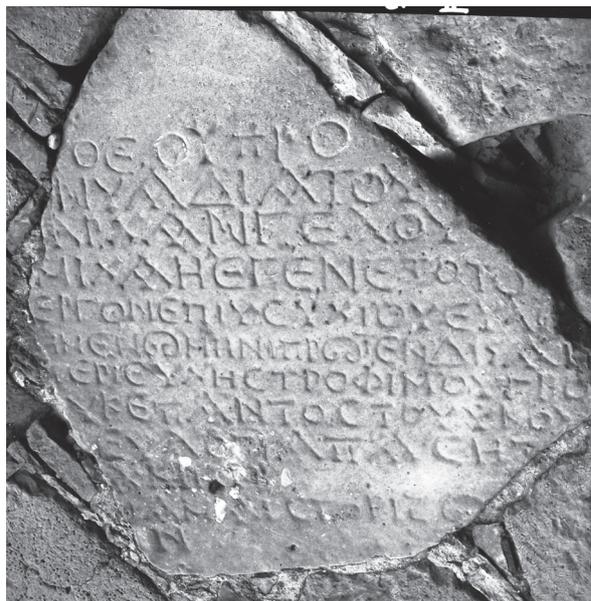
[- -]μα μαίστορι Ζω[-]

[- -]ν vac.

By divine foresight, through the archangel Michael, this work was completed when the pious Hesychios was..., in the first month of the eleventh indiction. In fulfillment of the vow of Trophimos... and all his house... A blessing on all... Amen. ...the master...

The inscription was cut on an irregularly shaped block of coarse sandstone. Lines 1-4 are certainly complete; it is unlikely that more than one or two letters are missing from the start and end of lines 5-7; considerably more may be missing from lines 8-12.

I am unable to propose a plausible restoration for the title of Hesychios in lines 5-6; it is tempting to regard him as an abbot (*ἡγουμένος*), but the apparent *eta* at the start of line 6 militates against the restoration [*ἡγ|ου*]μένω. For the term *μαῖστωρ*, ‘master-craftsman’ (line 11), see 336 below (Perta).



168. Çobanözü

Building inscription.

Yellowish sandstone block, broken right. Inscription at top; below, incised depiction of a circle in a double lozenge, all within a rectangle. Found at Çobanözü (territory of Kidyessos), in the wall of the mosque.

Dimensions not recorded.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/9).

Sixth century AD.

ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον ἐπ[ι - -]

The work was completed whe[n...]

It is possible that this building inscription refers to the same monument as 167 above. If the incised design on the stone was precisely symmetrical, there would only be space for a further 5-6 letters at the end of the inscription, which seems insufficient for a name and office (‘when so-and-so was bishop/deacon/abbot...’). It therefore seems probable that only a little under



half the original width of the stone is preserved. For a fully-preserved plaque with circle-in-lozenge-in-rectangle occupying the left-hand half only, see Büyükkolancı 2008: 75 (Ephesos, XI AD).

169. Güney

Tympanum of vaulted door with biblical quotations.

White marble slab, broken right. On the left, recessed panel (Ht. 0.61, W. 0.25) with an incised depiction of a date-palm; on the right, part of an arch supported on a column. Inscription running down the vertical right-hand moulding of the inset panel (line 1) and horizontally on the lower moulding of the inset panel (line 2). Found at Güney (territory of Kidyessos), in an empty house in the lower *mahalle*, in use as a hearthstone.

Ht. 0.87; W. 0.57+; Th. --; letters 0.010-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/12).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

σ ὦ αετιουω ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος
 θεὸς ἐστρατιῶν Ψ
 ὦ θεὸς βοηθός μου[ν].

(Sequence of vowels) *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. God is my help.*

For the sequence of seven vowels at the start of line 1 (with what I assume is a definite article, ὦ, in front of them), compare e.g. *I.Milet* (VI 2) 943, in which seven archangels are called upon to protect the city of Miletos. The remainder of the line consists of a version of the Sanctus (Isaiah 6:3: ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ). Here, the term sabaoth ('hosts') is translated into Greek



(ἐστρατιῶν), with a characteristically Phrygian prothetic vowel (Brixhe 1987: 115-6); compare *ἱστρατιώτης* in 45 above (1954/13: Eumeneia) and *MAMA VII 63a* (Laodikeia Katakekaumene). I am unable to explain the symbols at the beginning and end of the line. Line 2 is a slightly abbreviated quotation from Psalm 18.2, ὁ θεός μου βοηθός μου καὶ ἐλπιδίω ἐπ' αὐτόν.

170. Akçaşar

Prayer to God for help of majordomo Theodoros.

Double half-column in local conglomerate, broken above and right. Found at Akçaşar (territory of Kidyessos), in a lane.

Ht. 1.20+; W. 0.60+; Th. 0.22; letters 0.040-0.070.

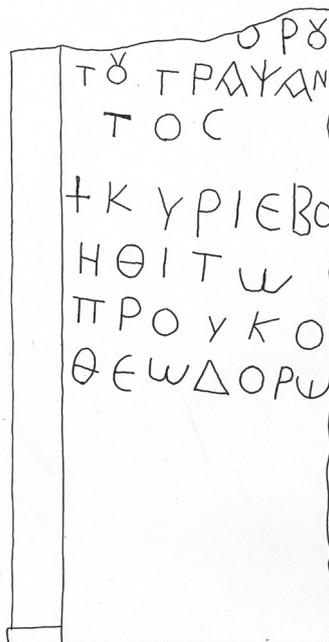
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/15).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[† κύριε]
[μνήσθητι]
[Θεωδ]όρου
τοῦ γράψαν-
τος vac.
† κύριε βο-
ήθι τῷ
προύκο
Θεωδόρω
vac.

5

[Lord, be mindful of Theod]oros, who wrote this.
Lord, save the majordomo Theodoros.



For the term *πρόοικος*, 'majordomo, household manager' (line 6: *προύκο*, i.e. *προοίκω*), see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 105-6; Drew-Bear 1978: 93-4, no. 29 (Eumeneia).

171. Akçaşar

Memorial dedication of Alexandros.

Limestone cornice or string-mould, broken left and right. Found at Akçaşar (territory of Kidyessos), in the stairs leading to the roof of the mosque.

Ht. 0.16; W. 0.76+; Th. 0.29+; letters 0.017-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; squeeze (1956/17).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[- -]ΝΕΣ ὑπερὶ εὐχῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ΘΡΕ[- -]
[- -]ΑΛΡΥ κὲ παντὸς τοῦ γένου(ς) αὐτοῦ[- -]

...in fulfillment of the vow of Alexandros... and all his family...

At the start of line 2, we have the letters ΑΛΡΥ with an abbreviation mark above them; it is possible that this should be understood as an abbreviation for the name Ἀλ(εξάνδ)ρ(ο)υ. In that case, we could restore the second clause e.g. [καὶ ὑπερὶ σωτηρίας] Ἀλ(εξάνδ)ρ(ο)υ κὲ παντὸς τοῦ γένου(ς) αὐτοῦ]. For memorial dedications of this kind in central Phrygia, see the commentary to 184 below (Synnada), and cf. 172 below (Bal Mahmut).



172. Bal Mahmut**Memorial dedication of Eugenios.**

Rough grey trachyte block, complete. Inscription to the left and right of a large incised cross. Found at Bal Mahmut (near Kidyessos), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.62; W. 0.75; Th. 0.69; letters 0.020-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/19).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς καλῆ]
σωτηρίας Εὐγενί-
ου Κόνονος, ἀμήν.

In fulfillment of the vow and for the salvation of Eugenios son of Konon, Amen.

For memorial dedications of this kind in central Phrygia, see the commentary to 184 below (Synnada), and cf. 171 above (Akçaşar).

**173. Çayhisar****Templon epistyle and upright with images of saints.**

Left-hand part of *templon* epistyle and fragmentary upright of greyish-white Dokimeian marble, with mouldings on outer and inner edges. On the undersurface of the epistyle, 0.10m from the left-hand end, dowel hole for attachment to the upright. On the epistyle: at far left, above the upright, full-length incised champlévé depiction of St Aberkios; along the front of the epistyle, five incised portraits in medallions: (1) head-and-shoulders bust of bearded St Pausikakos; (2) head-and-shoulders bust of bearded St Nikolaos; (3) head-and-shoulders bust of unbearded St Thomas; (4) waist-length depiction of the winged archangel Michael; (5) head-and-shoulders bust of the Virgin Mary. On the upright: vine-scroll with birds and animals in relief. On left-hand side of the upright, rebate channel for a screen. Found at Çayhisar (territory of Kidyessos), in the yard of the same house as 166 above.

(Lintel) 0.19; W. 0.60+; Th. 0.115; letters 0.007-0.013.

(Jamb) Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.16; Th. 0.11.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1956/3-4).

Tenth century AD.





ὁ ἅγιος Ἀβέρκιος

ὁ ἅγιος Πανσίκακος

ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος

ὁ ἅ(γιος) Θομάς

5

Μηχαίλ

μη(τή)ρ [θ(εο)ῦ]

*Saint Aberkios. Saint Pausikakos. Saint Nikolaos.
Saint Thomas. Michael. Mother [of God]...*

It seems very likely that the incised champlévé decoration on the epistyle represents the left-hand side of a Deisis flanked by archangels and saints, all depicted in incised medallions. If so, the original epistyle would have been a little over double the width of the surviving fragment (0.60m), with Christ in the centre flanked by the Theotokos and St John Prodromos, the archangels Michael and (probably) Gabriel to left and right, with four saints on each side. Our epistyle is stylistically very close to that of the eleventh-century church at Sebaste (Firatlı 1970: 139 Res. 34-6); the clusters of incised triangles between the medallions on our epistyle are also found on the uprights of the Sebaste templon (Firatlı 1970: 140, Res. 39). For similar middle Byzantine examples in Phrygia, see Sodini 1995: 294-9; St Thomas, depicted on our epistyle, also appears on a contemporary *templon* epistyle from Metropolis (Tatarlı) in southern Phrygia (MAMA IV 135).

The chief interest of the epistyle decoration is the presence on the far left-hand side of two 'local' saints, St Aberkios of Hierapolis (Koçhisar) and

St Pausikakos of Synnada (Şuhut); compare the depiction on an epistyle from Synnada of the local saint Trophimos of Synnada (Sodini 1995: 299-302). Neither of these two saints had any particular association with Kidyessos, and hence their presence side by side here (and the particular prominence of Aberkios, depicted full-length at far left) constitutes important evidence for a strong sense of 'Phrygian' regional affiliation among the ecclesiastical communities of the region in the middle Byzantine period. St Aberkios, bishop of Hierapolis in the second century AD, is well known to us thanks to his (partially extant) tombstone and to a considerably later hagiographical Life, probably dating to the late fourth or early fifth century AD: see Wischmeyer 1980; Nissen 1912: 3-55; Thonemann 2011a: 84-7; Thonemann 2012. St Pausikakos is a more obscure figure. The short accounts of his life in the Synaxaria describe him as a native of Apameia (perhaps Apameia-Kelainai), the son of wealthy parents, and a doctor by profession. He was appointed bishop of Synnada by the patriarch of Constantinople, Kyriakos (596-606), and was said to have healed the emperor Maurice (582-602) from a serious illness, receiving in reward an annual remission of a litre of gold from Synnada's tax dues (Delehay 1902: cols. 682-4, May 13; Destephen 2008: 783). The only other depiction of him in Asia Minor comes from the tenth-century Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia (Epstein 1986: 67 and Pl. 122; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 104).

174. Akçaşar

Templon epistyle mentioning Nikephoros hypatos.

Bluish-white crystalline marble *templon* epistyle with decorative relief, broken left and right; inscription on upper moulding. Found at Akçaşar (territory of Kidyessos), in the west wall of the mosque.

Ht. 0.145; W. 0.27+; Th. 0.10+; letters 0.017-0.023.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/16).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

[- -] Νηκιφόρου ὑπάτου[- -]

...of Nikephoros, of the rank of hypatos...

This inscribed epistyle, with a relief depiction of a ten-pointed rosette within decorative strapwork, is of a type characteristic of the middle Byzantine period: compare for instance the epistyle from the western templon of the Lower City Church at Amorion (Iverson 2008: 506), or the templon of the Panagia Krina on Chios (Pennas 2008). For the



design of the strapwork, compare Firatlı 1970: 139 Res. 34-6 (templon of eleventh-century church at Sebaste). By the tenth century AD, ὑπάτος was a relatively minor honorific title in the Byzantine aulic hierarchy, and hence cannot here be serving as a dating mechanism: see Guillard 1967: II 44-67.

XIII. PRYMNESSOS

175. Süğlün

Fragment of a building inscription.

Fragment of white marble architrave, buried above, broken left, right, above and behind. Found at Süğlün (Prymnessos), in the doorway of a house.

Ht. 0.26+; W. 0.56+; Th. 0.38+; letters 0.060.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/72).

Second or third century AD.

[- -]NTΩ[- -]

This architrave may well originally have carried the name of an Antonine emperor ([A]ντ-ω[νειν-]). I am unable to locate any further published fragments of this monument. Another fragmentary architrave block from Süğlün, carrying the letters OKPAT, was published by Hamilton 1842: II 436, no. 174 (*CIG* III 3882 h, Addenda, p.1101). However, the two fragments do



not derive from the same monument: Hamilton's fragment was rediscovered by Buckler, Calder and Guthrie in 1929, and republished (without reference to Hamilton or *CIG*) in *MAMA* IV 12 ([Aύτ]οκράτο[ρα . . .]), with a photo that makes it clear that the lettering of the two fragments is quite different.

176. Süğlün

Fragment of a building inscription.

Pink trachyte sarcophagus with upper moulding, buried below. On one side, *tabula ansata*. Lines 1-6 of inscription within the *tabula ansata*, line 7 on lower rim, line 8 below. Found at Süğlün (Prymnessos), re-used as a horse-trough in a fountain (Güvercinlik Çeşmesi) at the south end of the village.

♠ dd(is) m(anibus)
M(arcus) · Aur(elius) · Victorinus ♠
Augustorum libertus
tabular(i)us regionaris

5 Ipsina(e) · et Moeteanae
Mauricius li(bertus) · patrono ♠
fecit arçam tantum.

T(itos) Στα(τ)ιος Νίγερ συνεχώρησα τὴν
σορὸν ἐπιτεθῆναι φιλίας χάριν.

Line 4: *TABULARTUS* lapis. Lines 6-7: *M. Aur. Icius li(bertus) patrono v(otum?) | fecit arçam tantum* Ballance 1969. Line 8: *Στάσιος* Ballance.

Ht. 0.57+; W. 2.07; Th. 0.83; *tabula ansata*, Ht. 0.40; W. 0.82; letters 0.030-0.040.

Ballance 1969; [*BE* 1972, 456; *AE* 1973, 533; Kearsley 2001: no. 110]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/74).

Late second or early third century AD.

To the spirits of the dead. M(arcus) Aur(elius) Victorinus, freedman of the Augusti, tabular(ius) of the regio Ipsina et Moeteana. His freedman Mauricius made this sarcophagus for his patron alone (?). T(itus) Sta(τ)ιος (?) Niger granted that the sarcophagus should be placed (here), for friendship's sake.

Ballance reported (1969: 143-4) that ‘the stone was covered with moss and dripping with water; in the circumstances it was impossible to make an impression.’ His photograph, ‘taken just before sunset’, illustrates lines 1-6 only; ‘further scrubbing then revealed lines 7-8, the former on the border of the *tabula*, the latter below it; it was too dark for a second photograph.’ The readings in lines 7-8 thus depend solely on Ballance’s notebook copy, with the exception of the first word of line 7 (*fecit*), which can just be made out on the photograph.

At the end of line 6, Ballance misread the lower part of a *hedera* as the letter V, which he understood to be an abbreviation of *v(otum)*. In line 7, Ballance read *fecit arcam tantum*; the term *area* is out of place here, and I suspect that the true reading is *arcam*, ‘funerary chest, sarcophagus’, corresponding to *σορόν* in line 8. If the word *tantum* is correctly read, it ought to mean that the *arca* was ‘for him only’: cf. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 378, SIT 2 (C. *Iulius Celer... sibi et Iuliae Primillae co(niugi) b(ene) m(erenti) fecit posterisque suis tantum*). In line 6, Ballance hesitated as to whether to interpret the letters MAVRICIVS (without interpuncts) as *M. Aur. Icius* or *Mauricius* (1969: 144). The name *Icius* is very poorly attested (apparently only in *I.Smyrna* 223, τὸ μνημεῖον ἐστὶν Ἰκίου Ἰκίου τοῦ Εὐημέρου; the Roman gentilician *Iccius* is not relevant), and it is probably better to suppose that Victorinus’ freedman carried the name *Mauricius*. In line 8, Ballance read the personal name as T. Στάσιος Νίγερ. However, the gentilician *Stasius* seems to be otherwise unknown; I have assumed a minor misreading of the common gentilician Στά(τ)ιος (a *T. Stasius* is attested at Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 47.98).

For the freedmen *tabularii* of imperial estates, see Weaver 1972: 244-52; the evidence for imperial freedmen acting as *tabularii* for imperial domains in eastern Phrygia is collected by Drew-Bear 1978: 10-12. The title *tabularius regionarius* (=



tabularius regionis) seems not to be attested elsewhere, although soldiers deputed to the protection of particular provincial districts were regularly known as *regionarii* (Brélaz 2005: 264-7); cf. e.g. the *centurio regionarius* (ἐκατόνταρχον ῥεγεωνάριον) at Pisidian Antioch (Calder 1912b: 80-4; Roueché 1981: 115-16). For the use of the term *regio* to refer to imperial estates in Asia Minor, cf. TAM V 3, 1871 (Philadelpheia: βοηθὸς ἐπιτρόπων ῥεγιῶνος Φιλαδελφηνῆς); IGR III 1502 (Oinoanda: ῥεγεῶνος Οἰνο(ανδικῆς)); Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1967-80.

For this particular cluster of imperial estates, situated in the Upper Tembris and Kaystros valleys north of Prymnessos, see Strubbe 1975: 230-6. The eponymous centre of the *regio Moeteana* has not been located with precision; Ballance 1969: 146 plausibly connected the name with the δῆμου κοινο(ῦ) Μοιτεανῶν Σοηνῶν, part of a group of inhabitants of this imperial estate who submitted a petition to Philip the Arab in AD 244-6 (*MAMA* X 114.8; Hauken 1998: 140-61, esp. 154-5). The village of the Μοιτεανοί ought therefore to lie in the vicinity of the village of Soa, securely located at modern Altıntaş Köyü in the Upper Tembris region (*TIB Phrygien* 385-6, s.v. Soa). On the *regio Ipsina* and the location of Ipsos (the site of the defeat of Antigonos Monophthalmos in 301 BC), see Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 215-9; Strubbe 1975: 236-9; *TIB Phrygien* 282, s.v. Ipsos.

177. Süglün

Funerary *bomos* with Eumeneian formula.

White marble *bomos*, broken above. Found at Süglün (Prymnessos), in the wall of a yard at the west end of the village.

Ht. 0.56; W. 0.24 (shaft), 0.26 (lower moulding); Th. 0.26 (shaft), 0.28 (lower moulding); letters 0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/73).

Third century AD.

[- - -] . . .
 μενίδου κα-
 τεσκεύασεν
 [τ]ὸ ἡρώον [έ]αυ-
 5 τῶ καὶ τῇ γυναι-
 κί [. . . ^{c.3} .]λλη καὶ
 [. . . ^{c.7} . . .]δώρα
 τῇ [μητρὶ (?)]· ἐὰν
 [δέ] τις κακῶς
 10 πύησι, ἔστω
 ἀ[ύ]τῳ πὸς τ[ὸ]ν
 κτίσαντα τὰ
 πάντα.

...son of ...menides constructed the tomb for himself and his wife ...lle and ...dora his mother; if anyone harms (the tomb), he shall have to reckon with the creator of all things.

The monument appears later to have been re-used as a whetstone, and the central part of the face of the stone is deeply lined with diagonal grooves, rendering the text extremely difficult to read. The inscription is a funerary monument of the third century AD, featuring (lines 8-13) an unparalleled variant on the Eumeneian formula (see the



commentary to 36 above [Eumeneia]; for another new variant on the formula, see also 17 below [Apollonia]). The violator of the tomb will have to reckon with ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα, 'the creator of all things', i.e. the Christian or Jewish God (cf. e.g. Genesis 14:19; Revelation 10:6, ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ). For the spelling πός (=πρός) in line 11, also found in 181 below (Synnada), see Brixhe 1987: 113-4.

XIV. SYNNAIDA

178. Hallaç

Fragment of Latin public inscription.

White marble fragment, broken on all sides. Found at Hallaç (territory of Synnada), in a pile of stones on the south-east side of the village.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.27+; Th. 0.31+; letters 0.030-0.032.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; drawing; photograph (1955/13).

Roman imperial period.

vac.?

[-]iota[-]

[-]ciae[-]

[-]urb[-]

[-]laris[-]

At the start of line 1, a vertical stroke is visible at the very edge of the surviving face. The stroke is too close to the *O* to be the central vertical of a *T*, and is more likely to be an *I* or the right-hand vertical of *N*. With so little of the inscription surviving, restoration is very difficult; in line 2, we



presumably have the genitive [- *provin*]ciae. The lettering is an extremely fine monumental script, with unusually wide interlinear spaces; there appears to be nothing inscribed above the first line.

179. Anayurt

Building inscription of Engennetos the deacon.

Fragment of white marble moulding, broken left and right. To the right of the inscription, incised chalice (?). Found at Anayurt (Alayund, territory of Synnada), in the wall of a yard near the cemetery.

Ht. 0.13; W. 0.34+; Th. --; letters 0.017-0.026.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/25).

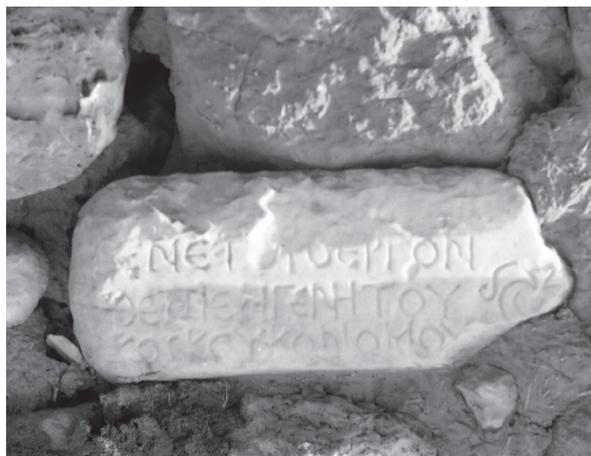
Sixth century AD.

[† ἐγ]έμετο τὸ ἔργον

[τοῦτ]ο ἐπὶ Ἐγγενήτου

[δια]κό(νου) κὲ ὑκουόμου.

This work was constructed when Engen(n)etos was deacon and steward.



The name Engennetos is very rare. It is attested at Termessos (*TAM* III 939: *Αὐρ. Ἐγγέννητος*) and, in the feminine form *Ἐγγεννήτη*, at Perge in Pamphylia (*I.Perge* 445). The comparable name *Καλογέννητος* is attested at Beroia in Macedonia (*I.Beroia* 278) and, in the fifth or sixth century, at Corinth (Kent 1966: no. 560). The *oikonomos* of church property was chosen from among the clergy of the relevant bishopric; for deacons holding this office, compare e.g. *I.Pessinous* 40; Beševliev 1964: no. 171.

To the right of the inscription is an incised depiction of a vessel, perhaps a chalice. For incised depictions of liturgical vessels on funerary inscriptions of the sixth century AD, cf. Feissel 1977: 158-9 (two funerary inscriptions from Constantinople), and *MAMA* IV 94, a funerary inscription from Synnada dated to AD 570/1; see also perhaps 318 below (Perta).

180. Şuhut

Funerary inscription of a wife.

Marble or limestone *stèle*, broken above, buried left and behind. Below the inscription, two defaced rosettes. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in a fountain (Baş Çeşme); the stone was still in the same location in 2004.

Ht. 0.56+; W. 0.30+; Th. 0.20+; letters 0.030.

MAMA IV 89. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/5).

Roman imperial period.

[-----] γυ[ναι]-
κὶ κουριδία μνήμης
χάριν.

... *his lawful wife, in memoriam.*

In line 1, the editors of *MAMA* IV were able to read traces of the first two letters of the word γυ[ναι]κί. In 1955, the left hand side of the stone was concealed, and Ballance was unable to read the first four letters of line 2. In 2004, when I saw this stone at Şuhut, the whole of line 2 was once again visible, with discoloration on the left-hand edge of the stone where it had previously been concealed behind another block.



The adjective *κουριδία* ('lawfully wedded') is more common in verse inscriptions than in prose, but compare *MAMA* IV 79 (Synnada), [Α]κύλλιος Μενεκράτους [Τ]ατία Δημοκλέους γυναικὶ κούριδία κτλ.; *MAMA* X 75 (Appia), Γράπτη Ἰανουαρίου γυνὴ κουριδία ἠρωίς; *SEG* 45, 1698 (Ankyra).

181. Anayurt

Funerary inscription with Eumeneian formula.

Rough limestone block, broken left and right. Found at Anayurt (Alayund, territory of Synnada), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.76; W. 0.50+; Th. 0.25+; letters 0.030-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/24).

Third century AD.

[εἴ τις τούτῳ τῷ ἡ[ρ]ώ[ω] κακὸν]
[(e.g.) ἐποίησε]ν, ἔξει πὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

[If anyone does harm to] this tomb, he will have to reckon with [God].

Enough survives of this funerary monument to show that we are dealing with an example of the Eumeneian formula (see the commentary to 36 above), also attested at Synnada in *MAMA* IV 91 (Şuhut: ὃς ἂν δὲ αὐτῷ κακ[όν] δι ποιήσι, ἔσται πὸς τὸν Θεόν), and at neighbouring



Prymnessos in 177 above. For the irrational aorist in line 2, if correctly restored here, see the commentary to 17 above (Apollonia); for the spelling πός (=πρός), also found in 177 above, see Brixhe 1987: 113-4.

182. Şuhut

Fragment of private inscription of uncertain type.

Marble block, moulded above, buried below, left and right. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in a fountain near the mound.

Ht. 0.43+; W. 1.48+; Th. --; letters 0.050-0.080.

Körte 1897: 30, no. 4; Ramsay 1941: 255-6, no. 249.

Edition based on MB notebook copy; drawing; photograph (1955/4).

Late second or third century AD.

Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σάγκτου καὶ Πεισω[- -]

...of Aur(elius) Sanctus and Aur(elius/ia) Piso[- -].

Körte restored Πείσω[νος] at the end of the line; Ramsay preferred Πεισω[νιανῆς ? μνημα]. The abbreviation Αὐρρ. (i.e. Αὐρ(ηλίω)), like the equally common Σεββ. (i.e. Σεβ(αστοί)), is an imitation of Latin documentary practice. Compare e.g. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 85 (Nakoleia); *SEG* 40, 1251 (Phrygia: unknown provenance);



MAMA I 199; *MAMA* I 270. An Αὐρήλιος Σάγκτος, possibly a relative, was responsible for setting up a statue of Caracalla at Prymnessos in AD 198 (*MAMA* IV 11). The genealogy proposed by Ramsay 1941: 254-6 is wholly fanciful.

183. Şuhut

Memorial dedication of Domna.

White marble fragment of an altar-piece or *ciborium*, apparently a hanging arch, broken on all sides. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in the yard of a mill, with 188 and 189 below, built into a fountain.

Ht. 0.17+; W. 0.25+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.035.

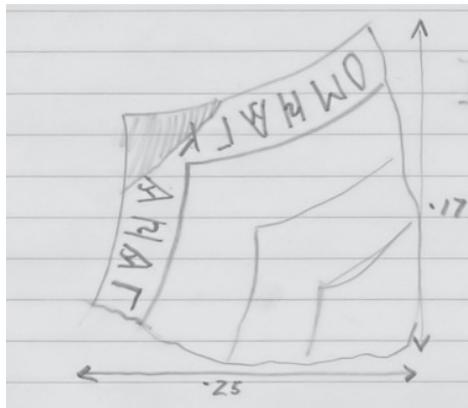
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1955/7).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Δ]όμνας κ[ὲ] ἀναπ[αύσεως- -]

[In fulfillment of the vow of D]omna and for the repose of...

The restoration is based on a series of fifth- and sixth-century memorial dedications from the



territory of Synnada; see the commentary to 184 below. For the physical form of the monument (part of an altar-piece or *ciborium*), see the commentary to 185 below.

184. Bedeş

Memorial dedication of Alexandros.

White marble fragment of a string-moulding, broken left and right. Found at Bedeş (Kayabelen, territory of Synnada), in a house.

Ht. 0.09; W. 0.13+; Th. 0.21; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/21).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[† ὑπὲρ μνήμης (?) καὶ ἀναπ]αύσεω[s - -]
[- - - - -] Ἀλεξάν[δρου - -]

For the memory and repose of... Alexandros...

Ballance's notes indicate that the stone was complete above and below. For the form of the monument (inscribed along the narrow face of a moulding or architrave), compare 186 below (Alayund); MAMA IV 103 (Şuhut); 187 (Ağın). I have restored the formula in line 1 on the basis of a series of fifth- and sixth-century funerary inscriptions from the territory of Synnada:

MAMA IV 97 (Bedeş): † ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπ[αύσεω[s] διακό[ου] Μαξήμου.

186 below (Alayund): [† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς - -]μου
††† καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ,
ἀμή[ν].



MAMA IV 100 (Alayund): † ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Ἑρμῆ μουστρικοῦ.

MAMA IV 101 (Alayund): † ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Πολυχρονίου φωλευτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβῆου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πεδίων αὐτῶν.

MAMA IV 102 (Anayurt [Alayund]): † ὑπερὶ εὐχῆς [- -] ς καὶ τῶν πεδίων αὐτῆς [Εὐ]-ριμέδοντο[s] καὶ Γανγίου καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Γανγίου καὶ τῶν πεδίων αὐτοῦ Τροφίμου καὶ Ἐπιφάνου κ[ὲ] Μαύρου.

Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 735, no. 665 (Ağzikara): † ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Αὐξιντίου ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ὑπατίας καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Εὐσιβία[s], καὶ εὐξάμενη τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξέτελεσαν †.

183 above (Şuhut): [† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Δ]όμνας κ[ὲ] ἀναπ[αύσεως - -].

185. Bedeş

Memorial dedication of a *ciborium*.

White marble slab forming part of a small arch, probably from a *ciborium*. The outer edges are moulded and decorated with an incised vine-pattern. Inscription on the moulding of the inner, curved edge; in the spandrel, an incised depiction of an eagle with raised wings. On the back, incised Latin cross and simple incised border. Broken below and left. Found at Bedeş (Kayabelen, territory of Synnada), in a house.

Ht. 0.54+; W. 0.67+; Th. 0.09; letters 0.035-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; drawing; photographs (1955/20).

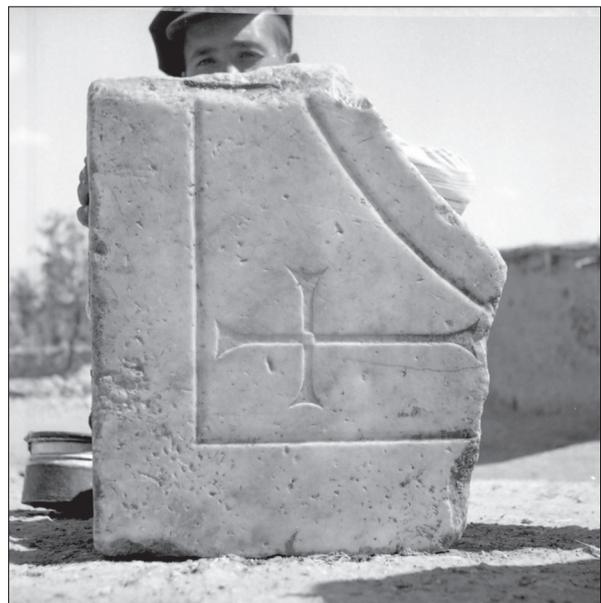
Fifth or sixth century AD.

[- - ὕ]πὲρ ἀφέσεως ἀμα[ρτιῶν - - -]

... for the forgiveness of sins ...

For dedications ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν, cf. e.g. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 564, no. 458 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* X 326 (Kotiaion); *I.Rhod.Per.* 342 (Syrna); *BE* 1976, 271 (Lakonia); *BE* 1996, 602 (Vergina).

This monument is stylistically very close to *MAMA* IV 106 (Atlıhisar: territory of Synnada), a fragment of an altar-piece or *ciborium*, also with an incised vine-pattern and an incised depiction of a peacock. However, the mouldings and script differ sufficiently to make it clear that the two fragments do not belong to the same monument. For the type of monument, compare Niewohner 2007: 270, no. 359 (*ciborium*-fragment: territory of Aizanoi), with p. 195 and Taf. 41, and for the incised vine-pattern, compare Niewohner 2007: 292, no. 468 (Dümenli: territory of Akmoneia), with Taf. 59; 151 above (Menteş). See also 183 above (Şuhut).



186. Anayurt

Two fragments of a memorial dedication.

Two fragments of a grey marble lintel or string-moulding, both broken left and right. On fragment *a*, below the three crosses in the main line of the inscription, boss in relief with incised monogram. Found at Anayurt (Alayund, territory of Synnada), in a fountain just outside the village on the road to Atlhisar.

(*a*) Ht. 0.15; W. 1.48+; Th. 0.45; letters 0.025-0.032. (*b*) Ht. 0.15; W. 0.35+; Th. 0.45; letters 0.025-0.028.

MAMA IV 98 (*a* only). Edition based on squeeze and MB notebook copy (1955/23).

Fifth or sixth century AD.



a

[† ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς (?) -]μου ††† καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ, ἀμή[ν]

φ

ζωη

s

b

[- -]τὰς δωρε[άς (?) - - -]

(*a*) [In fulfillment of the vow of...] and for the repose of his parents, amen. Light; life.

(*b*) ...gifts...

For fifth- and sixth-century memorial dedications from the territory of Synnada, see the commentary to 184 above. Fragment *a* was published in MAMA IV, without the monogram below the three crosses. The text of fragment *b* is very uncertain, and it is unclear how it connects



to fragment *a*. It is conceivable that it forms part of a participial phrase describing the dedicator, e.g. [τοῦ] τὰς δωρε[άς τοῦ Θεοῦ δεξαμένου]; cf. Sterrett 1888a: 286, no. 332 (Arabissos).



187. Ağın

Uncertain private monument.

Grey marble lintel, buried behind. Inscription on the upper moulding; below, roundel with defaced Latin cross. Found at Ağın (Güneytepe, territory of Synnada), beside the mosque.

Ht. 0.18; W. 2.10; Th. 0.38+; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/14).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[-] . ἡμῶν ΟΙΙΣΚΕΙΙΚ[- ^{c. 10-12}]ΛΗ . ΟΣ[-]

For the form of the monument (inscription along the narrow face of a moulding or architrave), see the commentary to 184 above.



188. Şuhut

Sculptural fragment of a seated female figure.

White marble female figure, fully draped in a mantle, seated on a cylindrical *cippus*. The body is broken off at the waist. At a later date the figure of a lion was carved on the back of the body. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in the yard of a mill, with 189.

Ht. 0.53+; W. 0.47; Th. 0.19.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; drawing; photograph (1955/9).

Late second century AD.

This seated figure derives from a well-known sarcophagus-type, produced at Dokimeion for local consumption in Phrygia, Pisidia and Lykaonia, with the so-called 'Lykian motif' of wife and husband seated facing one another, flanking a *tabula ansata* carrying the funerary inscription. Several other examples are known on which the wife is depicted seated on a cylindrical *cippus*: see Waelkens 1982: 57-9 (esp. no. 5, Konya L 1 [Dondurma]); Özgan 2000: 376-87 (examples from Konya; Afyon; Beyşehir; Yalvaç); Özgan 2003: 47-51, Kat. 14 (Konya), 15 (Dondurma). In the inscription on the Konya sarcophagus (SEG 50, 1358bis; *I.Konya* 182), the monument is explicitly described as being of Dokimeian origin (τὴν σορὸν Δοκιμηνήν); see further Hall and Waelkens 1982.



Sarcophagi of this type are dated by Waelkens 1982: 57 to c. AD 155-170 on the basis of stylistic similarities to other products of the Dokimeion workshop. Özgan 2000: 383-7 prefers a date in the late third century, but the inscription on the Konya sarcophagus seems rather to support a late second- or early third-century date (E. Schwertheim, in Özgan 2003: 87).

189. Şuhut**Sculptural fragment of a personification of Autumn.**

White marble male figure, nude except for a cloak fastened on the right shoulder and falling down the left side; the left hand supports a fold filled with fruit. Head and right arm missing; both legs broken off above the knees. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in the yard of a mill, with 188.

Ht. 0.40+; W. 0.25; Th. 0.19.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; drawing; photograph (1955/8).

Roman imperial period.

This figure appears to be a personification of the season of Autumn. Given the dimensions of the figure, it seems likely that it derives from a Dokimeian sarcophagus with high figured relief; for a sarcophagus of the Roman imperial period from Aphrodisias with four Erotes symbolising the four seasons, see Erim 1990: 34-6. The four seasons are depicted along with the three graces on a sarcophagus from Ste-Marie-du-Zit in



Tunisia, which may be imitating Dokimeian work (Morey 1924: 52-3); the representation of Autumn is very similar to the sculptural fragment from Şuhut.

190. Şuhut**Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.**

Lintel cut from a column of greyish-white Dokimeian marble, with decorative reliefs on the front and underside; broken right, buried left. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in a cemetery.

Ht. 0.30; W. 0.70+; Th. 0.28.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/10).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

The decorative relief on the front face of the lintel depicts an arcade with semicircular blind arches resting on single columns, with a palmette resembling a tree standing beneath each arch, and teardrop-shapes in the spandrels between the arches. This is a common decorative schema in Byzantine chancel barrier lintels of the tenth and eleventh centuries AD: see Strzygowski 1902 (an example from Manisa dated to AD 967, now *TAM* V 2, 1393); Sodini 1980: 135-42; Buchwald 1996 (with catalogue). Close comparanda are provided



by an inscribed lintel from Synnada (Şuhut), *MAMA* IV 95 (dated to AD 1064/5), and two uninscribed lintels from the territory of Synnada, Fıratlı 1970: 154, Res. 75-6 (Susuz), and 191 below (Bedeş [Kayabelen]); all three lintels share the distinctive teardrop-shapes in the spandrels.

191. Bedeş**Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.**

White marble lintel with decorative reliefs on front face and (apparently) below; broken right. Found at Bedeş (Kayabelen, territory of Synnada), in the wall of the türbe.

Ht. 0.32; W. 0.70+; Th. --.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/18).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

For the decorative schema of the front face of the lintel (arcade with semicircular blind arches resting on single columns, with palmettes beneath each arch and teardrop-shapes in the spandrels), see 190 above. The palmettes are depicted in a highly abstract geometric style. The columns supporting the arches have spiral fluting, and crescent-shaped capitals and bases. Both of the latter elements are also found on a barrier lintel in the Afyon archaeological museum (Buchwald 1995: 255-6, no. 1.6, with Fig. 7; 'I know of no



close parallels to the unusual treatment of the capitals and bases'). For the crescent-shaped bases combined with spiral fluting, compare the door lintel of the 13th century church on İki Ada (Wiegand 1913: 35-41), a re-used chancel barrier lintel of tenth- or eleventh-century date (Buchwald 1995: 259, no. 10); for the crescent-shaped capitals, see also Alpaslan-Doğan 2008: 135, Fig. 10 (Ernez, Lycia).

192. Bedeş**Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.**

Fragment of white marble lintel with decorative reliefs, broken at both ends. Found at Bedeş (Kayabelen, territory of Synnada), in the türbe.

Ht. 0.33; W. 0.83+; Th. --.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/17).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

The block is decorated with a rectangular frame enclosing a diamond panel with a central medallion. The medallion carries a spiral pattern, and the corners of the frame are decorated with concentric circles. This block appears to be part of a lintel of a similar type to 191. The decoration is characteristic of the underside of tenth- and eleventh-century barrier lintels; parallels are provided by two lintels seen at Afyon by Buckler, Calder and Guthrie in 1929 (*MAMA IV 40* and 47;



the decoration of the underside of *MAMA IV 40* is a particularly close parallel), and two lintels now in the Afyon archaeological museum (Buchwald 1995: 255-6, nos. 1.5 and 1.6, with Figs. 6 and 7).

193. Bedeş

Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.

White marble closure slab with decorative reliefs; complete. Found at Bedeş (Kayabelen, territory of Synnada), in the wall of the türbe.

Ht. 0.84; W. 0.97; Th. 0.19.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/19).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

This closure slab is decorated with a strap-work frame, twisting into a diamond around a central medallion decorated with an eight-pointed flower. The corner fields each carry a small medallion surrounded by a strap-work loop; the loops are connected to one another by an inner strap-work frame, parallel to the outer frame, forming an octagon around the central medallion. This iconographic repertoire (especially the central diamond and the geometric strapwork) is highly characteristic of Byzantine decorative marblework of the tenth and eleventh centuries: compare Sodini 1980: 131, with Pl. XXXVI c-d (chancel closure slab from Xanthos); Sodini 1994: 306, no. 10 (ambo parapet slab from İhsaniye); Ivison 2008: 510-11, Figs. 18 and 19 (ambo parapet slabs from Amorion). A particularly close parallel is



provided by a chancel closure slab in the Afyon archaeological museum (*MAMA* IV 46; Buchwald 1995: 254-5, no. 1.2, with Fig. 3).

Ballance noted that the türbe contained numerous other pieces of decorated Byzantine marblework, and suggested that these materials might have been brought from a church, now completely destroyed, on the rising ground between the türbe and the village of Bedeş (Kayabelen).

194. Anayurt

Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.

Fragment of white marble lintel with decorative reliefs, broken at both ends. Found at Anayurt (Alayund, territory of Synnada), in the wall of the türbe.

Ht. 0.28; W. 1.43+; Th. --.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/26).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

The block is decorated with a series of geometric patterns in square frames, interspersed with highly schematic depictions of palmettes. For the decorative schema, compare *MAMA* IV 47 (Afyon) and *MAMA* IV 38 (Afyon: dated to AD 934/5).



195. Anayurt**Chancel barrier lintel with decorative reliefs.**

Fragment of white marble lintel with decorative reliefs, broken at both ends. Found at Anayurt (Alayund, territory of Synnada), in the wall of the türbe.

Ht. 0.31; W. 1.63+; Th. --.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/27).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

This block is probably from the same chancel screen as 194 above. The lintel is decorated with two pairs of rosettes encircled with strap-work, with a schematic depiction of a plant between them, and a geometric pattern in a square frame at left.

**196. Atlıhisar****Fragment of a marble slab with decorative reliefs.**

Limestone fragment from a chancel closure screen or ambo with decorative relief; broken left, right and above. Found at Atlıhisar (territory of Synnada), in a house.

Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.37+; Th. 0.030-0.044.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/22).

Tenth or eleventh century AD.

The stone is decorated with an interlacing geometric strap-work pattern, with a bird, rosette, and plant depicted in relief in the intermediate spaces.



197. Şuhut**Various Roman and Byzantine architectural elements.**

(1) Two fragments of tenth- or eleventh-century chancel barrier lintels. (2) Two frieze blocks of the Roman imperial period with single maeander pattern and reverse *cyma* mouldings above and below. (3) Single large block from a coffered ceiling of the Roman imperial period, with three coffers, each with a five-pointed star or flower in the centre, surrounded by a square border of egg-and-dart decoration, and two bead-and-reel mouldings. Between the coffers, soffits with guilloche decoration. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in the base of the minaret of Ulu Cami.

Dimensions not recorded.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/29).

Various dates.



The base of the minaret of the Ulu Cami at Şuhut (date unknown) appears to have been constructed from a variety of ancient and mediaeval architectural members. For the tenth- or eleventh-century barrier lintels, compare 190, 191, 194, 195 above. For the use of maeander patterns in various architectural contexts in western Asia Minor in the early Roman imperial period, see Pülz 1989:

20-1; Vandeput 1997: 74-5. A maeander-frieze is also found as part of the outer decoration of the main portal to the mid-thirteenth century Ak Han near Denizli; maeander-patterns are otherwise unknown in Seljuq architectural decoration, and this frieze too is likely to have been re-used from a building of the Roman imperial period at Laodikeia (Erdmann 1961: 67-72, with Abb. 96-7).

198. Ağın**Column capital.**

White marble capital, partly carved with *acanthus* in low relief, with a plain roundel, as if for a monogram, on each side. Found at Ağın (Güneytepe, territory of Synnada), beside the mosque.

Ht. 0.50; W. 0.53; Th. 0.53.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1955/15).

Late antique or Byzantine period.



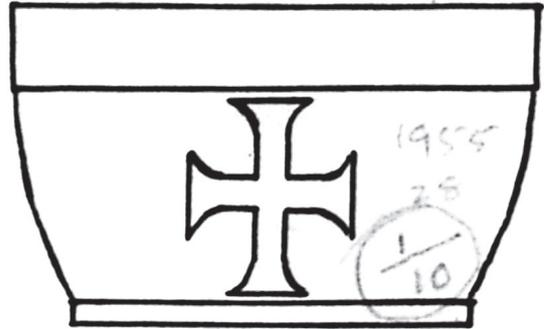
199. Şuhut**Impost block.**

Marble pier-capital or impost block, plain on the two long sides, with a Latin cross on each short side. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in a house.

Ht. 0.30; W. 0.49 (above), 0.37 (below); Th. 0.69 (above), 0.40 (below).

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy (1955/28).

Late antique or Byzantine period.

**200. Şuhut****Inscription of uncertain type.**

Volcanic tuff voussoir. Found at Şuhut (Synnada), in the second arch from the north end of a four-arched bridge to the north of the town, on the road to Karlık.

Ht. c. 0.35; W. c. 1.20; Th. --; letters 0.050-0.140.

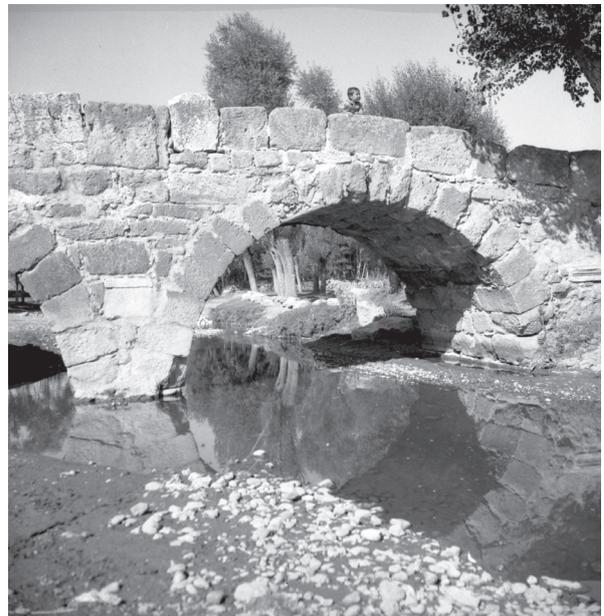
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1955/3).

Uncertain.

Τροφίμου

Of Trophimos.

In 2004, there were numerous ancient and Byzantine stones built into this bridge, including a funerary doorstone (inscription illegible), two highly decorated Byzantine lintels, and a verse inscription of the Roman imperial period in honour of the athlete Androneikos (Drew-Bear and Sacco 2006/7: 266-70).



XV. AXYLON

201. Kuyulusebil

Funerary inscription for Matrona.

Rough limestone or marble slab, broken at top left corner and on left side. Found at Kuyulusebil (near Gdanmaa), about to be built into a house.

Ht. 0.62; W. 0.44+; Th. 0.15+; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy (1954/41).

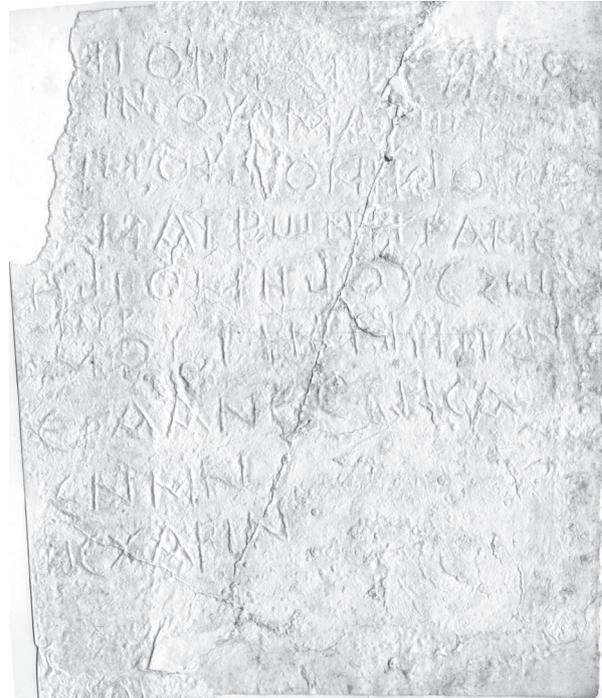
c. AD 212.

[Aὐρ(ήλιος) (?)] Μιθριδάτης Α[. ¹⁻² .]
 [. ²⁻³ .]ινου ἄμα τῷ πε[ν]-
 [θερ]ῶ μου Διομήδους (sic)
 [νν. (?)] Ματρώνη γαμε-
 5 [τ]ῇ ^{Αὐρ(ηλίου)} Διομήδους Ζω-
 [σ]ίμου τῇ ἐμῇ πεν-
 [θ]ερά ἀνεστήσα-
 [μ]εν μν-
 ῆς χάριν.

Line 5: Αὐρ added in a minuscule hand between lines 5 and 6.

[Aur(elius)?] Mithridates son of A...inus, along with my father-in-law Diomedes, we set this up for my mother-in-law Matrona, the wife of <Aur(elius)> Diomedes, son of Zosimos, in memoriam.

The name of Mithridates' father cannot be restored with certainty (Ἀ[ντων]ίνου, Ἀ[κυλ]ίνου, Λ[ογγ]ίνου, etc.). The use of ἄμα with the dative in the sense of σύν + dative or μετά + genitive is a local linguistic peculiarity, characteristic of southern Galatia and the region around Laodikeia



Katakekaumene: cf. *MAMA* I 60, 81, 176, 203, 281; *MAMA* VII 69, 74, 541, 542; 271 below. Note the irrational genitive Διομήδους in line 3; hesitation between dative and genitive is extremely common in the funerary epigraphy of this region (cf. 230 below [Kulu]). For the woman's name Matrona, see the commentary to 217 below. The addition of the abbreviated nomen Αὐρ(ήλιος) in small letters below line 5 probably indicates that the inscription was set up in or around AD 212, and that Diomedes had the text modified in recognition of his receipt of the Roman citizenship under the *constitutio Antoniniana*: for other similar examples, see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 233-4.

202. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary *stèle* for Kalliope.

Limestone *stèle*, buried below. Vaulted pediment with male figure in toga (l.) and veiled female figure in *stola* (r.) in relief, right arm crossed across chest, left arm across waist. At left, unidentified incised object; at right, object in relief, probably wool-basket (see the commentary to 204 below). Plain corner *acroteria* to left and right; above the pediment, incised circle. Plain pilasters to left and right of shaft, with stylised capitals. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), next to 204.

Ht. 1.50+; W. 0.46 (pediment), 0.45 (shaft), 0.47 (base); Th. --; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/47).

Roman imperial period.

Πολεμαῖος
Παπα γυνεκί
Καλλιόπη μ-
νή.

Polemaios son of Papas for his wife Kalliope, in memoriam.

The inscription may have been left unfinished



(*μνήμης χάριν*)), or may have been intended to finish with *μνή* (i.e. *μνήμη*, as in the common *μνήης χάριν*). The monument was still visible behind the Belediye at Çeşmelisebil in April 2011.

203. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary *stèle* for Io and Io.

Limestone *stèle*, complete; to left and right, pilasters with stylised capitals; at top, arched *aedicula* within vaulted pediment. At top of pediment, star in relief. In the *aedicula*, standing veiled female figure in relief. To her left, incised spindle, distaff and basket; to her right, incised bureau supporting mirror. On the left pilaster of the *aedicula*, stylised door-knocker. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.40; W. 0.52 (top), 0.48 (shaft); Th. 0.25; letters 0.017-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/46); photograph (CVC).

Roman imperial period.

Μανης Ιωδι τῆ
ιδία γυναικί και
Ιω τῆ ιδία θυγα-
τρι μνήμης χά-
vac. ριν.



Manes for Io, his own wife, and for Io, his own daughter, in memoriam.

The female name *Io* is attested in the Axylon at Kelhasan (*MAMA VII 499*; Waelkens 1986: 247-8, no. 639: *A[ι]λῆα Io*), at Zengen [Özkent] (212 below: *ιδία Io γυναικί*) and perhaps at Azak [Hodoğlu] (209 below: *Ioδηνα μητρί*). At *MAMA VII 499*, Calder accents the name as though it were the Greek name *Ἰώ*. However, the indigenous male name *Ioδας/Ioδης* is common in precisely this same region (Zgusta 1964: 206 §496), being attested at Sarıkaya (*MAMA VII 379*: *Αῦρ. Ioδης*), probably Yaraşlı (236 below: *Αῦρήλυσος Ὑωδης*), Kerpiç (*RECAM II 373*: *Μουνα Io[δ]εως*), Atkafası (Waelkens 1986: 242-3, no. 623: *Ioδη πατρί*), and Yukarıçiğil, in

the highlands south of Ilgın (Anderson 1898: 120, no. 65: *Παπα Μανου Ioδα*). I should prefer to treat the name *Io* in this region as indigenous also.

I presume that *Ioδι* in line 1 and *Io* in line 3 are different forms of the dative for a single indigenous name *Io*. For this kind of variation, cf. *MAMA VII 63* (Laodikeia: Kindıras), *Ioναδι μητρί* and *MAMA I 120* (Laodikeia: Kadınhanı), *θυγατρί Ioνα*, where in both cases I would assume that we are dealing with an indigenous female name *Ioνα*.

The monument was still visible behind the Belediye at Çeşmelisebil in April 2011.

204. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary stele for Manes and Lole.

Limestone *stèle*, buried below. Vaulted pediment with male figure in toga (l.) and veiled female figure in *stola* (r.) in relief, right arm crossed across chest, left arm across waist. To the left of the male figure, incised depiction of uncertain object (plough?); to the right of the female figure, incised spindle and distaff, and wool-basket in relief. Tendril decoration in relief on the outer moulding of the pediment. Plain pilasters to left and right of shaft. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), location not recorded (next to 202 above).

Ht. 1.35+; W. 0.54 (pediment), 0.47 (shaft); Th. 0.30; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/48).

Roman imperial period.

Μανης καὶ Σο-
σος Μανη πα-
τρί μνήμης
χάριν καὶ Λολη
μητρί ζώση.

5

Manes and Sosos for their father Manes, in memoriam, and for their mother Lole, who is still living.



The name Σοσος (lines 1-2) is an orthographic variant of the extremely common east-Phrygian name Σουσοϋς (Zgusta 1964: 473-5 §1463). The female name Λολη is characteristic of the Axylon, being attested at İnsuyu (*MAMA VII 541: Αὐρ. Λολη*), Büyük Yağcı (*RECAM II 343: Λολη*) and Mermer Yayla (*MAMA I 336: Λολη*).

The style and composition of the pediment (male and female figures with woolbasket in

relief; tendril decoration on outer moulding) is very characteristic of the villages of the Axylon; compare especially *MAMA I 294* (Atlantı), *MAMA I 338* (Mermer Yayla), *MAMA I 346* (Çeşmelisebil), 202 above (Çeşmelisebil); for the tendril decoration, see also 209 below (Azak [Hodoğlu]).

The monument was still visible behind the Belediye at Çeşmelisebil in April 2011.

205. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary doorstone for Ba.

Doorstone, broken above. Twin door with plain panels; pilasters to left and right, arched pediment above. In upper right panel, key-plate; in upper left panel, door-knocker; lower panels blank. Inscription on the upper door-frame. Lower two-thirds of left pilaster plain; upper third fluted, with ionic capital. The left-hand side of the pediment rests on a *bomos* with plain upper and lower mouldings depicted in relief. Right-hand pilaster and moulding of right-hand side of pediment defaced. In the pediment, female portrait in relief (bust defaced); incised depictions of wool-basket (left), crescent moon and spindle and distaff (right). Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), in the yard of a house to the south of the *höyük*.

Ht. 1.32+; W. 0.67; Th. 0.24; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/44).

Roman imperial period.

Παπας Δημητρίου Βα
τῆ ἰδία γυναικὶ μνήμ-
ης ἔνεκεν.

Papas son of Demetrios for Ba, his own wife, in memoriam.



206. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary inscription in verse for Zeno and Aur. None.

Limestone slab, broken at left, probably from a sarcophagus. Lines 2-12 of inscription in moulded panel, flanked to right (and presumably to left) by blind scalloped tracery. Line 1 of inscription on upper moulding. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.00; W. 1.26+; Th. 0.18; letters 0.024-0.030.

W. M. Calder, *MAMA VII*, p. xxiii (text only); [Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/02/12]. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/42). Fourth or fifth century AD.

Α † Ω

τυνβοχόες παράγω-
 ν γνώθι, βροτέ, τίς κατά-
 κιτε· ἀφνειὸν Ζήνων-
 5 α πολύρημον πολυβού-
 την· ζῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶ
 τόδε τίτλον ἔτευξε
 σὺν γεραρίᾳ ἀλόχῳ ἦν οἱ
 πόρε Χρ(ιστὸ)ς Ἰη(σοῦ)ς, Αὐρ(ηλία) Νουη
 10 πολὺν σεμνοτάτη ἀγα-
 θή τε φθωχῶν θρέφθη(ρ)· ἀ-
 μώμη τε σοφή. *vac.*

Line 7: the mason originally inscribed ἔτευτεν; the second *tau* was subsequently corrected to *xi*. Lines 10-12: ἀγα|θή τε φθωχῶν θρέφθη(ρ) | (ἀ)μώμη τε σοφή τε Calder; θρέφθηρ· ἀ|μώμη Merkelbach and Stauber.

As you pass this funerary mound, learn, mortal, who lies buried (here): a wealthy man, Zeno, rich in lambs and rich in oxen. While still living, he constructed this tombstone for himself, along with his reverend wife, whom Jesus Christ provided for him, Aur(elia) None, a most exceedingly holy woman, an excellent nurse of the poor, blameless and wise.

For the scalloped tracery to the right of the inscription, compare the decoration of the sarcophagus of a Novatian presbyter from Laodikeia Katakekaumene (Calder 1923b: 76-81, no.4; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/06/05). The inscription comprises six hexameter verses, the last of them incomplete. The structure and phraseology of the text are very similar both to 207 below, another verse inscription in six hexameters, and to the fragmentary 208 below, both from Çeşmelisebil; all three inscriptions seem to have been composed by the same local poet.



The word *τυμβοχόες* in line 2 derives from a *hapax* in *Iliad* 21.322-3 (αὐτοῦ οἱ καὶ σῆμα τετεύχεται, οὐδέ τί μιν χρεῶ | ἔσται τυμβοχοῆς, ὅτε μιν θάπτωσιν Ἀχαιοί). The interpretation and accentuation of the word was controversial in antiquity (West 2001: 135); to all appearances, the author of this epigram understood it to be an adjective **τυμβοχοῆς*, here used in the neuter (understanding e.g. *σῆμα* in line 1). Merkelbach and Stauber print *τυμβοχοῆς* and translate the clause ‘der du mit Spendengüssen vorbeigehst’. The hexameter at lines 4-6 is based on the Homeric ἐν δ’ ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται (*H. Il.* 9.154, 296; *Hes. Fr.* 240.3 Merkelbach-West), with πολύρ(ρ)ηνον (cf. *H. Od.* 11.257) employed for πολύρρηνα *metri causa*. In lines 8-9, ἦν οἱ πόρε (in this metrical position) is a standard Homeric idiom (cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.72, ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τῆν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων; *Il.* 7.146, 9.667, 11.353,

15.441, 23.92; *Od.* 5.321, 5.372, 6.228). In line 11, the postulated mason’s error θρέφθη(ρ)’ (i.e. *θρέπτειρα*, a nurse) is supported by 208, where the deceased woman is described as πτωχῶν θρέπτειραν ἄμλωμον (?) - ἦν τε σοφὴν τε. For the theme of charity to the poor in Christian funerary inscriptions, cf. Buckler, Calder and Cox 1925: 142-3, no. 125 (Kotiaion), τὸν πτωχοῦς φιλέοντα. Zeno is described as ‘rich in lambs and rich in oxen’. The Homeric tag reflects the realities of wealth-accumulation in this region. In the Hellenistic period, the economy of this part of the western Anatolian steppe (the ‘Axylon’, or ‘treeless’ region: *Livy* 38.28.4, with Mitchell 1993: I 143-7) had been primarily dependent on large-scale grazing (Robert 1980: 257-307; Robert, *OMS* VII, 19-38), but by the Roman imperial period sedentary cereal agriculture existed alongside sheep-rearing throughout the western parts of the plateau (Mitchell 1993: I 148-9).

207. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary inscription in verse for Demetrianē.

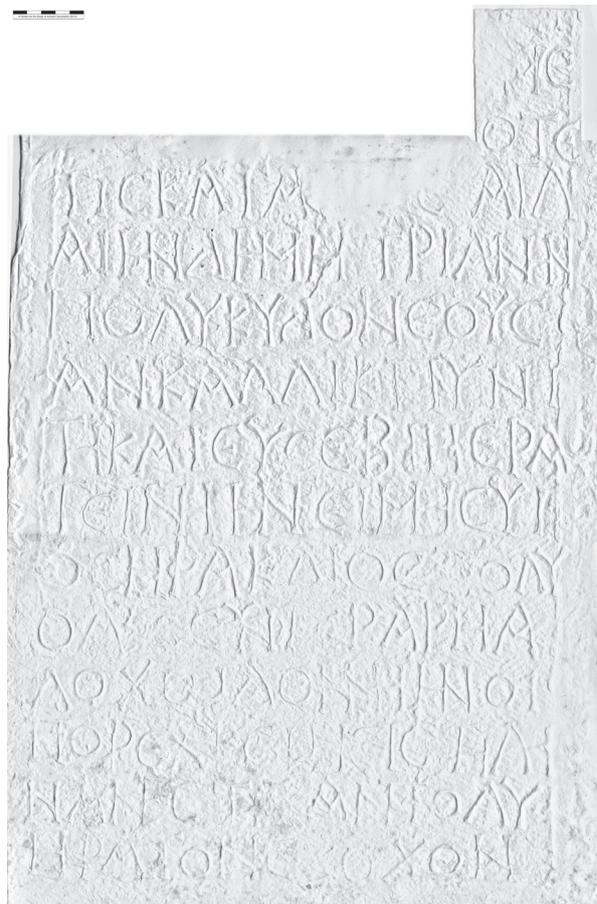
‘*Stele*’, broken above. Foliate decoration on sides. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), location not recorded.

Ht. 0.95+; W. 0.58; Th. 0.25; letters 0.025-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy (1954/43).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

[τύμβον ἐπερχό]με-
 [νος γνώθι, βρ]οτέ,
 τίς κατά[κιτ]ε· ἀγλ-
 αῖην Δημητριανῆν
 5 πολύκνυδον ἐοῦσ-
 αν κάλλι κέ πυνι-
 τῆ καὶ εὐσεβίῃ ἐρα-
 τεινῆ· ἦν τείμησ’ υἱ-
 ὸς Ἡράκλιος πολύ-
 10 ολβος ἄστυν γεραρῆ ἀ-
 λόχῳ Δόμνῃ ἦν οἱ
 πόρε Χρ(ιστὸ)ς Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· ἰσθήλη-
 ν ἀνέστησαν πολυ-
 ἦρατον ἔξοχον
 15 [ἔργον].



Line 10: ΟΛΒΟΣΥΝ *lapis*.

[As you appr]oa[ch this tomb, learn, mor]tal, who lies buried (here): a splendid woman, Demetrian, who was most glorious in beauty, prudence, and lovely piety; she was honoured by her son, the wealthy Heraklios, along with his reverend wife Domna, whom Jesus Christ provided for him; they set up the stele, most lovely, an outstanding [work].

The inscription, which comprises six rough hexameter verses, is extremely close in structure and phraseology to 206 above, and shares several phrases with 208 below, both also from Çeşmelisebil. In lines 1-2, where 206 has *τυμβοχόες παράγων*, we appear (to judge from

the letters *mu* and *epsilon* at the end of line 1) to have a participle in the middle voice. For the verb *ἐπέρχεσθαι* in this context, cf. IGUR III 1216, *σὺ δ' ἀναγνοὺς κλαῦσον, ξείνε, τὸν Εὐνόης τύμβου* [ἐ]π[ε]ρ[χ]ό[μ]ενος. Note the irrational accusatives in lines 3-6, as in 206; for the adjective *πολύκυδος* in line 5, cf. *κυδιμ[όν]* in 208 and *πολυκύδιμος* in MAMA VII 104d (Zivarik [Altinekin]). For the quality of prudence (*πινυτή*), cf. 216 below (Konya); for beauty (*κάλλος*), cf. 278 below (Zivarik [Altinekin]), *κάλλος ἔχουσ' ἐρατιών;* for the whole phrase, compare 208, lines 7-8, *εὐσεβίη ἐρατεινῇ κάλλι καὶ πινυτ[ῆ]*. I have restored line 15 on the basis of 208, lines 10-11, *τίτλον ἀνέσ[τησεν πολυ]ήρατου ἕξοχον ἔργου*.

208. Çeşmelisebil

Funerary inscription in verse for Glykera.

Marble slab, broken left and below. Inscription in recessed panel; on upper moulding, left to right, swastika, *chi-rho* christogram, swastika, rosette. To the right of the inscription, diamond pattern. Found at Çeşmelisebil (Gdanmaa), in a pile of rubble to the south of the *höyük*.

Ht. 1.15+; W. 1.34+; Th. 0.25-0.30; letters 0.020-0.040. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; photograph (1954/45). Fourth or fifth century AD.



[- - -] ἰδης ννν. Γελασίου πολυήρατος ἀνὴρ
 [- - -] αενουσι βροτοὶ πολὺ φίλτατον ΟΝ
 [- - -] ρας περικαλλές ἀνέ(σ)τησεν τόδε
 [- - -] τείμησ' ἄλοχον {α} Γλυκερὴν κυδιμ-
 5 [ὸν -] αν πτωχῶν θρέπτειραν ἄμ-
 [ωμον(?)] ην τε σοφὴν τ' ἔης σοφίης ἐκέκασ-
 [το -] εὐσεβίη ἐρατεινῇ κάλλι καὶ πινυτ-
 [ῆ -] σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐποῦσα τῇ ΓΟ
 [- - -] ρο Κόϊντος ἀνή[ρ] ἴδιο[ς](?) μῆς(?) χά-
 10 [ριν - -] ισατο μνήμη[ς] (?) τίτλον ἀνέσ-
 [τησεν πολυ]ήρατου ἕξοχον ἔργου.

nurse of the poor... wise... she was well-equipped with her wisdom... lovely piety, beauty and prudence... self-restraint lay upon her... Quintus, her husband, in mem[oriam]... he set up this lovely inscription, an excellent work.

...lovely man, son of Gelasios... mortals... far the dearest... set this up, an extremely beautiful... he honoured his glorious wife Glykera... bl[ameless]

This fragmentary verse epitaph is evidently the product of the same poet as was responsible for 206 and 207 above and shares much of the same vocabulary and phraseology. The

name Gelasios is also attested in this region at Laodikeia (MAMA I 203). For the Homeric phrase *πολὺ φίλτατος* (line 2: H., *Il.* 5.378 etc.), cf. MAMA VII 560 (Kuyulusebil); MAMA I 362 (Çeşmelisebil). For *ἐῆς σοφίης ἐκέκασ[το]* (lines

6-7), compare *I.Konya* 205 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2004: 14/06/24, Dağdere, near Laodikeia), *σοφίης δὲ πάσης ἐκέκαστο*. In April 2011, the inscription was still visible behind the Belediye in Çeşmelisebil.

209. Azak

Funerary doorstone for Nana and Iodena.

Doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 4-5, Typ C), broken below. Single door with four plain rectangular panels. Lower panels blank; in the upper left-hand panel, door-knocker in relief, incised spindle, distaff and wool-basket; in the upper right-hand panel, key-plate in relief, incised wool-basket, spindle and distaff. Inscription above the upper panels. Plain pilasters to left and right with stylised capitals; decorative moulding above the door. Above, vaulted pediment with two female figures in veil and *stola* in relief. Ivy-tendrils decoration on the outer moulding of the pediment. Found at Azak (Hodoğlu, ancient Pegella?), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.65+; W. 0.68; Th. 0.55; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/73).

Roman imperial period.

Μενεκλῆς Νανα
γυναικὶ καὶ Ἰωδῆνα
μητρὶ μνήμης ἔνε-
κεν.

Menekles, for Nana his wife and Iodena (?) his mother, in memoriam.

For the common name *Nana*, see Zgusta 1964: 346-7 §1013-1; 221 below (Yukarı Ali Çomak). For the name *Ἰωδῆνα* (?), see the commentary to 203 above (Çeşmelisebil). For the tendril decoration



on the outer moulding of the pediment, see the commentary to 204 above. The doorstone type appears to be similar to that of Waelkens 1986: 250, Typ C Atlandı.

210. Azak

Funerary *stèle* for Miros.

Marble *stèle*, broken above and below. Inscription in recessed panel with mouldings to right and left. Below the inscription, two lightly incised hour-glass figures. Found at Azak (Hodoğlu, ancient Pegella?), location not recorded.

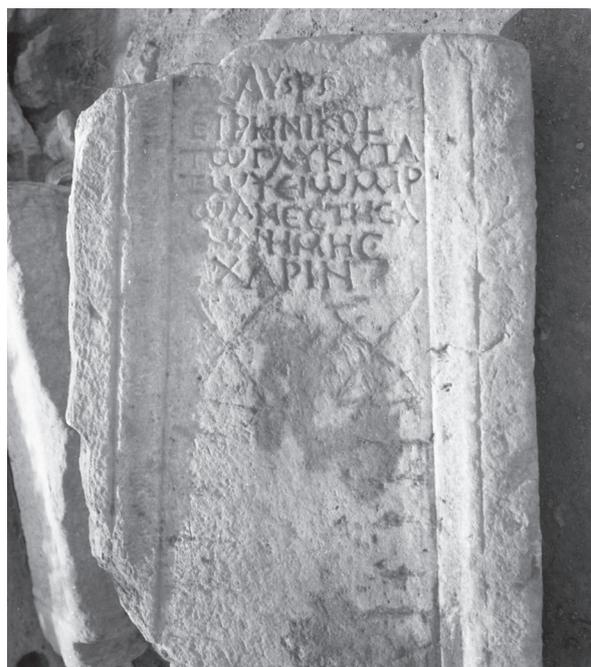
Ht. 0.70+; W. 0.43; Th. 0.17; letters 0.020-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/74).

Third century AD.

5
 Αὐ·ρ·
 Εἰρηνικὸς
 τῷ γλυκυτά-
 τῳ υἱῷ Μίρ-
 ω ἀνέστησα
 μνήμησ
 χάριν

I, Aur(elius) Eirenikos, set this up for my sweetest son Miros, in memoriam.



The name Eirenikos is not common: cf. TAM V 1, 384 (Kollyda); MAMA III 323b, 469 (Korykos); I.Perinthos 227.

211. Azak

Funerary inscription in verse for Eulalios and Basilissa.

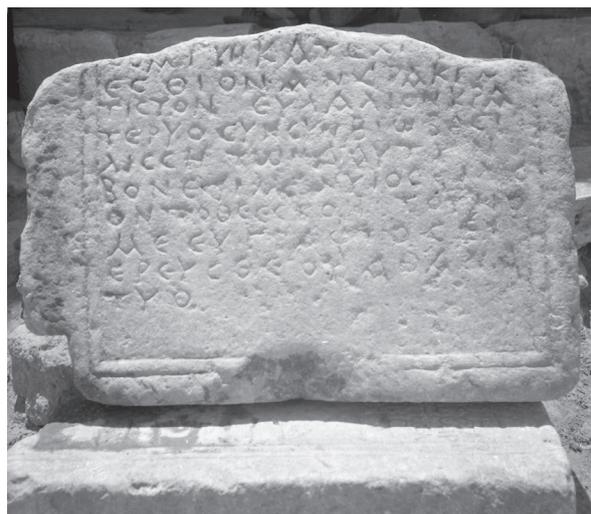
White marble slab with plain mouldings; inscription in panel. Broken above. Found at Azak (Hodoğlu, ancient Pegella?), location not recorded.

Ht. 0.52+; W. 0.73; Th. 0.20; letters 0.015-0.040.

W. M. Calder, MAMA VII, p. xxiii (text only); [Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/02/13]. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/75).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

5
 10
 . . . Ἀ γῆ κατέχι . . .
 ΕΣΘΪΟΝ ἄνδρα κρά-
 τιστον, Εὐλάλιον Κρα-
 τέρ(ου) σὺν συνβίῳ Βασι-
 λίσσῃ· τῶν δ' αὖ τύν-
 βον ἔδιμεν υἱὸς φίλ[ο]ς
 ὃν ποθέεσκον, τοῦνο-
 με Εὐγράφιος, εἰ-
 ερέυς θεοῦ ἀθανά-
 του.



Lines 1-2: [. . . πολυ]εσθιον Calder; [εὐ]έσθιον (i.e. εὐέστιον) or [πολύ]εσθ(λ)ον Merkelbach and Stauber. Line 6: υἱὸς (φίλος) Calder.

...earth holds... an excellent man, Eulalios son of Krateros, with his wife Basilissa. Their tomb was constructed by their dear son, whom they loved; his name is Eugraphios, priest of the immortal god.

In lines 1-2, Merkelbach and Stauber plausibly suggest reading [πολύ]εσθ(λ)ον, 'entirely good', as in *SEG* 1, 453 (Kadınhanı). The names Eulalios and Eugraphios seem to be exclusively Christian: for Eulalios, cf. *RECAM* II 323 (Sinanlı) and *MAMA* VII 36 (Kurşunlu); for Eugraphios, cf. *MAMA* I 173 (Sarayönü: an Apotactite presbyter) and Laminger-Pascher 1992: 48, no. 47 (Losta). For the name Basilissa in this region, see also 287 below (Zengicek [Κοçyaka]); 361 below (Kana). The Christian god is often designated with the phrase ἀθάνατος θεός (lines 9-10) in this region:

see e.g. *MAMA* VII 587 (Kolukısa); *MAMA* I 229-30, 267 (Kadınhanı); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 520, no. 361 (Eumeneia); *SEG* 15, 796 (Kotiaion).

The verb ἔδιμεν (i.e. ἔδειμεν) is found in a similar context in two further funerary inscriptions in verse from the Axylon: *SEG* 6, 291 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/04/02, Gözlü) and *MAMA* VII 558 (Kuyulusebil). For the phrase ὄν ποθέεσκον in line 7, compare *MAMA* VII 583 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/03/03, Zengen), τὴν πολλὰ ποθέεσκον φίλη μήτηρ.

212. Zengen

Funerary stele for Io.

Limestone *stèle*, complete. Vaulted pediment with male figure in toga (l.) and veiled female figure in *stola* (r.) in relief; to the right of the female figure, wool-basket in relief. Inscription in recessed strip down centre of shaft. Found at Zengen (Özkent), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.03; W. 0.62; Th. 0.30; letters 0.020-0.030.

W. M. Calder, *MAMA* VII, pp. xxvi-xxvii (b) (text only). Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/71).

Roman imperial period.

Πούβλιος
Κρασίκιος
Ῥοῦφος ἰδία
Ἰω γυναικὶ

5 μνήμης χά|ριν.

Publius Crassicius Rufus for his own wife Io, in memoriam.

The gentilician Crassicius is very rare in the Greek east. The name was held by a member of a *collegium* on Delos in 113 BC, probably a native of Cora in Latium (Wiseman 1985); otherwise the only holders of the name in the east known to me are Crispa Crassicia and her freedwoman Tertia at Prusa in Bithynia (*I.Prusa* 101). Mitchell 1993: I 153-4 suggests (following Calder, *MAMA* VII xxvii) that Crassicius Rufus



and a local family of Marii (213 below) might owe their Roman citizenship to large Roman landowners in the region.

For the name Io, see the commentary to 203 above. The word order here is odd, but I do not find plausible the suggestion of Laminger-Pascher 1984: 102, no.165, that Rufus' wife's name was *Ιδαιω.

213. Zengen

Funerary *bomos* for C. Marius Priscus and Maria Dada.

Bomos, buried below. Inscription on upper moulding; On the shaft, male figure in toga (l.) and veiled female figure in *stola* (r.) in relief; to the right of the female figure, incised spindle and distaff. Found at Zengen (Özkent), in the wall of a building.

Ht. 0.50+; W. 0.41 (upper moulding), 0.36 (shaft); Th. 0.35 (upper moulding), 0.33 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.025. W. M. Calder, *MAMA VII*, p. xxvi (a) (text only). Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/70). Roman imperial period.



Μαρία Δαδα Γαίω
 Μαρίω Πρείσκω ἀ[v]-
 δρι καὶ ἐατῆ ζῶσα
 μνήμης χάριν.

Line 3: ἐαυτῆ ζώση *MAMA VII*.

Maria Dada, for her husband Gaius Marius Priscus and herself, (set this up) while still living, in memoriam.

I assume that *Μαρία* in line 1 is the female form of the Latin gentilician *Marius*. For other *Marii* in

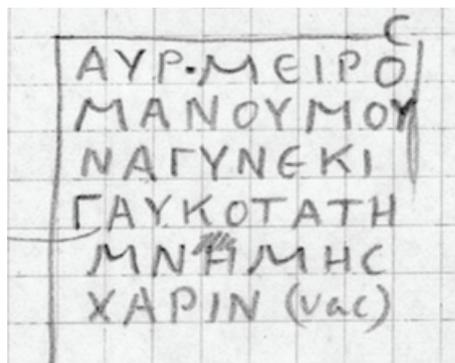
this region, see *I. Ankara* 224 (L. Marius Pudens) and 268 (M. Marius Pasikrates and his children M. Maria Domna and M. Marius Pasikrates); *MAMA I* 168 (Fl. Maria Seleukissa: Laodikeia). For the possibility that Dada and Priscus owed their *nomen* to a Roman patron, see the commentary to 212 above. For the indigenous name *Δαδα*, see Zgusta 1964: 139-40 §244-1.

214. Zengen

Funerary *stèle* for Mouna.

Plain *stèle*, broken below, buried above. Inscription in slightly recessed panel. Found at Zengen (Özkent), in the course of being dug up on the south edge of the village.

Ht. 0.48+; W. 0.45; Th. 0.24; letters 0.030-0.040. W. M. Calder, *MAMA VII*, p. xxvii (c) (text only). Edition based on MB notebook copy (1954/72). Roman imperial period.



Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Μείροσ
 Μανου Μου-
 να γυνεκι
 γ(λ)υκ(υ)τάτη
 5 μνήμης
 χάριν.

Aur(elius) Meiros, son of Manes, for his sweetest wife Mouna, in memoriam.

The indigenous female name *Mouna* is very common in Galatia, Lykaonia and eastern Phrygia: see Zgusta 1964: 336 §983-1.

Line 4: ΓΑΥΚΟΤΑΤΗ *lapis*.

215. Sülüklü

Funerary doorstone for Babeis and Epossoris.

Limestone doorstone with triangular pediment. In the tympanum, crude depictions of woman (l.) and child (r.) in relief. On the shaft, a large recessed panel representing a door, with incised depictions of door-knocker (top left), lock-plate (top right), wool-basket (bottom left), spindle (bottom middle) and distaff (bottom right). Found at Sülüklü (territory of Vetissos), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.25; W. 0.60; Th. 0.35; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/39).

Roman imperial period.

Ουεγιαος Βαβειδι
 γυναικὴ καὶ τέκνω
 Εποσσοριδι μνήμης
 χάριν.

Ouegiaos for Babeis his wife and his child Epossoris, in memoriam.

For the female name Βαβεις, see Zgusta 1964: 115-6 §133-15, and cf. 219 below (Yukarı Küçük Hasan); 323 (Perta). The names Ουεγιαος (line 1) and *Εποσσορις (line 3) are unattested elsewhere; the reading seems certain in both cases. The



monument is a very simple Waelkens Typ C doorstone (Waelkens 1986: 4-5), of a type highly characteristic of this region (Waelkens 1986: 230-49). For the depiction of door-knocker and lock-plate in a single plain panel, compare e.g. *MAMA* VII 406 (Waelkens 1986: 241-2, no. 620, Kerpiç); *MAMA* VII 499 (Waelkens 1986: 247-8, no. 639, Kelhasan).

216. Zaferiye

Funerary *stèle* with inscription in verse.

Stèle with vaulted pediment. In the pediment, a boss; below it, two bosses flanking a diagonal object in the shape of a lock-plate. Found at Zaferiye (Kayışoğlu, territory of Vetissos), at a well in the southern *mahalle*. Ht. 1.78; W. 0.65; Th. 0.30; letters 0.020-0.040. Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (double-exposed) (1954/40). Fourth or fifth century AD.

ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ
 κείμε νέον
 ἄνθος ἀμφε-
 μαραντήν (?)·
 5 πυκρὸν δὲ π-
 ένθος κατέ-
 λυπα τοῖς
 με γονεῦσι.
 νῦν δέ με πεν-
 10 θήσετε πάντε-
 ς ἢ παροδεῖτε·
 εὐκάς μοι θε-
 λέσετε (?) ἐμῆ ψ-
 υχῆ· πολυκούπ-
 15 ως (?) μνήμα ΤΕ[.]
 ἰστήλλην [- - -]
 σατεοσατα[- - -]
 των μνη[μ- - -]
 μετηλ[λακχότι] (?), [τ]-
 20 ὀ γὰρ γ[έρας ἐστὶ]
 θανό[ντων - -]
 αυ[- - - -]

I lie here, a new flower withered all around (?); I have left bitter grief for my parents. Now grieve for me, all you passers-by; may you wish (?) prayers for my soul (?); with great labour, memorial... stèle... [for the] dece[ased?], for that is the h[onour due to] the dead...

Calder's photograph of this difficult verse inscription was double-exposed, with the result that we are largely dependent on his notebook copy. In lines 3-4, I assume that we have a part of a putative verb *ἀμφιμαραίνειν, 'to wither on all sides', formed on the model of the common compound ἀπομαραίνειν. Here the author of the inscription appears to have produced a confused hybrid of the aorist passive participle (ἀμφι)-μαρανθέν and the aorist passive indicative (ἀμφι)-εμαράνθη. The phrase νέον ἄνθος (lines 2-3) is found in combination with the verb ἀπομαραίνειν in another Late Antique funerary inscription from the Axylon, *MAMA* I 381 (Zengen [Özkent]), ἐγὼ Φοτῆνος πρεσβύτερος νέου ἄνθος ἀφεμαράθη (cf. *SEG* 36, 1183 [Germia], ἔνθα κατάκιτε νέον ἄνθος Θεόδωρος; *TAM* V 1, 481). For the phraseology, compare Parthenius fr.55a.3 (ed. Lightfoot 1999), [- - μα]ραίνεται ὡς νέον ἄνθος. The adverb πολυκόπως (lines 14-15) seems not to be attested elsewhere, but its formation is regular (cf. e.g. πολυπόνως): cf. *IAPH*2007 12.920, lines 31-3, δα[π]ανήμασι ικανοῖς καὶ κόπῳ πολλῶ περιεγένετο; *I.Klaudiu Polis* 75, πολὰ κοπωθέντι; *SEG* 43, 923 (Pompeiiopolis), ἐ(κ) κόπων ἐμῶν ποιήσας κενοτάφιν.

In lines 20-21, I have restored the Homeric formula τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων (*Il.* 16.457; 16.675; 23.9; *Od.* 24.190; 24.296), a popular tag in the funerary epigraphy of this part of Asia Minor; cf. also *SEG* 6, 291 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/04/02, Gözlü); *MAMA* VII 560 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/02/04, Kuyulusebil); Cronin 1902: 349, no. 89 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2004: 14/07/12, Konya); *I.Konya* 56 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2004: 14/07/11, Konya); *I.Tyana* 104 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 13/07/02); *RECAM* II 233 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 15/02/98, Yaylabey); *RECAM* II 338 (Çekirge).

217. Yunak

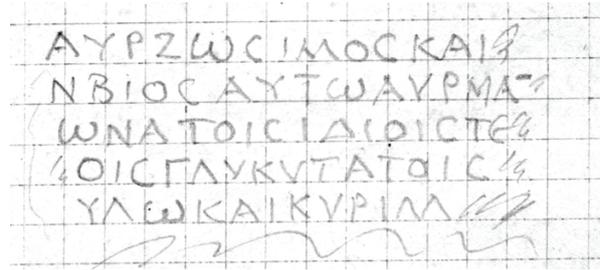
Funerary *stele* for Paulos and Kyrill[a/os].

Stele, defaced above. Found at Yunak, exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.70; W. 0.48; Th. 0.20; letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/35).

Third century AD.



Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζώσιμος καὶ [ἡ σύ]-
νβιος αὐτῶ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ματρ[ρ]-
ώνα τοῖς ἰδίοις τέ[κ]-
[ν]οις γλυκυτάτοις [Π]-
5 [α]ύλω καὶ Κυρίλλ[η/φ]

Aur(elius) Zosimos and his wife Aur(elia) Matriona for their sweetest children Paulos and Kyrill[a/os...]

The personal name *Ματρῶνα* (lines 2-3), a transliteration of the Latin noun *matrona*, seems

to have been unusually popular in Galatia and Lykaonia: the name is attested seven times in *MAMA* I, thirteen times in *MAMA* VII and seven times in *RECAM* II. Cf. also 201 above (Kuyulusebil); 242 below (Altılar); 331 (Perta); 352 (Savatra).

Yunak lies on the east slopes of Bayadkolu, overlooking the small Eşme ova, in which lay the ancient village of Selmea (Kuzören). This inscription, and the four stones copied at Yunak by Anderson 1899: 301, nos. 229-32, ought all to be assigned to Selmea: see the Introduction, p.xxvi.

218. Aşağı Küçükhasan

Funerary doorstone for Damas.

Marble doorstone, originally with three doors (right-hand door missing). Left and central doors with four panels, each with door-knocker in upper left panel and key-plate in upper right panel. In each of the lower panels of left-hand door, flower with schematic leaves above and below; in each of the lower panels of right-hand door, diamond with flower at centre. Gabled pediment above each door, each with boss in centre, half-palmette *acroteria* at left and right, and palmette at top. Between the doors, vine-branches and bunches of grapes in relief. Above, garlands in high

relief suspended between *bucrania*. In the loop of the left-hand garland, round boss; in the loop of the central garland, eagle standing facing forwards, head turned to left. At top, *cyma* moulding; line 1 of inscription on lower (convex) part of moulding, line 2 below. Found at Aşağı Küçükhasan, exact location not recorded.

Ht. 1.87; W. 1.70+ (originally *c.* 2.10); Th. 0.30 (top), 0.25 (bottom); letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/33).

AD 150-200 (doorstone type).

Μενέφρων Δαμᾶ υἱῷ πεφιλημένῳ ὑπὸ πάσης ψυχῆς διὰ (ε. γ.) τοὺς τρόπους
καὶ κάλλος καὶ ἡλικίαν (μ)νημή(ς) χάριν.

Line 2: NNHMH *lapis*.

Menephron (set this up) for his son Damas, beloved by every soul b[ecause of his (e.g.) manners] and beauty and (youthful) age, in memoriam.



For the combination of qualities – (manners), beauty and youth – compare *I.Sinope* 176, [εὐ]γενῆς τὸν τρ[ό]πον καὶ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἄσημος, νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν; cf. also 278 (Zivarik [Altinekin]), κάλλος ἔχουσ’ ἐρατινὸν καὶ φρένας ἡλικίαν τε ἠδὺλόγου κούρης. The doorstone type is comparable to that of Typ G or K Amorion (Waelkens 1986: 206) and Typ G or K Petara (Waelkens 1986: 224). For the garlands with *bucrania* above the doors, compare Waelkens

1986: 228-9, nos. 587-8.

Küçükhasan is a village in the plain of Çeltik, on the shore of the small reedy Akgöl. Another funerary monument and a votive *bomos* to Meter Tetrapsopos (cf. 131) were copied at the village of Küçükhasan by Anderson 1899: 303, nos. 237-8; both were said to come from a site called Kale, fifty minutes SSW of the village on the north slope of Seyfiören Dagi (cf. Anderson 1897-8: 61). No name can be assigned to the ancient site.

219. Yukarı Küçükhasan

Funerary *bomos* for Domnos.

Coarse marble *bomos*, broken above and below. Above the inscription, standing female and male figures in relief, in *aedicula*. Found near Yukarı Küçükhasan, in a cemetery three kilometres north-west of the village. Ht. 1.15+; W. 0.42; Th. 0.40; letters 0.015-0.030. Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/32). Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ηλία) Βαβεις Κοΐντου
τῶ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Δό-
μνω κὲ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κόϊντος
κὲ Βούβαλος κὲ Ζωτι-
5 κὸς τῶ ἑαυτῶν πα-
τρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

Aur(elia) Babeis, daughter of Quintus, for her husband Domnos, and Aur(elius) Quintus and Boubalos and Zotikos for their father, in memoriam.

For the female name Βαβεις, see Zgusta 1964:



115-6 §133-15, and cf. 215 above (Sülüklü) and 323 below (Perta). The personal name Βούβαλος ('antelope') is discussed by Robert 1963: 22-33; it is also attested in this region in *MAMA VII* 328 (Sülüklü) and *CIG III* 3882d (Prymnessos).

220. Yukarıaliçomak

Funerary doorstone for Attas and wife.

Doorstone with two doors, broken below and right; only the upper pair of panels of each door are visible. In the upper left panel of the left-hand door, a door-knocker; in the upper right panel, a key-plate. Above each door, incised pediment with half-palmette corner acroteria and plain central acroterion. To the left of the left-hand door, incised comb (top left), spindle and distaff (top right), cymbals (?) (centre left), brush (?) (centre right), wool-basket (below). Above, plain incised gabled pediment; inscription in a single line on plain moulding below. Found at Yukarıaliçomak, exact location not recorded.

Ht. 1.10+; W. 1.67+; Th. 0.15; letters 0.025-0.035. Unpublished. Edition based on partial squeeze; WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/36). Second or third century AD.



Γάϊος καὶ Παπας πατρὶ Ἀττα καὶ μητρὶ ΚΛΙΛΛΑ μνήμης [χάριν].

Gaius and Papas for their father Attas and their mother... in memoriam.

The name of Attas' wife is not certain: we could read either *Κα(τ)ίλλα* (cf. *MAMA VIII* 318: Sadettin Hanı) or *Κ(υρ)ίλλα* (a very common name in this region). I am unable to identify the two objects depicted in the centre of the left-hand side of the stone (both of which are also depicted on 221 below). The object on the right may be

a brush (?); the object on the left (two circles connected by a straight line) may be a pair of cymbals or a rattle (cf. Waelkens 1986: 291, no. 752: Pessinous), or perhaps simply a mirror with round handle (cf. Herrmann and Malay 2007: Pl. 16, no. 30: SW of Thyateira).

221. Yukarıaliçomak

Funerary doorstone for Nana.

Doorstone, buried below. Single door with gabled pediment, *acroteria* and leaves above. In the panels, door-knocker (top left), lock-plate (top right), basket (bottom left), bunch of grapes (bottom right). On the left-hand border, spindle and distaff; on the right-hand border, cymbals (?) and brush (?). Found at Yukarıaliçomak, exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.80+; W. 0.65; Th. 0.26; letters 0.025-0.035.

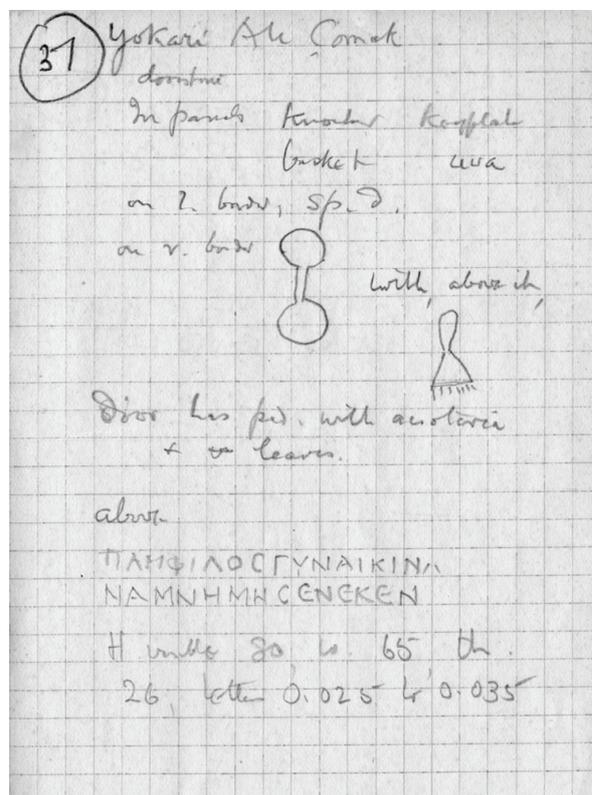
Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/37).

Second or third century AD.

Πάμφιλος γυναικὶ Νανα-
να μνήμης ἔνεκεν.

Pamphilos for his wife Nana, in memoriam.

For the objects depicted in relief on the right-hand border, see the commentary to 220 above (1954/36). For the name Nana, see 209 above (Azak [Hodoğlu]).



XVI. KINNA

222. Kulu

Honorific *bomos* for Aurelius Aelianus, *procurator Augusti*.

Blackish trachyte *bomos*, complete, with dowel hole on upper surface. Round boss and plain garland (?) on upper moulding. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery north-west of the village, south-west of the point where the Ankara road crosses the Değirmen Özü.

Ht. 1.57; W. 0.58 (upper moulding), 0.46 (shaft), 0.56 (base); Th. 0.52 (upper moulding), 0.44 (shaft), 0.51 (base); letters 0.040-0.050.

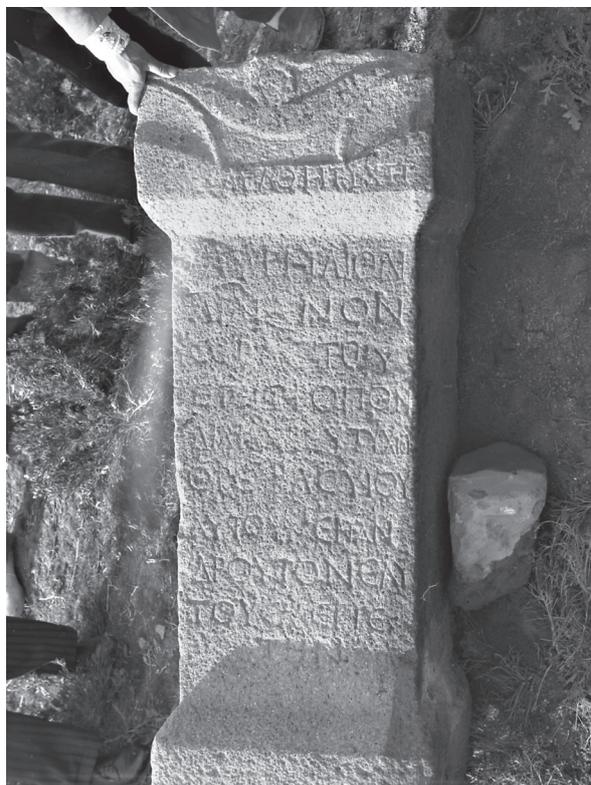
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/11).

Second or third century AD.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Αὐρήλιον
 Αἰλιανὸν
 Σεβαστοῦ
 5 ἐπίτροπον
 Αἴλιος Εὐτύχιος
 θρέψας υἱοῦ
 αὐτοῦ Μενάν-
 δρου τὸν ἑαυ-
 10 τοῦ εὐεργέ-
 vac. την. vac.

With good fortune. Aurelius Aelianus, procurator Augusti – Aelius Eutybios, who reared his son Menandros, (honoured him), his personal benefactor.

A close parallel for this text is provided by an inscription from Adada in Pisidia: Ἀντίοχον Τλαμόου φιλόπατριν, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν τὸ β', πρόβουλον τὸ δ', κτίστην, υἱὸν πόλεως, Καλλικλῆς Ἀ[ν]τίοχου ὁ καὶ Δαρείος, ὁ θρέψ[α]ς τὸν νεώτερον τοῦ πατρωνος υἱὸν Ἀντίο[χ]ου, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [π]άτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην (IGR III 369). In both cases we are dealing with a man of relatively high status (Aurelius Aelianus, *procurator Augusti*; Antiochos, high-priest of the imperial cult at



Adada) being honoured as 'benefactor' by the man who had acted as nurse (*θρέψας*) to his son. For male nurses (*nutritores*, *nutricii*) in the Roman world, see Bradley 1991: 37-75. The male nurse, who looked after children too young to be supervised by a *paidagogos*, seems to have been a quite standard figure in both upper-class and lower-class households, sometimes alongside a female *nutrix*. In most cases, *nutritores* would have been slaves or freedmen. See e.g. TAM IV 1, 134 (Nikomedea), with Robert 1987: 91-4: Θράσων Διογένους τήνδε ἀνέστησεν στυλλεῖδαν υἱῶν β', Δεξιφάνους ἑτῶν ε', Θράσωνος ἑτῶν δ', Ἐρμῆ θρέψαντος αὐτῶν ἑτῶν κε' ἐν τῇ συνπτώσει τοῦ σεισμοῦ οὕτως αὐτὰ περιειλήφει, with a relief depicting a bearded slave in a long tunic embracing two togate children.

In the Adada inscription, Kallikles, 'also known as Dareios', is all but certain to have been a slave.

He is described as ‘son of Antiochos’, and we may suspect that he has been adopted on manumission (Gardner 1989) by his *patronus* and former owner, the high-priest Antiochos. In our inscription, the status of Aelius Eutybios is unknown; we may

suspect that both he and Aurelius Aelianus were imperial freedmen (for freedman procurators in Phrygia and Galatia, see Thonemann 2011a: 113-4), which would place our inscription around the middle of the second century AD.

223. Kulu

Funerary *bomos* for Titus Aurelius Menandros.

Blackish trachyte *bomos*, buried below; back side rough. On the upper moulding, six-pointed rosette (diameter 0.15). Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), by the mosque.

Ht. 1.23+; W. 0.52 (upper moulding), 0.42 (shaft); Th. 0.35; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy (1957/6).

Second century AD.

5 Αὐρηλία Σατ-
 ουρνείνα Τί-
 τω Αὐρηλίω Με-
 νάνδρω, στρα-
 τευσαμένω
 τρίτῃ λεγιῶνι,
 ἰδίῳ συνβίῳ ἀν-
 ἔστη[σ]εν μνή-
 μης χάριν.

Aurelia Saturnina set this up for her own husband, Titus Aurelius Menandros, ex-soldier in the third legion, in memoriam.



Menandros presumably served in *legio III Gallica* or *legio III Cyrenaica*. The bare dative in line 6 is surprising, but the squeeze shows no trace of a preposition (ἐν) at the end of line 5.

224. Kulu

Funerary *stele* for Julianus and Domna.

White limestone *stele* without pediment, complete; buried below. On the upper moulding, incised depictions of an animal-legged tripod table with an *oinochoe* underneath it and one-handled *skyphos* resting on top (l.), a chest with lock-plate (centre), and spindle and distaff (r.). Inscription on the shaft; plain pilasters to l. and r. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery on the east edge of the village.

Ht. 1.41+; W. 0.52 (upper moulding), 0.48 (shaft); Th. 0.36; letters 0.035-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/3).

Roman imperial period.

Ἰουλιαν-
 ὸς Νεικί-
 οῦ ἰδίᾳ γυ-
 ναικὶ γλυ-
 5 κιστάτῃ Δό-
 μνᾳ Γεμ-
 ελλείνου
 μνήμῃς
 χάριν κ(ἐ) ἑαυ-
 10 τῶ ♡.

Julianus, son of Neikias, for his own sweetest wife Domna, daughter of Gemellinus, in memoriam, and for himself.

For the name Gemellus/Gemellinus, cf. 33 above (Eumeneia). The last two words (κ(ἐ) ἑαυτῶ, lines 9-10) are oddly placed, and may have been added at a later date; presumably the tomb was originally intended to house Domna alone, and Julianus



subsequently decided to have himself interred in the same grave. For the incised figures on the upper moulding, see the commentary to 233 below (Yalınayak [Karacadağ]).

225. Kulu

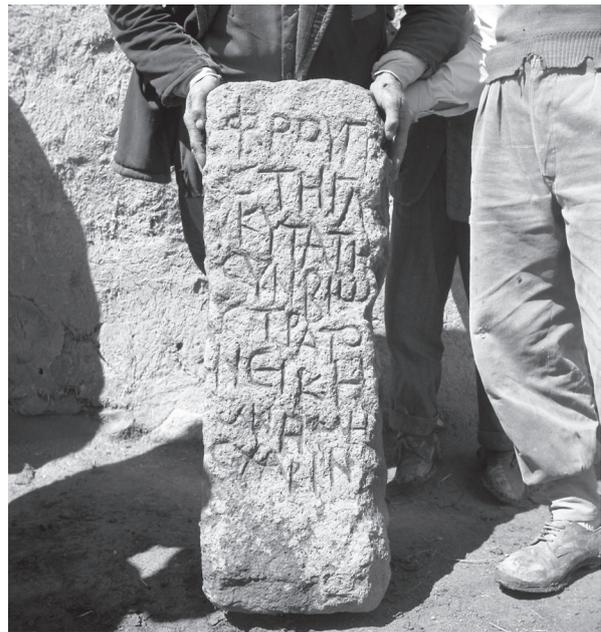
Funerary stele for Stratoneike.

Very rough purple-brown trachyte *stèle*, complete. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a stable. Ht. 0.94; W. 0.33; Th. 0.18; letters 0.060-0.080. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/7). Roman imperial period.

Φροῦγι-
 σ τῇ γλ-
 υκιστάτῃ
 5 συνβίῳ
 Στρατο-
 νείκη
 μνήμη-
 σ χάριν.

Frugis (set this up) for his sweetest wife Stratoneike, in memoriam.

For the name Φροῦγισ in this region, cf. Anderson 1899: 129, no. 149 (İnsuyu). The final *sigma*



is an attempt to provide a convincing Greek termination for the Roman *cognomen* 'Frugi'; cf. the form Φρούγιος in MAMA VII 57 (Laodikeia: Kindiras), and the examples collected by S. Mitchell on RECAM II 387 (Kerpiç).

226. Kulu

Funerary *stèle* for Zoe.

Pink trachyte pedimental *stèle* with corner acroteria and circular boss in pediment; on the shaft, plain pilasters to left and right. Broken above, buried below; back rough. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery on the east edge of the village.

Ht. 0.83+; W. 0.55 (pediment and *acroteria*), 0.51 (shaft); Th. 0.18; letters 0.030-0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/1).

Second or third century AD.

Λούκιος
Μανίας (?)
Ζόη γυνε-
κὶ ἀνέσ-
τησεν
[μνήμης]
[χάρις]

5

Loukios Manias (?) set this up for his wife Zoe, [in memoriam].

The reading in line 2 appears certain. A male name **Manias* is apparently unattested elsewhere;



it is possible that the single unpublished example cited by Zgusta 1964: 294 §865-5, allegedly from Isauria ('IS: Λούκιος *Manias* Ineditum – Wiener Scheden'), is in fact identical to the text published here. It is, however, hard to see what else the sequence of letters could represent; the woman's name *Mania* is very common in this region, but a metronym ('son of Mania') seems unlikely.

227. Kulu.

Funerary inscription of Aur. Eudemos and Aemilia Beronike.

White limestone block, buried above, broken below and right. Inscription in a plain recessed panel. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery on the east edge of the village.

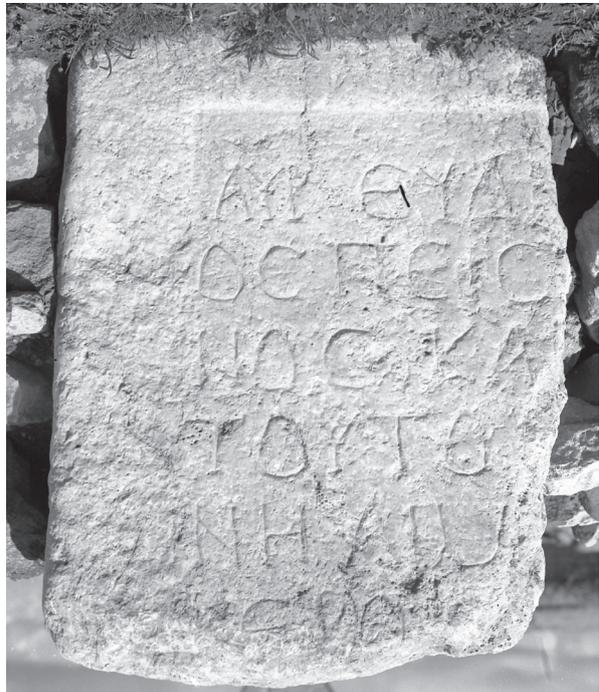
Ht. 0.52+; W. 0.40+; Th. 0.23; letters 0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/2).

Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εὐδη[μ]-
ος Πείσ[ω]-
νος καὶ [ἡ]
τούτου [γυ]-
νὴ Αἰμ[ιλ(ία)] (?)
[Β]ερ[ο]ν[ίκη]

5



Aur(elius) Eudemos, son of Piso, and his wife Aem[il(ia) B]jero[nike...]

The name Εὐδήμος is also found in this region at Orkistos in eastern Phrygia (MAMA VII 304: M. Aurelius Eudemos); cf. the name Εὐδήμων at Vetissos (Sinanlı: MAMA VII 316; Waelkens 1986: 237-8, no.610). For the pleonastic *τούτου*

in line 4, cf. e.g. SEG 37, 1072 (Nikomedea): Αὐρ. Ἡράκλεις Γαίου... κὲ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Αὐρ. Ἄντωνίνα ἐπόησομεν κτλ. My restoration in lines 5-6 assumes that Eudemos' wife carried the gentilician Αἰμιλία; cf. I.Ankara 185 (Μαρκία Αἰμιλία Ἀθηναίς). Αἰμιλία is also attested as a personal name in its own right in this region: cf. RECAM II 120 (Tutlu).

228. Kulu

Funerary stele for Doudous.

Tapered trachyte *stele*, apparently complete, perhaps broken above; back rough. Inscription in sunken panel. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a garden, in a pile of building-stones said to have been brought from Yaraşlı (with 229).

Ht. 0.68+; W. 0.30-0.40; Th. 0.25; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/8).

Third or fourth century AD.

Αὐρύλι-
 ος Μείρο-
 ς ἀνέσθη-
 σεν τεῖ εἰ-
 5 δῆα σιν-
 βήῳ [χ]άρι-
 ν μνήμη-
 ς <Δουδου-
 ς>.

Aurelius Meiros set this up for his own wife, in memoriam: <Doudous>.



For the spelling ἀνέσθησεν (lines 3-4), see Brixhe 1987: 110-3 and cf. 230 and 236 below. The word order in lines 6-9 is very odd, and the final word, the indigenous woman's name Δουδου(ς) (see Zgusta 1964: 154 §306-6; 236 below [Yaraşlı]), seems to be inscribed in a different hand; presumably it was accidentally omitted from the original inscription.

229. Kulu

Funerary *stèle* for Romula.

Tapered trachyte *stèle*, with round projection above, incised with an equilateral maltese cross; back rough. Inscription in sunken panel. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a garden, in a pile of building-stones said to have been brought from Yaraşlı (with 228).

Ht. 0.83; W. 0.32; Th. 0.20; letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/10).

Third or fourth century AD.

Ἀὐρί-
 λιος Ἄ-
 νίκ[ητ]-
 ος Γαί-
 ου (?) ἀν-
 ἔστισε [ι]-
 δία συν-
 βίου Ἰ-
 ωμύλη (?)
 10 χάριν
 μνήμης
 †

Aurelius Aniketos, son of Gaius (?), set this up for his own wife Romula (?), in memoriam.



The face of the stone is extremely worn and difficult to read; the name Ἀνίκ[ητ]ος in lines 2-4 is certain (cf. 242 below [Altılar]), but I have no great confidence in my readings Γαίου (lines 4-5) or Ἰωμύλη (lines 8-9).

230. Kulu

Funerary *stèle* for Kyrion and Kyrilla.

White limestone *stèle* with arched pediment, broken above and below; back side rough. In the pediment, male and female busts in relief, each with right arm bent across the chest and resting in arm-sling of toga and *pallia* respectively. Inscription on shaft, substantially defaced by later re-use as threshold of a door. Below the inscription, incised depiction of an animal-legged tripod table with a one-handed *skyphos* resting on top. Plain pilasters to l. and r. Found at Kulu (territory of Kinna), in a lane.

Ht. 1.23+; W. 0.52 (upper moulding), 0.42 (shaft); Th. 0.35; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/4).

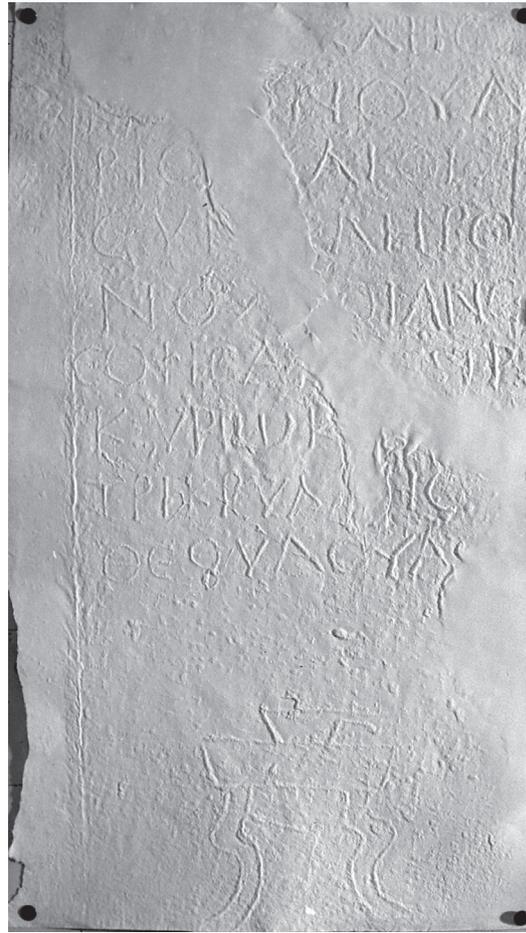
Fourth century AD.

[(e.g.) Πατρο]κλήης
 καὶ Ἰανουά-
 ριο[s] καὶ οἱ
 5 συνκληρο-
 νόμοι ἀνέ-
 σθησα[ν] πατρὶ
 Κυρίω(ν) (?) καὶ μη-
 τρὶ Κ(υρί)λλης,
 Θεοῦ δούλ[η].

Line 7: ΚΥΡΙΩΚ[- -]. Line 8: ΚΡΥΛΛΗΣ.

[Patro]kles and Ianuarius and their co-heirs set this up for their father Kyrio(n)(?) and their mother K(yri)lla, servant of God.

For the Roman name *Ianuarius* in inner Anatolia, see e.g. *I.Ankara* 8.51, 9.14, 126; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 657, no. 603 (Akmoneia); *MAMA* X 75 (Altıntaş); 261 and 273 below (Nevine [Bahçesaray]). The term *συνκληρονόμος*, ‘joint heir’, is extremely rare: cf. *SEG* 8, 91 (Beit Ras/Capitolias). For the spelling *ἀνέσθησα[ν]* (lines 5-6), see Brixhe 1987: 110-3 and cf. 228 above (*ἀνέσθησεν*). In line 7, I have tentatively assumed that the mason omitted the final syllable of the dative *Κυρίω(νι)*; the personal name *Κυρίων* is extremely common in inner Anatolia, while a personal name *Κύριος* (‘Lord’) is unattested and unlikely. In line 8, I assume that the sequence *ΚΡΥΛΛΗΣ* is a mason’s error for the common woman’s name *Κ(υρί)λλης*, with an irrational genitive termination (cf. 201 above [Kuyulusebil]; 234 and 235 below [Yaraşlı]). The description ‘servant of God’ (*ἡ δούλη/ὁ δούλος τοῦ Θεοῦ*) is highly characteristic of the Christian funerary epigraphy of Galatia, most particularly of Tavium and its territory (*RECAM* II 423-99). For the incised image below the inscription, see the commentary to 233 below (Yalınayak [Karacadağ]).



231. Ömeranlı

Funerary *bomos* of Messalin-

Coarse grey marble upper moulding for attachment to a *bomos*, broken at right. Mouldings on front, left, and behind. Found at Ömeranlı, in a yard.

Ht. 0.22; W. 0.38+; Th. 0.40; letters 0.027-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/17).

Roman imperial period.

ἐν τῷδε [- - -]
Μεσσαλειῶ[- -]

In this [tomb]... Messalin[us/a...].

This monument appears to be the upper moulding of a funerary *bomos*, here cut from a



separate block of stone from the shaft; cf. e.g. 127 above (Akmoneia); 157 above (Diokleia). The inscription would have continued on the shaft.

232. Yalınayak

Funerary stele with curse formula.

Coarse whitish marble *stèle*, later reused as the base of a Byzantine double half-column. Cut away above and left; face rough-picked at right. Found at Yalınayak (Karacadağ, territory of Kinna), in a wall; said to have been brought from ruins one and a half hours to the south.

Ht. 0.71+; W. 0.47+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/27).

Roman imperial period.



 [ὅς δὲ ταύτην στήλην]
 [ἀδ]ικῆσει, ἄωρα τ[έκ]-
 [να θ]άψει, ὡς καὶ αὐτ[ὸς]
 [(?) κεί]μαι ταφῆ.

[...whoever wr]ongs [this stele], may he bury his children before their time, just as I too [lie?] in the tomb.

I have restored the beginning of the curse-formula on the basis of four other funerary inscriptions from this region: *RECAM* II 294 (Canımana), ὅς δὲ ταύτην [σ]τήλην ἀδικήση, κτλ.; *RECAM* II 302 (Canımana), ὅς ταύτην στήλην ἀδικήση, κτλ.; *RECAM* II 306 (Karacaören), ὅς δὲ ταύτην στήλην ἀδικήσαι, κτλ.; *RECAM* II 309 (Yeşilköy), ἂν τις ἀδικήσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λύποιτο κτλ. I can offer no close parallels for the remainder of the curse-formula. For

the malediction expressing the hope that the violator's children will die ἄωροι, see Robert, *OMS* V, 715-20. If my restoration in the final line is correct, the final clause would express the wish that the violator's children suffer the same fate as the deceased: for comparable formulae, cf. *TAM* V 1, 626 (Daldis), εἰ δέ τις ταύτην τὴν στήλην ἄρη... τὸν αὐτὸν μόρον πάθοιτο; *BE* 1939, 464 (Korykos), εἴ τις δὲ θέλη σώματ' ἄραι τῆς ταφῆς, τὰ αὐτὰ πάθοιτον, ἃ ἐκῆ(ν)ι ἐν τοῖς σεισμοῖς; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/55/03 (Philomelion): ὅστις ἐμεῦ στήλαν βαλέει λίθον οὐκ ἀδικηθεῖς, οὗτος τὰν αὐτὰν μοῖραν ἐμοὶ λαχέτω. For the phraseology ὡς καὶ αὐτ[ὸς] (line 2), cf. *I.Parion* 29, ὁ κακώσας τὴν εἰκόνα... πάθῃ ἂ καὶ αὐτή. See further Robert, *Hellenica* II, 121 n.5; *OMS* V, 718 n.117.

For the re-use of inscriptions as Byzantine double half-columns, see the commentary to 150 above (Başkuyucak, Pentapolis).

233. Yalınayak

Funerary inscription of Aur. Domna and family.

Whitish limestone fragment, broken on all sides. Above the inscription, incised depictions of an animal-legged tripod table with *oinochoe* below and one-handled *skyphos* resting on top (l.), wool-basket resting on chest with lock-plate (centre), spindle (r.). Found at Yalınayak (Karacadağ, territory of Kinna), in a wall.

Ht. 0.39+; W. 0.28+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/26).

Third century AD.

[Aύ]ρ(ηλία) Δόμνα με[τὰ]
 [τ]ῶν ἀδελφ[ῶν]
 [Aύρ(ηλίου) M]είρω κα[ὶ]

Aur(elia) Domna, with her brothers [Aur(elius) M]eiros a[nd ...].

Exactly the same combination of objects is depicted on a funerary *stele* from Kulu (224 above): at left, an animal-legged tripod table with *oinochoe* below and one-handed *skyphos* resting on top; at centre, a wool-basket resting on a chest with lock-plate; at right, spindle and distaff. The first element here, the animal-legged tripod table with one-handed *skyphos* on top, is also found on a second funerary *stele* from Kulu (230 above), and a funerary *stele* from Yaraşlı (235 below), in the latter instance in combination with a selection of farm-implements. The *oinochoe* and *skyphos* reappear along with a *pelike* on a funerary *stele* from Yaraşlı (234 below). A funerary *stele* from Canımana (250 below) depicts a wool-basket resting on a chest with lock-plate, a mirror, an *oinochoe* (?) and *skyphos* on an animal-legged tripod table, a spindle and distaff, and an ox-team yoked to a plough; another *stele* from Canımana (253 below) depicts a chest with lock-plate, a mirror, an *oinochoe* and *skyphos* on an animal-legged tripod table, a *pelike*, a spindle and distaff, a bill-hook, a horse, and an ox-team yoked to a plough. Numerous variants on this combination of objects can be found on the funerary monuments



from the territory of Kinna collected in *RECAM* II.

Most of these objects are self-explanatory. The incised depiction of an animal-legged tripod table with associated wine-jars and drinking vessels presumably represents a poor man's 'Totenmahl' relief, a kind of visual shorthand for the good life (luxurious drinking and dining).

234. Yaraşlı

Funerary *stele* of Aurelia Dido and family.

White limestone *stele*, broken above. At top, rectangular or arched pediment, with female bust and two male busts in relief; female figure with veil and incised necklace. Line 1 of inscription on moulding; lines 2-6 in sunken panel on shaft. Below inscription, incised depictions of wool-basket on chest; spindle and distaff; mirror. At base of shaft, incised depictions of *oinochoe*, crude one-handed *skyphos* (?), and *pelike*. Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a wall of a house of the north side of the village.

Ht. 0.72+; W. 0.58; Th. 0.42; letters 0.015-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/12).

Third century AD.



Ἀὐρη(λία) Διδῶ ζῶσα κ[ἐ φρο]-
 νοῦσα ἐατῆ̄ κὲ εἰ-
 ῶ̄ Δημητρίου κὲ ἀ-
 {α}νδρὶ Δαδῆ ἀνέστ-
 5 {τ}ησεν μνήμης
 χάρι(ν).

Aure(lia) Dido, while still living and in her right mind, set this up for herself and her son Demetrios and her husband Dades, in memoriam.

The indigenous names Διδῶ and Δαδῆς are highly characteristic of eastern Phrygia, Lykaonia and Galatia: for Διδῶ see Zgusta 1964: 147-8 §282-3; *RECAM* II 115, 254; for Δαδῆς see Zgusta 1964: 140-1 §244-5; Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1927-8.

235. Yaraşlı

Funerary stele for Attas and Manes.

Grey limestone *stèle*, broken above. Pediment almost entirely missing; lines 1-2 of inscription on upper moulding, line 3 in sunken panel on shaft. Panel with four stepped fillets above and below, single fillet at left and right; plain pilasters to left and right. On the lower part of the panel, incised depictions of animal-legged tripod table with one-handed *skyphos* resting on top, billhook, sickle, plough and spade. Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a wall of a house of the north side of the village (with 234).

Ht. 1.22+; W. 0.58; Th. --; letters 0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photographs (1957/13).

Third century AD.

Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Μείρος ἰδίων τέκνω[ν]
 Ἄττα καὶ Μανῆ ἀνέστησ[ε]ν μνη-
 μόσυνον.

Aur(elius) Meiros set up this memorial for his own sons Attas and Manes.

For the use of the term *μνημόσυνον* in this context (in place of the normal *μνήμης χάρις*), cf. *RECAM* II 408 (Şerefli Koçhisar), Κλαυδία Μουνεως [ἰ]δία ἀνδρὶ Ἐρενίῳ Πωλίῳ μνη(η)-



μόσυν[ο]ν. For the incised depiction of an animal-legged tripod table and one-handed *skyphos*, see the commentary to 233 above (Yalınayak [Karacadağ]).

236. Yaraşlı

Funerary *stele* for Doudou.

Slightly tapered trachyte *stele* with round corner acroteria and vaulted pediment, broken above. Inscription in sunken panel on shaft. Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a yard.

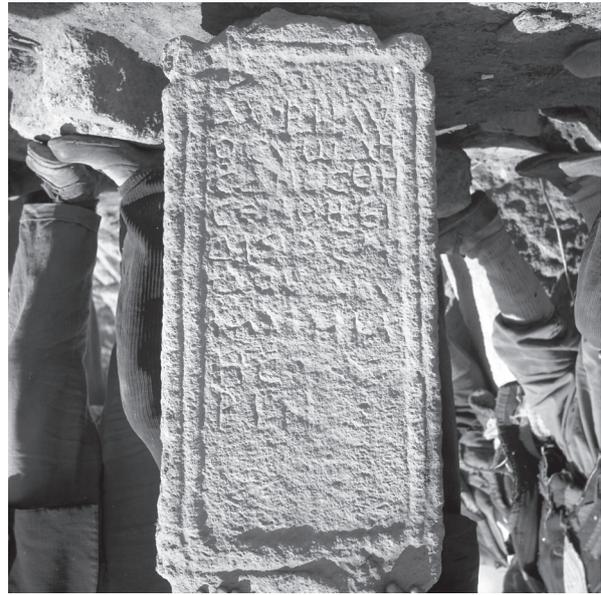
Ht. 0.96+; W. 0.38 (top), 0.42 (bottom); Th. 0.20; letters 0.030-0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/14).

Third century AD.

5 Αὐρήλυ-
 ος Ὑωδη-
 ς ἀνέσθη-
 σεν θῆ εἰ-
 δία ἀδελφ-
 ῆ Δουδου
 μνήμ-
 ης χά-
 ρις.

Aurelius Iodes set (this) up for his own sister Doudou, in memoriam.



In lines 2-3, I take Ὑωδης to be an alternative spelling for the indigenous name *Iōdas*/*Iōdης*, which is widely attested across the western fringe of the plateau: see Zgusta 1964: 206 §496, and the commentary to 203 above (Çeşmelisebil). For the indigenous name *Δουδου* see Zgusta 1964: 154 §306-6; 228 above (Kulu).

237. Yaraşlı

Funerary *stele* for Palladia.

Local grey trachyte *stele*, broken above, back rough. At top, remains of a moulded circular projection (cf. 229 above). Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a yard at the north end of the village.

Ht. 0.92+; W. 0.47; Th. 0.25; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; squeeze; photograph (1957/21).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

5 Αὐ(ρήλιος) Θεόδου-
 λος ἀνέστη-
 σεν τῆ σ(υ)ν-
 βίῳ γλυχιτ-
 άτη Παλλα-
 δίῃ μνήμ-
 ης χάρις.

Line 3: ΣΓΝ lapis.



Au(relius) Theodoulos set this up for his sweetest wife Palladia, in memoriam.

For the name *Theodoulos*, cf. 240 below, also from Yaraşlı. For the name *Palladia*, cf. *I.Smyrna* 565; 50 above (Παλλάς). For the spelling *γλυχιτάτη* in lines 4-5, cf. 239 below, also from Yaraşlı.

238. Yaraşlı

Funerary *stele* of Aur. Kallistratos and family.

Greyish buff trachyte *stele*, broken above and below. Inscription in sunken panel on shaft. Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a lane.

Ht. 0.32+; W. 0.33; Th. 0.12; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/22).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

5 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Καλ-
 ίστρατ-
 ος κὲ δι-
 απέρο-
 ντις ἀν-
 έσ[τ]ησα-
 [ν - - -].

Aur(elius) Kallistratos and his household set this up...



In lines 3-5, I assume that the sequence *διαπεροντις* represents *διαφέροντες*, i.e. Kallistratos' 'family' or 'household'. For this use of οἱ *διαφέροντες* in late antique epigraphy, cf. e.g. Miltner 1937: 43-4, no. 47 (Ankyra): [ὕ]πὲρ εὐχῆς Λιμενίου [π]ρωτίκτορος κέ... πάντων τῶν διαφερόντων αὐτῶ; *MAMA* III 287 (Korykos), *σωματοθήκη Γεοργίου [β]εστια(ρίου) κὲ Δομετίου κὲ τῶν διαφερόντων*; *IGLS* IV 1267 (Laodikeia), [σορ]ὸς Ἰωάννου Ἀ[βδά]λλα κὲ τοῖς δι[αφέ]ροντες αὐτῶ.

239. Yaraşlı

Funerary *stele* for Nonne.

Tapered grey trachyte *stele*, broken above, back rough. Inscription in sunken panel on shaft. Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a yard, alongside 240.

Ht. 0.73+; W. 0.30-0.40; Th. 0.17; letters 0.020-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/24).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

5 Αὐρήλι-
 ος Ουελ-
 λανος
 ἀνέστη-
 σεν τῇ
 γλυχιτά-
 τη συν-
 βίῳ Νον-
 νη μν-
 10 ήμης
 χάριν.

Aurelius Vellanos set this up for his sweetest wife Nonne, in memoriam.



For the spelling *γλυχιτάτη* in lines 6-7, cf. 237 above, also from Yaraşlı. The personal name *Ουελλανος* in lines 2-3 seems to be unattested elsewhere. The name is most probably Celtic: compare the Celtic name *Vellaunus* (e.g. *CIL* XIII 8094, Bonn), and cf. the commentary to 330 below (Perta), on the name *Βελλης*.

240. Yaraşlı

Funerary stele for Threptos, deacon.

Grey trachyte *stèle*, broken above. Inscription in sunken panel on shaft, with herring-bone moulding above. Below the panel, large incised cross (Ht. 0.18; W. 0.09). Found at Yaraşlı (territory of Kinna), in a yard, alongside 239.

Ht. 1.02+; W. 0.44; Th. 0.27; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/25).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

5 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θεόδου-
 λος σὺν τοῖς
 εἰδίοις ἀ-
 δελφοῖς
 τῶ εἰδίῳ
 πατρὶ Θρέ-
 πτω διακό-
 νω χάριν
 μνήμης.



Aur(elius) Theodoulos, with his own brothers, for his own father Threptos, deacon, in memoriam.

For the name Theodoulos, cf. 237 above, also from Yaraşlı.

241. Altılar

Funerary stele of Eutyches and daughter.

Grey trachyte *stèle*, broken right and probably below. Plain vaulted pediment above; inscription in sunken panel on shaft. Found at Altılar (territory of Kinna), location not recorded.

Ht. 0.90+; W. 0.25+; Th. 0.23; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/28).

Roman imperial period.

5 Εὐτυ[χης/-ος Ἄλλ]-
 ἐξά[νδρου]
 κὲ θυ[γατήρ]
 μου Α[- -]
 ἀνεσ[τήσα]-
 μεν [ἐατοῖς]
 μνή[μης χ]-
 ἀρι[ν vac.]

Eutyches/-os son of Alexandros and my daughter A[...], we set this up for ourselves, in memoriam.



The restorations are not quite certain, but it is hard to see how else to reconstruct the text. For a similar structure, compare e.g. *MAMA VII 81* (Laodikeia: Kindiras), *Αὐρ. Παῦλος Ἄντωνίου κὲ Αἰλία Φροντίνα Οὐρανίου πρεσβυτέρου σὺνβιός μου ἀνεστήσαμεν ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες μνήμη[s] χάριν.*

242. Altılar

Funerary inscription of Matrona.

Rough trachyte slab, cracked from left to right; upper left corner missing, otherwise apparently complete. Found at Altılar (territory of Kinna), in use as the lid of a storage pit in the upper part of the village.

Ht. 0.82; W. 0.67; Th. 0.12; letters 0.020-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/31).

Roman imperial period.

[Μα]τρώνα
[σ]ύμβιος
Ἀνεικῆ-
του.

Matrona, wife of Aneiketos.



For the name *Matrona*, see the commentary to 217 above (Yunak). For the name *Aneiketos*, cf. 229 above (Kulu).

243. Altılar

Funerary stele for Rufus the presbyter.

Grey trachyte *stèle*, broken above and below. Inscription in sunken panel on shaft. Found at Altılar (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery to the south of the village.

Ht. 0.80+; W. 0.53; Th. 0.27; letters 0.040-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/29).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

τιος κὲ
Ἀλέξα-
δρος ἀν-
έσθησα-
5 ν τῷ εἰδί-
ω πατρὲι
Ῥούπου
πρεσβι-
τέρου κ-
10 άριν μν-
ῆς.

...tios and Alexandros set this up for their own father Rufus the presbyter, in memoriam.



I assume that the sequence ΠΟΥΠΙΟΥ in line 7 represents the Latin name *Rufus*, with a characteristically Phrygian *pi/phi* hesitation (Brixhe 1987: 110-13). For the double misspelling *κάριν μνήης* (lines 9-11), cf. *MAMA I* 181 (Sarayönü); *MAMA VII* 238 (Turgut).

244. Altılar

Funerary stele for Maria.

Very rough trachyte *stèle*, probably broken below. Inscription occupies entire width of shaft; at the top, incised cross in circle. Found at Altılar (territory of Kinna), in a cemetery to the south of the village. Ht. 0.76+; W. 0.30; Th. 0.20; letters 0.025-0.050. Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/30). Fourth or fifth century AD.

Εἰρηνη-
κὸς ἄ-
νέστισε
τῆ εἰδία σι-
5 υβίῳ Μαρί-
α χάριω
μνήμης.

Eirenikos set this up for his own wife Maria, in memoriam.



The name *Eἰρηνικός* is fairly widely-attested in late antiquity: cf. e.g. 210 above; *MAMA* III 323b, 469 (Korykos); *I.Perinthos* 227; *TAM* V 1, 384 (Kollyda); *TAM* II 1009 (Olympos).

245. Karakilise

Funerary stele for Urbana and others.

Whitish limestone *stèle*, broken in two. At top, round panel in roughly rectangular pediment, with four busts in relief: above, two male busts and one veiled female bust, each with right hand laid across the chest; below, small bust within arch. Lines 1-2 of inscription on lower mouldings of pediment; lines 3-15 on shaft. On shaft, inset panel with highly decorative mouldings and arched *aedicula* at centre; below, incised depictions of sickle, spindle and distaff, bill-hook and plough. Found at Karakilise (Karacaören, territory of Kinna), in an old cemetery half an hour to the south of the village. Ht. c. 1.90 (upper fragment 1.15+, lower fragment 0.85+); W. 0.69 (upper moulding), 0.60-0.76 (shaft); Th. --; letters 0.020-0.030.

Calder 1910: 240, no.10 (line 1 only); Calder 1910: 240, no.11 (line 2 only); (S. Mitchell, *RECAM* II 304-5). Edition based on line drawing; squeeze; AH notebook copy; photographs (1957/16). Roman imperial period.

Ἀττας Δαδεως Ὀρβάνῃ [τ]ῷ Ν[-]
ΣΕΙΣΑΚΟΛΟΥ καὶ Ὀρβάν(η)ς τέκν[ω]
ἀννέστησεν

5 αὐτὸς καὶ τῇ
συνβίου μου
[σὺν (?) ἐ]αυτῆς τέ-
vac. κνω
AN[.]A[. . .]TH
TḤΔI[. . .]I
10 Συ-
σινία τὰς θυγατέ-
ρας Κλωδία·
τίς
σορὸν ἀνίξει
15 Ὀρβάνης, ὄλετρον.

Line 1: Ἀττας Δαδεως Ὀρβανα[ί]ων Calder, Mitchell. Line 2: Ὀρβανίτει[s] Calder.

Attas son of Dades, for Urbana, the child of... and Urbana, he set this up himself, and for my wife [along with?] her child... [and for?] Sisinnia, the daughter(s?) Clodia; whoever opens the tomb of Urbana, destruction.

The mason of this inscription appears to have been illiterate, and it is extremely difficult to establish the relationships of the various parties. If I have interpreted the first seven lines correctly, the tomb was constructed by a certain Attas son of Dades for his wife Urbana and his step-daughter Urbana; the mother's first husband would have been named in lines 1-2. I do not know how to interpret the two women's names, apparently in the dative, in lines 10-12. The last three lines appear to be a curse on 'whoever opens the tomb of Urbana'.

In 1908, Calder visited a Turkish cemetery 'A mile and a half south of Karakilisse, in a valley running up into the Karadja Dagh' (Calder 1910: 240). Calder claimed to have copied two inscriptions at this cemetery, 'both of which were erected above a single Turkish grave'. He gives as the complete text of the first inscription *Ἀττας Δαδεως Ὀρβανα[ί]ων* (Calder 1910: 240, no.10; *RECAM* II 304), which clearly corresponds to line 1 of our text. Calder describes the second inscription as 'A fragment of an epitaph of which only a few letters remain. One line was well preserved, consisting of the letters Ὀρβανίτει[s]' (Calder 1910: 240, no.11; *RECAM* II 305). To all appearances this 'second inscription' corresponds to line 2 of our text, Ὀρβανίτει[s] being a slight misreading for the stone's Ὀρβάν(ης) τέκν[ω]. I therefore suspect that Calder's second inscription is a phantom, resulting from careless recording of the monument in his notebook.

In both of his 'texts', Calder wrongly interpreted the sequence of letters OPBAN- as part of an ethnic, from which he inferred a phantom Galatian village of *Orbana (perpetuated in *TIB Galatien* 210-11 s.v. Orbana; *Barrington Atlas*, Map 63 B2). In fact, we are simply dealing here



with a Greek transliteration of the common Roman name *Urbana*: cf. e.g. *TAM* V 1, 168d (Saittai); *I.Lampsakos* 15. The name is attested in another funerary *stele* from Karakilise (Karacaören), 246 below.



246. Karakilise

Funerary *stèle* of Urbana and Prisca.

Grey limestone *stèle*, broken above. Vaulted pediment above, with corner *acroteria* and round boss in relief; on the shaft, inset panel with plain moulding. Found at Karakilise (Karacaören, territory of Kinna), in the steps of a house near the fountain.

Dimensions not recorded.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/38a).

Roman imperial period.

5 Οὐρβὰνα(να) τῇ
 ἑαυτῆς θυγα-
 τρὶ Πρέισκη
 γλυκυτάτῃ ἀ-
 νέστησεν
 μνήμης χά-
 ριν.

Urbana set this up for her own sweetest daughter Prisca, in memoriam.



For the name Urbana in this region, cf. 245 above (half an hour to the south of Karakilise).

247. Karakilise

Funerary *stèle* for Diomedes.

Limestone *stèle*, broken above. Inscription in inset panel with plain moulding. Found at Karakilise (Karacaören, territory of Kinna), in a house wall.

Ht. 0.55+; W. 0.43; Th. --; letters 0.020-0.030.

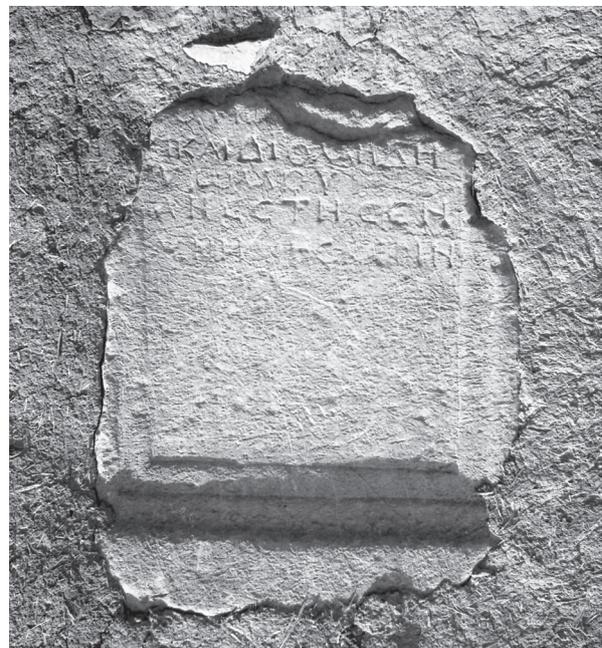
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/39).

Roman imperial period.

5 [.] Ο. ΙΙΕ[- -]
 Η καὶ Διομήδη
 υἱῷ μου
 ἀνέστησεν
 μνήμης κάριν.

...set this up for... and my son Diomedes, in memoriam.

The *eta* at the start of line 2 is presumably the end of a woman's name in the dative.



248. Canımana

Votive *bomos* of Karpos to Zeus Megistos.

Whitish limestone *bomos*. On the upper moulding, boss with six-pointed rosette. On the shaft, above the inscription, male bust in relief; head defaced, right hand laid across the chest between two folds of toga. Found at Canımana (territory of Kinna), in a lane, said to have been found in the village.

Ht. 1.02; W. 0.45 (upper moulding), 0.39-0.41 (shaft), 0.46 (base); Th. 0.30 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photographs (1957/15).

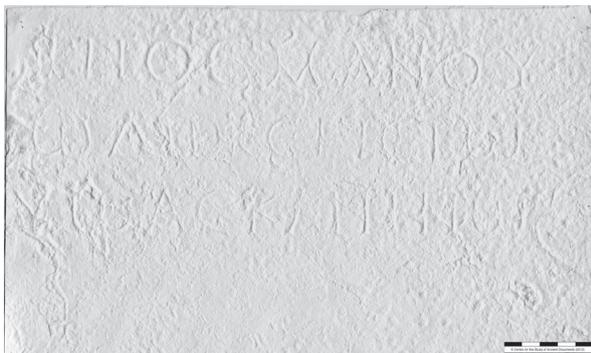
Roman imperial period.

[Κά]ρπος Μανου
 [(?) τ]ῷ Διὶ Μεγίστῳ
 [. ¹⁻² .] ὑῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ.

[Ka]rpos son of Manes for Zeus Megistos... his son Asklepios.

For the cult of Zeus Megistos in central Anatolia, see the commentary to 313 below (Perta). For a second votive *bomos* from Canımana for Zeus Megistos, set up by the demos of the *Arkenoi, see 249 below. A third votive to Zeus Megistos from the neighbouring village of Yeşilköy (RECAM II 308), 15km south-east of Canımana, presumably refers to the same local cult: [. . .] Ἰς Ἀντιόχου εἰαρασάμενος τὸ πρῶτον Διὶ Μεγίστῳ εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

At the start of line 2, I have tentatively restored the definitive article; the article is very rare in this



context, but there does not appear to be room for more than one letter at the start of the line (thus ruling out e.g. [θε]ῷ Διὶ κτλ.). The restoration of line 3 is extremely difficult. The sense must be that Karpos set up this *bomos* 'for', 'with', or 'on behalf of' his son Asklepios (although the word order is distinctly odd), but there is very little space for a preposition at the start of the line. I presume that the Asklepios mentioned here is identical to the Asklepios son of Karpos in 249 below (see the commentary *ad loc.*). The name Ἀσκληπιός was in common use as a personal name in Galatia (seventeen examples in RECAM II); cf. also 251 and 252 below (both from Canımana).

249. Canimana

Votive *bomos* set up by a village to Zeus Megistos.

Grey limestone *bomos*, apparently complete. Round boss in the centre of the upper moulding, with plain corner *acroteria*. Line 1 of inscription on upper moulding, remainder on shaft. Most of the face of the shaft concealed. Found at Canimana (territory of Kinna), in the foundations of the mosque.

Ht. 1.45; W. 0.60 (upper moulding), 0.51 (shaft); Th. 0.53 (shaft); letters 0.035.

S. Mitchell, *RECAM* II 295 (text only, from a 1910 copy by W. M. Calder). Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/33).

Roman imperial period.

ΑΡΚΗΝΩΝ δῆμος ἀνέστη-
σαν Δεὶ Μεγίστῳ εὐχὴν·
Ἀσκληπιὸς Πολυκράτης.
Κάρ(π)ου Διονυσίου

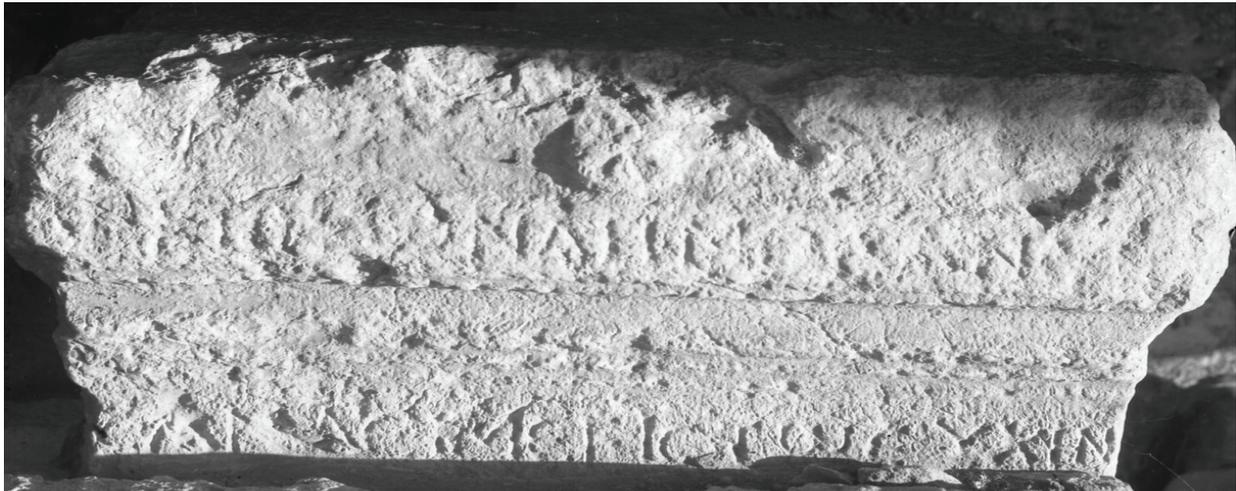
Line 1: Ἄρεηνῶν C(alder). Lines 3-4: C. Line 4: Καρίου C., Mitchell.

The demos of the Arkenoi (?) set this up to Zeus Megistos, in fulfilment of a vow. Asklepios son of Kar(p)os, Polykrates son of Dionysios.

This stone was previously copied at Canimana by W. M. Calder in 1910, whence it was published in I. W. Macpherson's 1958 Cambridge PhD thesis, *New Evidence for the Historical Geography of Galatia (non uidi)*, p.159, and subsequently

by S. Mitchell in *RECAM* II (from Macpherson's text). By 1957, the stone had been built into the foundations of the mosque at Canimana, and Ballance was only able to read the upper two lines. In most respects, Ballance's photograph and squeeze confirm Calder's readings; at the start of line 1, ΑΡΚΗΝΩΝ seems to be a more likely reading than ΑΡΕΗΝΩΝ. For a hypothetical village community (ὁ) *Ἀρκηνῶν δῆμος, cf. *MAMA* IV 251 (Tymandos), [Ἄ]ρτέμων Διοδώρου Ἄρκηνός.

In *RECAM* II, Mitchell translated lines 3-4 'Asklepios Polykrates son of Karios Dionysios (was responsible)'. However, double names of this kind are relatively unusual in inner Anatolia, and it is probably better to assume that the two names in the genitive in line 4 should each be taken with the name in the nominative that stands immediately above them in line 3, i.e. Ἀσκληπιὸς Καρίου / Πολυκράτης Διονυσίου. This interpretation receives strong confirmation from 248 above, a second votive *bomos* to Zeus Megistos from the village of Canimana. 248 was set up by a certain [Κά]ρπος Μανου, either 'for', 'with' or 'on behalf of' his son Asklepios. A personal name *Κάριος, read by Calder in line 4 of our inscription, would be unparalleled anywhere else in the Greek world, and it is highly tempting to assume that the same Asklepios son of Karpos is being referred to in both texts. I have therefore corrected Calder's reading in line 4 to Κάρ(π)ου.



250. Canimana

Funerary stele for Kronos.

Grey limestone *stele*, broken above. On the shaft, inset panel framed with Lesbian cyma; in the panel, incised depictions of (top) wool-basket resting on a chest with lock-plate, mirror, *oinochoe* (?) and *skyphos* on an animal-legged tripod table; (middle) spindle and distaff; (below) ox-team yoked to a plough. Lines 1-2 of inscription on frame, lines 3-4 in panel. Found at Canimana (territory of Kinna), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.96+; W. 0.59; Th. 0.38; letters 0.025.

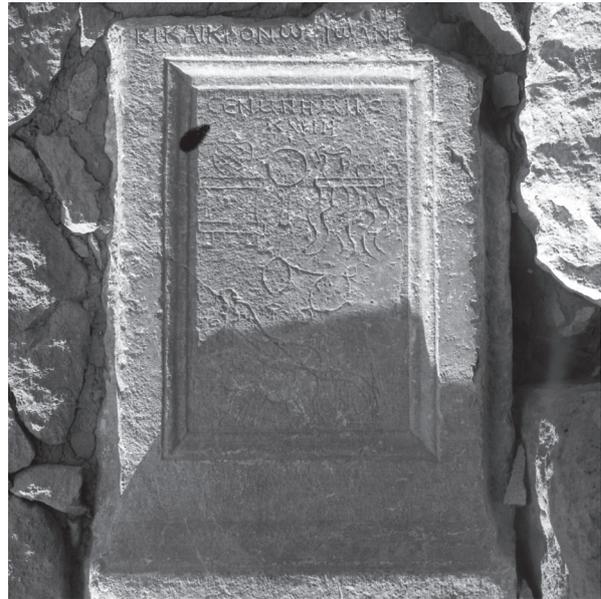
S. Mitchell, *RECAM* II 301 (text only, from a 1910 copy by W. M. Calder). Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/32).

Roman imperial period.

 [- - - - -]. Ο . Ι γ[υναί]-
 κι καὶ Κρόνω υἱῶ ἀνέ[στη]-
 σευ μνήμης
 χάριν.

Line 1: om. C(alder). Lines 2-3: ἀνέ[στησ]||εν C.

[for... his wi]fe and Kronos his son, he set this up, in memoriam.



For the decoration on the *stele*, see the commentary to 233 above (Yalınayak [Karacadağ]). The stone was previously copied at Canimana by W. M. Calder in 1910, whence it was published in I. W. Macpherson's 1958 Cambridge PhD thesis, *New Evidence for the Historical Geography of Galatia (non uidi)*, p.161, and subsequently by S. Mitchell in *RECAM* II (from Macpherson's text).

251. Canimana

Funerary stele for Tyrannos and Asklepia.

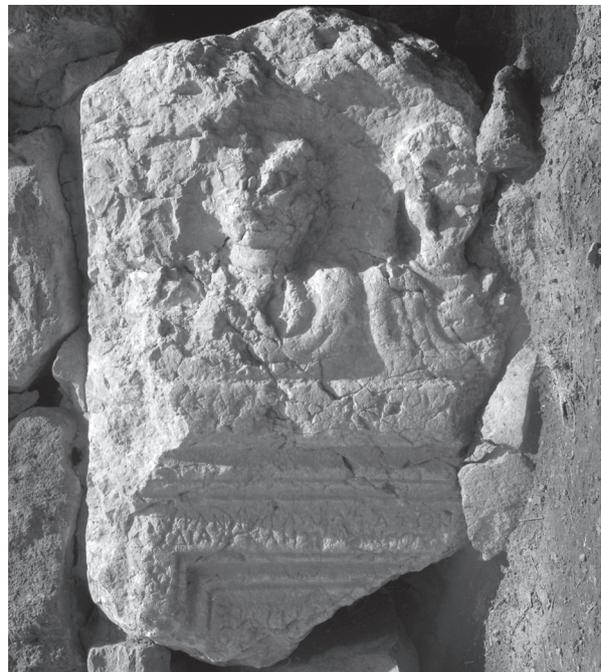
Limestone *stele*, broken above, below and right. Arched pediment above, with two busts in relief, male to left, veiled female to right. On the shaft, inset panel framed with Lesbian *cyma*. Line 1 of inscription on lower moulding of pediment; lines 2-3 on frame above the panel; line 4 in the panel. Found at Canimana (territory of Kinna), in the wall of a yard.

Ht. 0.80+; W. 0.52+; Th. --; letters 0.015-0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/37).

Roman imperial period.

[Ἀ]σκλη[πιὸς Τυρ]ά[νου] [πατρὶ ἰδίῳ]
 Τυράνω γλυ[κυτ]άτω καὶ μητρὶ
 ἰδία Ἀσκληπία ἀνέστ[ησεν] -----
 μνήμ[ης] χάριν].



Askle[pios son of Tyrannos] set this up [for his own] sweetest [father] Tyrannos, and for his own [mother] Asklepia..., in mem[oriam].

For the personal name Tyrannos in inner Anatolia, see also 329 below (Perta); 363 below (Kana). For the name Asklepios, see the commentary to 248 above (Canimana).

252. Canimana

Funerary stele of Asklepios and family.

Grey limestone *stèle*, apparently complete; left side underwater. Arched pediment above, with four busts in relief, each with their right hand resting on the chest. On the shaft, inset panel framed with decorative moulding. Line 1 of inscription on frame above the panel; lines 2-4 in the panel. Found at Canimana (territory of Kinna), in a fountain.

Ht. 1.53; W. c. 0.80 (pediment), c. 0.72 (shaft), c. 0.80 (base); Th. 0.44; letters --.

S. Mitchell, *RECAM* II 299 (text only, from a 1910 copy by W. M. Calder). Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/38).

Roman imperial period.

Ἀσκληπιὸς κὲ Κεiriλλα Μομιου ζῶντε(s) κὲ
προνοῦντες ἔστησαν ἑα-
τῆς κὲ υἱοῖς Αππα κὲ Πωλί-
ωνι μνήμης κάριν.

Line 1: ζῶντες C. Line 4: χάριν C.

Asklepios and Kyrilla, daughter of Momios, while still living and in their right minds, set this up for themselves and their children Appas and Pollio, in memoriam.

This stone was previously copied at Canimana by W. M. Calder in 1910, whence it was published in I. W. Macpherson's 1958 Cambridge PhD thesis, *New Evidence for the Historical Geography of Galatia (non uidi)*, p.160, and subsequently by S. Mitchell in *RECAM* II (from Macpherson's text).



For the name Asklepios, see the commentary to 248 above (Canimana). I assume that the name *Κεiriλλα* in line 1 is an orthographic variant of the common name *Κυρίλλα*. It is not clear whether the name *Μομιου* (gen.) represents the Latin gentilician *Mummius* (thus Mitchell, *RECAM* II 299) or an indigenous name from the same root as the common Galatian name *Μομμων* (*RECAM* II 288; Zgusta 1964: 329 §953-3). For the orthography *Πωλίωνι* (lines 3-4), cf. 100 above (Akmoneia).

Mitchell gives the alarming translation 'Asklepios and Keirilla, children of Momios... for their sons Appas and Polion.'

253. Canimana

Funerary *stèle* for husband and wife.

Grey limestone *stèle*, broken above. Arched pediment, with two busts in relief, veiled female in *pallia* to left, male in *toga* to right. Sunken panel on shaft with defaced mouldings. Lines 1-2 of the inscription missing (presumably on the defaced upper moulding of the panel), line 3 at the top of the panel. On the panel, incised depictions of a chest with lock-plate, a mirror, an *oinochoe* and *skyphos* on an animal-legged tripod table (top); a *pelike*, a spindle and distaff and a bill-hook (middle); a horse and an ox-team yoked to a plough (below). Found at Canimana (territory of Kinna), in the cemetery.

Ht. 1.73+; W. 0.73; Th. 0.43 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.025.
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/35).
Roman imperial period.

[-----]

[-----]

μνήμης χάριν.

...*in memoriam*.



For the incised depictions in the panel, see the commentary to 233 above (Yalınayak [Karacadağ]).

XVII. LAODIKEIA KATAKEKAUMENE

254. Ladik

Official measures of length for craftsmen.

Grey marble block, built into the wall of the school in Ladik (Laodikeia), apparently complete. Erased cross at top left. Inscription in three lines, separated by long shallow incised rectangles ('rulers'), with wedge-shaped nibs pointing downwards at each end. Uppermost ruler (below line 1), 0.365m long; middle ruler (below line 2), 0.324m long; lower ruler (below line 3), 0.285m long.

Ht. 0.84; W. 1.22; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.045.

Bahar and Royer 2008; [AE 2008, 1477; SEG 58, 1646; cf. BE 2009, 20]. Text based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/89).

AD 301-5(?).

πλιν,
σαν^s, λιθι^s, ζωγρα^s, ψηφ^s,
μαρ^s, μωσ^s, ξυλογλυ.

I know no parallels for a monument of this kind. The stone carries three different linear measures, evidently representing different lengths of foot,

accompanied by abbreviated versions of the names of eight artisanal professions. Clearly we are dealing with a set of length-standards to be observed by different groups of craftsmen at Laodikeia. The professions involved may be identified as follows:

(1) πλιν. This evidently has something to do with bricks (πλίνθοι), either bricklaying (πλινθοβολία, πλινθοβόλος) or, less likely, brick-making (πλινθοποιία, πλινθουργία, πλινθουλκία etc.). In Diocletian's Prices Edict, bricklayers are paid by the day, but the individual bricks are specified as being either one foot or two feet in length (PE 7.15, *lateribus... pedum binum/πλίνθους... ἐκ ποδῶν*) β'; Erim and Reynolds 1973: 103, Col. III 21-2: *laterem bipedaneum/pedalem*).

(2) σαν^s. This ought to derive from the Greek term for a wooden panel, *σανίς* or *σανίδιον* (cf. the verb *σανιδούσθαι* in SEG 40, 1127). The term



seems to refer in particular to fine timber-work used for doors, panels, grilles, beds and tables, and so forth (Hellmann 1992: 366-8). In Diocletian's Prices Edict, a specific rate is given for the sawing of timber by the foot (*in pede per pede*: PE 12.15-16, with Meiggs 1982: 516-7). At the end of the fifth century BC, the sawyer Rhaidios was paid by the foot for his work on the Erechtheion (IG I³ 475, lines 56-63), and in the late 340s BC, the sawyer Teledamos was paid five copper coins per foot of work on the temple of Apollo at Delphi (τὸν πόδα [ἔκαστου χαλκῶν πέντε, CID II 46, III.7-14).

(3) λιθι^ς. This ought to refer to stone-working or stone-masonry of some kind, although exactly what term is being abbreviated by λιθι- is unclear: the various specialist skills of stone-masonry all begin with λιθο- not λιθι- (λιθουργός, λιθοξόος, λιθοτόμος etc.; cf. the adjectives λιθικός, λίθινος). See further below, (6).

(4) ζῶγρα^ς. Evidently ζῶγρα(φία), ζῶγρα(φος), 'wall-painting/a wall-painter'.

(5) ψηφ^ς. This refers to a mosaicist, regularly known in Late Antiquity as a ψηφοθέτης or ψηφιωτής (Donderer 1989: 20-21). In the Prices Edict (PE 7.6-7), the ψηφοθέτης (*tessellarius*) is distinguished from the μουσιάριος (*musaearius*); the maximum pay for a *musaearius* is higher than for a *tessellarius*, and hence the distinction may be between wall and floor mosaics, or between fine decoration and simple tessellated patterns (Dunbabin 1999: 275-6).

(6) μαρ^ς. We are presumably dealing with an abbreviation of the common Late Antique and Byzantine term μαρμαράριος (from the Latin *marmorarius*), one who works with or lays *opus sectile* or marble revetments: see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 28-30; Mitchell 1977: 101-2, no. 50 (a marble-worker at early Byzantine Ankyra). The Prices Edict gives the daily maximum pay for a *marmorarius*/μαρμαράριος (PE 7.5); maximum prices for fine marble of the kind used by *marmorarii* are listed by the (cubic or square) foot (PE 33.1-18; Ballance, in Erim and Reynolds 1970: 134-6; Corcoran and DeLaine 1994).

(7) μωσ^ς. This refers to a mosaicist (μουσώτης, μουσιάριος: Donderer 1989: 18-19; SEG 51, 2062) engaged in finer or more artistic work than a ψηφοθέτης: see above under (5). For the variation μωσ-/μουσ-, cf. μωλίων/μουλίων, φάλων/φουλίων (Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 29 n.2).

(8) ξυλογλυ. This can only refer to ξυλογλυ(φία), ξυλογλύ(φος), 'sculpture/a sculptor in wood'; see the commentary to 336 below (Perta).

Fixed standards of length are very rare in the Graeco-Roman world (Coulton 1975: 85-7). A stone slab from the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna depicts two cubits of different length and a Roman foot, all of them subdivided into various parts (Ioppolo 1967); two anthropomorphic reliefs are known from the Greek world, one from Salamis on Cyprus, the other of unknown provenance, now in the Ashmolean museum in Oxford (Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990; Wilson Jones 2000). I know of no parallels for a set of different length-standards for different artisanal crafts. However, one particular historical context may perhaps be proposed for the Laodikeia monument. As we have seen, the publication of Diocletian's Prices Edict in AD 301 (Corcoran 2000: 204-33) imposed a set of maximum prices on materials and labour for all of the artisans represented on the Laodikeia monument. The price of bricks, fine marble (used both by workers in *opus sectile* and mosaicists) and sawn timber was now regulated by the foot. The Laodikeia monument may thus have arisen from a particular difficulty in implementing the Prices Edict in a provincial context: which length of foot was a wholesale trader or individual artisan required to use in each instance?

I leave the 'identification' of the three lengths of foot (c. 0.365m, c. 0.324m, c. 0.285m) represented on the Laodikeia stone to metrological specialists. However, it is striking that the longest foot was used by the least skilled workers (brick-layers), while the shortest foot was used by the most skilled craftsmen (workers in *opus sectile*, fine mosaicists, sculptors in wood). This is arguably as we might expect, since the more delicate work

would normally be paid at a higher rate per linear or square foot. The artisanal craftsmen listed here would all have been in regular employment in domestic and ecclesiastical contexts in fourth-century Laodikeia: in his homily *In Divites*, Basil refers to those wealthy men who spend their money on ‘marble-workers, carpenters, mosaicists and painters’ (λιθοξόοις, τέκτοσι, ψηφοθέταις, ζωγράφοις: *Hom. In Div.* 4, with Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 33); in the second quarter of the

fourth century, the bishop Eugenios paid for the construction of a new church at Laodikeia, ‘along with all the adornment (κόσμος) associated with it, that is to say, the colonnades, the quadrangle, the wall-paintings, the mosaics, the fountain, the *propylon*, and all the marble decoration’ (στοῶν τε καὶ τ[ετ]ραστόων καὶ ζωγραφιῶ[ν] καὶ κεντήσεων κὲ ὑδρείου καὶ προπύλου καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λιθοξοϊκοῖς ἔργοις: *MAMA* I 170; Tabbernee 1997: 426-36, no. 69).

255. Ladik

Votive *bomos* of Alexandros to Meter Zizimene.

Grey marble *bomos*, from unrecorded location in Ladik (Laodikeia), buried below. Roundel and decorative corner *acroteria* above. Line 1 of inscription on plain upper moulding; line 2 on concave part of *cyma* moulding below; lines 3-6 on shaft around defaced relief depiction of female figure with *polos*.

Ht. 0.48+; W. 0.46 (upper moulding), 0.39 (shaft); Th. 0.39 (shaft); letters 0.025-0.030.

Ramsay 1888: 237, no. 9; [*IGR* III 246]; W. M. Calder, *MAMA* I 2(d) (description and measurements only); [Vermaseren 1987: I 238, no. 790 = I 239, no. 794]. Revised from squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/112).

AD 41-138 (ethnic of Claudiconium).

Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῆ εὐχήν·
 Ἀλέξανδρος
 Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Δοκιμεὺς ὁ
 5 καὶ Κλαυδεῖ-
 [κ]λονεὺς.

For Meter Zizimene, in fulfillment of a vow: Alexandros, son of Alexandros, citizen of Dokimeion and of Claudiconium.

Votive monuments to Meter Zizimene are listed by Mitchell 1979a: 425, and by Maclean in his commentary to *I.Konya* 7. The centre of the cult of Meter Zizimene was at Sızma, 12km south of Ladik (*TIB Phrygien* 421, s.v. Zizima). For the

usage of ὁ καὶ to indicate dual citizenship, cf. e.g. *I.Ephesos* 688 (Ἀλέξανδρος Μενάνδρου Εὐμενεὺς ὁ καὶ Ἐφέσιος); *TAM* V 2, 1006 (Λούκιον Ἀντώνιον Νεικόστρατον Θυατειρητὸν τὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον); *IG* XII 2, 393 (Mytilene: Σαραπίων Εἰσιδῶρου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ καὶ Πηλουσιώτης). Alexandros may well be an itinerant Dokimeian stone-mason, large numbers of whom are known throughout Phrygia and the western part of the plateau: cf. 7 above (Apollonia); 340 below (Perta); 358 (Kana). The form of the ethnic Κλαυδεῖ[κ]λονεὺς dates this text to between the reigns of Claudius and Hadrian: see Aulock 1976: 51-9, 75-90; Mitchell 1979a: 412-5.



256. Ladik**Votive lion of Aelius Longus to Meter Amlasenzene.**

Grey marble base for statuette of votive lion, from unrecorded location in Ladik (Laodikeia). Both front paws and right back paw survive.

Ht. 0.15+; W. 0.23; Th. 0.21; letters 0.015-0.025.

Unpublished; publication based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/90).

Second or third century AD.

Αἴλιος Λόνγος
Μητρὶ Ἀμλασευζή-
[ν]ῆ εὐχῆν.

Aelius Longus, for Meter Amlasenzene, in fulfillment of a vow.

On the gentilician Aelius at Laodikeia, cf. 257 below (Ladik). The Meter Amlasenzene is also attested on a votive statuette supposedly found in the vicinity of Cihanbeyli, now in the Konya museum, depicting Kybele seated between two lions, with the inscription Μητρὶ Ἀμλασευζηνῆ εὐχῆν (*I.Konya* 14); she may well also be attested on a votive *bomos* from Zivarık/Altınekin (276 below), which appears to have carried a dedication to Ἀμμλασευζοσ(ηνῆ).



The find-spots of the latter two monuments, Cihanbeyli and Zivarık/Altınekin, strongly suggest that the Meter Amlasenzene/Ammlasenzosene had some connection with the ancient village of Σευζουσα, situated at Toprakkale, in the steppe north-east of Laodikeia, 19km NNE of Zivarık/Altınekin and around 25km SSE of Cihanbeyli (*MAMA* I, p. xix; *MAMA* VIII 296; *TIB Galatien* 223, s.v. Senzusa). Lion-statuettes are a common form of dedication to Meter in her various incarnations; cf. e.g. *I.Konya* 7 (Meter Zizimene), *I.Konya* 11 (Meter Tymenene).

257. Ladik**Funerary stele of Euboia, slave of Aelius Alexandros.**

Grey marble *stèle*, broken above and below, from unrecorded location in Ladik (Laodikeia). Arched pediment, with half-palmettes at left and right and vine-scroll pattern on the outer moulding. In the pediment, in relief, (l.) male figure on horseback in billowing cloak, right hand raised, holding uncertain object; (r.) standing female figure in veil and *pallia*. At lower left and right corners of pediment, depictions in relief of (l.) uncertain object, (r.) wool-basket. Inscription in inset panel on shaft; to left and right, pilasters with stylised capitals.

Ht. 0.64+; W. 0.55 (pediment), 0.49 (shaft); Th. 0.21; letters 0.020-0.035.

Unpublished, based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/87).

Second century AD.

Εὐβοία Αἰλίου
Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Αἰλίας ☪
Στρατονείκης
5 [δο]ύλη ☪ Σ[-]

Euboia, slave of Aelius Alexandros and Aelia Stratoneike...



The large concentration of freedmen Aelii at and around Laodikeia is noted by Mitchell 1993: I 156, who argues for the existence of a large imperial estate in this region from the reign of Hadrian onwards (cf. 256 above: Aelius Longus). Euboea was apparently owned by a pair of former imperial slaves from this large estate. The relief depicts a female figure alongside a rider-god: see the commentary to 365 below (Komitanassos).

258. Ladik

Funerary *bomos* of Aulus Iulius Sergianus and Aurelia Douda.

Grey marble funerary *bomos*, found in the wall of the school at Ladik (Laodikeia); complete, buried below. Mouldings above and below; inscription in inset moulded panel on shaft.

Ht. 1.33+; W. 0.62 (upper moulding), 0.54-0.56 (shaft), 0.67 (base); Th. 0.62 (upper moulding), 0.55 (shaft); letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished; publication based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/88)

Second or third century AD.

Αὔλος Ἰούλι-
 ος Σεργιανὸς
 καὶ Αὐρηλία Δ-
 ουδαδι γυνε-
 5 κὶ γλυκυτά-
 τη μνήμης
 χάριν κὲ ἑαυ-
 τῷ ζῶν.
 ☉ ☉

Aulus Iulius Sergianus, and for his sweetest wife Aurelia Douda, in memoriam, and for himself, while he was still living.



The text of this inscription is a little garbled; I assume that the mason originally intended to inscribe (ἑαυτῷ) καὶ Αὐρηλία κτλ. in line 3, and on noticing his omission, added the phrase κὲ

ἐαυτῶ in lines 7-8. Curiously, the mason of 260 below, also built into the wall of the school at Ladik, seems to have made exactly the same error. For the indigenous name Δουδη/Δουδα, which is extremely common across the western part of the plateau, see Zgusta 1964: 153 §306-1; 260 below (Ladik); 261 (Nevine [Bahçesaray]); 348 (Savatra). The name Aulus Iulius Sergianus is of great interest. Sergii and Sergiani are widely attested across the central part of the plateau in the first two centuries AD, at Ladik (Eros son of Sergianus: *MAMA* I 108; Sergianus: Ramsay 1888: 246, no. 40); at the neighbouring village of Kindyria (Gaius Calpurnius Sergius: *MAMA* VII 14); and above all in the vicinity of Vetissos (Sergius Karpos and family: *MAMA* VII 321; L. Sergius Korinthos: *MAMA* VII 486; see also *MAMA* VII 330-1; Waelkens 1986: 239-40, nos. 616-7). All of these individuals were apparently connected with a large estate near Vetissos owned by the Sergii Paulli of Pisidian Antioch (*MAMA* VII 319; *RECAM* II 355; Mitchell 1993: I 151-2). Presumably Aulus Iulius Sergianus is the descendant of a freedman or freedwoman from this estate. The combination 'Aulus Iulius' is striking and unusual. Another Aulus Iulius is attested at Ladik (A. Iulius Onesiphoros, *MAMA* I 47), and Auli Iulii are known at Ikonion, just to the south-east of Laodikeia (Aulus Iulius Hermes: *SEG* 6, 425; Aulus Iulius Philemon: *SEG* 6, 427), and at Derbe, in south-eastern Lykaonia (Aulus Iulius Hiero-

nymos and Aulus Iulius Sestullianus: Laminger-Pascher 1992: 64, no. 59 [AD 156/7]; on the name Sestullianus, see the commentary to 142 above). It seems very likely that in all of these cases we are dealing with freedmen of the great Pergamene aristocrat C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus (*PIR*² I 507; Halfmann 1979: 112-5; Sherk 1980: 1007-11). There is independent evidence that Quadratus had interests in this region. In the early third century AD, a large imperial estate known as the praedia Quadratica is attested at Ladik (*MAMA* I 24, with Mitchell 1993: I 155-6; cf. *I.Konya* 6 [*SEG* 6, 407], a votive monument from Ikonion to Μητρὶ Κουαδατρηνῆ). This estate clearly once belonged to a private landowner by the name of Quadratus, and given the concentration of Auli Iulii in this region, it is reasonable to assume that C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus is the landowner concerned (thus already Halfmann 1979: 114; contrast Mitchell 1993: I 155, who tentatively prefers C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus – but this would not explain the prevalence of the praenomen Aulus).

The name Aulus Iulius Sergianus ought therefore to result from the intermarriage of freedmen of two of the major landowning families on the central part of the plateau, the Sergii Paulli of Antioch and the Auli Iulii of Pergamon. The most economical hypothesis would be that his father was a freedman Aulus Iulius, and that his mother carried the gentilician Sergia.

259. Ladik

Funerary *bomos* of Aurelius Zosimos and Popillia Publilla.

White marble *bomos*, upside-down, partly buried above; the bottom hollowed out to form a basin. Shaft slightly tapered; mouldings above and below. Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in a well just south of the main paved road.

Ht. 0.90+; W. 0.59 (upper moulding), 0.49 (shaft), 0.60 (base); Th. 0.60 (upper moulding), 0.48-0.52 (shaft), 0.68 (base); letters 0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/85).

Third century AD.

· Α(ὐρήλιος) · Ζώσιμος καὶ
Πουπιλλία Που-
βλίλλα ἐαυτοῖς
ζῶντες.

A(urelius) Zosimos and Popillia Publilla, for themselves, while they were still living.



I have assumed that the alpha in line 1 represents the gentilician *Ἀυρήλιος* rather than the praenomen *Ἀύλος*. His wife's name is very striking, and the rare gentilician *Popil(l)ia* may well derive from the name of an Italian landowner in this region; several *Popilii* are known to have acted as proconsuls of the Roman province of Asia in the first and second centuries AD (*PIR*² P 838-44). For Italian landowners in the vicinity of Laodikeia, see further Mitchell 1993: I 149-58, and the commentary to 258 above.

260. Ladik

Funerary *bomos* of Aurelius Eros and Aurelia Doude.

Grey marble *bomos*, complete, with mouldings above and below. Inscription in inset panel on shaft. Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in the wall of the school.

Ht. 1.58; W. 0.71 (upper moulding), 0.57 (shaft), 0.69 (base); Th. 0.62 (upper moulding), 0.55 (shaft), 0.57+ (base); letters 0.025-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/111).

Third century AD.

Ἀυρήλιος ☪
 Ἔρωσ καὶ Ἀυ-
 ρηλία Δουδη
 γυνεὶ γλυκυ-
 5 τάτη μνήμης
 χάριω καὶ ἑαυ-
 τὸς ζῶν.
 ☪ ☪

Aurelius Eros, and for Aurelia Doude, his sweetest wife, in memoriam, and himself, while still living.

The text of this inscription is a little garbled; I assume that the mason originally intended to inscribe *ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀυρηλία κτλ.* in lines 2-3, and on noticing his omission, added the (ungrammatical) phrase *καὶ ἑαυτὸς* in 6-7. Curiously, the mason of 258 above, also built into the wall of the school at Ladik, seems to have made exactly the same error. For the



indigenous name *Δουδη/Δουδα*, see the commentary to 258.

261. Nevine

Funerary stele of Marcus and Doude.

White marble *stèle*, broken and partly buried below. Arched pediment with two full-length figures in relief, male in toga at left, female in veil and *pallia* at right. To the right of the arch, wool-basket in relief; to the left, uncertain object in relief. On the shaft, inset panel between two pilasters, each with stylised capitals. Between the capitals, garland with *bucranium*. Found at Nevine (Bahçesaray, territory of Laodikeia), in a yard.

Ht. 1.11+; W. 0.72; Th. 0.33; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/83).

Roman imperial period.

Μουτανῶς κὲ Ὅρτή-
σιος κὲ Ἰανουάριος
Μάρκῳ πατρὶ κὲ
μητρὶ Δουδῆ ζώ-
5 σῆ μνήμης χάριν.

Line 1: MONTANΔΣ

Montanos and Hortensius and Ianuarius for their father Marcus and their mother Doude, while she was still living, in memoriam.

For the Roman name Ianuarius in inner Anatolia, see the commentary to 230 above (Kinna), and cf. 273 below (Nevine [Bahçesaray]). For the indigenous name Δουδῆ, see Zgusta 1964: 153 §306-1;



258 and 260 above (Ladık); 348 below (Savatra). This *stèle* is stylistically very similar to 262 below, also from Nevine, and it is likely that they are products of the same workshop.

262. Nevine

Funerary stele of Mountanos and Mouna.

White marble *stèle*, broken above. Vaulted pediment, almost entirely missing, with full-length figures in relief, male at left, female in ankle-length *pallia* at right. To the right, wool-basket in relief. On the shaft, pilasters to left and right, each with stylised capitals. Between the capitals, three incised ovals, perhaps a crude egg-and-dart design. Found at Nevine (Bahçesaray, territory of Laodikeia), in a garden, supposedly newly dug up.

Ht. 1.76+; W. 0.57+ (pediment), 0.55 (shaft); Th. 0.33 (pediment), 0.28 (shaft); letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/102).

Roman imperial period.

Μᾶρκος καὶ
Αἰμιλιανὸς
Μουντανῶ
πατρὶ καὶ
5 Μουννα μη-
τρὶ ζώσῃ
μνήμης
χάριν.

Marcus and Aemilianus for Mountanos their father and Mouna their mother, while she was still living, in memoriam.



The *stele* is stylistically extremely similar to 261 above, also from Nevine; the two monuments are clearly products of the same workshop. It is striking that the family commemorated on this *stele* shared two names in common with the family commemorated on 261, *Mârkos* and *Mo(v)υτανός*; one wonders if we might be dealing with three generations of the same family. For the indigenous personal name *Mouva*, characteristic of the whole western part of the plateau, see Zgusta 1964: 336 §983-1. For the egg-and-dart design, cf. 264 below.

263. Ladık

Funerary *stele* of Papas and Aphrodeisia.

Blue and white marble *stele*, with the upper and lower mouldings removed and the left edge recut as part of a string-moulding for the church (no facsimile). Inscription on inset panel, with plain pilasters to left and right; the area above the panel rough-picked. Found at Gâvur Mezari (territory of Laodikeia), above Kôr Kuyu, 500m above the village on the slope of a hill, facing east; newly excavated from the ruins of a church.

Ht. 1.38; W. 0.54; Th. 0.28; letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/109).

Roman imperial period.

Παπας Μαν-
 ου {τα} ειατ-
 ω̄ και τη̄ [[ε]]ιδ-
 ία γυναικ[[ε]]ι
 5 Ἰ'Αφ[[ο]]ροδει-
 σία ζῶντε[[ι]]ς
 μνήμης χά-
 ριν.

Papas son of Manes, for himself and his own wife Aphrodeisia, while they were still living, in memoriam.



The mason was illiterate. After the inscription was cut, some of the more egregious errors were corrected by the erasure of incorrectly inscribed vowels in lines 3, 4, and 6. In line 5, the first three letters of the line were erased and the letters *alpha* and *phi* lightly inscribed in place of the first two letters. I do not know what the mason intended by the letters *tau* and *alpha* in line 2.

264. Ladık

Funerary *stèle* of Menedemos.

Grey marble *stèle*, broken above and below. Lower moulding of pediment only. On the shaft, pilasters to left and right, each with stylised capitals. Between the capitals, egg-and-dart design in relief with three 'eggs'. Found at Ladık (Laodikeia), in a gateway.

Ht. 0.36+; W. 0.48; Th. --; letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/103).

Roman imperial period.

Μενέδη-
μος καὶ Κ-

Menedemos and K...



For the egg-and-dart design at the top of the *stèle*, compare the slightly cruder 262 above, from the neighbouring village of Nevine (Bahçesaray).

265. Ladık.

Funerary *stèle* of Mania.

Grey marble fragment of *stèle*, broken above and below, concealed behind, and partially to left and right; remains of pilasters to left and right. Found at Ladık (Laodikeia), in the wall of the school.

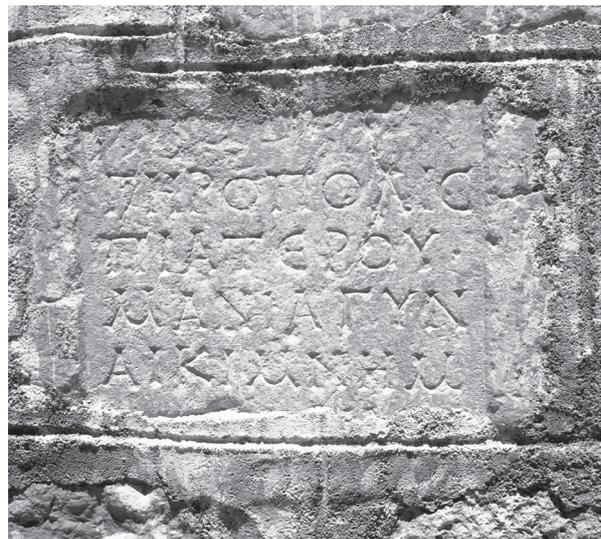
Ht. 0.32+; W. 0.55+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.040.

W. M. Calder, *MAMA I* 96a (text only). Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/103a).

Roman imperial period.

5 Γηρόπολις
Πιατερου
Μανια γυν-
αικὶ μνήμ-
[ης χάρι]ν

Geropolis son of Piateros, for Mania his wife, in memoriam.



The names Geropolis and Piateros both appear only to be attested at Laodikeia. Γηρόπολις (a very puzzling name) appears twice more at Ladık (*MAMA I* 87; 96), and Πιατερος appears once at the neighbouring village of Sarayönü (Ramsay 1888: 263, no. 97: *Ἀυρήλιοι Πιατεροῦς καὶ Δέκμος*). The

name Πιατερος is certainly indigenous (Zgusta 1964: 426 §1251-1) and may be Pisidian in origin (cf. the Pisidian name Πιατηραβις, Zgusta 1964: 426-7 §1251-2). For the Phrygian name *Μανια*, see Zgusta 1964: 293-4 §865-1; cf. 226 above.

266. Ladık

Funerary stele of Tateis.

Grey marble *stele*, recently excavated, broken above and below; back rough. Veiled female bust in relief, flanked to left and right by incised depictions of columns; line 1 of inscription between the column-bases. On the shaft, incised circles at upper left and right, flanking line 2 of inscription, perhaps representing garlands. Below line 3, incised depictions of (l.) wool-basket with uncertain object above; (r.) spindle and distaff. Found at Ladık (Laodikeia), in a yard.

Ht. 0.90+; W. 0.33-0.35; Th. 0.28; letters 0.030-0.032.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/86).

Roman imperial period.

ΜΑΡΕΙΟΣ

τέκνα

ΤΑΤΕ τῆ μητρ[ί].

Mareios (?), child/children, for *Tateis (?)* his mother.

This text, while easily legible, is very difficult to interpret. In line 1, ΜΑΡΕΙΟΣ is probably simply a variant orthography for the name Μάριος (Lat. *Marius*), although I cannot find a parallel. In line 3, I assume that the sequence ΤΑΤΕ represents a dative of the indigenous name *Τατεις*, which was extremely common at Laodikeia (Zgusta 1964: 497-8 §1517-5); the normal forms of the dative are



Τατει and *Τατειδι*. The isolated word *τέκνα* in line 2 is very puzzling; it is possible that we should understand it as a synonym for *υἱός*, i.e. ‘Marius, the son, for Tateis his mother’.

267. Ladık

Funerary *bomos* of Zoe, Mamas and Mikas.

Grey marble *bomos*, complete. Inscription on upper moulding between *acroteria*. On the shaft, arched *aedicula* with two full-length figures in relief, male in toga and female in veil and *pallia*. Found at Ladık (Laodikeia), in the wall of the school.

Ht. 1.57; W. 0.66 (upper moulding), 0.51 (shaft), 0.63 (base); Th. 0.59 (upper moulding), 0.48 (shaft), 0.56 (base); letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/104).

Roman imperial period.

Ζόη <ῆ> κὲ Ἀμυντιανή

Μαμα πατρὶ κὲ Μικᾶ

τῶ ἰδίῳ ἀν-

δρὶ κὲ ἑαυτῆ ἕω-

5

σα μνήμης

χάριν.

Line 1: ΖΟΗC κὲ

Zoe, also known as *Amyntiane*, for her father *Mamas* and for her own husband *Mikas* and for herself, in memoriam.



I can only make sense of line 1 on the assumption that the mason inscribed a lunate *sigma* for an *eta*. The name Ἀμεντιανή is the patronymic form of the common Greek name Ἀμύντας, with *epsilon* for *upsilon*: cf. *RECAM* II 202, 229; *I.Pessinous* 82. For the name Μαρμας, see Zgusta 1964: 282-3 §850-3. The name Μικᾶς, apparently unattested elsewhere, is a regularly-formed Greek name meaning ‘small’: cf. 318 below (Perta); Robert 1963: 56-7; Zgusta 1964: 315 §916; Drew-Bear 1978: 108-9; *BE* 2009, 494.

268. Ladik

Funerary inscription for Nais.

Grey marble slab, broken below. Inscription in moulded *tabula ansata*. Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in a garden.

Ht. 0.34+; W. 0.84; Th. 0.15; letters 0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/113).

Roman imperial period.

Νέστωρ Ναίδι
μητρὶ μνήμης
χάρῳ ☉

Nestor, for Nais his mother, in memoriam.

For the name Nestor in Lykaonia, see the commentary to 327 below (Perta). For the Greek name Naïs (Robert 1963: 234; Zgusta 1964: 345n.9) at Laodikeia, cf. perhaps *MAMA* VII 66 (Köşmer); the name is also found at Komana (Harper 1972: 231, no. 5.70).



269. Ladik

Funerary inscription with curse formula.

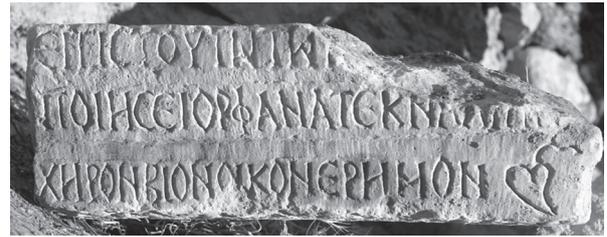
Grey marble 'moulding' (AH), broken at top right.
 Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in a yard.
 Ht. 0.14; W. 0.41; Th. 0.20; letters 0.025-0.030.
 Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy;
 photograph (1957/114).
 Roman imperial period.

εἴ τις τούτῳ τῷ μνήματι κακὸν
 ποιήσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίπο[ιτο],
 χῆρον βίου, οἶκον ἔρημον ☩

If anyone does any harm to this tomb, may he leave orphaned children, a widow's life for his wife, and a deserted house.

For the curse-formula, its sense and geographical distribution, see the discussion by Robert, *OMS* V, 709-15; Strubbe 1997: 289-92, Appendix 2.II. Numerous examples are known from Laodikeia and the steppe to the north, collected by Strubbe.

In line 1, I have restored μ[νήματι] (rather than e.g. μ[νημείω] or τ[άφω]) on the parallel of *MAMA* I 126 (Kadınhanı), ὃς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μνήματι κακὸν, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο, χῆρον βίου, οἶκον ἔρημον; *MAMA* I 294 (Atlanti), τίς τούτῳ κακὸν ποτε μνήματι ποιήσει, ὀρφανὰ τέκν(α) λίποιτο κτλ.



The character of the monument is not quite clear. Alan Hall, in his notes, described the monument as a 'grey marble moulding, with inscription on the moulding' (*sic*). The photograph suggests that the stone is complete above, below, and at left. I assume that the remainder of the text, including the deceased's name, must have been inscribed on a separate block above.

270. Ladik

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Paulina and Alexandros.

Grey marble *bomos*, complete; buried below, chipped slightly above. On the upper moulding, between *acrotéria*, a *chi-rho* monogram. Inscription on the shaft in inset panel (Ht. 0.58, W. 0.39), with simple zig-zag pattern on the moulding. Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in the wall of the school.
 Ht. 1.33+; W. 0.71 (upper moulding), 0.59 (shaft); Th. 0.57 (upper moulding), 0.49 (shaft), 0.54 (base); letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1957/106).
 Third or fourth century AD.

Ἀὐρ(ηλία) Παυλίνα
 Φλα(ουίου) ☩ Ἀνικήτου
 Ἀλεξάνδρω ἀν-
 δρὶ μνήμης χά-
 ριν καὶ ἑαυτῇ
 ζῶσα ☩

5



Aur(elia) Paulina, daughter of Fla(vius) Aniketos, for her husband Alexandros, in memoriam, and for herself, while she was still living.

The names are common at Laodikeia: cf. e.g. *MAMA* I 82 (Ladik: Παυλείνα Ἀνικήτω υἱῷ); *MAMA* VII 26 (Kindiras: Ἀὐρ. Ἀνικήτος Ἀλεξάνδρου); *MAMA* VII 72 (Ise Bey Yayla: Ἀὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος... Ἀὐρ. Παυλείνη συμβείω).

271. Ladik

Funerary inscription of Aur. Aneiketos.

Grey marble slab, broken in two parts, which join only at the top. Inscription in inset panel, within *tabula ansata*. Found at Gâvur Mezari (territory of Laodikeia), above Kör Kuyu, 500m above the village on the slope of a hill, facing east; at the ruins of a church, with 263.

Ht. 0.74; W. 0.61; Th. 0.25; letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on AH notebook copy; photographs (1957/116).

Third or fourth century AD.

- Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀνεΐκητος | Παύλου πολείτ[ης]
 κέ Σεπτίμια Πονπωνία Μάγνα [ᾶ]-
 μα τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἡμῶν οἰεῖω Δ[ι]-
 υνεσίω ζῶ[ντι] τὸ μνημίον κα-
 5 τισκεύασα[μεν· εἴ τις] μετὰ τὰ ἔγο-
 νά μου ἔτερον ἐπεν]βάλοι ἢ χίρα
 κακὴν προσ[οίσει τούτῳ] τῷ τῷ μνιμίω,
 ἡσχῆσι π[ρὸς τὸν] βραχίονα τ-
 ὸν ὑψηλὸν vac.] vac.
 10 κέ τὴν κ[ρίσιν τὴν] ἐρχομέν-
 ην vac.

Aur(elius) Aneiketos, son of Paulos, curialis, and Septimia Pomponia Magna, along with our sweetest son Dionysios, we constructed the memorial while we were still living. If anyone inters another after my descendants or lays a wicked hand on this memorial, he shall have to reckon with the outstretched arm and the coming judgement.

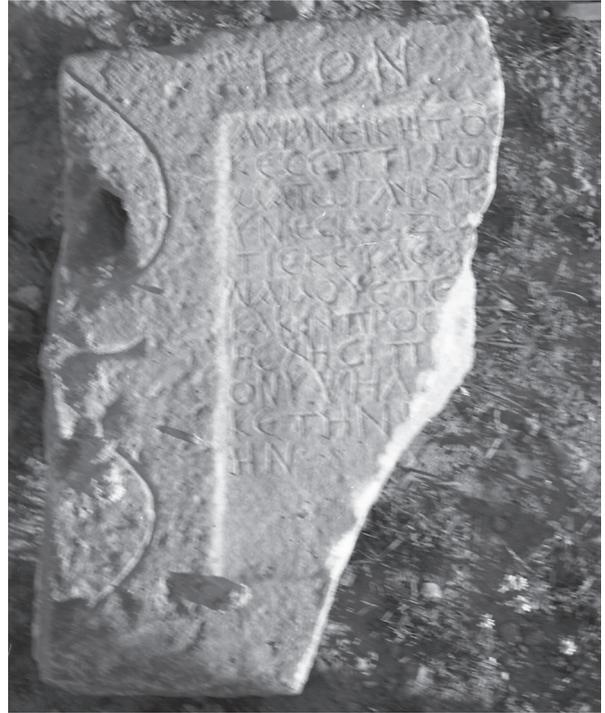
Throughout the east Roman world in late antiquity, curial status was frequently indicated by means of the participle *πολιτευόμενος* or *πολιτευσάμενος*: see Robert, *OMS* VI, 5-6; Laniado 2002: 75-87; Brandes and Haldon 2000: 169-70, n.110; for examples at Laodikeia, see *MAMA* I 280 (Kadınhanı), Αἴλ. Εὐγένιος Νέστωρος] *πολιτευόμενος*... Ἰουλ. Ἐρενί(ω) Ἀνδροκλίω *πολιτευσαμένω*; *MAMA* VII 89 (Soğukçınar), Ελ[-]ιδιος Γεν[ε]θλίου *πολιτευόμενος*; *MAMA* I 284 (Ladik): ὄντα γένους βουλ[ευτικοῦ] τὰ πρῶτα *πολιτευσάμενον*. In line 1 of this inscription, the noun *πολείτ[ης]*

appears similarly to be indicating curial status. The noun is considerably less common than the participle in this sense, but two clear parallels are known at Laodikeia: *MAMA* I 60a (Φλ. Λυτατιανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου πολίτης); *MAMA* I 60 (Αὐρ. Ἡράκλιος Θ[εο]δοσίου πολίτης, rather than Calder's Θ[εο]δοσίουπολίτης); cf. apparently Sterrett 1888a: 209, no. 226 (Konya): Αἴλ. Πανχάριος [-]λου πολίτης. For the usage *πολίτης* = *curialis*, cf. perhaps *CJ* XI 1.1.3; XII 37.19.1b (emended in both instances to *πολιτευόμενος* by Laniado 2002: 98, 107-8). The verb *πολιτεύεσθαι* was also used by the Novatian community at Laodikeia, apparently in the sense of 'hold ecclesiastical office': see *MAMA* I 172 (Kadınhanı), Λεύκιος ἀνέσθησα τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου πατρὶ Ἀβρα τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ πρεσβιτέρῳ θῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ναυατῶν, ἐν ᾧ κέ ἐπολιθεύσατο; *MAMA* VII 79 (Kindiras), Αὐρη. Πῶλα κανου(ικῆ) καλῶς πολιτευσαμένη ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ]. Cf. also 288 below.

For ᾶμα in the sense of *σύν* at Laodikeia (lines 2-3), cf. *MAMA* I 203 (Αὐρ. Δόμνα Γελασίου ᾶμα τῷ υἱῷ μου Μενάνδρῳ ἀνέστησα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μου κτλ.); *MAMA* VII 74 (Αὐρ. Γεννάδιος... ᾶμα τῆς συμβίου Θεέκλης ἀνεστήσαμεν τὸν τίθλον τοῦτον); *MAMA* I 60 (Αὐρ. Ἡράκλιος... κατεσκεύασα τὰ πέ[λτα] ᾶμα τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μ[ου] συμβίῳ Αὐρ. Ζηνωνίδι] ζῶντες ἐαυτοῖς); *MAMA* I 81; *MAMA* VII 69; 201 above.

The curse in lines 8-11 is a variant on the common Laodikeian curse-formula, informing a putative tomb-robber that he 'will have to reckon with God' (ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν): see Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 401-4; Strubbe 1991: 35. As with the similar 'Eumeneian formula' (for which see the commentary to 36 above), the inscriptions concerned are probably predominantly Christian, although a Jewish origin cannot be ruled out (Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 398-413; Strubbe 1994: 83-100). The 'outstretched arm' (τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλόν) with which the tomb-robber is threatened in lines 8-9 recalls

the expression ‘with a strong hand and an outstretched arm’ (ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ), which occurs, with variations, some 33 times in the Septuagint, almost always with reference to the exodus from Egypt (Martens 2001); at Acts 13:17, Paul reminds the Jews of Pisidian Antioch how God brought them out of Egypt ‘with an outstretched arm’ (μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ). Given that the tomb-robber is here specifically threatened with ‘the outstretched arm and the coming judgement’ (lines 8-11), it seems possible that the author of the inscription had in mind Exodus 6:6, where God says to Moses ‘I shall redeem you with an outstretched arm and a mighty judgement’ (λυτρώσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ καὶ κρίσει μεγάλῃ). I know no epigraphic parallel for the quotation of this particular Biblical phrase; compare, however, *MAMA VI* 231 (Apameia), where the wrongdoer has to reckon with the hand of God (ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ). The second part of the curse in lines 10-11 (κὲ τὴν κ[ρίσιν τὴν] ἐρχομένην, ‘and the coming judgement’) is precisely paralleled in inscriptions from Soloi on Cyprus (Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII*, 403, no. 14: ἔχ[ε]ι πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσα[ν] κρείσιν) and from Jerusalem (Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII*, 403-4, no. 16: ἔχει πρὸς τὴν [κρίσιν τὴν μέ]λλουσαν); a fragmentary funerary inscription from Athens may well have contained a similar curse (*IG II²* 13563, ...τὸ μέλλον κριτήριον). Compare also the curse-formula in a near-contemporary inscription from Laodikeia, 274 below, δώσι λόγον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν ἡμέρα κρίσεως.



272. Nevine

Funerary stele of Aurelius Eutychos and Thekla.

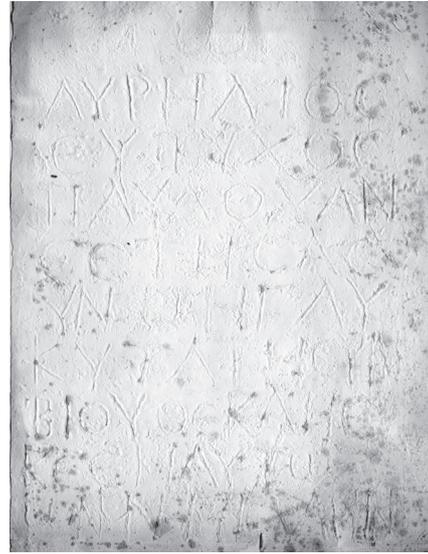
Rough grey marble *stele*, possibly broken above. Inscription in panel; above, *labarum* (*chi-rho* monogram, the *chi* consisting simply of a horizontal line across the upright stroke of the *rho*; the upright stroke of the *rho* terminates in a cursive *omega*). Found at Nevine (Bahçesaray, territory of Laodikeia), precise location not recorded.

Ht. 0.88+; W. 0.80; Th. 0.40; letters 0.040-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy (1957/82).

Fourth century AD.

α Ϟ ω
 Ἀὐρήλιος
 Εὐτυχος
 Παύλου ἀν-
 5 ἑστήσα σ-
 ὺν τῇ γλυ-
 κυτάτῃ συν-
 βίου Θεκλῆς
 κὲ ἐμαυτῶ ζ-
 10 ὦν μνήμης χάριν.



I, Aurelius Eutychos, son of Paulus, set this up along with my sweetest wife Thekla, and for myself, while still living, in memoriam.

The phraseology of this inscription is somewhat awkward; the author seems to have hesitated between setting up the *stele* ‘for’ and ‘with’ his wife Thekla.

273. Nevine

Funerary inscription of Ianuarius, presbyter.

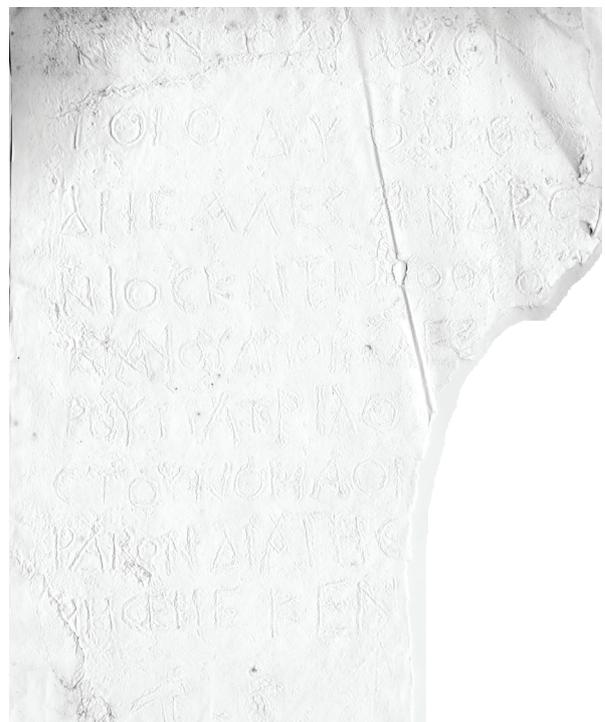
Blue and white marble slab with inset panel; centre of panel cut out to form a basin for the fountain. Found at Nevine (Bahçesaray, territory of Laodikeia), in a fountain.

Ht. 1.00; W. 1.10; Th. 0.38; letters 0.020-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy (1957/84).

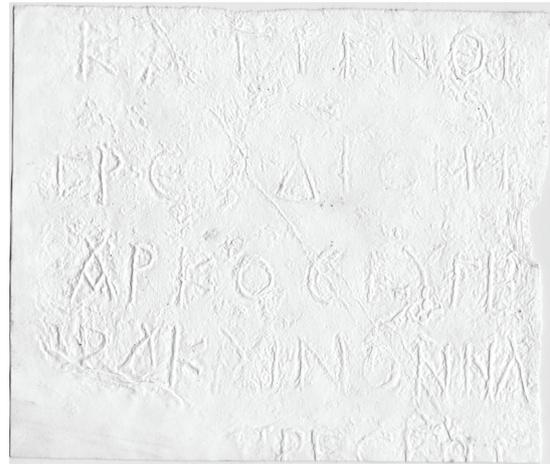
Fourth century AD.

πένται μὲν [οἱ] κασίγνη-
 τοι[ο], δύο τε θυ[γα]τρές, Διομή-
 δης Ἀλέξανδρος Μάρκος Εὐγέ-
 νιος καὶ Τειμόθεος, Μελίρα καὶ Νοννα
 5 Εἰανουαρίου Ἀλεξ[άνδρου τοῦ] πρεσβυτέ-
 ρου, πατρίδος [- c. 6-8 - κα]ὶ ἄλοχο-
 ς τοῦνομα ΟΜ[- c. 10-12 - τ]ὸν γε-
 ραρὸν διὰ τῆς [- - - c. 11-13 - - -] μνή-
 μης ἔνεκεν.



The five brothers and two daughters, Diomedes, Alexandros, Marcus, Eugenios and Teimotheos, Meira and Nonna, (children of) Ianuarius son of Alexandros, the presbyter, native of..., and his wife, whose name was..., the reverend..., in memoriam.

For the Roman name *Ianuarius* in inner Anatolia, see the commentary to 230 above, and cf. 261.



274. Ladik

Funerary inscription of Thekla.

Blue and white flecked marble slab with *tabula ansata*. Below the inscription, at centre, *chi-rho* monogram in incised circle. Found at Ladik (Laodikeia), in a yard; supposedly from the site c. 1 mile NE of Ladik, at the foot of the hills.

Ht. 0.64; W. 0.79; Th. 0.12; letters 0.020-0.035.

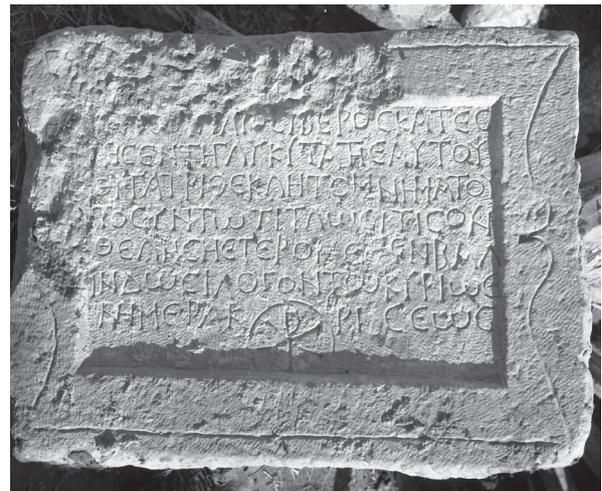
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/108).

Fourth century AD.

[. . .³⁻⁴ . . .] Ἰβήριος Ἰβερὸς κατέσ-
τησεν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ ἑαυτοῦ
θυγατρὶ Θεκλῇ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ-
το σὺν τῷ τίτλῳ· εἴ τις οὖν
5 θελήσῃ ἕτερον ἐπενβαλ-
ῖν, δώσει λόγον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐ-
ν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.

...lius Iberos set up this memorial with the inscription for his sweetest daughter Thekla. If anyone, therefore, attempts to inter another, he shall give account of it to the Lord in the day of judgement.

In line 1, the nomen *Ἀύρηλιος* is not compatible with the traces at the start of the line. For the name *Ἰβερὸς* (i.e. *Ἰβηρος*) cf. *I Aph2007* 13.146 (Λ. Κλ. Ἰβηρεῖνον Εὐδαίμουνα); *IGUR II* 550 (*Ἀυτώνιος Ἰβηρος*). The verb *κατέστησεν* in this context (to set up a funerary monument) is characteristic of Termessos and eastern Lykia,



but is seldom found in Phrygia, Galatia or Lykaonia, where *κατασκευάζειν* and *ἀναστήσαι* were standard (though cf. Paris and Radet 1886: 506, no. 12 [Alibeyhüyüğü, S. of Konya], *Ἀύρηλιος Σουσου κατέστησεν τῇ ἑαυ[τ]οῦ γ[υ]νηκὶ τοῦτο κοιμητήριον, μνήμης χάριν*).

The concluding curse-formula is widely attested across the Greek East in the fourth to sixth centuries AD: cf. *I.Pessinous* 85; *I.Iznik* 552, 555, 556, 559; *I.Perinthos* 186; *SEG* 41, 572 (Kipia, Macedonia: *δώσει λόγον Θ(ε)ῷ ὅδε κ(αι) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως*); cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 514, no. 353/4 (*ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ κρισίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ*); Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII*, 406. At Laodikeia, compare 271 above, *ἡσχῆσι π[ρὸς]... τὴν κ[ρίσιν τὴν] ἐρχομένην*.

XVIII. NORTHERN LYKAONIA

275. Oğuzeli

Funerary inscription of Domnos.

Limestone block with moulded border, broken above. Above the inscription, the base of an incised cross. Found at Oğuzeli (Akören), by a mosque.

Ht. 1.05+; W. 0.82; Th. 0.29; letters 0.040-0.060.

Lamingier-Pascher 1985: 273, no. 1; [SEG 35, 1442].

Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/158).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† ἔνθα
κατάκι-
τε Δόμν-
ος υἱὸς Δ-
5 ομετίου
Δυνάτου
†

Here lies Domnos, son of Dometios Dynatos.

This inscription was published by Lamingier-Pascher from an inaccurate drawing in the archive of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* in Vienna. For comparison, her text reads: ἔνθα | κατάκη|τε ἐ(ν ε)ἰ(ρήνη) ᾽Οκν|ος υἱὸς Χ|ομσ[ι]ρίο(υ) [ί]ς| [α]ἰῶνα. The provenance given by Lamingier-Pascher, 'Akviran', is an alternative name for Oğuzeli/Akören.

Ten inscriptions are known from Oğuzeli/Akören: apart from this text, see also *MAMA VIII* 288-95; Calder 1923a: 353 (ἐνθάδε χῆ|τε Εἰρήνη Χ|ρηστουανῆ μ|ήτηρ Εὐθηθύου); *I.Konya* 46 (where the text should be restored Πλ[ο]υτίων [κ(ἐ) Κορ]νήλιος κ(ἐ) Θούριος | Τυράννου υἱὸς Λέοντι | εὐχῆν). A photograph of a Byzantine ambo staircase from Oğuzeli was published in *TIB Galatien*, Abb. 61. Most of the inscriptions from



Oğuzeli (*MAMA VIII* 289-95 and Calder 1923a: 353) appear to date to the fifth or sixth century AD; *MAMA VIII* 288 probably dates to the third century AD, and *I.Konya* 46 may date back as far as the second century. The name Δόμνος appears in *MAMA VIII* 293, and the name Δομέτι(ο)ς in *MAMA VIII* 291 and 295; the name Δομέτιος also appears in two inscriptions from Obruk Han, a little way to the south (*MAMA VIII* 273-4).

Oğuzeli was plausibly identified by Calder with the ancient village of Anzoulada (*MAMA I*, p. xix; *MAMA VIII* 296; *TIB Galatien* 131, s.v. Anzulada), which we know to have lain immediately to the south of the village of Senzousa, at Toprakkale (276 below).

276. Ζίβαρικ

Votive *bomos* to Meter Ammlasenzosene.

Greyish-white marble *bomos*, broken below. Found at Ζίβαρικ (Altnekin), in a house.

Ht. 0.33+; W. 0.26 (upper moulding), 0.20 (shaft); Th. 0.22 (upper moulding), 0.17 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.025. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/154).

Roman imperial period.

Αμμλασενζο^σ(ηνή?)
{N} εὐχήν.

To (Meter) Ammlasenzos(ene) (?), in fulfillment of a vow.

The reading in the first half of line 1 is very doubtful, but the sequence ENZO, with a lunate sigma placed above the omicron at the end of the line, is certain. I have tentatively assumed that this is a votive monument to the Meter Amlasenzene (cf. 256 above; *I.Konya* 14), with a variant form of her epithet (Ammlasenzosene for Amlasenzene). The find-spot of this inscription provides some support for the notion (see the commentary to



256) that the cult of Meter Amlasenzene was in some way connected to the village of Σενζουσα, securely located at Toprakkale, 19km NNE of Ζίβαρικ/Altnekin (*MAMA* I, p. xix; *MAMA* VIII 296; *TIB Galatien* 223, s.v. Senzusa).

277. Ζίβαρικ

Funerary *stèle* of Preioueis.

Stèle of greyish-white marble, broken above and below. Plain pilasters to left and right, with decorative capitals; on the shaft, veiled female figure in relief within *aedicula*. Decorative entablature supporting gabled pediment; inscription on the lower moulding of the pediment, continuing onto entablature. Found at Ζίβαρικ (Altnekin), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.63+; W. 0.58 (upper moulding), 0.53 (shaft); Th. --; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/153).

Roman imperial period.

Τατα Πρειουει θυγα-
τρι μνήμης χάριν ☩

Tata, for her daughter Preioueis, in memoriam.



The decoration of the entablature and the layout of the inscription closely resemble a funerary *stèle* from the neighbouring village of Zengicek/Koçyaka (284 below); the measured width of the entablature is also identical (0.58m), suggesting that the two *stelai* might derive from the same workshop.

The name *Πρειουεις* (f.) was widespread in Phrygia Paroreios and Lykaonia: see e.g. *MAMA* I 112 (Laodikeia), *I.Konya* 69 (Ikonion), *MAMA* VIII 83 (Lystra), Zgusta 1964: 440-1 §1305 (with varying orthography).

278. Zivarık

Funerary inscription of Dentilla, in verse.

Coarse marble slab, broken below. Inscription within incised border, with incised guide-lines below each of lines 2-6. At lower left, an incised cross; at lower right, a cross under a *ciborium* (?), roughly chipped at a later date. Found at Zivarık (Altınekin), in a house; said to have been dug up nearby the previous day.

Ht. 0.36+; W. 0.37; Th. 0.10; letters 0.013-0.021.

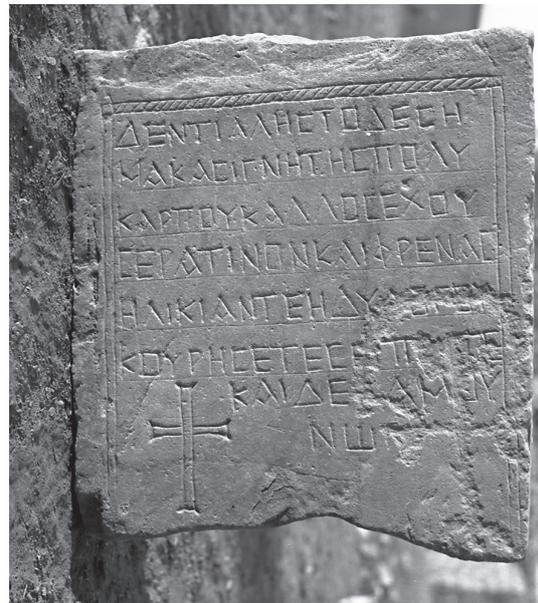
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/152).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

Δεντίλλης τόδε σῆ-
μα κασιγνήτης Πολυ-
κάρπου, | κάλλος ἔχου-
σ' ἔρατινὸν καὶ φρένας
5 ἠλικίαν τε | ἠδυλόγου
κούρης ἔτεσει πέντε
† καὶ δέκα μού-
νων.

This is the tomb of Dentilla, sister of Polykarpos, who possessed lovely beauty and intelligence, and the youthful age of a sweet-voiced maiden; she was only fifteen years old.

The inscription forms three hexameter verses of reasonable accuracy. For the adjective ἠδυλόγος, compare 335 below (Κοçaç: ἠδυεπής); for the combination of beauty and youth (κάλλος... ἠλικίαν τε), cf. 218 above (Aşağı Küçük Hasan). The name Dentilla is extremely rare: cf. *IGUR* III 1152.



It is not impossible that Dentilla was the sister of the Polykarpos of 335 below. One could believe that the same poet wrote both epigrams; note the unmetrical statements of the deceased's age in both epigrams (here, ἔτεσει πέντε καὶ δέκα μούνων; 335, ἔτεσ' εἴκοσι μούνων), both of which have a dative plural agreeing with a genitive plural.

279. Akçaşar

Votive *bomos* of M. Aelius Mantrios to Angdistis.

Grey marble *bomos*, broken below; a small basin with lip hollowed out of the upper surface. Found at Akçaşar, in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.46+; W. 0.25 (upper moulding), 0.22 (shaft); Th. 0.20 (upper moulding); letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/155).

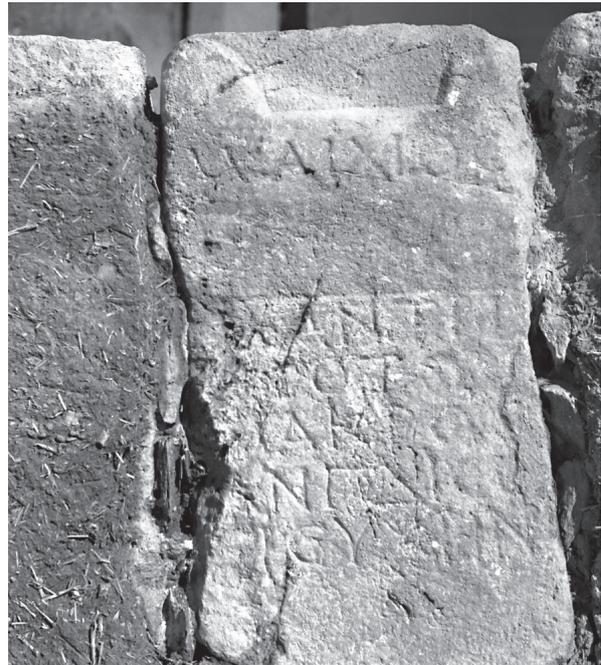
Roman imperial period.

Μ(ᾱρκος) Αἴλιος
 Μάντρι-
 ος ὁ τοῦ
 Μάκρου
 5 Ἀνγδιστ-
 ει εὐχὴν.

M. Aelius Mantrios, son of Macer, to Angdistis, in fulfillment of a vow.

The name Μάντριος is extremely rare. To the best of my knowledge, the only other example of the name derives from Dorylaion in northern Phrygia (*SEG* 41, 1185; the reading was wrongly challenged by Thonemann 2006: 21). The etymology of the name is uncertain; it seems to me unlikely to be a phonetic variant on the unattested name *Μάνδριος (Thonemann 2006: 21; 37).

The genitive Μάκρου in line 4 is likely to represent the Roman name *Macer* (gen. *Macri*). The name *Macer* is normally treated in Greek as a third declension noun (Μάκερ, Μάκερα, Μάκερος, Μάκερι). However, perhaps through a false etymological connection with the Greek adjective



μακρός, it is also occasionally treated as a second declension noun. So the nominative form Μάκρος appears in *SEG* 23, 659 (Soloι, honours for M. Fulvius Macer); the genitive Μάκρου is found in *IGR* IV 467 (Pergamon, Pompeius Macer). In an inscription from Dorla/Aydoğmuş (ancient Isauropolis: *MAMA* VIII 161; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 230-1, no. 409), the name Μάκερος (nom.) ought also to be understood as representing Macer (Zgusta 1964: 281 n.32). (The discussion in Robert 1963: 292 n.5 is badly confused.)

The cult of (Meter) Angdistis is not common in this region (Robert 1980: 236-40), although dedications to her (in combination with other deities) are known from Ikonion (*I.Konya* 9) and Sizma (*SEG* 6, 392).

280. Akçaşar

Sarcophagus of Ariadne.

Grey marble slab with *tabula ansata*, probably from a sarcophagus; broken left, right, above, and below. Found at Akçaşar, in a yard.

Ht. 0.52+; W. 0.60+; Th. 0.17; letters 0.027-0.034.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/156).

Roman imperial period.

[- -]νεος καὶ Μεστρία
 [Μεσσ]αλείνα Ἀριάδνη
 [θυγ]ατρὶ γλυκυτάτη
 [μνή]μης χάριν. v.v.
 5 [ὁ δ]ὲ τόπος Εἰανουαρία
 [τῇ ἀδ]ελφῇ μου μόνον.

...neos and Mestria [Mess]alina, for Ariadne, their sweetest daughter, in memoriam. This place is for my sister Ianuaria only.

The personal name in line 1 cannot be restored with certainty. [Εἰρη]νῆος or [Ἀθη]νῆος would



fit the lacuna; an abbreviated *praenomen* could stand before the name, but there seems to be no space for a gentilician. For Mestrii in this region, see the commentary to 283 below (Pomponius Mestrius Eukarpos, at the neighbouring village of Zengicek/Koçyaka).

281. Zengicek

Votive bomos of Nearchos to Zeus.

Upper part of *bomos* with corner *acroteria*, broken below. Circular depression on upper surface; plain bosses between the *acroteria* on left and right, front boss damaged. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a yard.

Ht. 0.30+; W. 0.38; Th. 0.34; letters 0.035-0.045.

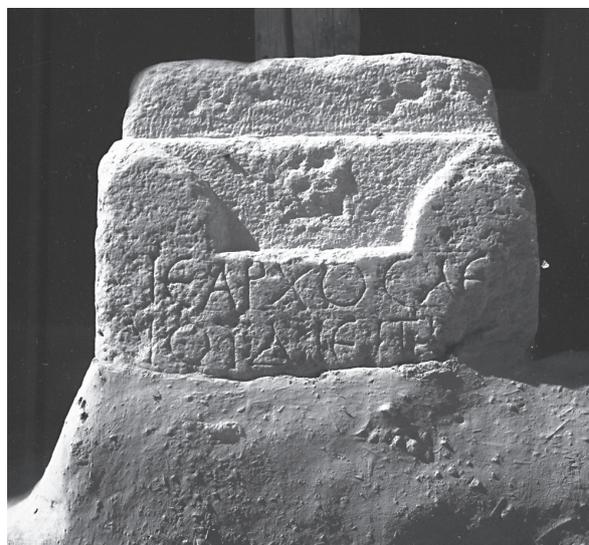
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/128).

Roman imperial period.

Νέαρχος Δέ[κ]-
 μου Διεὶ Τι[. .]

Nearchos, son of Decimus, to Zeus Ti...

I have no plausible suggestion to make for Zeus' epithet. For the name Nearchos in this region, cf. 326 below (Büyük Borukkuyu).



282. Zengicek

Votive *bomos* of Aelius Sosthenes to Dionysos.

Grey marble *bomos*, complete; inscription on upper moulding; on shaft, vine with bunch of grapes in relief. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a house.

Ht. 0.68; W. 0.24 (upper moulding), 0.22 (shaft), 0.27 (base); Th. 0.19 (upper moulding), 0.15 (shaft), 0.20 (base); letters 0.015.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/137).

Roman imperial period.

[(?) Αἰ]λ(ιος) · Σωσθένη[ς]
[Δ]ιονύσω εὐχή[ν]

[Ae]l(ius) Sosthenes, to Dionysos, in fulfillment of a vow.

The restoration [Αἰ]λ(ιος) in line 1 is not certain, but cf. *MAMA* I 36 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), Π. Αἴλιος Σωσθένης; *I.Konya* 63 (Ikonion), Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Σωσθένης.

Depictions of vines and viticultural implements are very common on the funerary monuments of Laodikeia Katakekaumene and the region to the east and north-east: see Waelkens 1977: 280-2, with 298-9, nn.49-53; 303-4, nn.73-6, and cf. 18 and 19 above (Apollonia). The cult of Dionysos is also attested in this region, at Sizma (*SEG* 34, 1395).



The modern village of Zengicek (today Koçyaka) is situated some 57km NE of Konya. Two kilometres west of the village, in the northern foothills of the Boz Dağ, lies a small Byzantine fortress (*TIB Galatien* 245, s.v. Zengicek Kalesi). A funerary inscription copied at Zengicek by William Ramsay in 1907 and published by Calder in 1924 was set up by a man with the ethnic *Νονοκοκωμήτης* (Calder 1924: 30-2; cf. Zgusta 1984: 426, §900); there is, however, no particular reason to identify Nonokokome with Zengicek.

283. Zengicek

Sarcophagus of Pomponius Mestrius Eukarpos.

Grey marble fragment of sarcophagus with *tabula ansata*. Broken on all sides. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a house-wall.

Ht. 0.42+; W. 0.72+; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/131).

Second or third century AD.

Πονπώνιος ☉ Μέστριος ☉
 Εὔκαρπος ἐπεσκεύασεν
 τὴν σορὸν καὶ τ-
 ὄν περίβολον
 5 [σ]ὺν τῇ συνβείῳ
 [αὐτοῦ] μνήμης
 [χάριν].

Pomponius Mestrius Eukarpos constructed the sarcophagus and the enclosure along with his wife, in memoriam.

Pomponius Mestrius Eukarpos carried two *gentilicia*, both of which are highly characteristic of Ikonion. The earliest known Pomponii at Ikonion are M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes and his father M. Ulpius Pomponius Valens, who appear in a Latin inscription dating to the reign of Hadrian (*ILS* 9414). M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes is described as *princeps* and *IIvir primus coloniae*, reflecting the amalgamation of the Roman colony at Ikonion with the native community under Hadrian (Mitchell 1979a: 411-25). The nomenclature of M. Ulpius Pomponius Valens shows that he received the Roman citizenship through T. Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*² P 705), governor of Cappadocia-Galatia AD 94-100 (Mitchell 1979a: 413). At an uncertain date, probably in the later second century AD, civic officials by the names of Pomponius Claudianus and Aelius Vibius Pomponianus Aquila are found at Ikonion (Calder 1912a:



75-7, no. 48; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 248-52); a Pomponianus Quadratus is found as a member of an Ikonian delegation to Claros around AD 140 (Macridy 1905: 168-9, no. IV/V, 2; for the date, the 65th prytany of Apollo, see Robert and Robert 1954: 213-4); later tombstones from Ikonion give the names of Λόνκιος Πομπώνιος Ἰπποκράτης (*I.Konya* 105) and Λ. Πομπώνιος -λιων (*I.Konya* 162). The *nomen* also appears in a Late Antique funerary inscription from Laodikeia Katakekaumene (Ramsay 1888: 238-9, no. 11; Robert 1963: 50: Καλ(πουρνία) Πομπωνία Παν(λείνα)).

Two Mestrii are also known at Ikonion: in the Augustan period, P. Mestrius P.f. Maecianus (Cronin 1902: 356, no. 111), and in the fourth century AD, a woman named Mestriane (Sterrett 1888a: 211, no. 231). A woman with the gentilician Mestria is found at the neighbouring village of Akçaşar (280 above). Two Mestrii appear in a Clarian delegation list of an unnamed city (Macridy 1905: 165-6, no. II, 4). The onomastics of the delegates – all Roman citizens, carrying the *nomina* Mestrius, Aelius and Herennius (cf. *CIG* 4001; Cronin 1902: 340, no. 60, both from Ikonion) – suggest that the city concerned is very likely to be Ikonion.

284. Zengicek

Funerary *stèle* of Dorymenes.

Upper part of *stèle* with gabled pediment and *acroteria*, with decorative entablature; broken above and below. In the pediment, round boss. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a yard.

Ht. 0.38+; W. 0.58; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/129).

Roman imperial period.

Ματῶ (?) Μάρκου Δορυ-
μένει ἀνδρὶ σεμν[ο]-
[τάτῳ -----]

Mato (?), daughter of Marcus, for her most noble husband Dorymenes...

Only the pediment and entablature of this *stèle* survive; presumably the inscription continued on the shaft. The decoration of the entablature (and the disposition of the first two lines of the inscription) is very similar to that of a funerary *stèle* from the neighbouring village of Zivarik/Altinekin (277 above). The woman's name in line 1 could be read as ΜΑΓΩ or ΜΑΤΩ. Since the former name does not appear to be attested elsewhere, I have assumed that the name should be read and accented Ματῶ. The name is rare, but securely attested at Teos and Chios (*LGPN* I and V.A, s.v.); see Zgusta 1964: 304; Robert 1963: 343-4; Robert, *OMS* V, 310, n.256; *OMS* VII, 149.

The name Δορυμένης is distinctly rare elsewhere in the Greek world. Examples are known from Thasos (*SEG* 31, 764), Aitolia (*SEG* 33, 317; Lefèvre 2002: nos. 82, 98, 99; Polybios 5.61.9; *SEG* 7, 326; 2 Macc. 4.43-50; 1 Macc 3:32-9; *SEG* 57, 1838), and Delphi (*FD* 34 III 420). Otherwise the name seems to be entirely restricted to the region between Ikonion and Lake Tatta in northern Lykaonia. I know of nine further examples of the name in this region:

(1) *SEG* 34, 1343 (Konya: Τιμόθεος Ἀττάλου Δορυμένους)

(2) *I.Konya* 5 (Sizma: Δορυμένης Βιάνορος)



(3) Sarre 1896: 32, no. 11 (Asarcık/Giyimır, ancient Perta: Δορυμένης Μελεάγρου)

(4) *MAMA* VIII 249 (Kemçik, territory of Savatra: Ἦσυχος Ὀλβίου τοῦ] καὶ Δορυμένους)

(5) Anderson 1899: 133, no. 161 (Eskil, south of Lake Tatta: Δορ[υ]μένη[ς] Παπίου)

(6) 355 below (Kana: Ἀλέξανδρος Δορυμένου)

(7-9) *MAMA* VIII 289-91 (Akören/Oğuzeli, ancient Anzoulada (?): Δορυμένης Ζαυεου, Δορυμένης Ἀλεξάνδρου, Δομέτιος υἱὸς Δορυμένου)

In *MAMA* VII 589 (Çerkez Atlanti/Mahmudiye, territory of Aralla), it is not clear whether the name Δορμενη (gen.) is an indigenous name (Calder in *MAMA* VII and Zgusta 1964: 151 §300-3) or a misspelling of Δορυμένης. If the former, that may help explain why this rare name was so popular in this small region: it would, in that case, represent a Hellenization of a local indigenous name (cf. perhaps the name Δορυμειος at Laodikeia Katakekaumene, *MAMA* VII 55; Δορυμαγλης at Çavuşçu, on the territory of Tyriaion, *I.Sultan Dağı* 376).

The adjective σεμνός and the superlative σεμνότατος (line 2) are more usually applied to women than to men, but cf. 303 below (Karakaya); 307 (Koçaş); *MAMA* VIII 399 (Çavundur: territory of Anaboura); Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 34-6, 41.

285. Zengicek

Funerary inscription of Mith[radates].

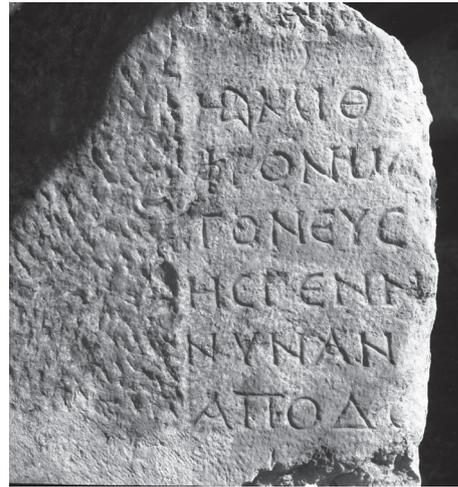
Grey marble block, rough-picked at left and above, with shallow sunken panel carrying the inscription. Broken right and behind. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a house-wall.

Ht. 0.67; W. 0.55+; Th. 0.30+; letters 0.030-0.040.
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/132).
Roman imperial period.

☪ Μιθ[ραδάτης (?) ζῶν]
φρονῶ[ν] ἐαυτῶ καὶ τοῖς]
γονεῦσ[ι μου ἐκ τῆς γ]-
ῆς γεννηθεῖς εἰς γῆν]
5 νῦν ἀναλύω, τῆς ζοῆς]
ἀποδο[ὺς τὸ δάνειον.]

Mith[radates, while living and] in my right mind, (set this up) [for himself and for my] parents. Bo[rn from d]just, [to dust] I now de[part,] return[ing the loan of life].

The name in line 1 is likely to be either Μιθ[ρη]ς or Μιθ[ραδάτης]; the latter name is attested on the territory of Perta in 312 below (Burunkuyu). The



inscription is not formulaic, and cannot be restored with certainty. However, lines 3-6 could tentatively be reconstructed on the parallel of a funerary inscription from the nearby city of Savatra: γεννηθεῖς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς γῆν πάλι νῦν ἀναλύω τὸ ζῆν μου παραδοὺς τῶ δ[ι]α[ν]ίσαντι χρόνῳ (MAMA VIII 250: Karadona). The restoration tentatively offered above is constructed on this basis.

For the phrase [τῆς ζοῆς] ἀποδο[ὺς τὸ δάνειον], compare IGUR II 626, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀποδοὺς τὸ δάνειον τῆς ζοῆς. For the intransitive ἀναλύω, 'to depart/die', cf. LSJ s.v. III.

286. Zengicek

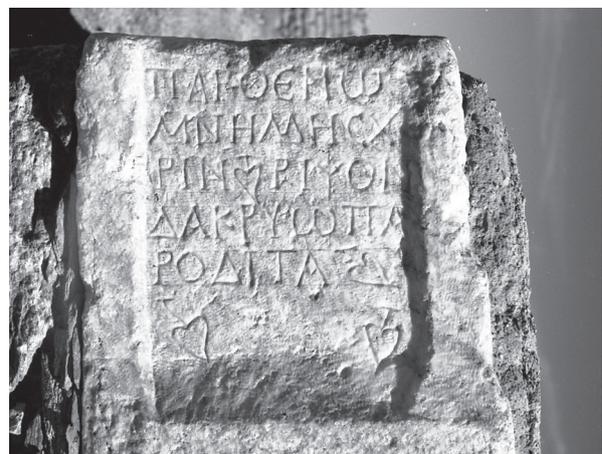
Funerary stele for a virgin.

Mottled grey and white marble *stèle*, cut off above. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in the foundation of a house, said to have been brought from the *kale*.

Ht. 0.67+; W. 0.39; Th. 0.22; letters 0.027-0.030.
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/133).
Roman imperial period.

[-----]
παρθένω
μνήμης χά-
ριν ☪ ῥίψον
5 δάκρυ, ὦ πα-
ροδίτα. ☪
☪ ☪

...virgin, in memoriam. Shed a tear, passer-by.



The term *παρθένος* is used as a term of praise in the epitaphs both of pagan and Christian women: Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 38; 76-7. Cf. 292 below (Maydos); 340 below (Koçaş).

287. Zengicek

Funerary inscription of Basilissa, in verse.

Grey marble column, probably complete below, cut off above. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in a lane.

Ht. 1.45+; Diameter 0.34; letters 0.025-0.030.

Calder 1922: 127, no. 10; [SEG 1, 456; Peek 1955: 66, no. 256; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/06/23]. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/130).

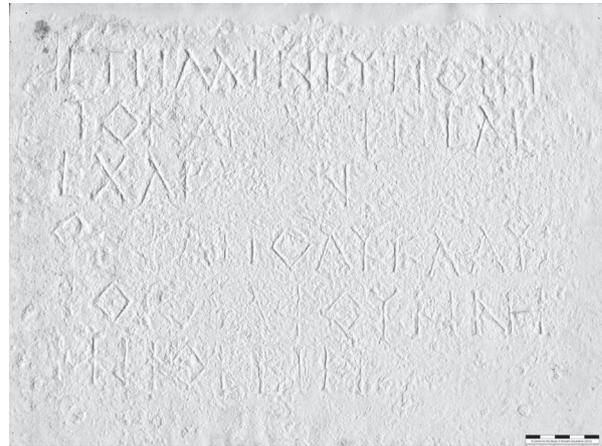
Third or fourth century AD.

Βασί[ι]λι[σ]σα
 στήλην εὐποίη-
 τον ἀναστήσασ'
 ἐχάραξεν
 5 ὄφρα πολυκλαύσ-
 τοιο τάφου μνη-
 μῆϊος εἴη.

Line 1: Βασίλισσα C(alder). Line 2: στήλην C.

Basilissa set up and inscribed this well-made stele, in order that it might serve as a memorial for this much-wept grave.

Lines 2-7 of this inscription form two fairly accurate hexameters. Peek suggested, not



implausibly, that *μνημῆϊος* in lines 6-7 (unattested elsewhere) might be a mason's error for *μνημῆϊο(ν)*. For *ὄφρα* + optative in late antique funerary inscriptions, see Wilhelm 1932: 805-6. For the phraseology in lines 2-4, compare SEG 6, 442 (Konya), *τίτλον εὐποίη[του τάφω ἐπεχά]ραξεν*, and cf. 292 below. For the juridical significance of recording the carving of the inscription, see Firatlı and Robert 1964: 143-4; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 95; OMS V, 317. For the name Basilissa in this region, see also 361 below (Kana); 211 above (Azak [Hodoğlu]).

288. Zengicek

Funerary inscription of a priest.

Coarse grey marble block, broken above, buried behind. Found at Zengicek (Koçyaka), in the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.25+; W. 0.62; Th. --; letters 0.015-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze (1956/135).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

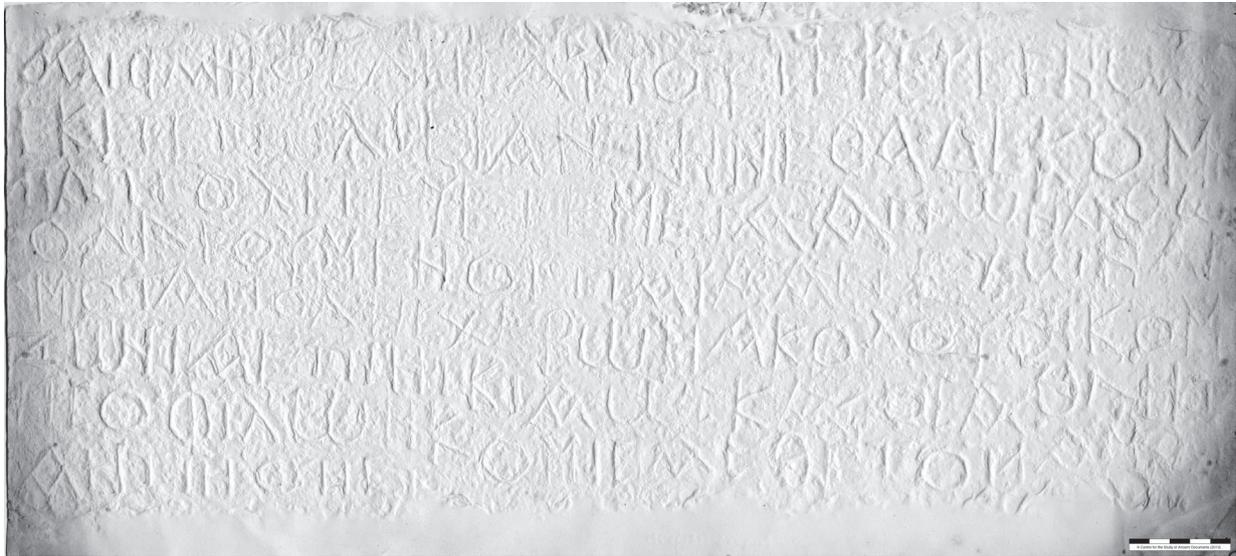
 ζαιϛ (?) μηνὸς ἀνιαρίου ἱερεὺς ἐνθά[δ]-
 ε κῆτε πολι(τ)εῖαν τὴν ἐ(ν)θάδε κομ[ί]-
 σας (?) πολιτεύετε μετὰ ἀγίων ΑΘΩ[-]
 ΟΝ(?) ἀγούμενος(?) παρὰ ἀγγέλων ΑΓ[-]
 5 μετὰ ΠΟΔΗΣ χέρων ἀκολουθῆ κομ[ί]-
 ζων τὰ ἐπινίκια ὡς καλὸς ἀθλητ-

ἦς ὀφίλων κομίσασθε τὸν ἀμα[ρ]-
 ἀντινον στ[έφανον] -----

[Year (?) ...] in the month of January. A priest lies here: having received ecclesiastical office here (on earth), he now has citizenship among the saints... from the angels... he follows rejoicing, having received the prize of victory like an excellent athlete, worthy of receiving the crown of glory...

I have been unable to explain several passages in the text of this inscription. The apparent absence of the priest's name in line 1 is odd; perhaps it was inscribed in a missing line above. For the use of the verb *πολιτεύεσθαι* in the sense of 'hold ecclesiastical office' (line 2), cf. the commentary to 271 above, citing *MAMA I 172* (Kadinhani), *Λεύκιος ἀνέσθησα τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου πατρὶ Ἀβρα τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ πρεσβιτέρῳ θῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ναυατῶν, ἐν ᾗ*

κὲ ἐπολιτεύσατο; MAMA VII 79 (Kindiras), *Αὐρη. Πῶλα κανονκὴ καλῶς πολιτευσαμένη ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεο[ῦ]*. For the metaphor of the Christian athlete (one who fights for his faith), cf. the commentary to 292 below. The priest's aspiration for 'the crown of glory' (lines 7-8) is a near-quotation from 1 Peter 5:4, *φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον*.



289. Zengicek

Funerary inscription of Ioannes.

Coarse grey marble block, apparently complete. Found at Zengicek (Κοçyaka), in a yard-wall.

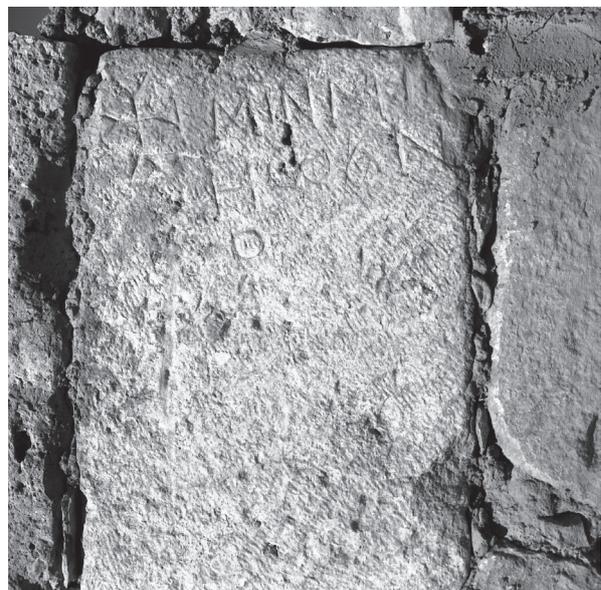
Ht. 0.59; W. 0.40; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/134).

Byzantine period.

† μνήμη
Ἰωάν-
ο.

In memory of Ioannes.



290. Hoydus

Funerary inscription of Aphthonios.

Rough slab of grey marble, broken on all sides. At top, incised cross in an incised arch; at bottom, incised cross, with vine-tendrils (?) growing from its base; the inscription between ruled guide-lines. Found at Hoydus (Akıncılar), in the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.44+; W. 0.27+; Th. --; letters 0.017-0.040.

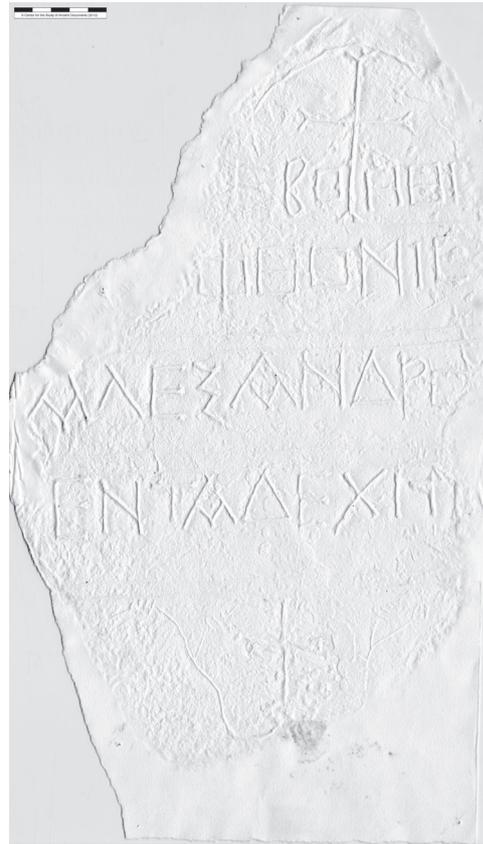
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/148).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

†
 [Κ(υρι)]ε βοήθη
 [Α]φθόνιος
 Ἀλεξάνδρου
 ἐντάδε χίτε
 †

Lord, save. Aphthonios son of Alexandros lies here.

The physical form of this inscription is very similar to that of *I.Konya* 213, an epitaph from neighbouring Zıvarık (Altınekin), which also carries the cross in an incised arch at top, and the incised cross sprouting vine-tendrils from its base at bottom. Comparable instances are also found at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (Ladık: *MAMA* I 213) and in the central Boz Dağ at Mernek/Karakaya (334 below); the cross with vine-tendrils is explained by Calder 1922: 123 in relation to the parable of the vine in John 15:1-16. For the spellings ἐντάδε χίτε for ἐνθάδε κείται in line 4, cf. *MAMA* VII 76 (Laodikeia: Kındıras); *MAMA*



VII 104b-c (Zıvarık [Altınekin]); Cronin 1902: 113, no. 25 (Davğana/Doğanbey); Swoboda, Keil and Knoll 1935: 10, no. 9 (Davğana/Doğanbey); *SEG* 34, 1330 (Konya).

I know of no other published inscriptions from Hoydus/Akıncılar, although it is possible that *MAMA* VII 104d (said to be from a graveyard six miles north of Zıvarık/Altınekin) should be assigned to this village.

291. Tekir Yaylası

Funerary inscription of Papas and Alexandros.

Coarse greyish-white marble block, complete. Found at Tekir Yaylası, in the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.88; W. 0.63; Th. 0.25; letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/149).

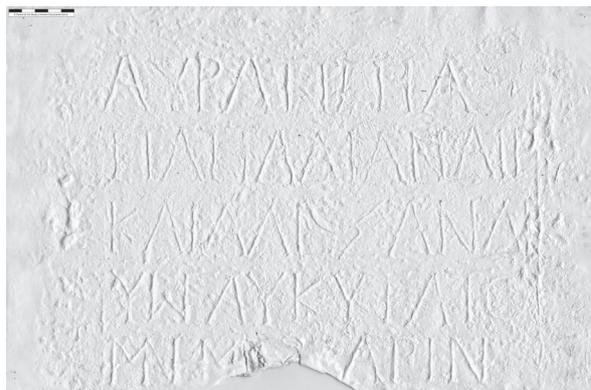
Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀππία
 Παπαδι ἀνδρῖ
 καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω]
 ὑῶ γλυκυτάτοι[ς]
 5 μνήμης χάριν

Line 2: ANΔIP.

Aur(elia) Appia for her sweetest husband Papas and son Alexandros, in memoriam.

For the name Papas, see Zgusta 1964: 406-8, §1199-1; for the dative form Παπαδι, cf. *MAMA* I 54 (Kadınhanı); *MAMA* VIII 315 (Sadettin Hanı). I have been unable to establish the location of Tekir Yaylası (described by Ballance in his notebook as a 'deserted village'). On the basis of



the sequence of sites visited by Ballance in this region in 1956, it ought to lie in the steppe north of Altnekin, between Hoydus/Akincilar and Maydos. In the cemetery of this village, Ballance also saw two architectural members, apparently both from a Late Antique church:

(1) Upper part of rectangular pier with integral capital. Ht. 0.36 (capital), -- (shaft); W. 0.70 (capital), 0.62 (shaft); Th. 0.36 (capital), 0.31 (shaft). MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/148a).

(2) Fragment of door lintel, buried below. Ht. 0.67; W. 0.76+; Th. --. MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/148b).

292. Maydos

Sarcophagus set up by Alexandros, deacon, for his brother.

Grey marble fragment of a sarcophagus, broken left, right and below, with inscription in *tabula ansata*. Found at Maydos, in the wall of the cemetery.

Ht. 0.48+; W. 0.45+; Th. 0.14; letters 0.017-0.022.

Thonemann 2011b: 198-200, no. 2. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/151).

Fourth century AD.

✠
 [Ἀλέξα]νδρος Ἀσιατι-
 [κοῦ δι]άκων ἰδία μη-
 [τρὶ γλυ]κυτάτῃ Τατα
 5 [καὶ γνη]σίῳ ἀδελφῶ
 [- - -]ίῳ ἀγαθῶ ἐ-

[χέφρ]ονι φοβουμέ-
 [νω ἀγ]νῶ παρθένω
 [κρατ]ερῶ ἀθλητῇ
 10 [τοῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀνέστησεν
 [μνημ]οσύνου ἔνε-
 [κεν, ἐπὶ τ]ύμβῳ τ' ᾧ τ' ἐχά-
 [vac.]ραξά.

Alexandros, son of Asiatikos, deacon, set this up as a memorial for his own sweetest mother Tata, and for his legitimate brother ...ion, a good man, prudent, reverent, a holy virgin, a strong athlete of Christ; I inscribed (it) on this tomb.

The village of Maydos lies some 5km to the north-east of Zivarık/Altınekin, around 2km to the east of the road connecting Altınekin with Hoydus/Akıncılar.

For the name Ἀσιατικός, cf. Anderson 1899: 281, no. 164 (Zivarık/Altınekin); Cronin 1902: 354, no. 100 (Konya: *Αὐρ. Ασιατική*); perhaps 317 below (Bayramdügün). In line 4, Alexandros describes his brother as *γνήσιος*, 'legitimate'. This may be intended to indicate that they are blood-relatives, and not (merely) spiritual brothers (cf. 302 below); for this usage of the term *γνήσιος*, compare *I.Smyrna* 563 (Θεοδώρω τῷ ἐμῷ γνησ(ίῳ) ἐκγόνῳ καὶ πνευματικῷ υἱῷ). However, the term is regularly found in the funerary epigraphy of the villages of the Axylon simply as a term of affection, 'dear' (Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 218-22: e.g. *MAMA* I 358, 361, 365; *MAMA* VII 427, 565, 585; *RECAM* II 238, 354).

The sequence of epithets applied to Alexandros' brother has no close parallels in the Christian epigraphy of Lykaonia. The term *ἐχέφρων* (if correctly restored here) is also found in *MAMA* I 229-30 (Laodikeia), *ἀθάνατος δὲ θεὸς ἐχέφρονα εἶλατο δοῦλον*. The term *ἀγνός* is regularly used of members of the clergy in this region: *MAMA* VIII 280 (Obruk), *Δόμνω ἀγνώ δειάκονι*; *MAMA* I 196 (Kadınhanı), *ἀγνὸς π[ρ]εσβ(ύτερος)*; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 231, no. 410 (Aydoğmuş/Dorla: Isauropolis), *ὁ ἀγνότατος... ἐπίσκοπος*. I can find no other epigraphical instance of the term *φοβούμενος* standing alone; it should presumably be taken simply to mean 'reverent' (Luke 1:50, 18:2; Acts 10:35) rather than in the technical sense of 'God-fearer' (Acts 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987: 48-66). The description of Alexandros' brother as a 'strong athlete of Christ' is particularly striking, since the phrase *ἀθλητῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ* is normally used only with reference to martyrs: Calder 1920: 52-3, 58-9; Mitchell 1982: 100-1. However, the phrase is given no particular prominence or emphasis in this inscription, and it seems more likely that it is here used in a



weak sense of 'one who fought for his persecuted faith', probably against Orthodox oppressors; cf. Wilhelm 1932: 845-6, on the term *ἀθλοφόρος* in *MAMA* I 171. Cf. also 288 (Zengicek [Koçyaka]). For another (female) 'holy virgin' in this region, cf. 337 below (Koçaş). However, the use of the term *παρθένος* for a man (line 7) is highly striking and unusual, and strongly suggests that Alexandros and his brother were members of one of the ascetic sects which flourished in Lykaonia in the fourth century AD: see Thonemann 2011b. These sects were outlawed in the early 380s AD (*CTh* 16.5.7.3 [May 381]; 16.5.9.1 [March 382]; 16.5.11 [July 383]); the fact that the inscription does not name the ascetic group to which Alexandros and his brother belonged, but appears to hint that the deceased man was persecuted for his faith (see above), may suggest that the inscription postdates the imperial legislation.

For the formula in lines 11-12, cf. *MAMA* VIII 320 (Sadaettin Hanı), *ζῶν γὰρ ἀνέστησ[εν] ἐπὶ τύμβῳ τ' ᾧδ' ἐκάραξεν*. On this parallel, I have assumed, with some misgivings, that the letters *ΤΩΤ* in line 11 represent *τ' ᾧτ(ε)*, i.e. *ᾧδ(ε)*. For funerary inscriptions which record their own inscribing, cf. 287 above.

293. Tutup

Funerary inscription of Leon, soldier.

Grey marble column, broken above and below. Inscription laid out around an incised cross, lines 1-3 to r., lines 4-8 to l. Found at Tutup (Yazibelen), by the door of a house.

Ht. 0.50+; Diameter 0.42; letters 0.030-0.065.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1956/126).

Eleventh or twelfth century AD.

ἔθα κα-
τάκη-
τε Λέον ε-
{Α} ἰστρα-
5 τιώτις μινί
Δεκεβρί-
ου ἰς τὰ[s]
κα'.

Here lies Leon, soldier; (he died) in the month of December, on the 21st day.

The layout of the inscription is very unusual. Apparently the mason began with the column standing upright, and inscribed the cross and the first three lines vertically from left to right; this would explain the 'incorrect' orientation of the three *alphas* in lines 1-2. At this point, he turned the column on its side (with the result that lines 1-3 now appeared to read 'upwards!') and inscribed lines 4-8 'below' the cross. The stray *alpha* on its side at the start of line 4 is difficult to explain. It is perhaps most likely that it should be associated with the cross in the centre of the inscription; the mason may have intended to inscribe the letters *alpha* and *omega* flanking the cross, but in that case the absence of any sign of the *omega* is puzzling.

The spelling ἔθα in line 1 is paralleled in Lykaonia: cf. *MAMA VIII* 278 (Obruk: ἐθά[δε κατάκητε]; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 87-8, nos. 106 and 107 (Yukarı Kaya Assar: ἔθα κατάκητε). For the iotacism εἰστρατιώτις, cf. 45 above (Eumeneia); *MAMA VII* 63a (Laodikeia Katakekaumene);



Swoboda, Keil and Knoll 1935: 43, no. 98 (Üstünler, south of Lake Karalis). For the means of indicating the date in lines 5-8, compare *MAMA VIII* 278 (Obruk: μ(η)ν(ι) Ἀγούστου ἡς τὰς (?) ἡκ(οσ)η); Laminger-Pascher 1992: 83, no. 92 (Madensehir: μηνὴ Μαρτίου ἡς τὰς δεκαπέτε); Laminger-Pascher 1992: 87-8, no. 106 (ἐκυμίθη μηνὴ Γενοαρήου ἡς τὰς τρήντα μέαν); *TAM V* 2, 1158 (Thyateira, AD 1006: μηνὶ Μαΐου ἡς τὰς κθ'); Grégoire 1922: 99, no. 292 (Myra, AD 1118: μ(η)ν(ι) Αὐγούτο εἰς τὰς s'); *I.Ephesos* 4144 ([μηνὶ Σεπ]τεμβρίῳ ἰς τὰ κ'). This form of dating is characteristic of documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: see the examples collected by Dagron and Feissel 1985: 461.

The village of Tutup, now Yazibelen, lies just north of an easy pass (Tilki Bel or Tutup Beli) over the northern Boz Dağ; the village of Eğribayat (296 below) lies on the southern side of this pass. This pass carried the main ancient road from Ikonion to Ankara (Ballance 1958: 224, 229-31). A Hadrianic milestone from this road was discovered by Ramsay at Tutup (A. M. Ramsay 1910: 26-7, no.8; French 1988: 239, no. 669). This milestone was seen again by Ballance at Tutup in 1956, 'in the east wall of a cemetery near the main Ankara-Konya road'; the inscription was almost entirely concealed, and Ballance took neither a photograph nor a squeeze.

XIX. KONYA

294. Tatlıkuyu

Honorific column for Manius son of Pasikrates.

Coarse greyish marble column, broken below. Found at Tatlıkuyu (Akbaş), by the mosque.

Ht. 0.80+; Diameter 0.40; letters 0.020-0.027.

Sterrett 1888a: 226, no. 253; [Laminger-Pascher 1984: 103-4, no. 168; *SEG* 34, 1400]. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/47).

Roman imperial period.

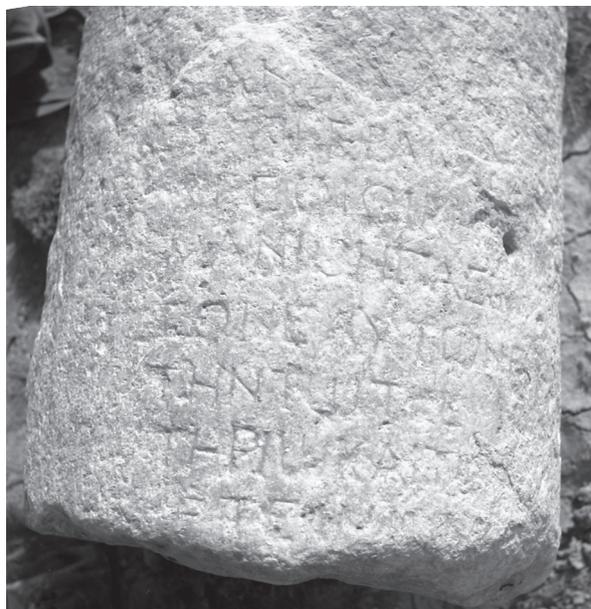
ΚΑΝΑΙΟ[- - -]
 εἰων γεραιοὶ καὶ πάν-
 τες οἱ οἰκή[τορες]
 Μάνιον Πασικ[ράτους]
 5 τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐϋ[εργέ]-
 την τῷ τε εἰ[. . .⁴⁻⁵ . . .]
 τηρίῳ καὶ τῷ [. . .⁴⁻⁵ . . .]
 ἐτείμησαν [vac. (?)]

Line 3: omitted by Sterrett.

...the elders and all the inhabitants honoured Manius son of Pasik[rates], their benefactor, with the [...] and the [...].

This inscription was seen in 1884 by Sterrett at Zencirli hanı (see 297 below). By 1957, the inscription was at the mosque in Tatlıkuyu (now Akbaş), around 10km north-east of Zencirli hanı. The condition of the stone had deteriorated slightly in the intervening period; underlined letters, seen by Sterrett, are not visible on Ballance's squeeze or photograph. Line 3 was accidentally omitted by Sterrett in his transcription.

The monument is an honorific inscription set up by the 'elders and all the inhabitants' of a village on the territory of Ikonion; the village ethnic (in the genitive plural) may have been recorded in lines 1-2 (Laminger-Pascher 1984: 103). For the existence of a formal corporate body of *γεραιοί* (sometimes, but not always, designated as a *γερουσία*) in many Anatolian village communities in the Roman imperial period, see



Schuler 1998: 225-31; their role seems to have been comparable to that of the civic *βουλή*. I know of no other instance in which the *γεραιοί* are distinguished from the other *οἰκήτορες* ('inhabitants') of a village, but compare *TAM* V 3, 1415 (territory of Philadelpheia): ἐν Καστωλλῶ κώμῃ Φιλαδελφείων γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κωμητῶν πάντων, 'when an assembly was held in the village of Kastollos, on Philadelpheian territory, by the gerousia and all the other villagers...'

The honorand, Manius, carries a Latin name which was relatively common in Lykaonia (*I.Konya* 234; *MAMA* VII 47; *SEG* 6, 355). His father's name, Pasikrates, is also a common one in the region (320 and 323 below [Perta]; *MAMA* VIII 273-5 [Perta]; Hall 1968: 81, no. 31, and 86, no. 45; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008: 113-5, no. 3 [Greek/Neo-Phrygian bilingual, Polybotos]). It is possible that the honorand is a relative of Neikias, son of Pasikrates, grandson of Manius, native of the village of Komitanassos, who set up a dedication to Apollo at Ortakuyu, in the steppe south of Lake Tatta, 365 below).

296. Eğribayat

Milestone of Septimius Severus.

Whitish limestone cylindrical column, broken above, below and behind. Found at Eğribayat, in the gateway of a yard.

Ht. 1.33+; Diameter 0.41; letters 0.030-0.045.

Unpublished (mentioned by Ballance 1958: 230, no. 21; French 1988: 220, no. 615 [sic]) Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/124).

I: AD 198. II: AD 333-5. III: uncertain.

I

[Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Sept]-
[imius Severus]
[Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus)]
[Arabicus Adiabe]-
[nicus Parthicus]
[maximus pontifex]
[max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI]
im[p](erator) [XI co(n)s(ul) II pro]-
co(n)s(ul) [et Imp(erator) Caesar]
[Marcus Aure[lius],
[Antoninus A[ug(ustus)],
5 [cons(ul) Parthi[cus],
[maximus,] re[sti]-
tuerunt mil(ia) p[ass](us) [- -]

II

[DDDD(ominis)] NNNN(ostris)
[Fl(avio) Val(erio) Const]antino Aug.
[et Fl(avio) Cl(audio) Consta]ntino et
[Fl(avio) Constantio] et
5 [Fl(avio) Iul(io) Constante]
[Nobbb(ilissimis) CCC(aesaribus)]

III

. . [- - -]
M . [- - -]
MA[- - -]
BB[- - -]



I: [Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus maximus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time,] im[perator for the eleventh time, consul for the second time, pro]consul, [and Imperator Caesar] [Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, consul, Parthicus maximus,] restored (the road). [-] miles.

II: To our [lords Flavius Valerius Const]antinus Augustus [and Flavius Claudius Consta]ntinus and [Flavius Constantius] and [Flavius Iulius Constans, most noble Caesars.]

Like 9 (Apollonia) and 295 above (Divanlar), this milestone was originally set up and inscribed in AD 198; the titlature of Geta was then erased, and replaced with an extended, anachronistic titlature for Caracalla (text I). At a later date, the milestone was turned upside down for reuse as a milestone of Constantine I and his co-rulers (text II). A third inscription, placed next to text II, is now all but illegible; the two letters BB are presumably part of an abbreviation [no]bb(ilissimis) *vel sim.*

This milestone, mentioned by Ballance 1958: 230, no. 21, was later seen by French at Eğribayat (French 1988: 221, no. 615), 'at house of Nuri Özdemir; used as a gatepost (righthand side)'. French correctly describes the stone as carrying three inscriptions: '(1) Severus and Caracalla, (2) Constantinus with Constantius, [Constantius and Constans], (3) ?', with no distance numeral visible. French wrongly identified the stone recorded by Ballance with another, unpublished milestone from Eğribayat (French 1988: 220, no. 613), 'at a çeşme on N side of village; said to have been brought from Seyitler (? = Sedirler) Mah., Konya', which carried only two inscriptions, with the distance numeral XVI (presumably measured from Ikonion). Images of the squeezes taken by French of the two stones are available online at http://www.biaatr.org/squeeze/Konya_08-09.

Ballance 1958: 230, no. 21, notes that this milestone was first recorded by W.M. Calder in 1910; there is no trace of Calder's copy among Ballance's papers, nor of a second milestone copied by Calder at Eğribayat in 1910 and also later seen by French (Ballance 1958: 230, no. 24; French 1988: 221, no. 614: distance numeral XVII,



under Valerianus). French records the existence of two further milestones at Eğribayat (1988: 221-2, nos. 616-7), neither of which carry legible inscriptions.

297. Zencirli

Votive altar of Paulina to Zeus Salarameus.

Creamy-white limestone *bomos* with moulding above and defaced relief on the shaft; buried below. Found in the right-hand jamb of the door of Zencirli hani.

Ht. 0.72; W. 0.44 (upper moulding), 0.41 (shaft); Th. --; letters 0.025-0.030.

Cronin 1902: 368, no. 141. Edition based on squeeze; line-drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/18; CVC, 2011).

Roman imperial period.

Παυλείνα Παυ-
λείνου θυγάτηρ
Δὶ Σα- λαρα-
μει εὐχρήν.

Line 2: ΘΓΑΤΗΡ.



Paulina, daughter of Paulinus, to Zeus Salaram-
//eus//, in fulfillment of a vow.

Zencirli hanı is a large ruined caravansaray on the road which runs ENE from Konya over the Boz Dağ towards Obruk. The existing building, which contains numerous ancient *spolia*, dates to the eighteenth century, but it may have had a Seljuq predecessor: see Ramsay 1905: 415; Callander 1906: 170-1; Erdmann 1961: 195, no.70; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 72-3. On the basis of this inscription, an ancient village *Salaram//a// has been posited at or near Zencirli (*TIB Galatien* 220, s.v. Salarama). Three other inscriptions have been recorded at or near the *han*:

(1) 294 above (seen by Ballance at Tatlıkuyu [now Akbaş], but recorded by Sterrett 1888a: 226, no.

253, at Zencirli hanı);

(2) Cronin 1902: 368, no. 140: early Christian funerary inscription (κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη Τατην);

(3) Sterrett 1888a: 226-7, no. 254; Cronin 1902: 368-9, no. 142; Ramsay and Ramsay 1928: 185-6; [SEG 6, 445; Laminger-Pascher 1984: 104-7, no. 169; SEG 34, 1401]: funerary inscription of Aelius Iulianus, set up by C. Aponius Crispus, Ilvir of the Roman *colonia* at Ikonion (from a well just east of the *han*).

In April 2011, this inscription was still visible in the right-hand jamb of the entrance to the *han*; large quantities of ancient pottery were visible in the fields immediately to the west of the *han*.

298. Göçü

Votive altar to an uncertain deity.

Upper part of altar in blue-flecked white marble; broken above, below and behind. First surviving line of inscription between two damaged *acroteria*; lines 2 and 3 on moulding. Found at Göçü, in a house.

Ht. 0.12+; W. 0.22; Th. 0.90+; letters 0.012-0.017.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/43).

Roman imperial period.

--- traces ---

βηνῶ ε[ὶ]-

[χ]ήν . . ὦ[. . 3-4 . .]

[-]Κ Λουκίου

[To ...]benos, in fulfillment of a vow... of Lucius...

This monument is a small votive altar dedicated to a deity whose cult epithet ended in -βηνός;



Anatolian cult *epikleseis* of this kind very often derive from toponyms (e.g. Artemis Λαγβηνή at Λάγβη in the Milyas; Meter Zizimmene at Zizimma, modern Sizma, on the territory of Ikonion).

299. İsmil

Funerary *bomos* of Aelia Polla.

White marble *bomos*, broken below (at front only). Found at İsmil (Demirkent), in the cemetery. Ht. 0.75; W. 0.47 (shaft); Th. 0.45 (shaft); letters 0.040. Pridik 1900: 25, no. 25 (*non uidi*); *MAMA VIII* 311; [Laminger-Pascher 1992: 116, no. 161]. Edition based on line-drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/48).

Roman imperial period.

Αιλία Πώλλη θυ-
γατρὶ Αἴλιος Ὀλυμ-
πιόδωρος ὁ πα-
τὴρ μνήμης
5 χάρις.

For Aelia Polla his daughter, Aelius Olympiodoros her father (set this up), in memoriam.

The modern village of İsmil is identified with the mediaeval Salimia by Tomaschek 1891: 89 and by *TIB Galatien* 220-1, s.v. Salimia; see also Drew-Bear 1987: 606 n.8. For references to the village in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 72. Another inscription from İsmil the funerary inscription of Arruntius Philostorgos is wrongly attributed to Sille by Laminger-Pascher 1984: 87, no. 147 (cf.



Drew-Bear 1987: 606 n.8, 607 n.4). Laminger-Pascher (1992: 113-6) classifies İsmil with the villages of Karapınar, Kesmez and Sekalesi under the heading 'Die östliche Salzsteppe an der Grenze gegen Kappadokien'. In fact, İsmil lies in the south-east corner of the plain of Konya, west of the Boz Dağ; the salt steppe begins at Karapınar, 40km east of İsmil.

300. Göçü

Funerary inscription of Geia(?).

Three joining fragments of a grey marble *stèle*; inscription in a recessed panel, with a crescent moon (?) incised on the left-hand moulding. Found at Göçü, in the steps of the mosque.

Ht. 0.55+; W. 0.63; Th. 0.27; letters 0.035-0.040.

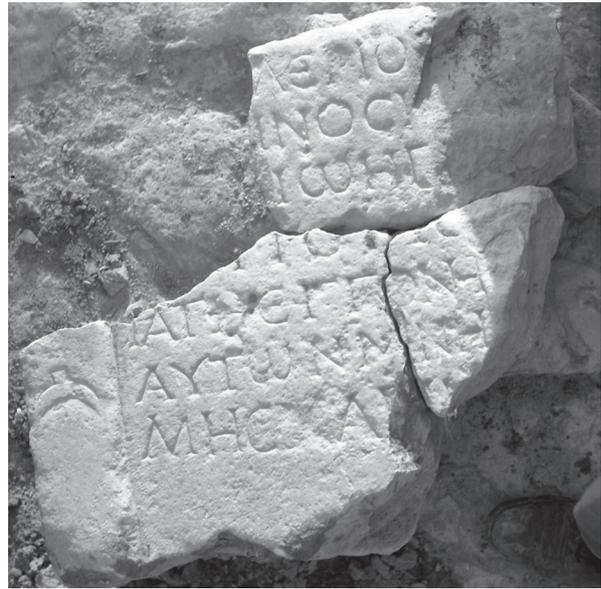
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/44).

Roman imperial period.

[- Οὐα]λέριο[ς]
 [- - -]ινος κ-
 [αὶ - -]ιω ἢ γ[υ]-
 [νὴ α.]ὐτοῦ Γε[ι]α(?)-
 5 ια τῆ ἐγγόνη
 αὐτῶν μνή-
 μης χάριιν.

[. Va]leriu[s -]inus and [- -]io his wife, for their granddaughter Geia, in memoriam.

There appears to be space at the start of line 1 for an abbreviated *praenomen*. The reading of



the name in lines 4-5 is not certain; IA is clear at the start of line 5, and at the end of line 4 the photo shows the lower part of an upright stroke followed by the bottom of the loop of a lunate epsilon or lunate sigma. I have tentatively restored the indigenous name Γεῖα, attested at Ikonion in *I.Konya* 89 (Zgusta 1964: 134 §210-4).

301. Tömek.

Funerary inscription of Aelia -lia.

Bluish marble slab or defaced *stèle*, probably buried on all sides. Found at Tömek, in the steps of the school.

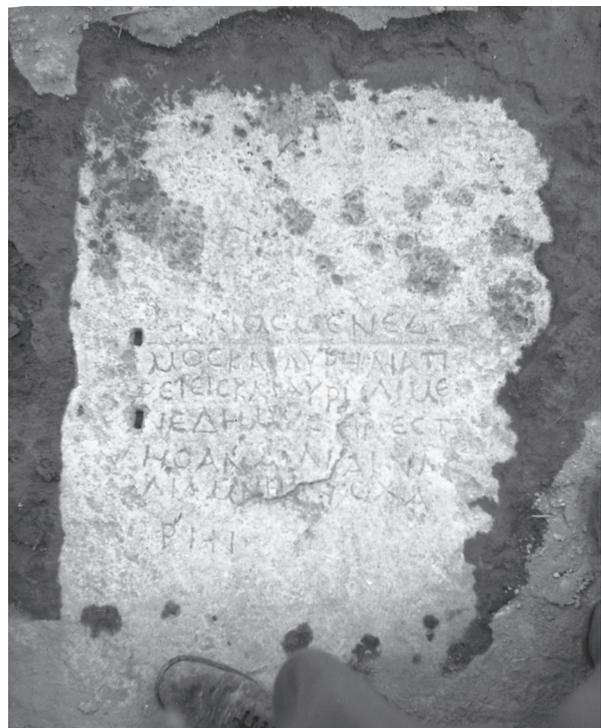
Ht. 0.85+; W. 0.60+; Th. --; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line-drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/46).

Third century AD.

[Αἴ]λιος Μενέδη-
 μος καὶ Αὐρηλία Π-
 ρεῖεις καὶ Αὐρήλι(ος) Με-
 νέδημος ἀνέστ-
 5 ησαν Αἰλία ἸΝΛ-
 λία μνήμης χά-
 ριιν.

Aelius Menedemos and Aurelia Preieis and Aurelius Menedemos set up (this tombstone) for Aelia ...lia, in memoriam.



The village of Tömek lies some 20km north-east of Konya, around 2.5km north of the beautiful Seljuq-era Sadettin (Zazadin) Hanı (Holzmeister and Fahrner 1955: Taf. 99-104; Erdmann 1961: 102-7, no. 28; *TIB Galatien* 220, s.v. Sadettin Hanı), where a large number of inscriptions have been recorded (Cronin 1902: 358-67, nos. 119-39; *MAMA VIII* 312-24; Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 72), and which probably marks the site of an ancient village.

The stone on which this text was engraved previously carried another funerary inscription, which was very thoroughly erased; on the squeeze, the letters APIN (i.e. [μνήμης χάριν]) are faintly visible at the end of line 6, beneath the last four letters of the line. In line 1, there appears not to be sufficient space to restore [Αὐρή]-λιος. The indigenous name Πρειεις (lines 2-3) is characteristic of eastern Phrygia and Lykaonia: see Zgusta 1964: 440-1 §1305.

302. Zivecik

Funerary stele for Zotikos, Apotactite presbyter.

Grey limestone stele with moulded panel. Found at Zivecik (Ortakonak), in front of a house.

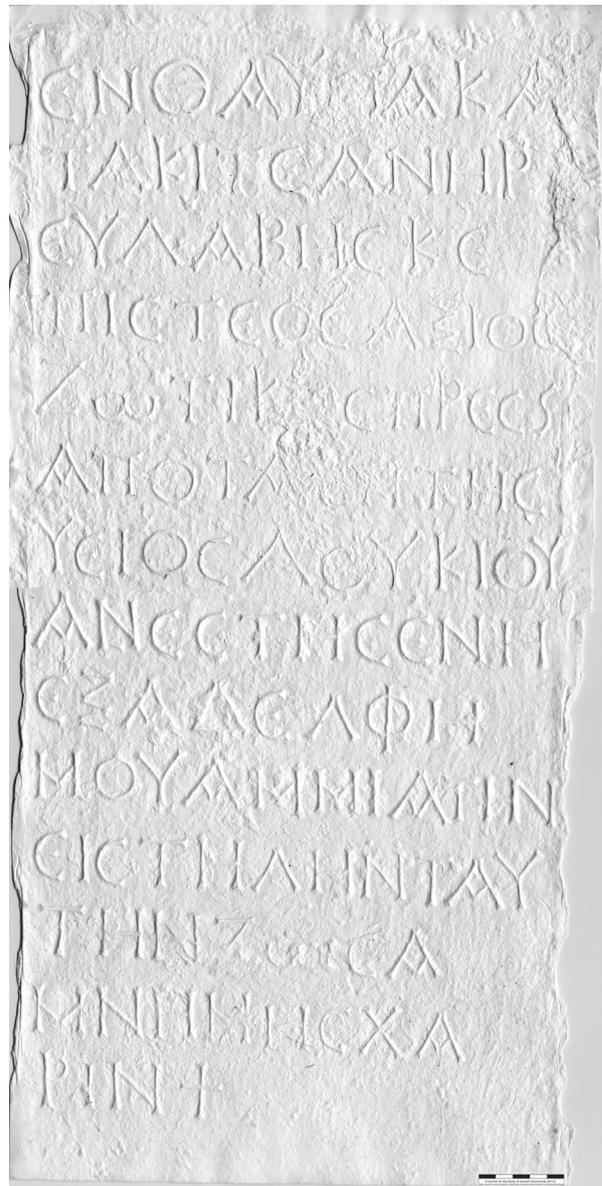
Ht. 1.33 (panel 1.20); W. 0.37 (panel 0.32); Th. 0.20; letters 0.025-0.040.

Thonemann 2011b: 195-7, no. 1. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1957/52); photograph (CVC 2011).

Before AD 381.

ἐνθαῦτα κα-
τάκιτε ἀνὴρ
εὐλαβῆς κέ
πίστεος ἄξιος
5 Ζωτικὸς πρεσ(βύτερος)
Ἀποτακτίτης
υἱὸς Λουκίου
ἀνέστησεν ἡ
ἐξαδέλφη
10 μου Ἀμμία τὴν
εἰστήλην ταύ-
την ζῶσα
μνήμης χά-
ριν †

Here lies a pious and trustworthy man, Zotikos the presbyter, Apotactite, son of Loukios. My cousin Ammia set up this stele while she was still living, in memoriam.



For the ecclesiastical background to this inscription, with a collection of the evidence relating to the Apotactite sect in Lykaonia, see Thonemann 2011b. This is the first direct piece of evidence for the existence of an Apotactite group on the territory of Ikonion. Other communities of Apotactites are attested in two inscriptions from the region immediately to the north-west of Ikonion, around Laodikeia Katakekaumene. From the remote village of Kara Tepe in the steppe north of Laodikeia (near ancient Bardaetta: *TIB Phrygien* 205, s.v. Bardaëtta), we have the tombstone (*MAMA* I 173) of a certain Aniketos, described as *πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ἀποτακτιτῶν*, set up by two other presbyters, Eugraphios and his (spiritual) brother Diophantos, who describe themselves as Aniketos' 'successors' (*διάδοχοι*). Another

tombstone (*MAMA* VII 88) is known from the highlands south-west of Laodikeia, at Kestel (Beykavaği: *TIB Phrygien* 300, s.v. Kestel), set up for an individual (possibly a *πρωτοπρεσβύτερος*) by the presbyters of an Apotactite monastic community (*Γάϊος πρεσ[βύτερος καὶ οἱ συνπρεσβύ[τεροι τοῦ τῶν] Ἀποτακτιτῶν - - - μο]ναστηρίου*). Another group of Apotactites can be inferred much further to the north, at Ankyra in Galatia (Mitchell 1982: 103-4). The fact that this inscription was discovered so close to the urban centre of Ikonion (Zivecik [Ortakonak] lies in the plain of Konya, some 20km north-east of the modern city-centre) may throw some doubt on Mitchell's suggestion (1993: II 103) that the Apotactites tended to seek 'genuine isolation' in the deep Anatolian countryside.

303. Karakaya

Verse funerary inscription of Asterios and others.

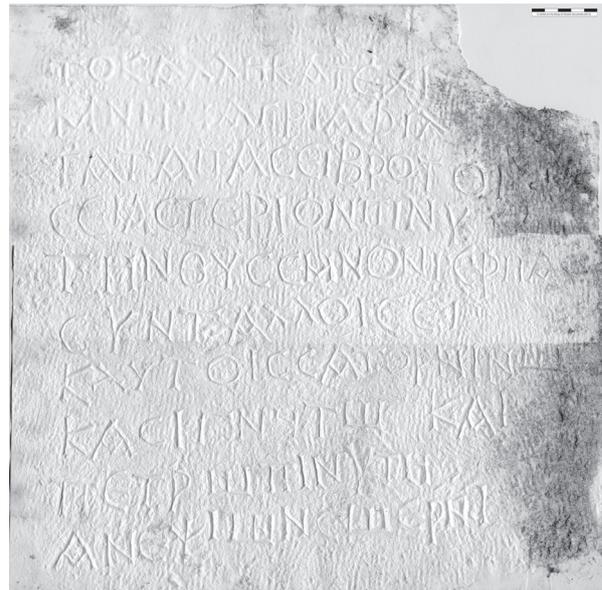
Grey marble column, broken below, buried above. Above the inscription, Latin cross in relief. Found at Karakaya, in a stable.

Ht. 0.90+; Diameter 0.33; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line-drawing; MB notebook copy (1957/40).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

τὸ κάλλη κατέχι
 μνήμα τρία φίλ-
 τατα πᾶσει βροτοῖ-
 σει, Ἀστέριον πινυ-
 5 τήν Θ(εο)ῦ σεμνὸν ἱερῆα
 σὺν τ' ἄλλοισει
 κλυτοῖς Σατορνίνω
 κασιγνήτῳ καὶ
 Πέτρῳ πινυτῆ
 10 ἀνεψιῷ νέῳ ἔρνι.



The beautiful tomb holds three who were most dear to all mortals, Asterios, the prudent and noble priest of God, with two other glorious men, Saturninus his brother and Petros his prudent cousin, the new shoot.

Karakaya is a small village at the eastern edge of the Konya plain, at the foot of the Boz Dağ between Divanlar and Göçü. This Christian funerary inscription appears to be an attempt at a pair of elegiac couplets. The name Asterios seems to have been particularly popular among Christians: cf. *MAMA* I 200, 240 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), *MAMA* VII 109b (Lageina),

TAM V 1, 643 (Daldis), *I Aph*2007 1.19. For the term *πινυτός* (lines 4-5) as used of priests, cf. *I.Konya* 206 (Yağlıbayat: Savatra), *ἱερεὺς... πιστὸς κὲ πινυτός*, and see also 207 above (Çeşmelisebil). For the term *σεμνός* (rare for men), cf. 284 above (Zengicek/Koçyaka); 307 below (Koçaş). For the phrase *νέου ἔρνος* (line 10), see the commentary to 361 below (Kana).

304. Zivecik

Verse funerary inscription of Arestides.

White limestone *stèle* with steep pediment. Above the inscription, incised cross. Found at Zivecik (Ortakonak), in a yard.

Ht. 0.80; W. 0.29 (upper moulding), 0.25 (shaft), 0.35 (base); Th. 0.16; letters 0.020-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on line-drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/51).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

(on upper moulding)

[[- - - -]HP]

(on shaft)

†

ἄξιός
ἔσθ' ὁ θα-
νὼν ἀ-
γαθῆς

5 μνήμης
Ἄρεστί-
δης γηρα-
λέος.

The deceased, Arestides the aged, is worthy of good memory.

The inscription forms a fairly accurate hexameter, with the extra-metrical epithet *γηραλέος* added at the end; compare e.g. *RECAM* II 211 (Malos: Ἀγλαόμυρις μάρτυρος ἀθλοφορῆος ὄλον



κοσμήσατο νηόν), a single hexameter with an extra-metrical personal name at the beginning. The *stèle* appears to have been reused; an earlier inscription has been very thoroughly erased, with only two letters, *eta* and *rho*, visible at the right-hand end of the upper moulding. The name Ἄρεστίδης (lines 6-7) is presumably a patronymic formation from the rare name Ἄρεστος; both names are attested elsewhere in this region (Ἄρεστίδης: Sterrett 1888a: 198-9, no. 208, Ikonion; Ἄρεστος: Swoboda, Keil and Knoll 1935: 19, no. 20a, Fassillar, eastern Pisidia).

305. Between Göçü and Sakyatan

Funerary stele of Zeudas.

Grey limestone *stèle* with pediment and recessed panel; broken above. Found between Göçü and Sakyatan, at a well.

Ht. 1.05+ (panel 0.48); W. 0.59 (shaft), 0.72 (base) (panel 0.34); Th. --; letters 0.030-0.040.

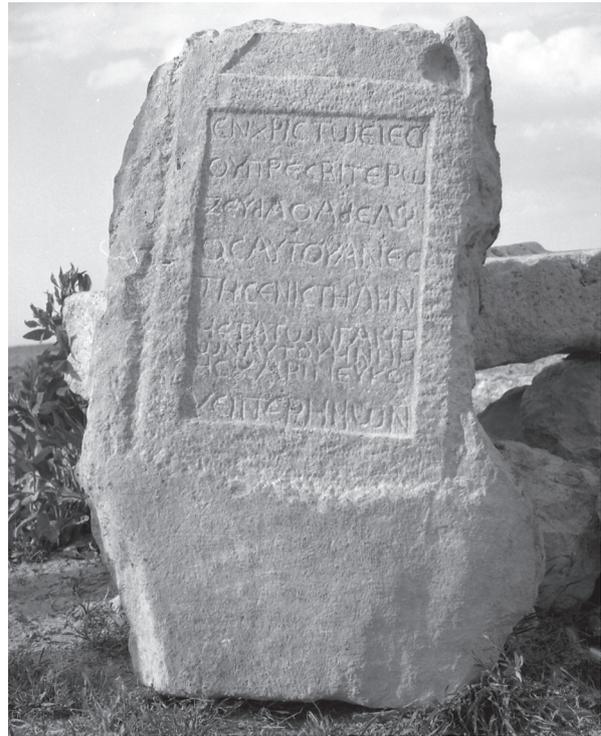
Unpublished. Edition based on line-drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/42).

Fourth or fifth century AD.

ἐν Χριστῷ Εἰσι-
 οῦν πρεσβιτέρω
 Ζευδᾶ ὁ ἀδελ-
 φὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέσ-
 5 τησεν ἰσθήλην
 μετὰ τῶν γαμρ-
 ῶν αὐτοῦ μνήμ-
 ης χάριν. εὐκο-
 υ εἰπὲρ ἡμῶν.

In Christ Jesus. His brother set up this stele for the presbyter Zeudas, along with his relatives, in memoriam. Pray for us.

The mason originally omitted line 7, and had subsequently to insert it in smaller letters between lines 6 and 8. For the phrase ‘in Christ Jesus’ (lines 1-2), cf. *I.Konya* 202 (Ikonion), ἐνθάδε κῆμε ἐν Χρ(ιστ)ῷ Ἰ(η)σ(ο)ῦ. For the spelling πρεσβιτέρω (line 2), see Laminger-Pascher 1973: 18, and cf. 243 above. The indigenous name Zeudas (line 3) seems otherwise to be entirely restricted to Isauria (Isaura Palaia, Astra, and the villages south of lake Trogitis: see Zgusta 1964: 178-9 §385); this appears to be the only attestation of the name from Lykaonia. (I have accented the



name according to the recommendations of Masson, *OGS* I, 16 n.18.) For the prothetic *i*- of ἰσθήλην (line 5), see Brixhe 1987: 115-6 and the orthographic index below. For the omission of *beta* in γαμβρός (lines 6-7), cf. Swoboda, Keil and Knoll 1935: 89, no. 242 (Isaura Palaia); *MAMA* IV 96 (Synnada); Ramsay 1887: 493 (Trokonada); *SEG* 40, 1230 (Upper Tembris valley); for discussion and bibliography, Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1962. For the characteristically Phrygian variation *χ/κ* (εὐκου, lines 8-9), Brixhe 1987: 110-11 and the orthographic index below. For the request to ‘pray for us’, cf. *TAM* V 2, 1302 (Hierokaisareia), εὐχεστέ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; *MAMA* I 258 (Laodikeia Katakekaumene); *MAMA* IX 557 (Aizanoi).

XX. PERTA

306. Küçük Boruk

Honorific statue-base for Flavius Archelaos.

Octagonal column of bluish marble, with dowel hole on upper surface for attachment of a moulded coping or capital. On the face to the right of the inscribed face, incised cross. Found at Küçük Boruk (Yenikuyu, territory of Perta), in a street.

Ht. 1.34; W. 0.56; Th. 0.58; letters 0.030-0.035.

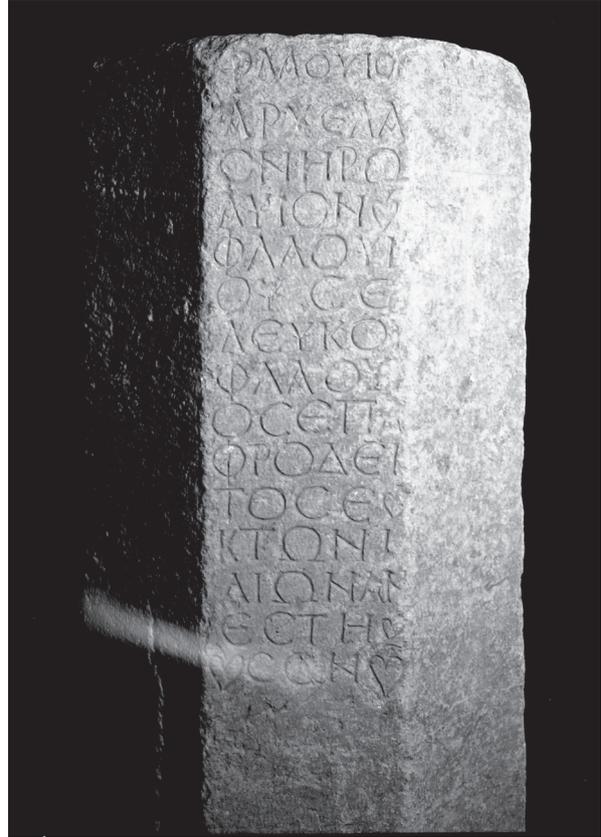
MAMA VIII 264. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/159).

c. AD 150-250.

Φλάουϊου
Ἀρχέλα-
ου ἥρω-
α υἱὸν ✠
5 Φλαουί-
ου Σε-
λεύκου
Φλάουϊ-
ος Ἐπα-
10 φρόδει-
τος ἐ- ✠
κ τῶν ἰ-
δίωv ἀν-
έστη- ✠
15 ✠ σευ. ✠

Flavius Eraphrodeitos set up from his own resources (this statue of) Flavius Archelaos, deceased, the son of Flavius Seleukos.

This inscription was published in MAMA VIII 264 with the provenance Giymir. By the time that Ballance saw it in 1956, it had migrated some 8km north to Yenikuyu.



For the physical form and dimensions of this monument, see the commentary to 307 below. If I have correctly dated these two bases to the late second or early third century AD (on the parallel of two similar monuments from Synnada), we should have to assume that the incised cross on our monument was a later addition.

For the name Σέλευκος at Perta, see the commentary to 309 below.

307. Κοçaş

Honorific statue-base for Sosandros.

Octagonal column. Found at Κοçaş (territory of Perta); findspot not recorded.

Dimensions not recorded by MB; *MAMA* VIII gives Ht. 1.39; W. 0.55; Th. 0.55; letters 0.025-0.030.

MAMA VIII 263. Edition based on photograph (1956/159a).

c. AD 150-250.

- [Σ]ώσαν-
δρον Ἰόλ-
λα ἥρωα
σεμνόν
5 καὶ φιλό-
λογον
πατρὸς
ἀγαθοῦ
καὶ πολλὰ
10 λειτουρ-
γήσαν-
τος τῆ πα-
τρίδι ☩
Περτηνῶν
15 ἡ βουλῆ
καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

Lines 2-3: Ἰόλ|α *MAMA* VIII. Line 9: πολλ[ὰ] *MAMA* VIII.

The council and the people of the Pertenoι (honoured) Sosandros son of Iollas, deceased, noble and learned, son of a good father who performed many liturgies for his homeland.

This monument was published in *MAMA* VIII, with two minor errors of transcription, without facsimile or photograph (noted, and regretted, by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 48). In 1956, Ballance photographed the stone in the village of Κοçaş, on the basis of which I republish it here. As comparison of the photographs will show, the physical form and dimensions of this monument are effectively identical to those of 306 above (Küçük Boruk [Yenikuyu]), and it



seems reasonable to assume that the two texts are precisely contemporary. Both columns presumably served as the bases for posthumous honorific statues, one public, the other private. For the form of both monuments, compare *MAMA* IV 52 and 63 (two hexagonal columnar statue-bases from Synnada, dating to the late second and early third century AD respectively); Lane 1971-8: I 102-5, nos. 164-7 (four hexagonal columnar statue-bases from Antiocheia by Pisidia); Drew-Bear 1978: 94-5, no. 31 (*SEG* 28, 1145: octagonal funerary pillar from Eumeneia). For the term *σεμνός* as applied to men, compare 284 above (Zengicek/Koçyaka), with commentary; 303 above (Karakaya). Lykaonian φιλόλογοι are discussed by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 45-54; cf. *BE* 1974, 573; Weiss 1990; Ma 2007: 106-7. This monument is one of only three epigraphical texts to provide us with the ethnic of Perta, the others being the twin texts *MAMA* VIII 270 (Obruk) and 310 below (Κοçaş). The ethnic here is Περτηνός; in the sixth-century texts *MAMA* VIII 270 and 310 it is Περτεός. For the ethnic variation -εύς/-ηνός, cf. Habicht 1975: 76 (Βλαυδεύς/Βλαυδηνός); *TAM* V 3, 1871, commentary (Φιλαδελφεύς/Φιλαδεληνός); Fraser 2009: 191-200.

308. Burunkuyu

Statue-base of emperor Trajan.

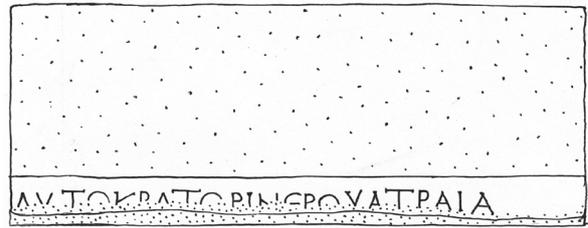
Block of greyish-white marble, apparently the upper part of a large moulded base, later reused as part of an arch. Cut off above, below, left and right. Found at Burunkuyu (territory of Perta), by a well.

Ht. 0.32+; W. 0.83+; Th. 0.73; letters 0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/184).

AD 98-117.

Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρουα Τραια-
[νῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ - - - -]



To emperor Nerva Traia[nus Caesar Augustus...]

The monument was presumably an honorific base bearing a statue of the emperor Trajan.

309. Hacınuman

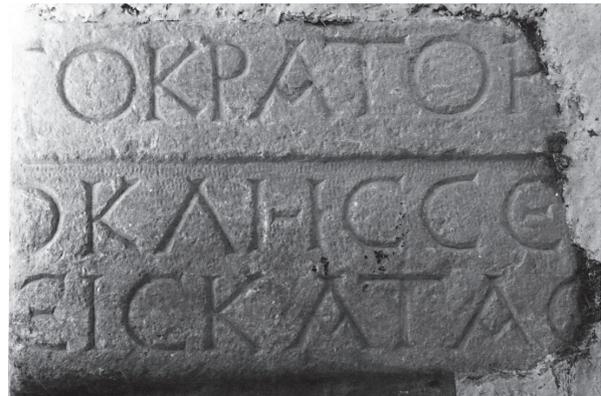
Building inscription of temple of the imperial cult.

Fragment of white marble architrave with projecting upper fascia; broken right, left and above. Found at Hacınuman (territory of Perta), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.35+; W. 0.53+; Th. 0.35; letters 0.070-0.075.

Mitchell 1993: I 96, n.178; [SEG 43, 992]. Edition (a below) based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/169).

AD 117-138.



a *b* *c*
[ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐ]τοκράτο[ρος Καίσαρ]ος Τραια[νοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ αἰ[ωνίου διαμονῆς]
[- - - - - (?) Διοκλῆς Σε[- - - - -] ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ πρόβουλος [- - - - -]
[- - - - -] εἰς κατασ[κευὴν] τοῦ τε ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (?)]

[For the] et[ernal well-being] of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus..., ...okles Se..., priest of Zeus and proboulos... for the construction of the t[emple and ?the statue of Augustus.]

As noted by Mitchell (Mitchell 1993: I 96, n.178), two other fragments (*b* and *c*) of this architrave are known. Fragment *c* was copied at Asarcık/Giymir by Sarre 1896: 32, no. 12, and subsequently by Ramsay (Callander and Ramsay 1909: 7-8). Ballance saw fragment *c* in the cemetery at Giymir in 1956, but took no photograph or squeeze. Fragment *b* was copied at Obruk Han by Zimmerer (Oberhummer and Zimmerer 1899: 303-10, no. 16 [*non uidi*]) and subsequently

by Calder (*MAMA* VIII 259, with Pl. 14); it was still visible in March 2011 (see photo on the next page). Fragments *b* and *c* were first connected by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 62-4; the three fragments were published together by Mitchell, as above.

The absence of Σεβαστοῦ after Ἀδριανοῦ is surprising, but it is hard to see how else to restore the first line of the inscription. The name Διοκλῆς (line 2) is attested on a handful of occasions in Lykaonia (Laming-Pascher 1992: 71, no. 67

[Arikören]; *MAMA* I 189 [Kadınhanı]), but we might prefer to restore the name [Πατρ]-οκλής, which is known to have been held by two high-status individuals in this region (*SEG* 6, 392, an Ikonian *bouleutes*; Calder 1911: 213-4, no. 67, a slave-owner near Laodikeia). For the patronym which follows, the name Σε[λεύκου] would fit the lacuna, and was common at Perta and neighbouring cities: cf. 306 above (Giymir, later Yenikuyu); 322 and 323 below (Giymir); 353 (Akörenkişla); 368 (Dayıkuyusu); the addressee of Amphilochios' *Iambi ad Seleucum* was presumably a native of Ikonion. For other cults of Zeus on the territory of Perta, cf. 312 (Zeus Akouseos); 313 (Zeus Megistos); 368 (Zeus Stratios Megistos); Anderson 1899: 281, no. 165 (Zeus Zemroutenos). The votive *bomos* *MAMA* I 4 (Laminger-Pascher 1984: 107-10, no. 170: Zıvarık) appears to be a dedication to Zeus, but the text is very uncertain.



On the office of *πρόβουλος*, see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 63-4.

The building constructed by ...okles Se... was almost certainly a civic temple of the imperial cult; cf. *MAMA* VIII 211 (temple of the imperial cult at Kana under Trajan: for the date, Mitchell 1993: I 97 n.185); 345 below (imperial cult at Savatra).

310. Κοçaş

Imperial grant, perhaps of fiscal immunity.

Greyish marble column with remains of a moulding at the top, buried below. Found at Κοçaş (territory of Perta), in the steps of a house.

Ht. 1.00+; Diameter 0.48; letters 0.045-0.055.

Callander and Ramsay 1909. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1956/162).

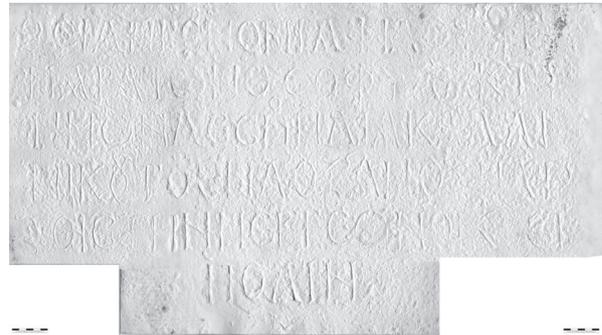
Sixth or seventh century AD.

†

θεία προνομία φιλοτ[ι]μ(ηθέντα)
παρὰ τῶν θεοφυλάκτων)
ἡμῶν δεσππο(τῶν) διὰ Καλλι-
νίκου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων)
5 τοῖς τὴν Περτέων οἰκοῦσι
πόλιν.
†

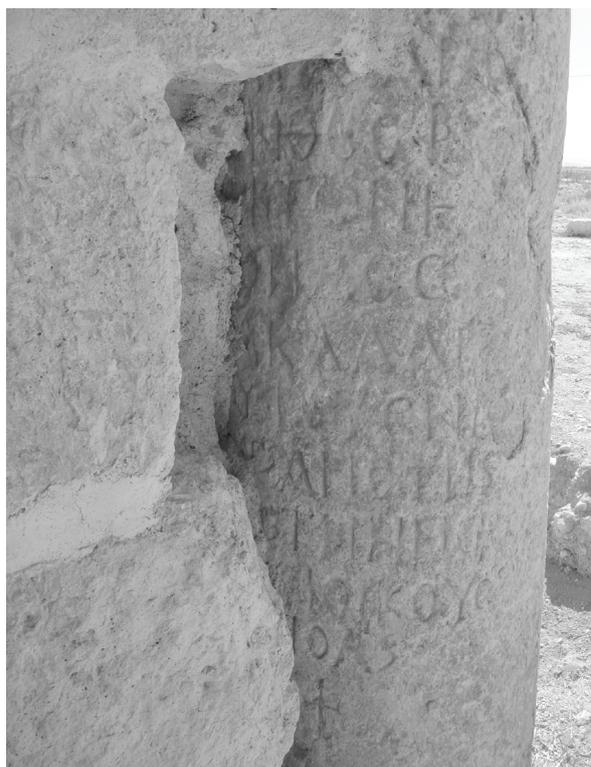
Line 1: *θεία προνομία* Callander and Ramsay.

The divine privileges granted by our Lords, defended by God, through the offices of Kallinikos, the most splendid (gloriosissimus) honorary consul, to those inhabiting the city of the Perteis.



An identical second copy of this text was seen by Ramsay at Obruk Han (Callander and Ramsay 1909: 8) and subsequently published as *MAMA* VIII 270. As noted by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 61-2, the Obruk copy had already been copied by Zimmerer in 1897 and published by Th. Preger in 1899 (Oberhammer and Zimmerer 1899: 303-10, no. 11 [*non uidi*]). The physical form and dimensions of the Obruk stone are identical to those of the Κοçaş monument (round column with plain moulding above; Ht. 1.80+; diameter 0.47; letters 0.050-0.060); two photographs of the Obruk monument were published by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, Planche XXII, nos. 4-5; it was still visible in March 2011 (see photo, next page).

It is not at all clear what the 'divine (i.e. imperial) privileges' granted to the city of Perta might have been. The existence of two near-identical copies of the text inscribed on columns strongly implies that the stones themselves were intended to mark the spatial limits of the privileges concerned. The terminology of the grant (*φιλοτιμηθέντα παρὰ τῶν... δεσπότηων*) is very similar to that employed in sixth-century imperial grants of asylum to churches in the eastern Roman provinces: cf. e.g. SEG 40, 1171, from Pontic Komana (BE 1992, 619: AD 582-90): ὄροι ἀσυλίας τοῦ εὐαγοῦς μοναστηρίου... φιλοτιμηθέντες παρὰ τῶν εὐσεββ(εστάτων) βασιλέων ἡμῶν Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου καὶ Κωνσταντίνης. For other such asylum-*horoi*, cf. RECAM II 207-8 (Çiftlik, N. Galatia: Justinian I); Justinianic asylum-*horoi* from Pontos, Galatia and Syria are collected by Amelotti and Zingale 1985: 132-5. The phrase τὰ φιλοτιμηθέντα is also regularly used in the sixth and seventh century for cash grants (Sodini 1998: 624-5, no.1: finance for an aqueduct at Cypriot Salamis, AD 609-10: [ἐγένε]ντο σὺν θε(ε)ῶ κ(αὶ) αὐταὶ ἐ εἰπτὰ ἀψίδες ἐκ τῶν φιλοτιμηθέντων παρὰ Φλ. Ἡρακλίου) and other fiscal concessions (IG X 2, 1, 24: Thessalonike, AD 688: θεία δωρεὰ φιλοτιμηθεῖσα τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ πανευδόξῳ μάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης δεσπότηου Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ... τῆς ἀλικῆς τῆς θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης). The *horos* marker from Komana (SEG 40, 1171) is very similar in form to the two stones from Perta (cylindrical column with upper moulding, Ht. 1.00, diameter 0.38, letters 0.030-0.050), perhaps suggesting that the two Perta inscriptions were intended to serve a similar function. It is conceivable that the stones are marking the grant (or rather, the restoration) of city-status to Perta; the term *προνόμια* is in fact used precisely of the possession of a civic constitution in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19: ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς... τὰ τε τῆς πόλεως [Syrian Antioch] ἀφείλετο προνόμια καὶ τῇ γειτνευούσῃ πόλει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν δέδωκε (AD 387). In this case the stones would be marking the territorial limits of



the city's *ἐνορία*, within which the city possessed fiscal *αὐτοπραγία*. However, the wording of the inscription clearly implies that Perta was already a *πόλις* at the point when it was granted its *προνόμια*. It is perhaps more likely that Perta has been granted complete tax-exemption on at least a part of its territory (as granted in AD 533 by Justinian to the city of Didyma/Justinianopolis: Feissel 2004, esp. 316-7); the two stones would in that case be marking the limits of the territory exempt from taxation. All of this is, however, highly speculative.

On the ethnic Περτεύς in line 5, see the commentary to 307 above, in which the city's ethnic is given as Περτηνός. The honorary consul Kallinikos (PLRE IIIA 265, Callinicus 11) cannot be securely identified with any other bearer of that name. In an addendum to Callander and Ramsay 1909 (CR 23, 1909, 82), Ramsay suggested (following Dessau) that he might be identical to the Kallinikos who was *praeses* of Cilicia Secunda under Justinian I (PLRE IIIA 260, Callinicus 1), but there are no positive arguments to support this.

311. Harman Çukuru

Votive *bomos* of Papianos to Zeus Stratios Megistos.

Coarse greyish-white marble *bomos*. Found at Harman Çukuru (territory of Perta), on the steps of a house.
Ht. 0.80; W. 0.33 (upper moulding), 0.26 (shaft), 0.33 (base); Th. 0.32 (upper moulding), 0.27 (shaft), 0.34 (base); letters 0.018-0.035.

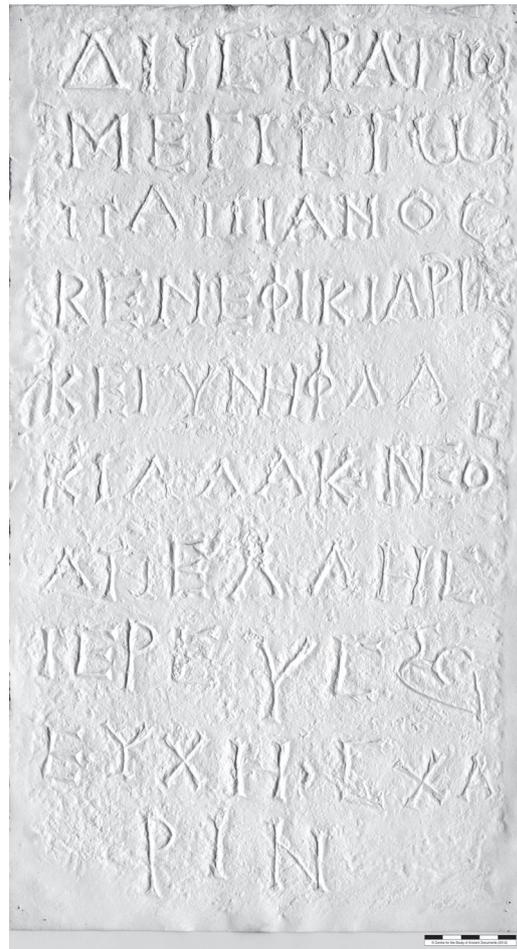
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing;
MB notebook copy (1956/186).

Roman imperial period.

Διὶ Στρατίῳ
Μεγίστῳ
Παπιανὸς
βενεφικιάρης
5 κὲ γυνὴ Φλα-
κίλλα κὲ νέος
Ἄπελλῆς
ἱερεὺς ☽
εὐχῆς χά-
10 ριν.

To Zeus Stratios Megistos, Papianos, beneficiarius, and his wife Flaccilla and the young Apelles, priest, for the sake of a vow.

Harman Çukuru is situated around 1.5km north of Obruk Han. Ballance notes that the inscription was 'said to come from Ballık Ören, above Köpekler' (İpekler). Papianos is described in line 4 as a *beneficiarius*; the fact that the *bomos* is dedicated to what appears to be a military deity (Zeus Stratios Megistos) may imply that he was still in post at the time this inscription was set up. Presumably Papianos was a *beneficiarius* of the governor of Galatia, based at a *statio* on the west-east highway between Perta and Salaberina (the 'North Lykaonian road': Ballance 1958). However, it is striking that the only other *beneficiarius* attested in Lykaonia (Schallmayer 1990: 532, no. 688; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 153, no. 219: Kümse, near Lystra) seems to have been attached not to the governor of Galatia, but to the *legio XV Apollinaris*, stationed far to the east



at Satala in Kappadokia. For *beneficarii* manning *stationes* in the Asiatic provinces, see Nelis-Clément 2000: 190-2; Brélaz 2005: 254-70; cf. also Mitchell 1993: I 122.

The name Παπιᾶς and its patronymic form Παπιανός are widely distributed across inland Asia Minor (Robert 1963: 513-4; Zgusta 1964: 409-14 §1199; in Lykaonia, e.g. Laminger-Pascher 1992: 191, no. 307 [Alkaran]), and it is hard to say whether the dedicator was of local origin. The fact that Papianos' family lived with him at Perta need not necessarily mean that they were natives of the region: cf. TAM II 3, 1165 (Schallmayer 1990: 526-7, no. 681), the tombstone of an Isaurian *beneficiarius* at Olympos in Lykia (βενεφικιάρῳ ἔχοντι στατιῶναν Ὀλύμπῳ), set up by his wife, a native of Syedra (Robert, *Hellenica* X, 172-7). Even when not of local origin, isolated *beneficarii*

evidently became well-embedded in their local communities: in *IGR* III 1443 (Schallmayer 1990: 535, no. 692: Kirşehir/Aquae Arauena) we find the *beneficiarius* Phamainos acting as *θεραπευθίς* of a local cult of Asklepios and Hygeia (Nelis-Clément 2000: 191, 310).

The existence of small sanctuaries attached to *stationes* is well-attested; across the Roman empire, the overwhelming majority of votive monuments set up by *beneficarii* are dedicated to the chief deity of the Roman army, Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Nelis-Clément 2000: 193-202;

32-3). Zeus Stratios Megistos, however, does not seem to be attested elsewhere. The cult-epithet *Στράτιος* had been applied to Zeus in several different parts of western and northern Anatolia since at least the fifth century BC, with major sanctuaries at Labraunda in Karia and Pontic Amaseia (Gebhard, *RE* IV A, cols. 256-62, s.v. Stratios; also in Lydia, *TAM* V 1, 681); it is conceivable that Papianos was a native of Karia or Pontos. For other cults of Zeus in this region, see the commentary to 313 below (Mernek).

312. Burunkuyu

Votive *bomos* dedicated by Papias to Zeus Akouseos.

Grey-white marble *bomos*, damaged above. Found at Burunkuyu (territory of Perta), on the steps of a house. Ht. 0.41+; W. 0.24+ (upper moulding), 0.23 (shaft), 0.25 (base); Th. 0.22 (upper moulding), 0.20 (shaft), 0.22 (base); letters 0.020-0.028.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/182).

Roman imperial period.

Παπίας
Μιθραδάτου
Διὶ Ἀκουσέω
εὐχῆν. ♀

Papias, son of Mithradates, to Zeus Akouseos, in fulfillment of a vow.

For other cults of Zeus at Perta, see the commentary to 309 above. The cult of Zeus Akouseos seems not to be attested elsewhere. The epithet Ἀκουσέος may be equivalent to ἐπήκοος, 'Zeus who listens' (cf. the commentary to 365 below). For the name Mithradates at Perta, cf.



perhaps 285 above (Zengicek [Koçyaka]); the name is twice attested at Meydanköy, in the steppe east of Laodikeia Katakekaumene (*MAMA* I 114; Anderson 1899: 289, no. 191).

313. Mernek

Votive statuette dedicated by Arruntius Menodoros to Zeus Megistos.

Lower part of a white marble statuette on a shallow base. At left, knotted club resting on *bucranium*; at right, lower part of right leg. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), in a house-wall.

Ht. 0.33+ (base 0.10); W. 0.25; Th. --; letters 0.015-0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/142).

Roman imperial period.

Διὶ Μεγίστῳ
Ἀρούντιος
Μηνόδωρος
ἀνέθηκεν.

Arruntius Menodoros dedicated (this) to Zeus Megistos.

The club makes it clear that the statuette dedicated by Menodoros to Zeus Megistos in fact depicted Herakles. Cf. the inscription on the base of an unpublished statuette of Herakles in the Afyon archaeological museum (from Çavdarlı): Ἄρτᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου... τὸν Ἡρακλέα σὺν τῷ βωμῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέθηκεν καὶ καθιέρωσε.

The best attested family of Arruntii in this region is that of C. Arruntius Valens at Ikonion. Valens, whose *floruit* should be dated to the mid-second century AD, is attested in two Latin inscriptions in honour of his wife Claudia Eupatra Herois (Wiegand 1905: 324-5, no.1, with *CIL* III 14399b). Later Greek inscriptions from Ikonion provide the name of his son, L. Arruntius Longus (Cronin 1902: 122, no. 51; *IGR* III 1478), and his daughter, Arruntia Valentilla, who married into a family of Sertorii from Laodikeia on the Lykos (*I.Konya* 75, with Robert 1969: 360). The second-century equestrian officer M. Arruntius M.f. Serg. Frugi of Ikonion (*ILS* 9013; Pflaum 1960-1: I 373-5, no. 157) was presumably also a close relative of this family. Likely descendents of the family include Fl. Arruntius Rhetorius and Arruntius Olympios at Ikonion (*I.Konya* 201); Arruntius



Diomedes, also at Ikonion (*I.Konya* 94); Arruntius Philostorgos at İsmil, in the far south-east of the territory of Ikonion (Laming-Pascher 1984: 87, no. 147, with Drew-Bear 1987: 606 n.8, 607 n.4; cf. the commentary to 299 above). On Arruntii in Asia Minor, see also the commentary to 32 above (Eumeneia).

The cult of Zeus Megistos is attested at Ikonion in Sterrett 1888a: 209, no. 227 (*Konya: SEG* 6, 412); Sterrett 1888a: 210, no. 228 (*Konya: IGR* III 261); *I.Konya* 18 (Sizma: in lines 1-2, read Ἀππα[ς Μ]εῖρου). It is possible that the Zeus depicted on the early imperial coinage of Ikonion should be identified with Zeus Megistos (Aulock 1976: 75-7, nos. 190-8, 204-44). A cult of Zeus Megistos is also known at Lageina (modern Iğın: Thonemann 2008: 43 n.3): see *MAMA* VII 1 (Meydanlı), 107 (Iğın), 130 (near Mahmuthisar), 135 (Eldes); *I.Sultan Dağı* 377 (Çavuşçu); Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1970-3. A native of Lageina set up a dedication to Zeus Megistos at Pillitokome (İnsuyu), west of Lake Tatta (Anderson 1899: 129, no. 148); other dedications to the deity are known from the region of Pillitokome (Anderson 1899: 132-3, nos. 160-1; *MAMA* I 373; *MAMA* VII 432, 521). A civic cult of Zeus is attested at Perta in 309 above (cf. Zeus Akouseos in 312 above), but it is not certain (pace Mitchell 1993: II 23 n.93) that

this was a cult of Zeus Megistos. For a dedication to Zeus Stratios Megistos from the territory of Perta, see 311 above (Harman Çukuru).

Given that both the gentilician Arruntius and the cult of Zeus Megistos have strong associations with Ikonion, it is tempting to wonder whether

this dedication has been carried across the Boz Dağ from the plain of Konya, and ought hence to be associated with Ikonion rather than Perta.

For a cult of Zeus Megistos at Canimana in south-western Galatia, north-west of Lake Tatta, see 248 and 249 above.

314. Giymir

Votive *bomos* dedicated by Papias to Apollo.

Rough marble *bomos*, with a depression in the upper surface resembling a patera. Found at Giymir (Perta), in a house.

Ht. 0.32+; W. 0.18 (upper moulding), 0.16 (shaft); Th. 0.13 (upper moulding), 0.16 (lower moulding); letters 0.015-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/175).

Roman imperial period.

Ἀπόλλω-
νει θεῶ
ἐπηκόω
Παπίας Ν[ι]-
5 κάνδρου
ν. εὐχῆν.

To Apollo, the god who listens, Papias son of Nikandros (dedicated this), in fulfillment of a vow.



For other dedications to Apollo ἐπήκοος in this region, see the commentary to 365 below (Komitanassos).

315. İpekler

Votive *bomos* to Augusti.

Grey marble *bomos* with upper and lower mouldings; on the shaft, *bucrania* at each of the four corners, with garlands suspended between them; at the centre of each garland, a six-pointed rosette in a circle. Inscription on the upper moulding. Found at İpekler (formerly Köpekler, territory of Perta), in a yard.

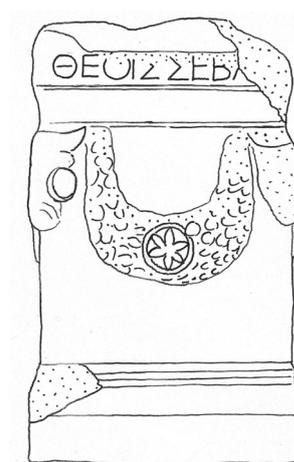
Ht. 0.77; W. 0.46 (upper moulding), 0.43 (shaft), 0.47 (base); Th. 0.48 (upper moulding), 0.46 (shaft), 0.52 (base); letters 0.040.

MAMA VIII 262. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/181).

Roman imperial period.

Θεοῖς Σεβ[α]σ[τ]οῖς

To the divine Augusti.



There is only space for one more letter at the right-hand end of the front moulding; presumably the inscription continued round onto the right face of the altar.

316. Burunkuyu

Votive *bomos* dedicated by Iason to the Highest God.

Very rough marble *bomos*. Found at Burunkuyu (territory of Perta), on the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.38; W. 0.17 (upper moulding), 0.15 (shaft), 0.17 (base); Th. 0.14 (upper moulding), 0.12 (shaft), 0.16 (base); letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/185).

Third or fourth century AD.

Θεῶ
 Ὑψίσ-
 τῶ
 εὐχῆ
 5 Ἰάσω-
 ν
 ὑπὲ[ρ]
 ὑγ[εί]-
 [ας (?)].

To the highest god, in fulfillment of a vow, Iason, for his h[ea]lth (?)

The lettering is extremely crude, and the restoration in lines 7-8 is not certain. For the cult of Theos Hypsistos in Lykaonia, cf. *I.Konya* 38; *I.Konya* 39; *SEG* 43, 989; Metcalfe 2009: 78, no.2 (all Konya). Attestations of the cult are collected



by Mitchell 1999a and Mitchell 2010; cf. also 31 above (Eumeneia). For the nominative εὐχῆ (relatively rare), see *BE* 1973, 297; Drew-Bear 1976: 253.

317. Bayramdügün

Prayer of Geminus.

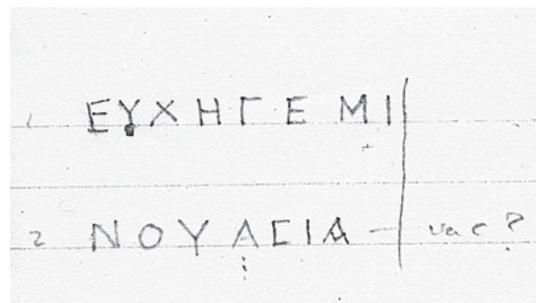
Rough column cut from a re-used limestone architrave. Found at Bayramdügün (territory of Perta), in the steps of a house.

Not recorded.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1956/189).

Probably fifth or sixth century AD.

εὐχῆ Γεμί-
 νου Ἀσια-



Prayer of Geminus, son of Asia[- -] (or "native of Asia")

The four letters ΑΣΙΑ at the end of line 2 could be the beginning of a patronym, e.g. Ἀσια[τικοῦ]; the name was common in this region, cf. 292 above (Maydos). Alternatively, we could be dealing with the regional ethnic Ἀσια[νοῦ], ‘native of the Roman province/dioecesis of Asia’. This regional ethnic is not common in epigraphy; the clearest example comes in a funerary inscription of the fifth or sixth century from Odessos (Beševliev 1964: 66-7, no. 96): Ὁξυχόλιος ναύκληρος Ἀσιανὸς Πηλαειῆτης, i.e. a native of the island of Pele in the gulf of Smyrna, in the Asianic dioecesis. The fifth-century biographer of Alexander the Akoimetos describes him as γένει Ἀσιανός...

τῶν νήσων οἰκήτωρ, i.e. a native of the *dioecesis Asiana, provincia Insularum* (de Stoop 1911: ch.5, p. 660; Laniado 2002: 147); the sixth-century biographer Cyril of Skythopolis describes two individuals in a similar manner (Schwartz 1939: 28.15 [Vita Euthymii], Ἀσιανὸς μὲν τῷ γένει, Αὐξέντιος δὲ τῇ κλήσει; 134.9 [Vita Sabae], τῷ μὲν γένει Ἀσιανὸς, τῇ δὲ προσηγορία Ἀφροδίσιος).

For other epigraphical instances, cf. perhaps SEG 55, 1394: Σεκουδίων Ἀσιανὸς τεχνίτης; French 2007: 100 compares Ἀχιλλεὺς ἰατρὸς Ἀσιανός in an unpublished inscription from Kızılcıhamam near Ankara.

318. Hacinumán

Sarcophagus of Ba and parents.

Greyish-white marble sarcophagus; inscription in *tabula ansata* (Ht. 0.28; W. 0.81). Above, incised vase. Found at Hacinumán (territory of Perta), built into a well.

Ht. 0.78; W. 2.10; Th. 1.10; letters 0.027-0.030.

MAMA VIII 266. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/167).

Roman imperial period.

Βα ἡ καὶ Μίκα Παπα εἰαυτῇ τὸν
 [λάρνακα] μετὰ τῶν γο-
 νέων.

Ba, also known as Mikka, daughter of Papas, (set up) the sarcophagus for herself, along with her parents.

Ba is an indigenous name characteristic of Lykaonia and Phrygia Paroreios (Zgusta 1964: 112 §131-1). The name Μίκα, although left unaccented by the editors of MAMA VIII, is a relatively common Greek name meaning ‘small’ (267 above: Laodikeia); Robert 1963: 56-7; Zgusta 1964: 315 §916; Drew-Bear 1978: 108-9; BE 2009, 494). On the term *λάρναξ*, see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 239-45. The erasure here is hard to explain. This sarcophagus was published in MAMA VIII with the provenance Giymir. ‘The villagers



reported that this sarcophagus, complete with plain lid, had been excavated two years earlier, and contained a female skeleton with bracelet and bronze cross. The cross would suggest, without proving, Christianity; but doubt is cast on the report by two holes in the base, suggesting that the sarcophagus has been reused for some practical purpose’ (MAMA VIII 266). The vase incised above the *tabula ansata* could be taken to support the notion that Ba was Christian, if it is intended to depict a chalice: cf. 179 above (Synnada).

319. Küçük Boruk

Funerary stele for Ge, with curse-formula.

Limestone *stèle* with triangular pediment and pilasters to left and right; left side and mouldings cut away. In the pediment (left to right): spindle, distaff, standing female figure and unidentifiable object in relief. On the shaft below the inscription, wreath with two vine-leaves growing from the top, in relief; below this, two incised crescents. Found at Küçük Boruk (Yenikuyu, territory of Perta), lying loose on the east side of the settlement.

Ht. 1.83; W. 0.47; Th. 0.28; letters 0.028-0.038.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/160).

Roman imperial period.

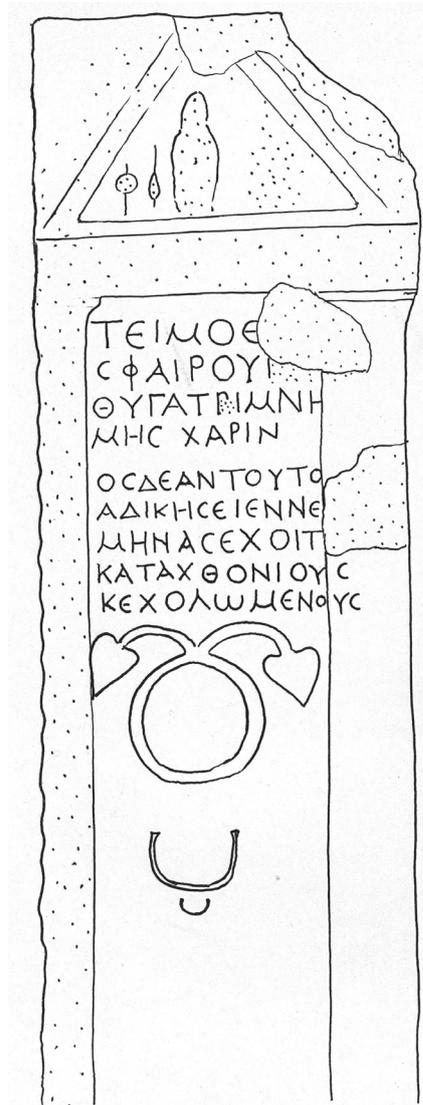
Τειμόθ[εος]
Σφαίρου Γ[η (?)]
θυγατρί μνή-
μης χάριν ν.
vac.

5 ὃς δὲ ἂν τοῦτο
ἀδικήσῃ, ἐννέ[α]
Μήνας ἔχοιτ[ο]
καταχθονίους
κεχολωμένους.

Teimoth[eos] son of Sphairos for his daughter Ge (?), in memoriam. Whoever wrongs this (tomb), may he find the nine Mens of the underworld angered.

At the end of line 2, a vertical stroke is visible after the *upsilon* at the end of Σφαίρου. The stroke is too far to the left to be the *tau* of the definitive article τ[ῆ], and hence I have assumed that Teimothéos' daughter carried the common Lykaonian name Γῆ (Zgusta 1964: 131-2 §202).

The curse in lines 6-9 is very similar to that in 320 below (Gymir: ἔξει Μήνας κα[τ]αχθ[ου]νίου; κ[ε]χολωμέ[ν]ους), and is directly paralleled in a funerary inscription from the neighbouring village of Zengicek/Koçyaka (MAMA VIII 234b; Strubbe 1997: 233, no. 351: ἔ[ξ]ει] κεκολωμέ[ν]ους] Μήνας αἰνέα. The 'nine Mens' are explicitly described as καταχθόνιοι in I.Konya 120 (MAMA



VIII 234, Savatra), [ἐνορκούμεν δὲ τ]ρῖς ἐννέα Μήνας καταχθονίους; cf. I.Konya 125 (MAMA VIII 234a, Savatra), and Laminger-Pascher 1984: 81-2. The curse ἔχοιτο Μήνα κεχολωμένον τὸν καταχθόνιον (with variations) is very frequently attested at Ikonion: see Lane 1971-8: I 92-6, nos. 145-51; a further instance in I.Konya 74 (after line 11, restore [κεχολωμένον]). The two incised crescents on the shaft below the inscription should evidently be understood in relation to the cult of Men: see the commentary to 344 below (Savatra: votive *stèle* dedicated to Men).

320. Giymir

Funerary stele of Agathangelos, with curse formula.

Coarse grey marble funerary *stele*, broken into two parts. Inscription in recessed panel, with incised crescent (?) and vine-leaf below. Upper fragment (a) broken above, cut off at left, broken below; lower fragment (b) broken above, cut off at left. Found at Giymir (Perta), in the wall of a house.

(a) Ht. 0.54+; W. 0.44+; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.032. (b) Ht. 0.70+; W. 0.44+; Th. 0.20; letters 0.028-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (b only) (1956/176).

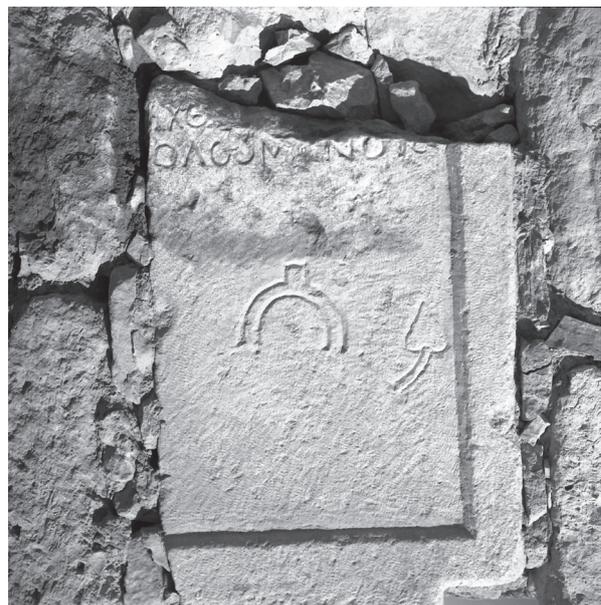
Roman imperial period.

Ἀγαθάνγελως
 Πασικράτους τει-
 μῆς χάριν ἐποί-
 ησεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ
 5 [γ]υναικῶς Λαΐδος
 ♣
 ὃς δὲ ἂν κακὴν
 [χ]εῖρα προσενέν-
 [κ]η, ἕξει Μῆνας κα-
 [τ]αχθ[λο]νίους κε]-
 10 [χ]ολωμένους.

Agathangelos, son of Pasikrates, made this for the sake of honour, both of himself and his wife Laiis. Whoever lays an evil hand on it, he shall find the Mens of the underworld angered.

The mason regularly confused the letters *omicron* and *omega* (lines 1, 2, 4, 5). For the curse-formula in lines 8-10, compare 319 above (Küçük Boruk [Yenikuyu]). For the name Pasikrates at Perta, see the commentary to 323 below.

The funerary formula in lines 1-5 (ὁ δεῖνα τειμῆς χάριν ἐποίησεν τοῦ δεῖνα) is highly unusual. The verb *τιμᾶν* is regularly used in Lydian and Phrygian epitaphs (Robert, *OMS* II, 1344-6), and the formula *τειμῆς χάριν* is occasionally found in southern Lykaonia (Lamingier-Pascher 1992: 37, no. 16; 45-7, nos. 39, 41, 44; 168, no. 254) and in Phrygia (*MAMA* IV 262; *MAMA* X 202).



321. Mernek

Funerary *stèle* for Appe.

Grey marble *stèle*, broken above; inscription in a recessed panel, with guidelines incised above lines 1-3. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), in a house wall.

Ht. 0.92+; W. 0.33; Th. 0.20; letters 0.020-0.030.

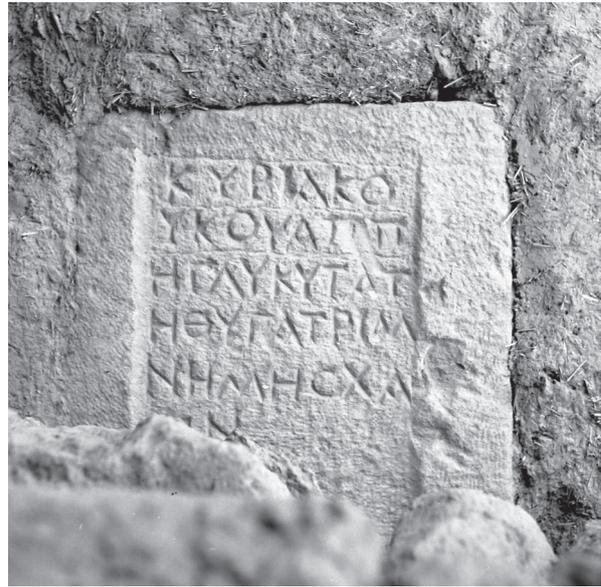
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/144).

Roman imperial period.

ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ-
ΥΚΟΥ Αππ-
η γλυκυτάτ-
η θυγατρί μ-
5 νήμης χά-
ρι.

Kyria..., for Appe, his/her sweetest daughter, in *memoriam*.

It is not clear how best to understand the sequence of letters in lines 1-2. We could assume that the first line of the inscription was inscribed on a lost upper moulding, and understand a genitive patronym *Κυριακοῦ* with accidental repetition of the final syllable (i.e. [ὁ δεινα] *Κυριακοῦ*{κου}). Alternatively, we could interpret the sequence as a female name *Κυρία* (as in e.g. *MAMA* I 272 [Ladik]; *MAMA* VII 119 [Ilgın]; *SEG* 1, 453



[Kadınhanı]), followed by a genitive patronym *Κουκου*. A name **Κουκος* does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but compare the female name *Κουκα* in *MAMA* VII 400 (Sarıkaya: Vetissos?); the female name *Κοκω* (dat.) at Savatra (*MAMA* VIII 254), the male name *Κουκως* in Swoboda, Keil and Knoll 1935: 88, no. 236 (Isaura Palaia), and cf. Zgusta 1970: 77-8. It is possible that this family of names should be connected to the difficult name *Κῶκος* and its derivatives (Robert 1963: 312-5, 320; Zgusta 1964: 262-3 §778, with addenda at pp.689-90; Zgusta 1970: 50).

322. Giymir

Funerary stele of Seleukos and Tata.

Grey marble *stele* with inset panel (Ht. 0.40; W. 0.30). Left side cut away; remainder of face rough-picked, perhaps for re-use as a column-base. Found at Giymir (Perta), in a yard.

Ht. 0.72+; W. 0.43+; Th. 0.23+; letters 0.035-0.045.

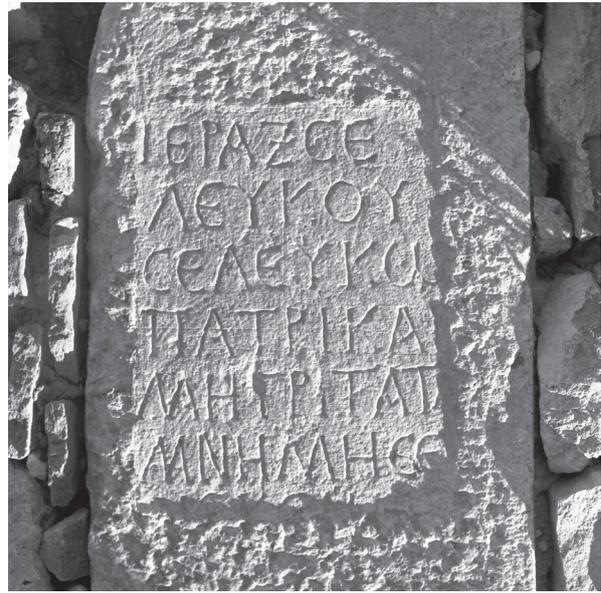
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/172).

Roman imperial period.

5 Ἱέραξ Σε-
λεύκου
Σελεύκῳ
πατρὶ καὶ
μητρὶ Τατᾶ
μνήμης ἕ-
νεκεν.

Hierax, son of Seleukos, for his father Seleukos and his mother Tata, in memoriam.

For the name Seleukos at Perta, see the commentary to 309 above. The name Hierax is



not common in Lykaonia, but is attested at the sanctuary of Apollo at Ortakuyu (French 2007: 82-3, no. 20; cf. 365), at Toriaion (*MAMA* VII 159, near Mahmuthisar) and in a handful of inscriptions from the area around Lystra (*MAMA* VIII 56, 62, 144; Laminger-Pascher 1992: nos. 254, 248, 387).

323. Giymir

Funerary stele of Seleukos and Tata.

Marble *stele* with inscription in inset panel. Broken above and below. Found at Giymir (Perta), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.27+; W. 0.48 (panel 0.30); Th. --; letters 0.025-0.028.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/174).

Roman imperial period.

5 Βαβεις Ποσι-
δωνίου Πασι-
κράτου Σελεύ-
κῳ ὑῶ καὶ Τα-
τᾶ ἐγγόνῃ μνή-
μης χάριν.

Babeis, daughter of Posidonios, grand-daughter of Pasikrates, for her son Seleukos and her granddaughter Tata, in memoriam.



For the female name Βαβεις, see Zgusta 1964: 115-6 §133-15, and cf. 219 above (Yukarı Küçükhasan). The name Pasikrates was common at Perta: see 320 (Giymir); *MAMA* VIII 273-4 (Obruk Han), 275 (Giymir), and cf. 294 above (Tatlıkuyu [Akbaş]: territory of Ikonion). For the name Seleukos at Perta, see the commentary to 309 above.

324. Mernek

Funerary inscription in verse for Balbilla and husband.

Greyish-white marble block, broken above, right and behind. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), in the steps of a house in the lower part of the village.

Ht. 0.27+; W. 1.52+; Th. 0.46+; letters 0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/139).

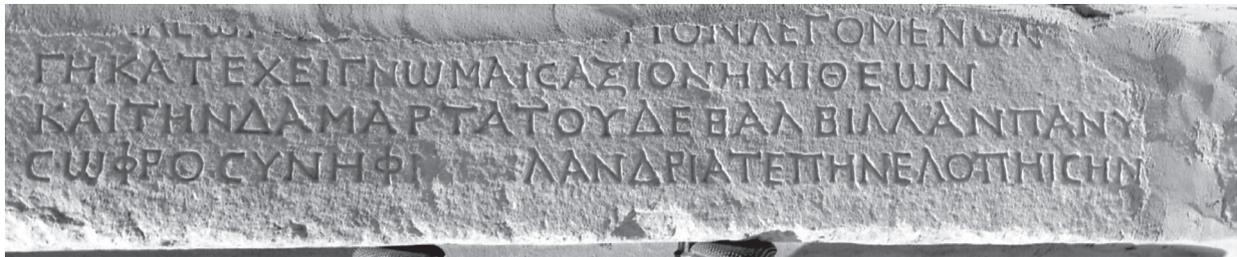
Roman imperial period.

[. ^{c.3} .]λεω . [. ^{c.12}]ι τὸν λεγόμενον
γῆ κατέχει γνώμαις ἄξιον ἡμιθέων vac.
καὶ τὴν δάμαρτα τοῦδε Βαλβίλλαν πάνυ
σωφροσύνη φι[λαν]λανδρία τε Πηνελόπη ἴσην.

...the so-called... the earth holds him, a man worthy of the demigods for his intelligence, and his wife

Balbilla, entirely equal to Penelope in self-restraint and love for her husband.

Line 2 forms an accurate dactylic pentameter, line 3 an accurate iambic trimeter. The loyal wife's emulation of Penelope is a common theme in verse funerary inscriptions, cf. e.g. IG XII 5, 65 (Peek 1955: 177, no. 693: Naxos, III AD), σωφροσύνης δ' ἀρετῇ παρισουμένην Πηνελοπείη. The combination of σωφροσύνη and φιλανδρία is a standard one in prose honorific and funerary inscriptions for women in the Roman imperial period: see e.g. MAMA V 81 (Dorylaion); SEG 37, 1099bis (with SEG 40, 1197: Amorion). For the name Βάλβιλλα, cf. 332 below (Gymir: Αὐρ. Βάλβος).



325. Mernek

Funerary inscription in verse.

Fragment of coarse grey-brown marble, broken below, right, and probably above. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), in a house wall.

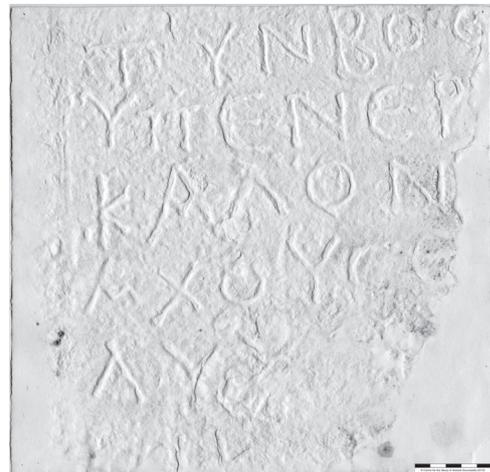
Ht. 0.42+; W. 0.39+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/143).

Roman imperial period.

τύμβος [ὄδ' ---]
ὑπένερ[θε ----]
καλὸν [- ----]
ΑΧΟΥΣΕ[- ----]
5 ΛΥΧ[- ----]
ΠΑΥ[- ----]

This tomb... underneath... fair...



Line 1 apparently represents the beginning of the inscription; cf. Cronin 1902: 360, no. 121 (Sadettin Hanı), which begins τύμβος ὄδ' ἐν χθονίη κατέχει πολὺ φίλτατον ἄνδρα.

326. Büyük Borukkuyu

Funerary inscription for Nearchos and Tata.

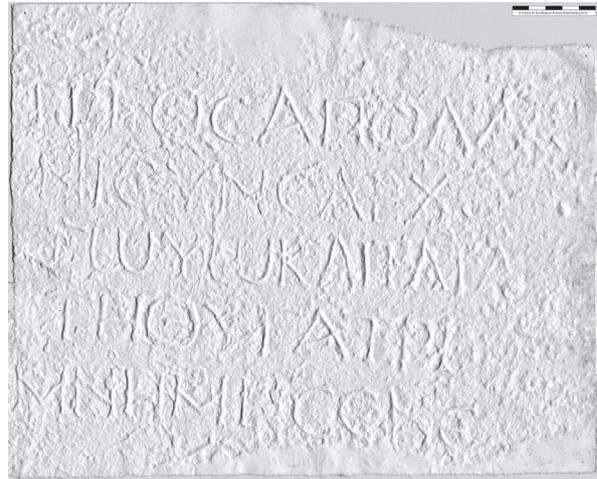
Grey and white marble column, broken below. Found at Büyük Borukkuyu (territory of Perta), by the mosque. Ht. 0.73+; Diameter 0.37 (top), 0.39 (bottom); letters 0.025-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/161).

Roman imperial period.

Τίτος Ἀπολλω-
νίου Νεάρχου
τῷ ὑῷ καὶ Τάτῃ
τῇ θυγατρὶ
5 μνήμης ἐνε-
κ[εν.]

Titos son of Apollonios for his son Nearchos and his daughter Tata, in memoriam.



The name Nearchos is a relatively common one in this region: cf. 281 above (Zengicek/Koçyaka); MAMA VIII 288 (Oğuzeli/Akören); MAMA I 94 (Laodikeia); Cronin 1902: 346, no. 79 (Konya).

327. Burunkuyu

Funerary inscription of Nestor.

Plain limestone cornice, complete; hollowed out above to make a trough. Found at Burunkuyu (territory of Perta), by a well.

Ht. 0.29; W. 1.82; Th. 0.54; letters 0.035-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/183).

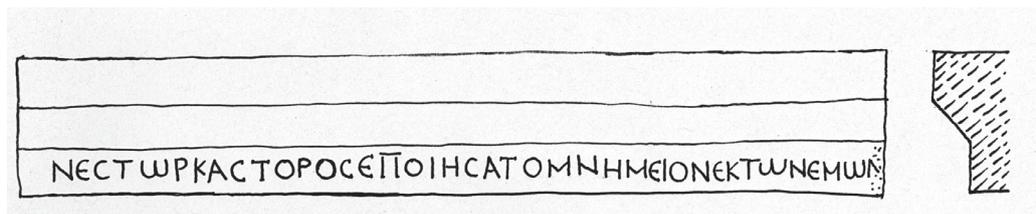
Roman imperial period.

Νέστωρ Κάστορος ἐποίησα τὸ μνημεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν.

I, Nestor son of Kastor, made the tomb from my own (resources).

The inscription appears to be complete. The names Nestor and Kastor were both extremely common in Lykaonia (cf. 378 below). For the name Nestor in this region, see Robert, OMS VII, 588, n.71; Ma 2007: 103-7; 268 above (Ladik). The

popularity of the name can be explained by its connotations of rhetorical success: see e.g. *I.Sinope* 170 (φρεσὶ δ' εἶχεν ἀληθῶς αὐτὴν τὴν Πυλίου Νέστορος εὐεπίην). For Kastor, e.g. MAMA I 281 (Laodikeia); Laminger-Pascher 1992: 193, no. 311 (Yenisu/Alkaran: Isauropolis); 212, no. 366 (Ören: Isauropolis); Cronin 1902: 112, no. 22 (Fassilar); Hall 1968: 78-9, no. 25 (Amblada).



328. Mernek

Funerary column for Eros.

Crystalline grey marble column, cut off above. Above the inscription, relief of standing female figure in small sunken panel, wearing veil and *stola*. Low down on the back of the column, a setting for a small metal cross. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), in the yard of Mustafa Kurt, said to have been dug up behind his house.

Ht. 2.59+; Diameter 0.35 (above), 0.44 (below); letters 0.035-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1956/141).

Roman imperial period.

Εὐφημῖς Ἔρω-
τι τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτ-
ῆς μνήμης ♡
♡ χάρις ♡

Euphemis, for her husband Eros, in memoriam.

The name *Εὐφημία* is very common, but I am unable to find another instance of *Εὐφημῖς*. I cannot explain why the figure depicted in relief should be female. For the form of the monument, compare 347 below (Savatra).



329. Zulmandar Hanı

Funerary ossuary of Menodoros and wife.

Gabled lid of a cinerary chest in greyish-white marble, with corner *acroteria*. Found at Zulmandar Hanı (territory of Perta), in the wall of a cemetery.

Ht. 0.20; W. 0.57; Th. 0.49; letters 0.035-0.040.

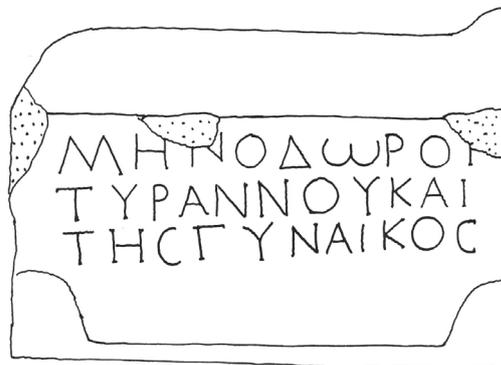
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/138).

Roman imperial period.

Μηνοδώρου
Τυράννου καὶ
τῆς γυναικός.

Of Menodoros, son of Tyrannos, and his wife.

The inscription appears to be complete. Zulmandar Hanı lies 6km ENE of Mernek/Karakaya (*TIB Galatien* 246, s.v. Zulmandarhanı).



A dedication to Zeus Zemroutenos, seen by Anderson at Zivarık/Altınekin (Anderson 1899: 281, no. 165), was said to derive from here; however, Anderson's suggestion that the modern name of the *han* could be a survival of an ancient village name Zemrouta is fanciful. For the name Tyrannos in this region, see also 363 below (Kana).

330. Giymir

Funerary ossuary of Valens Belles and Tekousa.

Plain ossuary of greyish-white marble, without lid, said to have been dug up from the *höyük*. Traces of red paint in the letters. Found at Giymir (Perta), in a yard. Ht. 0.23 (exterior), 0.12 (interior); W. 0.48 (exterior), 0.35 (interior); Th. 0.33 (exterior), 0.18 (interior); letters 0.025-0.035.

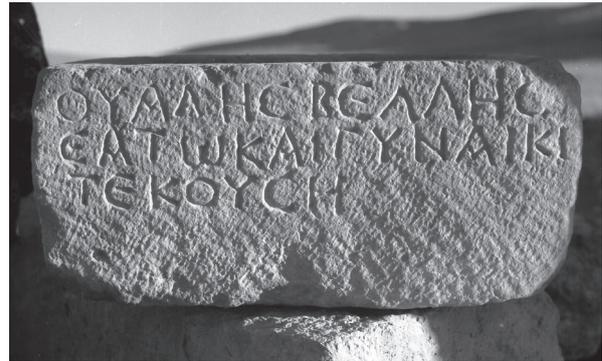
Laminger-Pascher 1985: 134-5, no. 4; [SEG 35, 1447]. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/170).

Roman imperial period.

Οὐάλης Βελλης
 ἐατῶ καὶ γυναικὶ
 Τεκούση ♡

Valens Belles, for himself and his wife Tekousa.

The name Βελλης is apparently unattested elsewhere, although the female name Βελλα(s) is known at Giymir (*MAMA* VIII 268) and elsewhere in Lykaonia (*MAMA* VII 321, 333, 490) and Galatia (*RECAM* II 230, 296, 298). The names are probably Celtic in origin (Zgusta 1964: 122 §160; Mitchell, *RECAM* II 296), although it



is conceivable that both are Greek names derived from βέλος (Robert 1963: 287, on the name Βέλλων; Masson, *OGS* II, 514 is agnostic). Cf. the commentary to 239 above (Yaraşlı), on the Celtic name *Vellanus*. Laminger-Pascher argued that Βελλης represents a matronym, that Valens was an illegitimate soldier's child, and that Valens, 'Bella', and Tekousa may have been slaves or serfs; Pleket, in the *SEG* lemma, correctly regards all three propositions as 'speculative to say the least'. For Τεκούσα as personal name, see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 217; *BE* 1984, 481; for female names formed from participles, see Masson, *OGS* II, 587-92.

331. Giymir

Funerary inscription set up by Matrōna.

Greyish-white marble column, plain above, broken below. Found at Giymir (Perta), in a lane.

Ht. 0.27+; Diameter 0.27; letters 0.040-0.055.

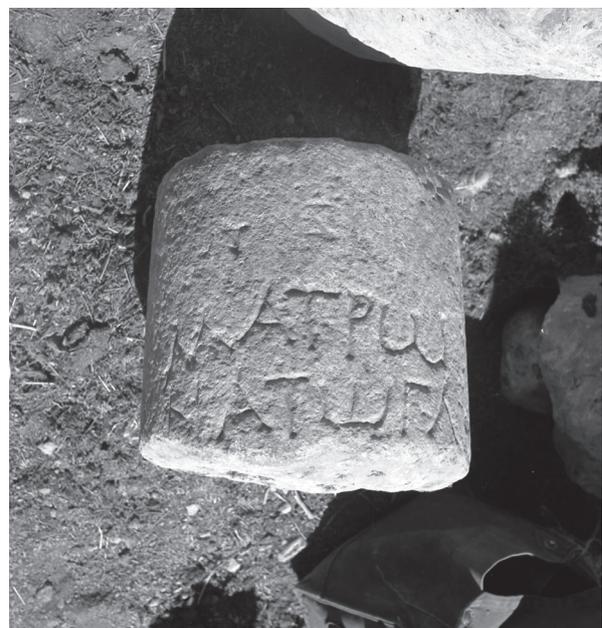
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/179).

Roman imperial period.

Ματρώ-
 να τῶ γλ-
 [υκυτάτῳ]

Matrōna, for her sw[ee]test son/husband...

For the name Ματρώνα, see also 217 above (Yunak); 352 below (Savatra).



332. Giymir

Funerary inscription set up by Aur. Balbos.

Fragment of greyish-white crystalline marble, broken on all sides. Found at Giymir (Perta), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.24+; W. 0.41+; Th. 0.20+; letters 0.030-0.038.

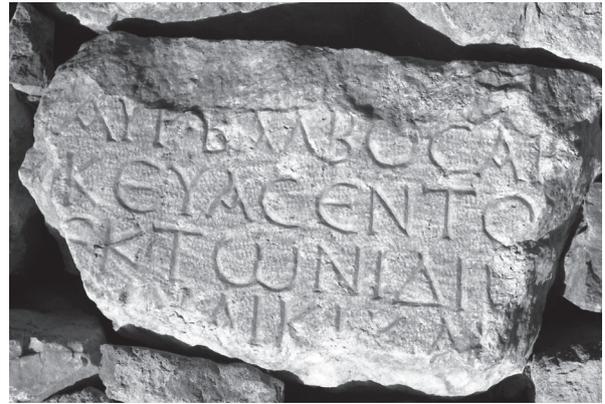
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/177).

Third century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Βάλβος Ἄρ[- - - κατε]-
 σκεύασεν τὸ [- - - - - - - -]
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω[ν - - - - - - - -]
 [γ]υναικὶ καὶ [- - - - - - - -]

*Aur(elius) Balbus, son of Ar... constructed the...
 from his own resources... for his wife...*

The name Βάλβος does not seem to be attested



elsewhere in Lykaonia, but cf. 324 above (Mernek [Karakaya]: Βάλβιλλα). In line 2, we ought presumably to restore τὸ [μνημείου] or conceivably τὸ [μηδικόν]: cf. Cronin 1902: 124, no. 57 (Konya), Αἴλι(ος) Μαρκελλίνος ὑποδηματοουργὸς κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μηδικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις. On the term *μηδικόν*, see Kubinska 1968: 156.

333. Giymir

Funerary *bomos* of Aur. Macrinus.

Grey marble *bomos*; back side left rough; the sides marked with guidelines indicating that, if finished, the thickness would have been the same as the width. Line 1 of inscription on upper moulding (defaced), lines 2-5 on shaft. Found at Giymir (Perta), about to be built into a house.

Ht. 0.74; W. 0.32 (upper moulding), 0.26-0.28 (shaft), 0.36 (base); Th. 0.37 (upper moulding), 0.32 (shaft), 0.37 (base); letters 0.025-0.027.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/171).

Third century AD.

Αὐ[ρ(ηλι-) - - - - -]
 Αὐρ(ηλίω) Μακρίνω
 υἱῷ γλυκυτά[-
 τῳ μνήμης
 5 χάριν ♡

*Aur(elius/a)... for Aur(elius) Macrinus, his/her
 sweetest son, in memoriam.*

At the end of line 2, the *omega* is inscribed in
 ligature with the *nu*.



334. Mernek

Funerary stele for Aur. Mariame.

Coarse tapered marble *stèle*, broken above and at bottom right. The inscription in a sunken panel with double moulding; below the inscription, incised cross with tendrils growing from its base. Found at Mernek (Karakaya, territory of Perta), on a dung-heap. Ht. 0.75+; W. 0.66+; Th. 0.33; letters 0.030-0.040. Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/140). Third or fourth century AD.

[-----]
 [καὶ (?) Αὐρ(ηλία) Σ]-
 έμνη στήσα]-
 μεν τῇ γλυ-
 κυτάτη ἡ-
 5 μῶν μητρὶ
 Αὐρ(ηλία) ♡ Μαρι-
 άμη μνή-
 μης χάριν.

...[and (?) Aur(elia) S]emne, we set (this up) for our sweetest mother Aur(elia) Mariame, in memoriam.

For the cross with tendrils incised at the base of the *stèle*, see the commentary to 290 above



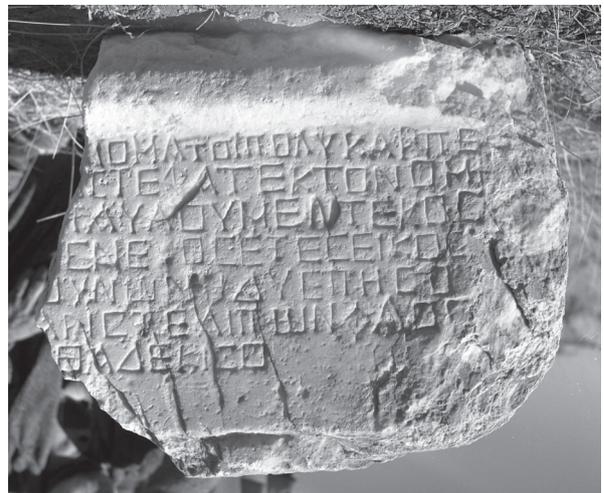
(Hoydus/Akincilar). The name *Μαριάμη*, a Hellenized transliteration of the Jewish personal name Miryam, is also attested in Lykaonia in MAMA VII 98 (Hacılar: Laodikeia) and MAMA VIII 127 (Lamingier-Pascher 1992: 198-9, no. 325: Alkaran/Yenisu: Isauropolis); see further *IJO* II, p.490, n.30.

335. Koças

Sarcophagus fragment with funerary inscription in verse for Polykarpos.

White marble fragment, probably from a sarcophagus, with remains of a moulding at upper edge, broken on all sides. Found at Koças (territory of Perta), in a cemetery. Ht. 0.40+; W. 0.46+; Th. 0.12-0.15; letters 0.015-0.025. Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/165). Fourth or fifth century AD.

[οὐ]νομά τοι, Πολύκαρπε,
 [θε]ός τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμη[νε]: |
 Παύλου μὲν τέκος
 [ῆ]ς, νέος ἔτεσ' εἵκοσ[ι]
 5 [μ]ούνων. | ἡδυεπῆς ὄ[χ']
 ἄριστε, λιπῶν φάος [ἐ]-
 [ν]θάδε κίσο.



Your name, Polykarpos, a god spoke and pronounced. You were Paulos' child, a youth of only twenty years. Most excellent sweet-voiced man, having departed the daylight, lie here.

The inscription forms three hexameter verses. The end of the first hexameter is a variant on the Homeric formula ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (H., *Il.* 1.361, etc.). I owe the restorations in line 2 to Martin West, who has suggested that the second hexameter could be rendered metrical (and grammatical) by means of a slight rearrangement in line 4: Παύλου μὲν τέκος ἦς, ἐτέων νέος εἴκοσι μούνων. For the adjective ἡδυεπής, cf. Laminger-Pascher 1992: nos. 410 and 415 (Dorla/Aydoğmuş: Isauropolis), and see also 278 above (Zivarık [Altınekin]: ἡδυλόγος). The Homeric resonances of the term are noted by A.

M. Ramsay 1906: 30-1; it is applied to Euphemios, the brother of Amphilochos of Ikonion, in one of the funerary epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Anth. Pal.* 8.124: AD c. 360). For the restoration ὄ[χ'] ἄριστε, cf. *MAMA* I 232 (Dedeler: ἄνδρα... ὄχ' ἄριστον); *MAMA* VIII 132 (Dineksaray: ὄχ' ἄριστος ἐν ὕμνοις); *I.Tyana* 57 (παιδευτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος).

It is possible that Polykarpos was the brother of Dentilla, whose funerary epigram was copied by Ballance at Zivarık/Altınekin (278 above); see the commentary *ad loc.*

336. Giymir

Funerary stele of Victor, sculptor in wood.

Tapered marble *stèle* with upper and lower mouldings. At the top, incised cross in a circle, with triangular pediment above. Inscription in moulded panel (Ht. 0.44; W. 0.14 [above], 0.18 [below]). Below the inscription, two vine-leaves growing from a single stem. Found at Giymir (Perta), in a stable just west of the höyük.

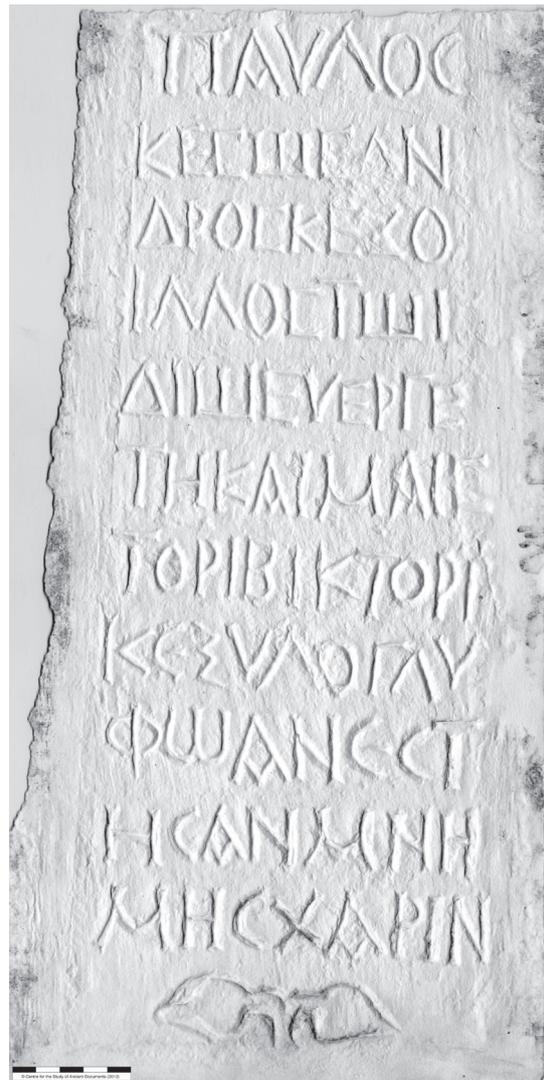
Ht. 0.85; W. 0.24 (top of shaft), 0.31 (bottom of shaft), 0.37 (base); Th. 0.17; letters 0.019-0.029.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/178).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

Παῦλος
 κὲ Σώσαν-
 δρος κὲ Ζο-
 ἴλλος τῶ ἰ-
 5 δίῳ εὐεργέ-
 τη καὶ μαίσ-
 τορι Βίκτορι
 κὲ ξυλογλύ-
 φῳ ἀνέστ-
 10 ησαν μνή-
 μης χάριν.

Paulos and Sosandros and Zoillos set up (this stele) for their own benefactor and master Victor, sculptor in wood, in memoriam.



The term ξυλογλύφος is extremely rare. Apart from an entry in Hesychios (s.v. στυπογλύφος· ξυλογλύφος), it appears only in the epitaph of a Phoenician sculptor in wood at Nikomedeia in Bithynia (Robert 1987: 109-14; SEG 28, 1037; BE 2004, 375), Πάπος Ἀράδιος ξυλογλύφος, and in the list of artisanal professions in 254 above (Ladik: ξυλογλυ-). See also the description of the artisan Gerontios in Theodoret, *Ep.* 38: ὁς οἶδε μὲν ἄριστα ξύλα τεκταίνειν, ἔμαθε δὲ παρὰ τῆς τέχνης ζῶων καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόνας ἐνθεῖναι τοῖς ξύλοις. For two stone sculptors at Ikonion, ἀγαλματογλύφοι Δοκιματογλύφοι, cf. Hall and Waelkens 1982 (*I.Konya* 45).

The term μαῖστωρ (one of several Greek transliterations of the Latin *magister*; cf. 159 and 167 above) is regularly used in the Byzantine period to designate a master-craftsman or the head of a team of artisans (Ousterhout 1999: 43-57). To all appearances, Paulos, Sosandros and Zoillos were Victor's apprentices. It is more than a little surprising to find a wood-worker and three apprentices at Perta. Today, the Boz Dağ and

the regions to the west and south of Lake Tatta are entirely bare of trees; the accounts of several nineteenth-century travellers, vividly describing the treeless steppe between Konya and Obruk, are collected by Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 59-61. The steppe north of Perta was proverbial for its lack of trees already in antiquity. Livy knew it by the name of *Axylon* (38.18.4), and Strabo described the 'plains of the Lykaonians' as 'cold, bare, and grazed by wild asses' (12.6.1; see further Mitchell 1993: I 143-7; Robert 1980: 257-307 [tezek]; Robert, *OMS* VII, 19-38 [kerpiç]).

However, it is possible that the region around Konya, including the Boz Dağ range, may still have been partially wooded in antiquity. Strabo himself says that the territory of Ikonion was 'more fertile' than the rest of Lykaonia (χώραν εὐτυχεστέραν ἔχον τῆς λεχθείσης ὄναγροβότου, 12.6.1), and there is some reason to think that the Sultan Dağı, the Boz Dağ, and even the Karadağ north of Karaman may once have supported more vegetation than they do now (Wenzel 1937: 19-27; Louis 1939: 41-50).

337. Κοçaş

Funerary stele of Zoe, holy virgin.

Crude white marble *stèle* with roughly pointed top. Found at Κοçaş (territory of Perta), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.72; W. 0.24; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/164).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

†
 Ζώη
 παρθένος
 ἀγνή.

Zoe, a holy virgin.

For 'holy virgins' in this region, see also 292 above (Maydos). Cf. *IG* XIV 187 (Syracuse), the epitaph of the nuns Photine and Philoumene, who are described as σεμνὲ ἀγνὲ παρθένοι.



338. Giymir

Funerary *stèle* of Kyros of Brasoukome.

Small white marble *stèle*, broken below. Found at Giymir (Perta), in the wall of an oven.

Ht. 0.28+; W. 0.24; Th. 0.17; letters 0.018-0.032.

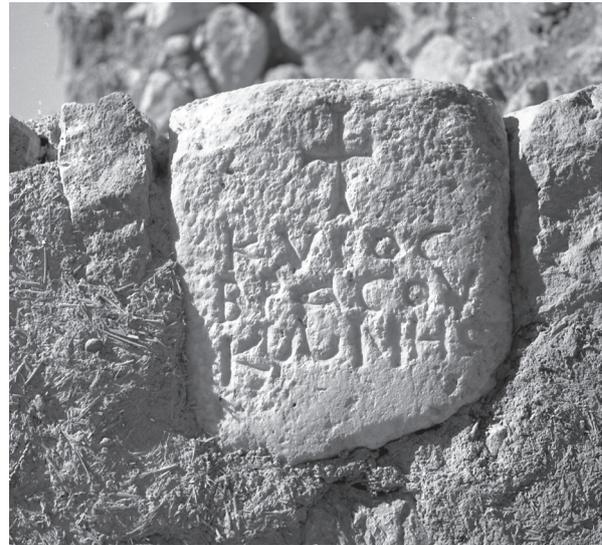
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/180).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

†
Κῦρος
Βρασου-
κώμης.

Kyros of Brasoukome.

The village of Brasoukome does not seem to be attested elsewhere. The form of the name is unusual; it is conceivable that the village took its name from an Armenian by the name of Varaz, Varazes, Varzanes *vel sim*. The name Varaz ('wild boar' in Middle Persian/Pahlavi) is well-attested in Armenia in Late Antiquity; four individuals bearing the name (and another three with compound names derived from it) are attested in



the fourth century AD (Garsoïan 1989: 422-4). Two commanders in the sixth-century Byzantine army carried the name Varazes (*PLRE* IIIB 1362-3). Our 'Varazes' could well have been an Armenian soldier, recruited from Persarmenia in the fifth or sixth century, and rewarded with lands deep inside the Empire. (I am grateful to Dr Tim Greenwood for advice on this text.)

339. Hacinumani

Funerary inscription of Letoes(?).

Limestone slab with large panel, outlined with *cavetto* moulding. Below the inscription, Latin cross. Found at Hacinumani (territory of Perta), by a well.

Ht. 1.71; W. 0.62; Th. 0.24; letters 0.035-0.050.

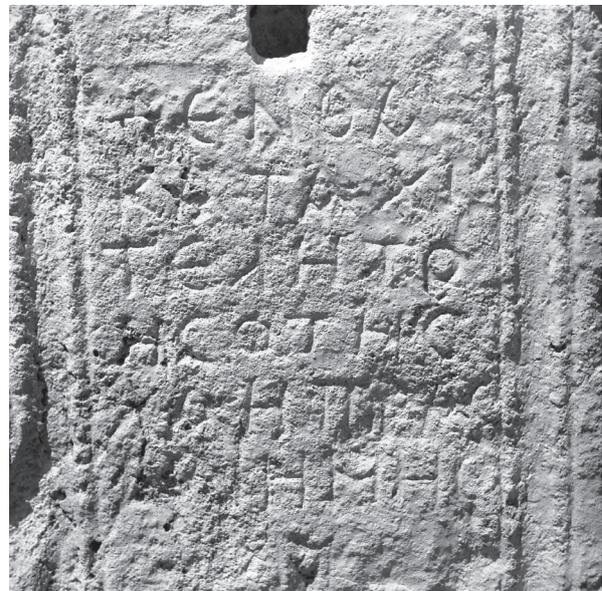
Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/168).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† ἔνθα
κατάχι-
τε ΛΗΤΟ-
ΗΣ ὁ τῆς
5 λα(μ)πρᾶς
μνήμης.

Line 5: ΛΑΗΠΡΑΣ.

Here lies Leteios (?), of glorious memory.



For the phrase ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης, cf. e.g. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II, 743, no. 683 (Dokimeion); Harper 1969: 37, no. 8.13 (Kappadokian Komana: read ἔνθα κατὰκειπ[ε][ὸ] τῆς λαμπρ[ᾶς] μνήμη[ς ὁ δεῖνα]); French 2007: 74-5, no. 8 (Kırşehir Museum: read εἰ τῆς [i.e. ἡ τῆς; not εἴτις]

λαμπρᾶς μνήμης). The reading in lines 3-4 seems certain, but the name *Λητοῦς is unattested and implausible. It is possible that we are dealing with a mason's error for Λητό(ῖο)ς, a name which is well-attested in this period: see Dagron and Feissel 1987: 40-1, no. 15, with bibliography.

340. Κοçaş

Mason's signature.

Upper part of white marble column with worn upper moulding, broken below. Found at Κοçaş (territory of Perta), exact location not recorded.

Ht. 0.30+; Diameter 0.33; letters 0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/163).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]

Δοκιμεύς

...of Dokimeion.

This is presumably the end of a sculptor's signature; the sculptor's name was presumably inscribed on the worn moulding. For itinerant



Dokimeian stonemasons in central Anatolia, see 358 below (Kana) and the commentaries to 7 (Apollonia) and 255 (Laodikeia).

341. Κοçaş

Fragment of uncertain type.

White limestone pediment; broken left and right, otherwise apparently complete. Found at Κοçaş (territory of Perta), in the south wall of the cemetery.

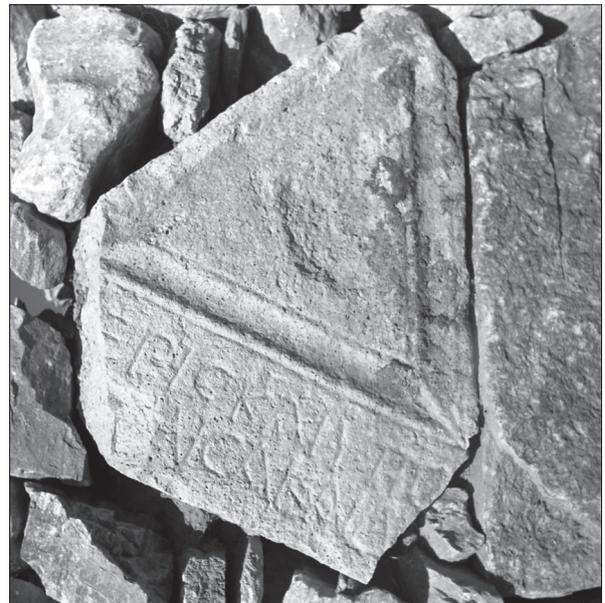
Ht. 0.60; W. 0.49+; Th. 0.17+; letters 0.040-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/166).

Roman imperial period.

[-]ερῖς καὶ ὑπο[-]

[-]αῖσα καὶ δ[-]



342. Giymir**Monument of uncertain type.**

Grey marble block, broken left. Found at Giymir (Perta), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.18; W. 0.40+; Th. --; letters 0.080-0.095.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/173).

Late antique or Byzantine period.

† A Ω A †



XXI. SAVATRA

343. Yağlibayat

Honoric base for T. Flavius Titinianus.

Greyish-white marble statue base, with moulding at top; broken above, right and below. Found at Yağlibayat (Savatra), in a yard.

Ht. 0.65+; W. 0.55+; Th. --; letters 0.040-0.045.

Unpublished; mentioned by Mitchell 1977: 78; Mitchell 1993: I 67; I 96. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/199).

First or second century AD.

T(itum) · Flavium · T(iti) · filium) ·
Titinianum · bu-
le · et · populus · Say-
at(orum) · fil(ium) · oppidi ♡

The council and the people of the Savatreis (honoured) T(itus) Flavius Titinianus, son of T(itus), son of the town...

For the ethnic of Savatra in the Roman imperial period (Σαουατρεύς/Σαουαθρεύς), see Robert, *Hellenica* X, 73-4; 13, 43; Aulock 1976: 48-50, 73-5. For other public monuments of Savatra, see Cronin 1902: 371-2, no. 144 (*IGR* III 1481: Σ[α]ουατ[ρέων ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος]); *MAMA* VIII 228 (Σαουατ[ρέων ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος); *MAMA* VIII 231 ([Σα]ουα[τρέων ἡ β]ου[λή καὶ] ὁ δῆμος); *MAMA* VIII 232 (ὁ δῆμος). It is striking and unusual to find Latin being used for a public document produced by a Greek city: see Brélaz 2008.

Mitchell 1977: 78 (and Mitchell 1993: I 67 and 96) reports the name of the honorand as T. Flavius Titianus, and identifies him with the Hadrianic procurator of Galatia T. Flavius Titianus (Pflaum 1960-1: I 231-5, no. 99). Unless we assume an egregious mason's error in line 2 (*Titinianum* for *Titianum*), this identification is untenable. The *nomen* Titinius and the *cognomen* Titinianus are relatively widespread in the Greek east (Salomies 2007: 70); in this region, see *MAMA* VII 110 (Ilgin: Titinia); Laminger-Pascher 1992:



149, no. 210 (Lystra: Titinius). A certain Flavius Marcellus is attested at Savatra in the late first or early second century AD as civic high-priest of the imperial cult and priest of the ancestral gods Ares and the Areiai (Cronin 1902: 371-2, no. 144; *IGR* III 1481; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 76-7). The only other Latin inscriptions known from Savatra (apart from milestones) are a funerary monument for the *primipilaris* T. Servaeus Sabinus, set up by his son L. Servaeus Sabinus, centurion of *legio VI Victrix* (Cronin 1902: 372, no. 145; *CIL* III 14398), and a later posthumous statue-base for L. Servaeus Sabinus (Ramsay and Ramsay 1928: 188-90; *AE* 1930, 109).

The inscription seems to have been drafted by someone whose first language was Greek: note that the Greek term βουλή has been transliterated, not translated (*senatus*), and the common Greek honorific title υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως (Robert 1969: 316-21; Canali de Rossi 2007), which has no Latin equivalent, has been translated literally as *fil(ium) oppidi*. I know no precise parallel for this in Latin inscriptions, although in an unpublished inscription from the Roman colony of Philippi in Thrace, knowledge of which I owe to the kindness of Cédric Brélaz, a Roman *equus* by the name of C. Oppius Montanus carries the title *fil(io) col(oniae)*. The title is more idiomatically translated by Apuleius, *Metam.* 4.26 as *filius publicus* (Robert 1969: 317 n.4).

344. Yağlıbayat

Votive *stèle* of Kalokairos to the god Men.

Greyish-white tapered marble *stèle*, with gabled pediment and three *acroteria*; in the pediment, a crescent moon. Slightly broken above. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), in a house; said to have been found in the ruins of the *kale*.

Ht. 0.38+; W. 0.19 (top), 0.22 (bottom); Th. 0.09; letters 0.012-0.018.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/200).

Second or third century AD.

Καλόκα-
ιρος.

Kalokairos.

The inscription is complete. Presumably the monument is a votive *stèle* to the deity Men (note the crescent moon in the pediment); a very similar *stèle* is depicted in relief on a funerary monument from Savatra (346 below). Several hundred votive *stelai* of this kind, with crescent moon either on the shaft or in the pediment, are known from the sanctuary of Men Askaenos at Antiocheia by Pisidia, some free-standing, others depicted in relief on the peribolos wall of the sanctuary: see Lane 1971-8: I 114-55, nos. 179-294; Lane



1971-8: IV, *passim*. For the cult of Men at Savatra, cf. the funerary curses in *I.Konya* 120 (*MAMA* VIII 234) and *I.Konya* 125 (*MAMA* VIII 234a); similar curses are found in three inscriptions from neighbouring Perta, *MAMA* VIII 234b (Zengicek/Koçyaka), 319 above (Küçük Boruk [Yenikuyu]), 320 (Gyimir).

For the name Kalokairos, cf. Robert, *Hellenica* IX, 64-6; *OMS* V, 228 n.8; in Lykaonia, Laminger-Pascher 1992: 72-3, no. 68 (Madenşehir).

345. Yağlıbayat

Funerary *bomos* with inscription in verse.

Grey-blue marble *bomos*, complete. Inscription at the top of the shaft; below, recessed panel with two standing figures in relief. To the left, male figure in toga, standing in *contrapposto* with weight on left leg, right foot posed backwards as if walking. Right arm bent across the chest, resting in arm-sling of toga, with hand grasping the fold which is swung over the left shoulder. Left arm posed along the body, with hand grasping the loose fabric of the toga, pulling it tight over left leg. To the right, female figure in tunic and *palla* veiled over her head, standing in slight *contrapposto* with weight on right leg, left leg slightly bent at the knee. Right arm bent across the chest, resting in arm-sling of *palla*; left arm posed along the body, with hand grasping the fabric of the *palla*. Both faces damaged. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), in the yard of the school.

Ht. 1.15; W. 0.44 (upper moulding), 0.37 (shaft), 0.44 (base); Th. 0.34 (upper moulding), 0.29 (shaft), 0.35 (base); letters 0.008-0.011.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photographs (1956/194; CVC 2011).

First or second century AD.

[[----- και -----]]
[. . .]ΑΡΑΡΟΥ κεδνή και σώφρονη και φιλοτέκνω
[ἀθ]ανάτων ιερείη δις ἀρχιερείη ἀνάκτων
[β]ωμόν τὸν μνήμης ἐρικυδέος εἴδρυσε Βόκχ[ος]
5 [εἰδ]ὸς τῶνδε βροτοῖσι και ἐσσομένοισι πυθέ[σ]-
θαι.

[To (husband) and (wife)...], diligent and self-restrained and a lover of her children, priestess of the immortals, twice high-priestess of the lords (i.e. the Augusti), Bocchus set up (this) bomos of glorious memory, so that even those mortals who are still to come may know the likeness of these (two).

The lettering and of the funerary relief are of unusually high quality for this region. The first line of the inscription appears to have been deliberately erased; the line would have included the names of the husband and wife honoured by this funerary epigram and depicted in the relief below. The letters ΑΡΑΡΟΥ at the start of line 1 are difficult. This could conceivably be the genitive of the wife's father's name; the name *Αραρος is not known elsewhere, but cf. Zgusta 1964: 88 §83-1 (Αραρα, well-attested in Isauria).

For the phrase ἀρχιερείη ἀνάκτων (i.e. civic high-priestess of the imperial cult) in line 2, compare TAM III 77 (Termessos), [ἀρχ]ιερῆα ἄνακτος ἀγα[κ]λέος ἡ πατρὶς ἐσθλὸν τεύμησεν. Another high-priestess of the imperial cult at Savatra is attested in Cronin 1902: 371-2, no. 144 (IGR III 1481: Ἀνχαρηνήν Σακέρδωτος ἀρχιέρειαν Σεβαστῶν). The local priesthood of the imperial cult seems to have been the highest civic office in several cities of Lykaonia (Mitchell 1993: I 116-7); temples of the imperial cult are attested at the neighbouring cities of Kana under Trajan (MAMA VIII 211, with Mitchell 1993: I 97 n.185) and Perta under Hadrian (309 above).

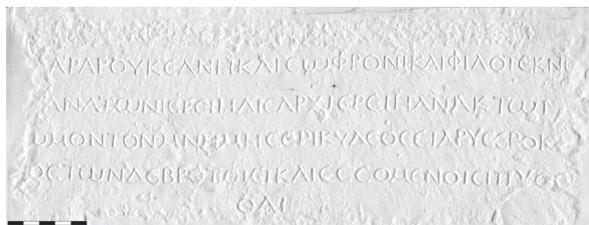
In line 3, I have restored the name Βόκχ[λος], perhaps the son of the husband and wife commemorated here. The name is attested three times at Ankyra: I.Ankara: 8.34 (Bocchos son of Po[.]otios); 71 (C. Iulius Bocchos); 82-3 (Ti. Claudius Bocchos).

The verse in lines 4-5 concludes with the Homeric formula ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι (H., *Il.* 2.119, 22.305; *Od.* 11.76, 21.255, 24.433), used to



describe the funerary mound of Elpenor in *Od.* 11.75-6 (σῆμα τέ μοι χεῦαι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὴ θαλάσσης | ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι). The phrase was a popular one in funerary verse inscriptions of the Roman imperial period: cf. *I.Klaudiu Polis* 78; *I.Beroia* 400; Anderson 1899: 287, no. 185 (Kuyulusebil); Laminger-Pascher 1992: 190-1, no. 306, line 18 (Dineksaray).

The monument was still visible in the yard of the village school at Yağlibayat in September 2010 and April 2011.



346. Yağlibayat

Funerary inscription of Sozomenos and Tabitha.

Grey marble column, complete. Below the inscription, a *stele* depicted in relief, with vaulted pediment and three *acroteria*; in the pediment, a crescent moon; on the face of the *stele*, two defaced figures in relief. Found at Yağlibayat (Savatra), by the school.

Ht. 1.33; Diameter 0.30 (top), 0.34 (bottom); letters 0.023-0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/203).

Roman imperial period.

Σιλουανὸς
 Σωζομένῳ
 καὶ Ταβιτῆ γλυ-
 κυτάτοις γου-
 5 εῦσι μνήμης
 ἔνεκεν.

Silvanus for Sozomenos and Tabitha, his sweetest parents, in memoriam.

For the form of the monument, compare 328 above (Mernek [Karakaya]); for the *stele* with crescent moon in the pediment (presumably an allusion to the cult of Men), compare 344 above (Savatra). The name Silvanus is found on several monuments from this region: see *MAMA* I 110 (Laodikeia); Sterrett 1888a: 217, no. 238 (Akçeşme, near Konya: Σιλο[υα]νός); French 2007: 88, no. 27 (Setik Yayla; perhaps originally from Ortakuyu/Komitanassos); *I.Konya* 26 (supposedly Meydanlı, near Laodikeia, but perhaps from Ortakuyu/Komitanassos: see the commentary to 365 below).



It is very surprising to find the Semitic name Tabitha in this context. The name appears in the form Ταβειθά, with its Greek translation Δορκάς, in Acts 9: 36-42. There is no particular reason to think that Silvanus, Sozomenos and Tabitha were Jews or Christians; the depiction of the *stele* with crescent moon on their funerary monument ought to imply that they were pagans.

347. Yağlıbayat

Funerary inscription of Zoe.

Greyish marble block, broken right. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), outside a house.

Ht. 0.41; W. 0.46+; Th. 0.24; letters 0.017-0.042.

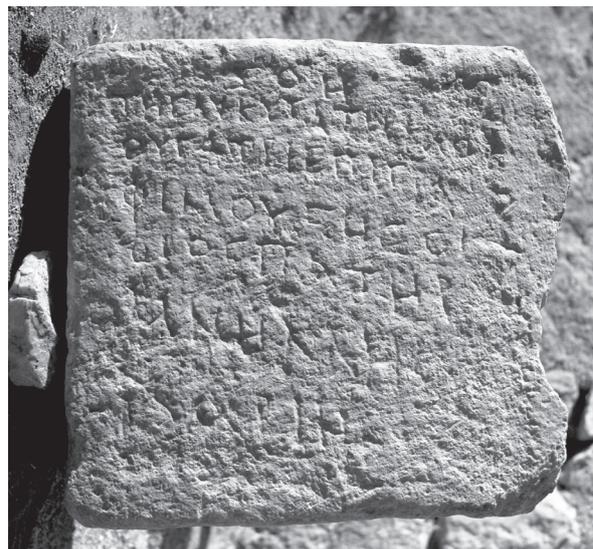
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/202).

Roman imperial period.

Zoῆ
 τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ μου
 θυγατρὶ ἐπιγρά-
 φι Μουσησ ὁ ὕ-
 5 διος πατὴρ
 μνήμης
 χάριν.

For Zoe, my sweetest daughter, Mouses, her own father, inscribes this, in memoriam.

I assume that the name Μουσησ (line 4) is an



indigenous name from the stem Μουσ-, instances of which are concentrated in Phrygia Paroreios and Isauria: see Zgusta 1964: 337-8 §988; MAMA I 361 (Μουσησ: Çeşmelisebil); IJO II, p.490 n.30. See, however, the commentary to 349 below.

348. Yağlıbayat

Funerary inscription of Olympias and Doude.

Grey marble column-drum, re-used as a funerary monument. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), outside a house.

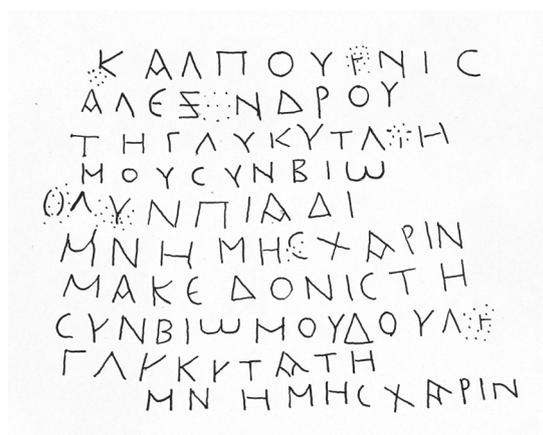
Ht. 0.99; Diameter 0.40; letters 0.030-0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/198).

Roman imperial period.

Καλπούρνιος
 Ἀλεξάνδρου
 τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ
 μου συνβίω
 5 Ὀλυπιάδι
 μνήμης χάριν.
 Μακεδόνιος τῆ
 συνβίω μου Δουδῆ
 γλυκυτάτῃ
 10 μνήμης χάριν.

Calpurnius son of Alexandros, for my sweetest wife Olympias, in memoriam. Makedonios for my sweetest wife Doude, in memoriam.



The name Καλπούρνιος is very widespread in Lykaonia; it appears at Savatra in MAMA VIII 255. In line 8, the personal name could be read as either Δουδῆ or Δούλη. The names Δούλος and Δουλίων are found across Asia Minor (in Lykaonia, Aür. Δούλος Καλπορνίου at Sizma: SEG 6, 399), but I am unable to find an example of the female equivalent Δούλη. The name Δουδῆ/Δουδα, by contrast, is extremely common throughout Galatia and Lykaonia (Zgusta 1964: 153 §306-1; 258 above [Ladik]; 261 [Bahçesaray]).

349. Yağlıbayat

Funerary inscription of Iulius the presbyter.

Coarse marble block, buried below, broken above and behind. Below the inscription, incised monogrammatic cross. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), in a well just above the village.

Ht. 0.70+; W. 0.29; Th. 0.40; letters 0.025-0.035.

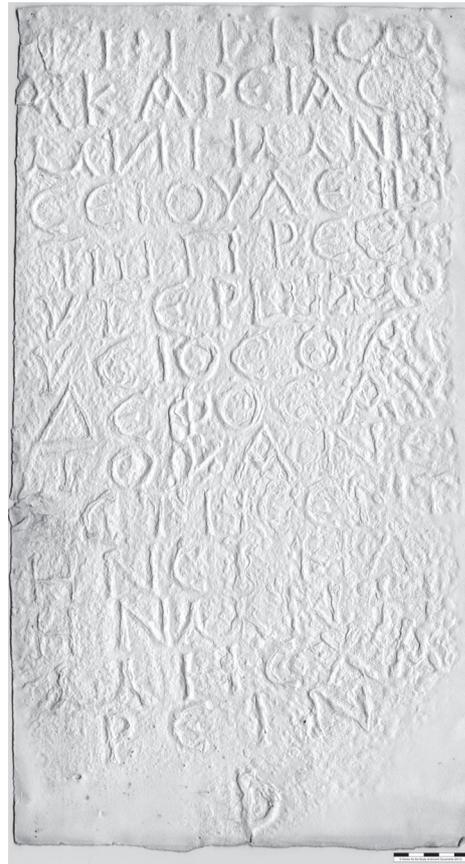
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/195).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

τῷ τῆς μ-
 ακαρείας
 μνήμην-
 σ Εἰουλείῳ
 5 τῷ πρεσβ-
 υτέρῳ Μο-
 υσῖος ὁ ἀ-
 δεφὸς αὐ-
 τοῦ ἀνέ-
 10 στησεν τ-
 ῆν στήλ-
 ην μνή-
 μης χά-
 ρειν.
 ✠

For Iulius of blessed memory, the presbyter, Mousios his brother set up the stele in memoriam.

For the phrase ὁ/ῆ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης, see also 367 below (Ortakuyu), and cf. 339 above (Hacınuman). I have assumed that the name in lines 6-7 is the common name Μουσαῖος, although the variation αι/ι is unusual; cf. Laminger-Pascher 1992: 80, no. 85 (Madensehir:



Μουσιανός). Names in Μουσ- are common in Phrygia Paroreios and Lykaonia, and their analysis (indigenous, Greek, or even Latin) is frequently uncertain (Zgusta 1964: 337-9; cf. 347 above). It is not clear whether Mousios was Julius' biological brother, or merely his spiritual brother (cf. 292 and 302 above). The omission of *lambda* in ἀδεφὸς (lines 7-8) is relatively common (Brixhe 1987: 45): cf. *MAMA* VII 459 (Bulduk); *RECAM* II 263 (İnler); *MAMA* IV 260 (Tymandos); *SEG* 15, 800 (Afyon); *SEG* 28, 1165 (Eumeneia); *SEG* 41, 1218 (Kotiaion).

350. Yağlıbayat

Funerary inscription of Susanna and Maximus.

Rough marble block with projection at the top, apparently complete; split down the centre. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), in the valley behind the village.

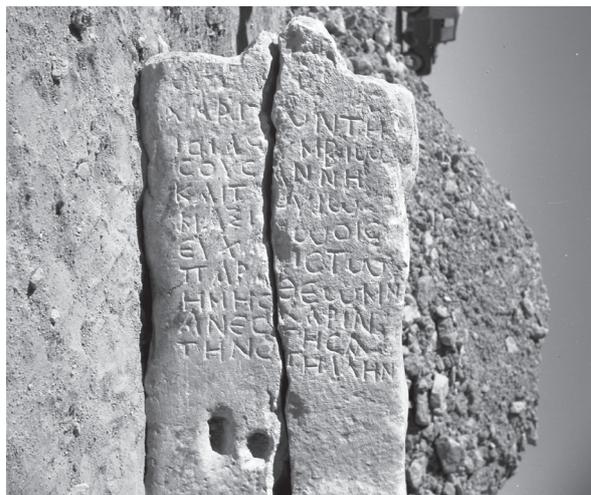
Ht. 1.42; W. 0.55; Th. 0.23; letters 0.028-0.045.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/196).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

- Χαρίτων τῇ
 ἰδία συμβίῳ
 Σουσάννῃ
 καὶ τῷ υἱῷ
 5 Μαξίμῳ, οἷς
 εὐχα[ρ]ιστῶ
 παρὰ θεῶ μν-
 ήμης χάριν
 ἀνέστησα
 10 τὴν στήλλην.

I, Chariton, set up the stele in memoriam for my own wife Susanna and my son Maximus, for whom



I am grateful before God.

The name Susanna was popular among the Christians of Lykaonia: cf. 351 below (Savatra); MAMA I 163 (Laodikeia); MAMA I 200 (Kınık, in the steppe east of Laodikeia); Cronin 1902: 356, no. 109 (Konya). The reading in lines 5-7 is certain, although I can find no parallels for the exact phraseology.

351. Yağlıbayat.

Funerary inscription of Vibianus.

Grey marble slab, roughly cut; broken below. Below the inscription, incised monogrammatic cross in circle. Found at Yağlıbayat: in a yard, said to come from above the village.

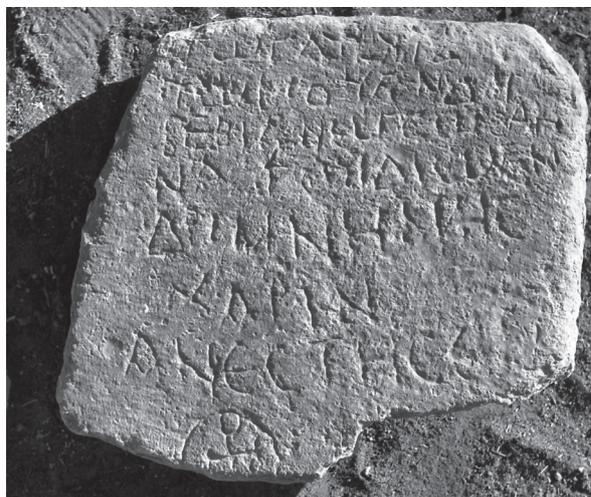
Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.61; Th. 0.08; letters 0.025-0.065.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/201).

Fourth to sixth century AD.

- τῷ γλυκυτά-
 τῳ μου ἀνδρὶ
 Βεβιανῷ Σωσάν-
 να τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀν-
 5 δρὶ μνήμης
 χάριν
 ἀνέστησεν.

Susanna set this up for my sweetest husband Vibianus, my own husband, in memoriam.



For the name Susanna at Savatra, cf. 350 above. For the name Vibius/Vibianus in this region, see Ramsay 1888: 250-1, no. 50 (Laodikeia: Vibianus); Calder 1912a: 54, no. 6 (M. Vibius Valens, Konya).

352. Yağlıbayat

Funerary inscription of Ioannes.

Grey marble cornice, probably from a statue-base, with egg-and-dart moulding on front, left and right; cut off behind. Subsequently re-used as a funerary monument; inscription on the bottom surface. Found at Yağlıbayat (Savatra), in a house, said to have been removed from a well in the valley behind the village.

Ht. 0.17; W. 0.47 (upper moulding), 0.35 (lower moulding); Th. 0.27+ (upper moulding), 0.19+ (lower moulding); letters 0.012-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/197).

Cornice: Roman imperial period. Inscription: fourth to sixth century AD.

τῷ γλυκυ-
τάτῳ υἱί-
ῳ Εἰωάνη
ἡ μητῆρ
5 Ματώρνα
μνήμη{η}ς
χάριν.



For her sweetest son Ioannes, his mother Matrōna, in memoriam.

Ματώρνα in line 5 is presumably an error for Ματρώνα, for which compare 217 above (Yunak); 331 (Perta).

353. Akörenkişla

Funerary *stèle* of Koula.

Stèle with gabled pediment, corner *acroteria* and pilasters to left and right. In the pediment, six-pointed rosette. On the shaft, a defaced relief, with cross cut into it at later date. Found at Akörenkişla (territory of Savatra?), location not recorded.

Ht. 1.00; W. 0.41 (pediment), 0.38 (shaft), 0.43 (base); Th. 0.19; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/187).

Third century AD.

Αὐρή(λιοι) · Ναυους
καὶ Σέλευκος · ἀνέσστη-
σαν τῇ ἀδελφῇ
Κουλα μνήμης ἔνεκε[ν].

Aure(lii) Nanous and Seleukos set this up for their sister Koula, in memoriam.

For the name Seleukos in this region, see the commentary to 309 above. The name *Ναυους*



is twice attested at Athens for natives of a city called Herakleia (probably in Pontos): *Agora* XVII 519 (IV BC); *IG* II² 8736 (Roman imperial period); cf. Robert 1963: 289 n.5 (names in -ous). The name presumably belongs to the large group of Lallnamen in *Nav(v)-* (Zgusta 1964: 346-54 §1013-1-45). The female name *Κουλα* is also very rare: it is twice attested in Isauria

(Callander 1906: 168, no. 42; Sterrett 1888b: 93, no. 155, corrected by Hereward 1958: 68), once at Kappadokian Komana (Harper 1969: 28, no. 5.50 [BE 1971, 668]: read *Κουλα Μα τῆ μητρὶ καὶ Χρη[σ]τῆ τροφῶ μνήμης χάριν*]; for *τροφός* = nurse, cf. 354 below), once in Paphlagonia (Marek 1993: 205, no. 73, Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis), and

once at Pontic Amaseia (Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire 1910: 142-3, no. 123: *Κουλλα*). Compare also the male name *Κουλας*, attested at Isauropolis (Laming-Pascher 1992: 194, no. 314, Yenisu/Alkaran), and perhaps at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (*MAMA VII 63: Κουλου* [dat.], Kindiras).

354. Akörenkişla

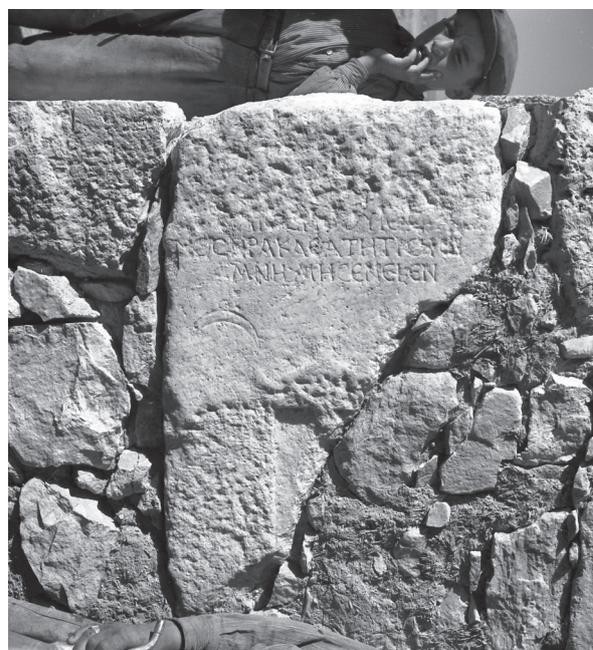
Funerary inscription of the nurse Heraklea.

Coarse greyish-white marble block, broken above, below and behind. Upper and lower parts of the face rough-picked, obscuring the upper part of line 1 of the inscription. Below the inscription, at left, incised crescent. Below the crescent, a pedimented niche with defaced relief of standing figure. Found at Akörenkişla (territory of Savatra?), in the wall of a stable. Ht. 0.87+; W. 0.54; Th. 0.28+; letters 0.025-0.030. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy; photograph (1956/188). Third century AD.

[Ἀυρ]ήλιος Ν[ό]ουῖος [- -]
 νος Ἡρακλέα τῆ τροφῶ
 μνήμης ἔνεκεν.

[Aur]elius Novius, son of..., for his nurse Heraklea, in memoriam.

The Roman gentilician Novius is relatively common in Asia Minor: see Salomies 2001: 161. The only other possible instance of the name in Lykaonia derives from an inscription from Ankara (*I.Ankara 187*), the tombstone of a deceased cavalryman from Ikonion, set up by his brother Νωουιανός. The letters ΝΟΣ at the start of line 2 presumably represent the end of a patronym ([Ἰέρω]νος *vel sim.*). The name Herakle(i)a is



attested elsewhere in Lykaonia, cf. Callander 1906: 161, no. 17 (Savatra); Sterrett 1888a: 198, no. 207. Heraklea had been Novius' nurse (*ἡ τροφός*): see Robert, *OMS VI*, 117-20, discussing *MAMA I 30*, from Sarayönü (Laming-Pascher 1984: 72, no. 122; *SEG 34*, 1374: in lines 3-5, read, with Robert, *τροφῶ τέκνων καὶ ἰδίᾳ*); cf. also *BE 1971*, 748. For the crescent moon, cf. the commentary to 346 above (Savatra).

XXII. KANA

355. Gene

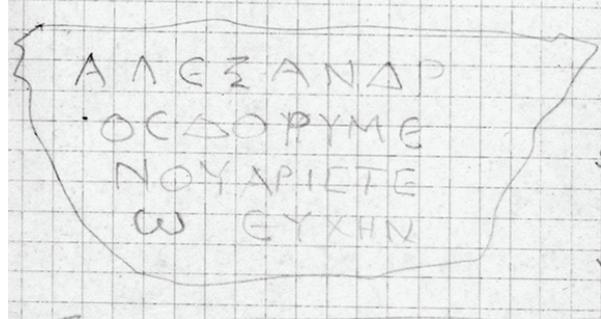
Votive inscription of Alexandros.

A rough slab of red limestone. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.52; W. 0.95; Th. 0.20; letters 0.060-0.070.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/52, illustrated here); MB notebook copy (1957/50).

Roman imperial period.



Ἀλέξανδρ-
ος Δορυμέ-
νου Ἀριστέ-
ω εὐχὴν.

Alexandros son of Dorymenes, grandson of Aristeus, in fulfillment of a vow.

For the name Δορυμένης in northern Lykaonia, see the commentary to 284 above (Zengicek [Koçyaka]). I assume that Ἀριστέω (lines 3-4) should be understood as the genitive of Ἀριστεύς (Ἀριστέως) with loss of the final *sigma*; compare, in lines 2-3, Δορυμένου for Δορυμένους.

356. Gene Yaylası

Altar base with Apotactite or Encratite prayer.

Red marble slab with a narrow rim around the edge of the upper surface (W. 0.030, depth 0.030); inscription on one of the long side faces. Found at Gene Yaylası (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), location not recorded.

Ht. 0.16; W. 0.76; Th. 0.61; letters 0.012-0.025.

Thonemann 2011b: 200-3, no. 3. Edition based on squeeze; WMC notebook copy (1954/50).

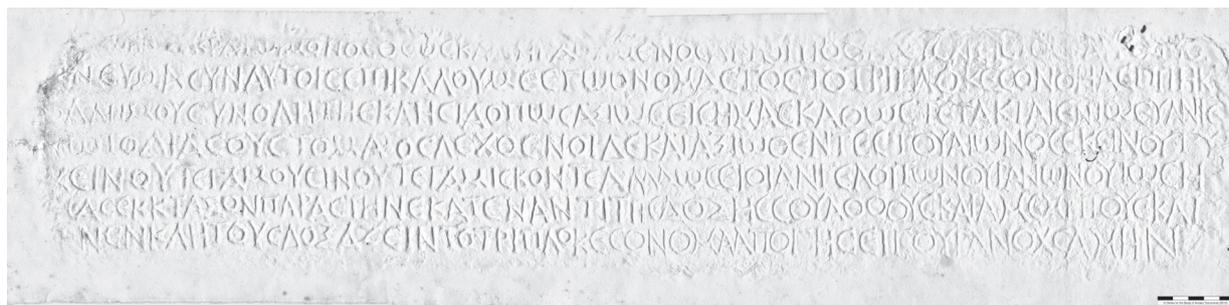
Fourth century AD, probably before AD 381.

5 [παντο]κράτωρ μόνος θεὸς καὶ [ὁ] ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον
[π]νεῦμα σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐπικαλοῦμε ἐγὼ Ὀνόμαστος τὸ τριπλοκὲς ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ κ[ε]-
φαλῇ μου σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅπως ἀξιῶσεις ἡμᾶς, καθὼς τέτακται ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελ[λ]-
[ί]ῳ τὸ διὰ σου στόματος λεχθέν· οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυ-
χεῖν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίσκοντε, ἀλλὰ ὡσεὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν. οὕτως ἡ-
μᾶς ἐκκτάξον παραστήνε κατέναντι τῆς δόξης σου ἀθόους καὶ ἀμέμπτους καὶ
[ἀ]βενκλήτους δοξάζειν τὸ τριπλοκὲς ὄνομα ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς, ἀμήν.

The all-powerful one God and his beloved son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit along with them. I, Onomastos, call the threefold name upon my head along with the whole church, that you may consider us worthy, just as it is laid down in the Gospel, that which was spoken through your own mouth: 'And those who are considered worthy of receiving that world do not marry, nor are they given in marriage, but (are) just like the angels of the heavens'. Thus draw us up in ranks to stand before your glory, guiltless and blameless and without reproach, to glorify the threefold name from earth to the heavens, Amen.

The form and dimensions of this monument are almost identical to those of a late antique altar-base from Pazarcik, on the territory of Aizanoi in Phrygia: Niewöhner 2007: 233, Cat. 227 (Ht. 0.12, W. 0.63+, Th. 0.77; rim, W. 0.070, depth 0.025). The gospel citation in lines 4-5 is a slightly abbreviated quotation from Luke 20:34-6, ‘the sons of this world marry and are given in marriage, but those who have been considered worthy of receiving that world and resurrection from the dead do not marry, nor are they given in marriage; for they can no longer die, since they are like the angels’ (οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου

γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται, οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίσκονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν). The monument is almost certain to derive from an Encratite or Apotactite ascetic community: for full commentary, see Thonemann 2011b. The phrase τὸ τριπλοκὲς ὄνομα does not appear elsewhere; indeed, the adjective τριπλοκῆς seems to be unique. As a consequence, it is hard to judge whether this group subscribed to orthodox Trinitarian theology.



357. Gene

Boundary stone of church property.

White limestone *stèle* with pediment and rough inset panel (Ht. 0.33, W. 0.24), broken above. Line 1 in the pediment. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the wall of a yard.

Ht. 1.24+; W. 0.37; Th. --; letters 0.015-0.040.

Callander 1906: 163, no. 22. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/53).

Probably sixth century AD.

A † Ω
 † ὄροι τοῦ
 ἁγίου καὶ
 ἐνδόξου
 5 Ἰωάννου [ο] [υ] τ[οῦ]
 Βαπτ[τιστοῦ].

Lines 5-6: Ἰοδετερος | Θύρσου (sic) Callander.

Boundaries of (the church of) the glorious Saint John the Baptist.



The lettering is extremely shallow, rendering the stone very difficult to read; despite the variant readings in lines 5-6, the correspondence of line-divisions makes it very likely that this stone is identical to that published by Callander in 1906. A very similar inscription was copied by Ramsay around 50km to the east of Gene (Beşağıl), at ‘Tchandir Yaila, three hours west of Emir Ghazi’ (probably identical to Çandır Yaylası, 5km NW of Emirgazi): *δύναμις θεοῦ καὶ χῆρ βασιλέως ὄροι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ, ἀμὴν* (Calder 1912c: 264). It is possible that one of the two inscriptions has migrated east or west across the plateau. Both monuments are boundary-stones marking the territory pertaining to a church of St John the Baptist, probably at or near Kana. Large numbers of boundary-stones of this kind were set up in the mid-sixth century as a result of an edict of AD 535 affirming the inalienability of all church property; cf. *RECAM* II 207-8; Amelotti and Zingale 1985: 132-6.



358. Gene

Funerary inscription of Auxanon, Dokimeian stone-mason.

Coarse marble block, broken right and perhaps above. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the wall of a house.

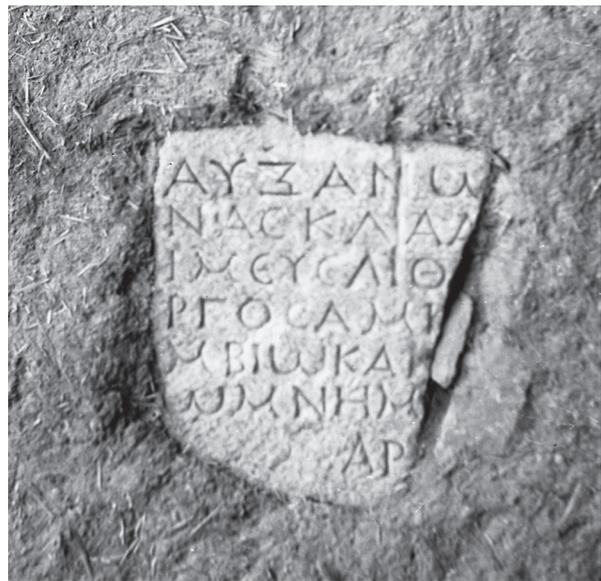
Ht. 0.32; W. 0.26+; Th. --; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/54).

Roman imperial period.

Αὐξάνω-
 ν Ἀσκλά Δ[οκ]-
 ιμεὺς λιθ[οῦ]-
 ργὸς Ἀμι[α] συ]-
 5 μβίω καὶ ἐ[αυτ]-
 ῶ μνήμ[η]ς χ]-
 vac. ἀρ[ι].]

Auxanon son of Asklas, Dokimeian stone-mason, for his wife Amia and himself, in memoriam.



For itinerant Dokimeian stone-masons in central Anatolia, see 340 above (Koçaş) and the commentaries to 7 (Apollonia) and 255 (Laodikeia).

359. Gene

Funerary inscription set up by Sandas.

Marble slab, broken right and below, with raised fillet running down the centre of the inscription. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the floor of a storehouse at the top of the village.

Ht. 0.67+; W. 0.60+; Th. 0.15; letters 0.015-0.030.

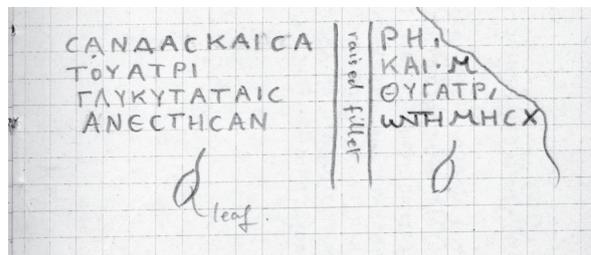
Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy (1954/55).

Roman imperial period.

Σανδας	ΚΑΙΣΑ	ΡΗΙ[- -]
Τουατρι	καὶ	Μ[- - - -]
γλυκυτάταις	θυγατρά[σιν]	
ἀνέστησαν	μνήμης	χ[άριον]
✠		✠

Sandas... set this up for Touatris and M... our sweetest daughters, in memoriam.

For the name Σανδας, cf. Robert 1963: 500; Zgusta 1964: 454-5 §1370; the name is attested at the neighbouring city of Perta (MAMA VIII 274: Obruk). The sequence of letters at the end of line 1 is difficult. The plural verb ἀνέστησαν in line



4 suggests that two names are required in line 1 (father and mother), but I know no female name that begins Σαρη-. Alternatively, we could assume that the letters *eta* and *iota* at the end of the line were misread by Calder, and restore the ethnic of Cappadocian Caesarea, *Καισαρεύς*, but that would not leave much space for [καὶ ἡ δεῖνα] in the lacuna. The female name *Τουατρις* (line 2) seems otherwise only to be attested at Elmasun, in the Lykaonian-Isaurian borderlands (Laming-Pascher 1992: 39, no. 21). For the fillet dividing the inscription down the middle, cf. MAMA I 228 (Sarayönü).

360. Gene

Funerary inscription for a husband.

Fragment of white limestone, broken above, below and left. Inscription on a slightly raised circular panel. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the wall of a house.

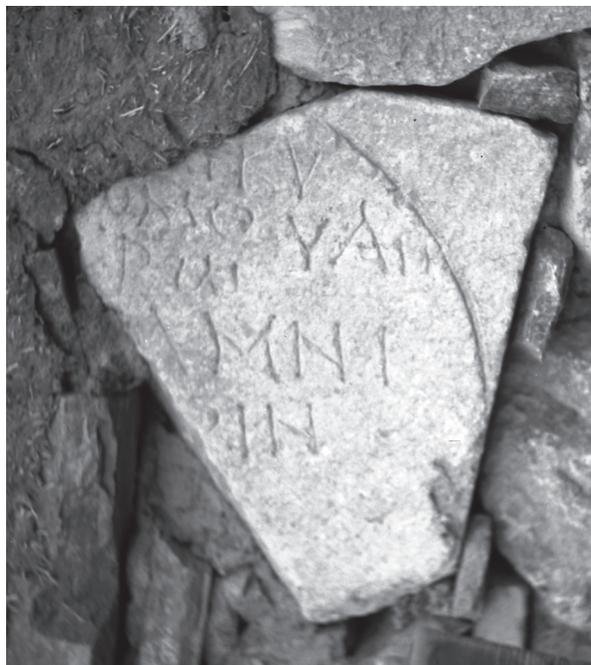
Ht. 0.42+; W. 0.30+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/54).

Roman imperial period.

5	[τῶ γ]λυκυ-
	[τάτ]ῳ μου ἀν-
	[δρι . ²⁻³ .]ρω
	[. . ^{c.5} . .]α μνή-
	[μης χά]ριον.

For my sweetest husband ...ros, (woman's name), in memoriam.



361. Gene Yaylası

Funerary stele of Kyria, Basilissa and Palladios.

White marble *stèle* with vaulted pediment, broken below. In the pediment, cross in circle, with incised birds to left and right. Found at Gene Yaylası (near Kana), in the wall of a house.

Ht. 0.37+; W. 0.35; Th. --; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/51).

Third or fourth century AD.

- Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀκαμάτιος τῇ γλ[υ]-
 κυτάτῃ μου συνβίῳ Κυρίῃ
 κὲ τῆς φιλάτῃς μου θυγ[α]-
 τρὸς Βασιλίσσης κὲ
 5 τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου
 ἐγγόνι. ν. ἐνθάδε κί-
 τε μήτηρ καὶ θυγάτηρ
 κὲ τὸ φίλτατον ἐγγόνι-
 ὄν μου Παλλάδιος νέ-
 10 ον ἔρνος συναμφιπ-
 [ολεύσας (?) - - - -]

Aur(elius) Akama(n)tios, for my sweetest wife Kyria and my dearest daughter Basilissa and my sweetest grandchild. Here lie mother and daughter and my dearest grandchild Palladios, the new shoot, who served as joint priest/attendant (?)....

The name Ἀκαμά(ν)τιος is exceptionally rare. To the best of my knowledge, it only appears elsewhere at Dorylaion in Phrygia, where it is found as the *signum* or honorific nickname of Q. Voconius Aelius Stratonikos, honoured as a 'New Akamas' or second founder of Dorylaion (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/34/06, 07, 09; Robert, OMS VI, 450-2). Akamas, son of Theseus, was considered to be one of the mythological founders of several cities in Phrygia (Dorylaion, Synnada, Metropolis: Robert, OMS IV, 90-1; VI, 451-2). For the name Basilissa in this region, see



also 211 above (Azak [Hodoğlu]); 287 (Zengicek [Koçyaka]).

The phrase νέον ἔρνος may be a Homeric echo (H., *Od.* 6.163: φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα); it appears in another Christian funerary inscription from this region (303 above, from Karakaya, on the eastern edge of the Konya plain), Πέτρῳ πιτυτῇ ἀνεψιῷ νέῳ ἔρني. The poetic term ἔρνος was relatively common in the Christian funerary epigraphy of Lykaonia and the Axylon; compare MAMA VII 559 (Kuyulusebil); MAMA VII 587 (Kolukisa, ancient *Keissia), ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ῥίζης ἔρνος κλυτὸν ἐξεφαάνθη; CIG 3989m (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 14/06/18, Kadınhanı), νέος ἡλικίην, ἔρνος κλυτὸν, ἐνθάδε κίτε. I can see no other way of restoring the final line than with a participle συναμφιπ[ολεύσας] *vel sim.*; the verb is attested at Apollonia in Illyria in the fourth or third century BC (*BE* 2008, 283), but I can find no parallels for its use in a Christian context.

362. Gene

Funerary inscription of a councillor.

Rough block of blue-grey marble; inscription in incised panel at top (Ht. 0.40; W. 0.25). Below the inscription, an incised spindle. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), in the steps of a house by the mosque.

Ht. 1.24; W. 0.46; Th. 0.40; letters 0.020-0.040.

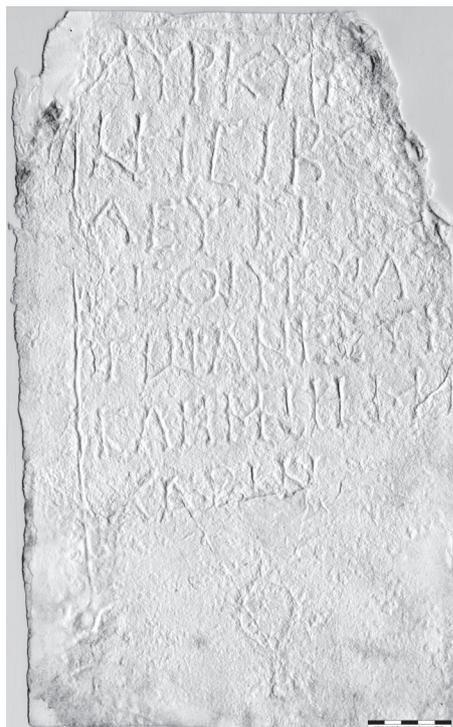
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/49).

Third or fourth century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) ΚΥΡ[. .]
 ΝΗΣΙ βο[v]-
 λευτῆς
 κὲ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐ-
 5 τῷ ἀνέστη-
 σαν μνήμης
 χάριν.

Aur(elius) Kyr..., councillor, and his sons, set this up for him in memoriam.

The restoration in lines 1-2 is difficult. It is possible that the letters ΝΗΣΙ in line 2 represent an abbreviated patronym Νησι(ου) or Νησι(ος). The indigenous names Νησις and Νησιος were extremely common in Lykaonia (Robert 1963:



428; Zgusta 1964: 359-60 §1036); cf. Laminger-Pascher 1992: Index, s.v. Νησις; Ramsay 1918: 151-2, no. 8 (Konya), Νησιου (gen.); *I.Konya* 151 (nr. Seydeşehir), Νησιος (gen.); 377 below (Karaağaç). The name in line 1 could in that case be restored Κῦρος] (cf. 338 above).

363. Gene

Funerary stele set up by Aur. Tyrannos.

Stele with vaulted pediment, broken above, below and right. In the pediment, a cross in a circle. Found at Gene (Beşağıl, ancient Kana), location not recorded.

Ht. 0.65+; W. 0.50+; Th. 0.35; letters 0.020-0.030.

Unpublished. Edition based on WMC notebook copy; photograph (1954/53).

Third or fourth century AD.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τύρ[αν]-
 νος τῷ [γλυ]-
 κυτάτ[ω μου]
 πατρὶ Σ[. .⁴⁵. .]
 5 ω ἀνέ[στησε]-
 ν μνή[μης χά]-
 ριν [vac.]



Aur(elius) Tyrannos set this up for my sweetest father S..., in memoriam.

For the name Tyrannos in this region, see also 329 above (Zulmandar Hanı).

364. Gene

Bilingual inscription of uncertain type.

Grey limestone block, apparently complete. Found at Gene (Beşagıl, ancient Kana), in the wall of a house.

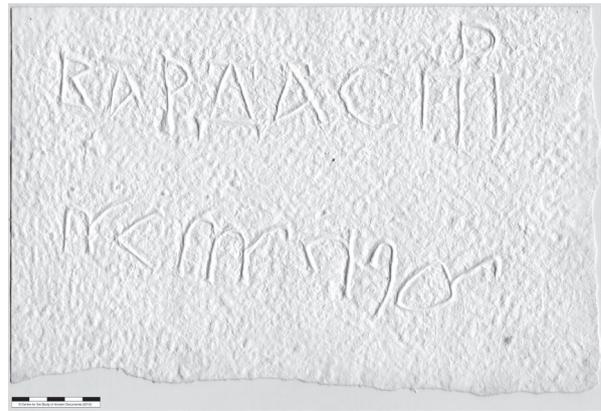
Ht. 0.82; W. 0.63; Th. 0.89; letters 0.030-0.070.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy (1957/55).

Byzantine period.

Βάρδας πρ(εσβύτερος).

Bardas the presbyter.



XXIII. KOMITANASSOS

365. Ortakuyu

Votive *bomos* of Neikias to Apollo.

Grey marble *bomos*. On front face, line 1 of the inscription between rough guide-lines at top; below, defaced relief; lines 2-5 at bottom. On the right-hand face, in relief, mounted rider, holding spear in left hand, double-axe (?) in right hand; below, a figure in a long robe advancing left, with spear in left hand and patera in right hand. Found at Ortakuyu (Komitanassos), in a house.

Ht. 0.39; W. 0.215; Th. 0.13; letters 0.012-0.030.

Ballance 1958: 227-8; [BE 1959, 434; SEG 17, 544]; *I.Konya* 43. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing;

MB notebook copy (1956/191).

Roman imperial period.

Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπηκό[ω]

defaced relief

Νεικίας Πασικρά-

τους τοῦ Μανίου

Κουαμιτανασε-

ύς.

5

To Apollo who listens, Neikias son of Pasikrates son of Manius, of Kouamitanasos.

For the names Pasikrates and Manius, see 294 above (Tatlıkuyu/Akbaş), in which the inhabitants of a village on the territory of Ikonion honour a benefactor by the name of Manius son of Pasikrates, presumably a relative of the man named in this inscription.

Three votive *bomoi* dedicated to Apollo, all found together at an unnamed village near Aksaray, are now in the Nevşehir Museum (French 2007: 82-4, nos. 19-21). No. 19 describes the deity as [Φοί]βω Ἀπόλλ[ωνι] ἐπηκόω, and no. 20 was dedicated by a certain Αὐρ. Νικάνωρ Ἰέρακος Κομιτανασσεύς. French thus reasonably suggests that these three *bomoi* derive from the same sanctuary of Apollo as the inscription copied by Ballance, and that the 'village near Aksaray' is likely to have been Ortakuyu.



On the right-hand side of the *bomos* copied by Ballance at Ortakuyu (not, as stated by Ballance 1958: 227, the left-hand side) a mounted horseman with spear and double-axe was depicted in relief (not noted by McLean, *I.Konya* 43). A further votive *bomos* to Apollo, said to derive from Setik Yayla, c. 27km NNE of Ortakuyu, near Eskil in the steppe south of Lake Tatta, was published by French 2007: 88, no. 27. This *bomos* was set up by a certain Σιλβανός Ἀθηνέου, and depicts Apollo in relief as a rider-god wielding a double-axe. It seems very likely that this *bomos* also ultimately derives from the same sanctuary at Ortakuyu.

The *bomos* from Setik Yayla suggests a possible reattribution for *I.Konya* 26, a small *bomos* dedicated to Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπηκόω by Λούκις Σιλβανού, with a relief depicting Apollo as a rider-god. The editor of *I.Konya* records the provenance of this monument as Meydanlı, between Toriaion and Laodikeia in Phrygia Paroreios. However, given the patronym of the

dedicator (Silvanus, as in French 2007: 88, no. 27) and the manner of depicting Apollo, it seems very likely that this monument too should be attributed to the Ortakuyu sanctuary. It is, finally, conceivable that 314 above (a dedication to Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ ἐπηκόω at Giymir) has travelled from Ortakuyu to Giymir. For depictions of Apollo as a rider-god in central Asia Minor, see further Delemen 1999: 43-57, 167-75, with the Pisidian addenda of *I.BurdurMus* nos. 7, 11, 19, with pp. 255-74. Apollo is also depicted as a rider-god in *I.Konya* 27 (unknown provenance); cf. perhaps 257 above (Ladik).

On the term ἐπήκοος, see Versnel 1981: 34-7, and cf. 145 above (Karasandıklı). For a dedication to Asklepios and Hygeia ἐπήκοοι from Ortakuyu, see 366 below. At neighbouring Savatra, dedications are known to Ἄρη ἐπηκόω (Robert, *Hellenica* X, 72-8; *SEG* 15, 817), Ἄρηι καὶ Ἀρείαις [θε]οῖς

ἐπηκόοις (*SEG* VI 455) and anonymous [ἐπη]κόοις θεοῖς (*MAMA* VIII 227); see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 43-4.

The *tabula Peutingeriana* marks a road-station by the name of Comitannaso, twenty miles east of Perta on the 'North Lykaonian Road' (Ballance 1958: 224-8; *TIB Galatien* 100). The ethnic Κοναμιτανασεύς in this inscription clearly refers to the same site (Zgusta 1984: 297 §598); the votive *bomos* published by French 2007: 82-3, no. 20, gives the ethnic in the form Κομιτανασσεύς. Ballance 1958: 228 plausibly suggested that Komitanassos ought to be situated at Ortakuyu itself (accepted by *TIB Galatien* 153, s.v. Comitannaso); the modern village is built among the remains of a substantial ancient settlement, and lies some 18.5 miles east of Giymir (the site of Perta), which corresponds well with the 'twenty miles' of the Peutinger Table.

366. Ortakuyu

Votive *bomos* to Asklepios and Hygeia.

Greyish-white marble *bomos*, broken in two; upper part chipped at left. Lines 1-4 on inscription on upper moulding, line 5 on lower moulding. On the shaft, two standing figures in relief, female on the left, male on the right; between them, a snake. Found at Ortakuyu (Komitanassos), in a stable.

Ht. 0.49; W. 0.22 (upper moulding), 0.19 (shaft), 0.23 (base); Th. 0.20 (upper moulding), 0.17 (shaft), 0.20 (base); letters 0.015-0.020.

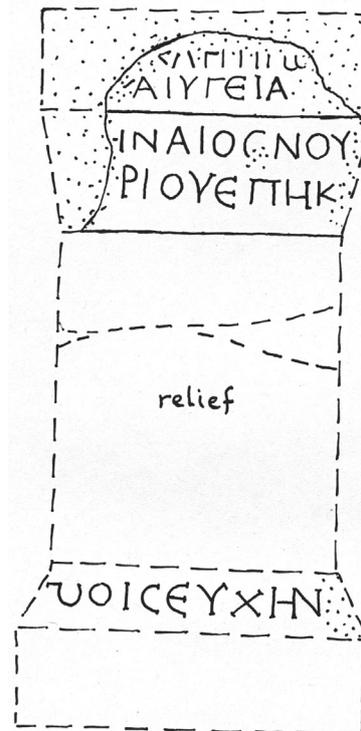
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/192).

Roman imperial period.

[Ἀσ]κληπιῶ
καὶ Ὑγείᾳ
[. .]ηναῖος Νου-
[με]ρίου ἐπηκ-
relief

5 ὠοῖς εὐχῆν.

To Asklepios and Hygeia, gods who listen, [..]enaios son of Numerius, in fulfillment of a vow.



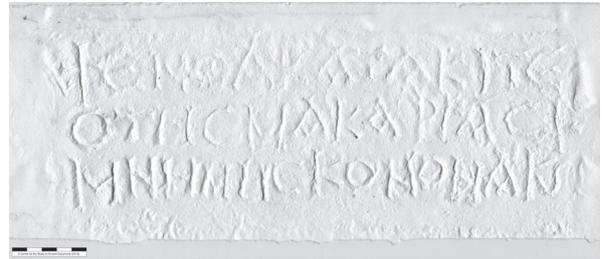
The name in line 2 is presumably to be restored either [Ἀθ]ηναῖος or [Ἰρ]ηναῖος; for the name Athenaios, compare 368 below (Komitanassos). On the name Numerius in Asia Minor, see Salomies 2006: 106 n.92. For Asklepios and Hygeia as θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι, cf. e.g. *MAMA IX* 61 (Aizanoi);

Ramsay, *Phrygia II*, 377, no. 198 (Eumeneia); on the epithet ἐπήκοος, see the commentary to 365. A dedication to Asklepios Soter is known from the neighbouring city of Savatra (*MAMA VIII* 226: Yağlıbayat).

367. Ortakuyu

Funerary inscription of Konon.

Grey-blue marble slab, broken above; inscription in incised *tabula ansata* at bottom, with incised vertical lines up the sides of the front face. Found at Ortakuyu (Komitanassos), in the northern part of the village. Ht. 0.58+; W. 0.54; Th. 0.20; letters 0.025-0.035. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/190). Fifth or sixth century AD.



† ἔνθα κατάκλιτε
ὁ τῆς μακαρίας †
μνήμης Κόνον ΑΚς.

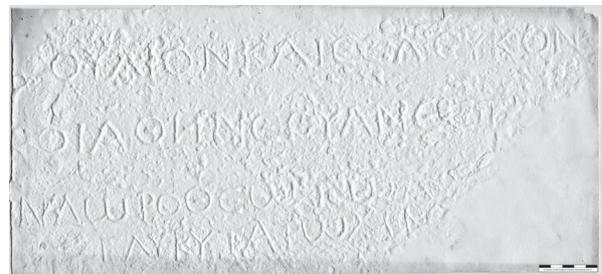
Here lies Konon, of blessed memory...

The abbreviation at the end of line 3 may be an error for ΑΧς, the standard abbreviation for (μον)αχ(ός). For the physical form of the monument, compare French 2007: 74-5, no. 8 (Kırşehir Museum).

368. Dayıkuyusu

Funerary *bomos* of Dorotheos.

White limestone *bomos*, broken above, face damaged below. Above the inscription, on the shaft, relief of a standing draped male figure in an arched niche. Found at Dayıkuyusu (near Komitanassos), in a well-head. Ht. 1.45+; W. 0.49 (shaft), 0.61 (base); Th. 0.36 (shaft); letters 0.020-0.030. Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; line drawing; MB notebook copy (1956/193). Roman imperial period.



[Ἰούλιον καὶ Σέλευκον
οἱ Ἀθηνέου ἀνέστη[σα]-
ν Δωροθέω τῷ ἀ[δελφῷ]
γλυκυτάτῳ μν[ήμης]
5 [ἔνεκεν.]

Iulius and Seleukos, sons of Athenaios, set this up for Dorotheos, their sweetest brother, in memoriam.

Dayıkuyusu is a yayla in the steppe south of Ortakuyu, east of Akörenkişla; I have tentatively assigned the village to the territory of Komitanassos. For the name Seleukos in this region, see the commentary to 309 above; for the name Athenaios, compare *MAMA VIII* 271 (Obruk), and perhaps 366 above (Komitanassos). The irrational accusatives in line 1 both seem certain on the squeeze.

XXIV. SOUTHERN LYKAONIA

369. Losta

Funerary inscription of Ammoukis and others.

Cornice-block, chipped at l., broken at r. Found at Losta (Akarköy), exact location not recorded.

Not recorded (Ht. 0.38; W. 1.63+; Th. 0.67; letters 0.030, MAMA VIII).

Paris and Radet 1886: 510, no. 21; Sterrett 1888b: 26-7, no. 26; [Robert 1937: 394-5]; MAMA VIII 207; [Laming-Pascher 1992: 46, no. 41]. Edition based on photograph (1957/80a).

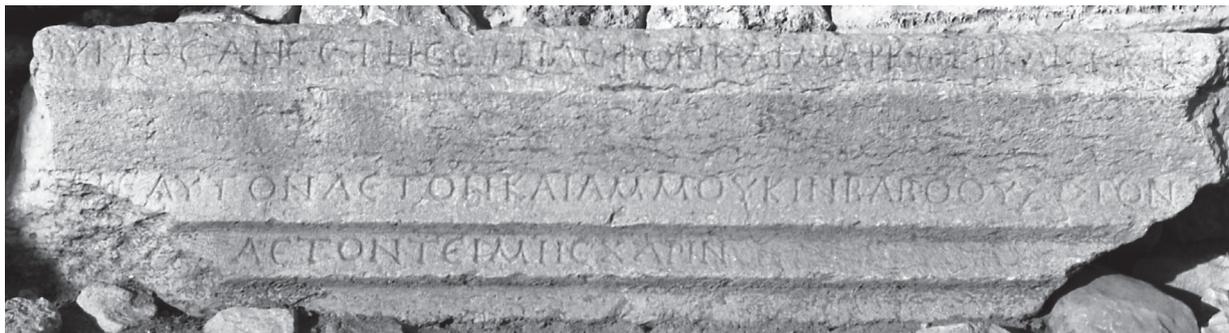
Roman imperial period.

[Λ]ούκιος ἀνέστησε Τήλεφον καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Σέξτο[ν - - -]
 [καὶ] ἑαυτὸν ἀετὸν καὶ Ἀμμουκιν Βαβοου  τὸν πατέρα]
 [- - - vac. (?) - - -] ν. ἀετὸν τειμῆς χάριν. ν.

Line 1: Σέξτο[ν υἱὸς ?] MAMA VIII.

Loukios set up the eagle for Telephos and Marcus and Sextus... and himself, and (another) eagle for his father Ammoukis son of Baboas, in their honour.

Loukios set up two or more funerary eagles to mark the tomb of his father and (presumably) his sons: cf. 372 below (Kazımkarabekir: funerary lion). For the meaning of ‘to set up an eagle’, see Robert 1937: 394-7; Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 72; Kubińska 1968: 61-3, and for the double accusative cf. e.g. MAMA VIII 308 (Arikören: Laming-Pascher 1992: 71, no. 67), Γουνδιανή Διοκλέους ἀνέθηκε[ν] λέοντα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Νησιον κτλ. The eagle has nothing to do with Mithraism: thus, correctly, Metzger 1945: 232, n.35. Telephos is a common name in this region (Thonemann 2011b: 198 n.56). Zgusta 1964: 66 n.154 was sceptical about the existence of a name *Αμμουκίς; however, it is also attested at Selinous in Kilikia, thanks to Beševliev 1964: no. 20 (Serdica), ἔνθα κατάκιτε Ἀμμουκίς ἀπὸ Σεληνοῦντος; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 175 n.2. For the name Βαβοας, see Zgusta 1964: 114 §133-7.



370. Losta

Inscription mentioning P. Futius Priscus.

Blue marble architrave and frieze block, with mouldings on front and at l., broken r. Upper moulding defaced. Found at Losta (Akarköy), in a yard, said to have been dug up locally.

Ht. 0.44; W. 1.00+; Th. 0.72; letters 0.0125.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/77).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]

Ποπλίου Φουτίου Πρείσκου.

...*Publius Futius Priscus*.

I assume that the inscription began on the defaced upper moulding. The *nomen* Futius is extremely rare: in Asia Minor it is otherwise only attested at Ikonion, on two sarcophagi now in the Konya museum, both probably of the late second or early third century (see the commentary to 188 above



[Synnada]): (1) Futia Aelia Domnilla: Özgan 2003: 47-51, Kat. 14; SEG 50, 1358bis; *I.Konya* 182; (2) Futius Aelius Martyris: SEG 15, 819; *I.Konya* 183. It seems likely that the presence of this rare *nomen* in Lykaonia goes back to the Augustan colony at Ikonion: see the discussion of rare *nomina* at Ikonion by Mitchell 1979a: 418-23.

371. Bosala

Funerary inscription of Nanalis.

Cornice block with simple recessed moulding below; broken r. and behind. Found at Bosala (Özyurt), in a yard.

Ht. 0.24+; W. 0.56+; Th. 0.40+; letters c. 0.040.

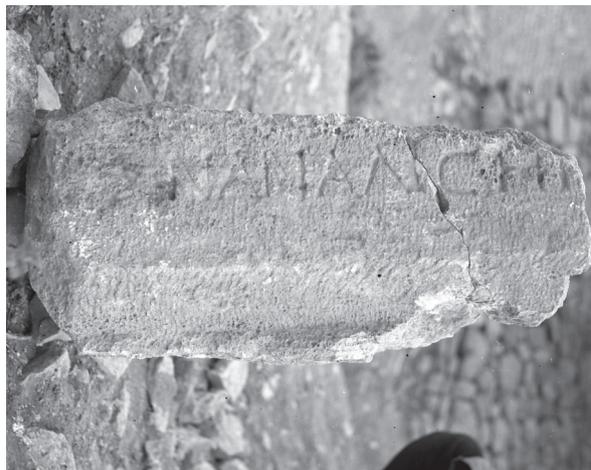
Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/74).

Roman imperial period.

Ναναλις ἡ γ[υνή (?) - -]

Nanalis, the w[ife?...]

The name does not seem to be attested elsewhere; however, for the form, compare the common Isauro-Lykaonian woman's name *Ουαναλις* (Zgusta 1964: 389 §1137-1; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 243, Index s.v.).



372. Kasaba

Funerary lion grave-cover.

Grey-white marble statuette of lion; hindquarters and forelegs broken off. On the left shoulder, veiled female figure in low relief, holding wreath aloft in r. hand. Found at Kasaba (Kazımkarabekir), outside the Belediye.

Ht. 0.64+; W. 0.43; length 0.57+.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/73).

Roman imperial period.

For funerary lion grave-covers in Lykaonia, Robert 1937: 394-7; Kubińska 1968: 61-3; *I.Konya* 191-4. The female figure with a wreath depicted in relief on the lion's shoulder depicts the individual buried in the grave. Several other Lykaonian funerary lion grave-covers carry depictions of the deceased between the lion's paws (cf. Buckler, Calder and Cox 1924: Plates III-IV); cf. *SEG* 6, 780 (between Artanada and Isaura, discussed by Robert 1937: 395-7), [οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀνέστησαν]... τὰς ἀδ[ελφὰς ἀ]ν[ι]στῶν τέσσαρας καὶ Μικίλου παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ Καβιριν Πιλλιος υἱὸν ἐν



τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος καὶ Ἰμματιν θυγατέρα Μικίλου ὑποκάτω τοῦ λέοντος. The inscription associated with this grave-cover would thus presumably have read ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέστησε τὴν δεῖνα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τοῦ λέοντος. See also 369 above (Losta [Akarköy]).

373. Kasaba

Statuette of Asklepios.

Greyish-white marble statuette, complete. Male bearded figure, standing, with long hair tied back with a *taenia*; wears toga slung over l. shoulder. In l. hand, snake; in r. hand, *patera*. Found at Kasaba (Kazımkarabekir), in the village *çayhane*; said to have been found recently at the *höyük* by the village.

Ht. 0.59; W. 0.18; Th. 0.19.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/72).

Roman imperial period.

For Asklepios in this region, cf. 366 above (Komitanassos).



374. Aşıran Yaylası

Funerary inscription of Sornatius.

Limestone block, broken left. Found at Aşıran Yaylası (Ekinözü, near ancient Derbe), in a well belonging to Tahir Atçeken.

Ht. 0.35; W. 1.00+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.035.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/70).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]εισου θυγάτηρ
 [----- Σ]ωρνατίω τῷ ἐατῆς
 [ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐα]τῇ ζώσῃ ἐπόησε
 [vac. τὸ] μνῆμα *crescent*.

...daughter of ...eisos made the memorial for ...[S]ornatius, her [husband], and for herself, while still living.

The nomen Sornatius is exceptionally rare (Syme, *RP* II 601-2). In the Greek East, it is otherwise only attested at Akmonia, where a *statarion* was set up in the late 70s or early 60s BC by C. Sornatius



C.f. Barba of Picenum, legate of Lucullus (*MAMA* VI 260, with Thonemann 2010: 172-3). Most likely our Sornatius was an Italian immigrant or the freedman of a senatorial landowner in the region (cf. 378 below [Anbar]). For the crescent moon at the end of the inscription, cf. 382 below (Karamankırı [Güvercinlik]); 354 above (Savatra). Aşıran Yaylası (modern Ekinözü) lies very close to Kerti Höyük, the likely site of Derbe (Ballance 1957; Ballance 1964: 139-40; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 61-6; *TIB Galatien* 157, s.v. Derbē).

375. Between Kaleköy and Karaağaç.

Funerary inscription from a sarcophagus.

Whitish limestone block, broken left, possibly also right and above. Found at Between Kaleköy and Karaağaç, in the foundations of a culvert just west of a Selcuk bridge.

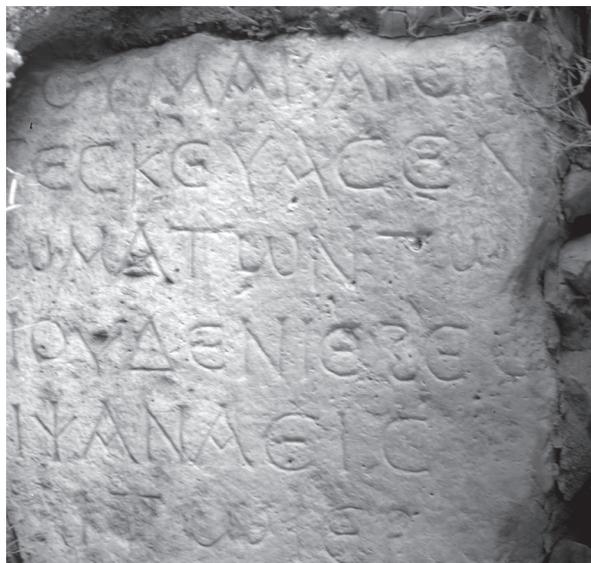
Ht. 0.83; W. 0.60+; Th. --; letters 0.045-0.055.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/69).

Roman imperial period.

[-----]ΟΥΜΑΚΑΙΕΙΙ[.]
 [- - τὴν σορὸν κα]τεσκεύασεν
 [ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλ]ωμάτων τῷ
 [(e.g.) πατρί · ἐτέρω δ]αὶ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσ-
 5 [ται ἀνοῦξαι ἢ λ]είψανα εἰσ-
 [βαλεῖν, ἢ ὑποκείσει]ται τῷ ἱερῷ-
 [τάτῳ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) π]εντακισ-
 [χείλια. vac.] vac.

...constructed [the sarcophagus from his/her own] resources, for [(e.g.) his/her father.] And it will not



be permitted for anyone [else to open (the tomb) or to] inter remains; [otherwise, he will] owe 5,000 [denarii] to the most sac[red fisc.]

Line 1 presumably carried the name or names of the individual who set up the sarcophagus, probably for another family member (father, son, brother, husband). The term *λείψανα* ('remains') in line 5 is rather unusual in formulae of this kind (*σῶμα*, *πτῶμα* or *νεκρός* would be standard), and

has a poetic air (*MAMA VII 587; RECAM II 234, 392*); cf. however *MAMA VIII 327* (Akbaşayla: Kutudelik Han, territory of Ikonion), *τὸν δὲ κάτ[ω] οἶκον ἐπιδέχεσθαι ὧν ἂν διατάξωμαι λείψανα* (restoration uncertain).

376. Karaağaç

Funerary stele of M. Numerius.

Brown limestone *stèle*, complete. Arched panel with standing male figure at left, wearing toga and heavy boots; right arm bent across chest, hand concealed in folds of toga. With his left hand (apparently reworked), the figure is passing a plain rectangular object to a small male figure at bottom right, who himself is holding a pointed object with a flared end in his left hand. Plain pilasters to left and right, with stylised capitals. Inscription on lower frame, between guidelines. Found at Karaağaç, in a yard.

Ht. 0.54; W. 0.34; Th. 0.20; letters 0.015-0.020.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/57).

Roman imperial period.

Μ(ἄρκου) Νουμέριου
Γ(αΐου) Ἀουιλίου (?) ἡ γυνὴ
μνήμης χ ν. ά ν. ριν.

His wife (set this up for) M(arcus) Numerius, son of G(aius) Avilius (?), in memoriam.

The first letter of line 1, which ought to be an abbreviated *praenomen*, appears as a 'V' shape in Ballance's photograph; faint vertical strokes to left and right are visible on the squeeze, suggesting that this may be a *mu*. In line 2, the reading ΓΑΟΥΙΛΙΟΥ is certain, but it is not clear what name this represents. A name **Gavilius* seems to be unattested elsewhere; hence I have assumed that Numerius' father is also given his *praenomen*, Γ. Ἀουιλίου. The name *Avil(i)us* is not widespread in the East (though cf. e.g. *SEG 19, 846: Andeda*), and it is tempting to read the common name *Avidius* (Ἀουιδίου: for confusion between the two names, cf. Eck 1970: 74 n.41) but



the *lambda* seems clear on Ballance's photograph. In line 3, the final word (*χάρις*) is widely spaced in order to avoid natural holes in the stone.

The accompanying relief depicts a male figure, presumably the deceased, passing a rectangular object to a small male figure (probably a slave rather than a male child), who is holding a pointed object with a flared end in his left hand. Dr J. Masségliia suggests (*per litt.*) that the rectangular object may be a folded writing-tablet and the pointed object a stylus.

The village of Karaağaç lies around 7km SE of Akçaşehir and 9km SW of Anbar. To the best of my knowledge, the two inscriptions published here (cf. 377 below) are the first known from the village.

377. Karaağaç

Funerary *stèle* of Nesis.

Grey limestone *stèle*, broken above. Inscription in rectangular panel at base; above, inset panel, apparently containing large cross in relief. Found at Karaağaç, in a lane; said to be from Höyük Burnu.

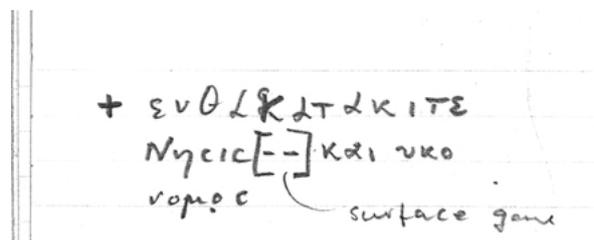
Ht. 1.17+; W. 0.92; Th. 0.15; letters 0.040.

Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy (1957/68).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† ἔνθα κατάκιτε
 Νησις [πρ(εσβύτερος) (?)] κέ ὕκο-
 νόμος.

Here lies Nesis, [presbyter] and oikonomos.



The inscription is known only from Ballance's notebook copy. For the indigenous name *Νησις*, which was extremely common in Lykaonia, see the commentary to 362 above (Kana). The clerical titles *presbyteros* ('elder') and *oikonomos* ('steward') are very frequently combined in early Christian epigraphy.

378. Anbar

Funerary inscription of an *oikonomos*.

Grey marble block, buried below and behind, chipped at left and right; apparently complete above. Found at Anbar, in the steps of a house.

Ht. 0.28+; W. 1.24; Th. 0.75+; letters 0.035-0.040.

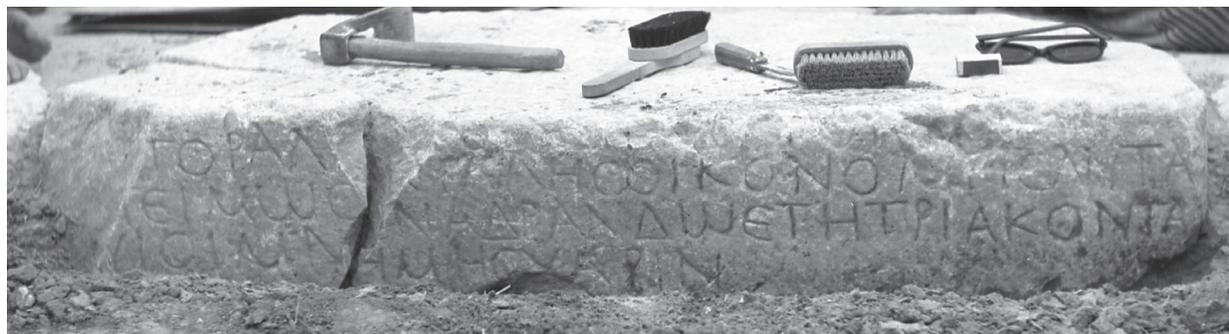
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/65).

Roman imperial period.

[. . .]τορα Λα[ι]νίλλης οἰκονομήσαντα
 [ἐν]τείμως [ἐ]ν Ἀδρανδῶ ἔτη τριάκοντα
 [οἰ]νοὶ υἱοὶ μνήμης χάριν.

His sons set this up for [Nes/Kas]tor, who was the excellent estate-manager of Laenilla at Adrandos for thirty years, in memoriam.

The name of the deceased in line 1 could either be [Νέσ]τορα or [Κάσ]τορα, both of which were common in Lykaonia; see the commentary to 327 above (Perta). He acted as estate-manager (*οἰκονόμος*, *vilicus*; cf. 48 above) of a woman whose name I have restored as Λα[ι]νίλλης, *Laenilla*; the *alpha* and *nu* are effectively certain, and I can find no other Roman name of the form *La[.1-2.]nilla*. The name *Laenilla* is rare; a senatorial woman by the name of *Mummi*



Laenilla with land-holdings near Brundisium is attested in the late second century AD (Andermahr 1998: 346-7; *PIR*² M 713).

This inscription provides our first evidence for the existence of senatorial estates in south-east Lykaonia. For the geographical distribution of large private estates in the western part of the plateau, see Mitchell 1993: I 149-58.

The toponym Ἀδρανδῶ (line 2) appears to be unattested elsewhere, but its formation has close parallels in this part of Asia Minor; compare the

place-names Λάρανδα (modern Karaman) and *Καρανδα at an uncertain location in Phrygia Paroreios (so I infer from the personal name *Karantenos*, carried by a Byzantine family known to have had interests near Philomelion in the early eleventh century: *MAMA* VII 190, with Cheynet 1990: 223 n.129). The alleged toponym *Αρανδα in Kappadokia (*SEG* 19, 874) has now been abolished by a re-reading of the relevant inscription (*SEG* 29, 1531). For the element Ἀδρ-, cf. Ἀδρασσός in Isauria (Zgusta 1984: 47).

379. Anbar.

Funerary inscription of Aetios and Eumathia.

Blue marble *stèle* with arched pediment. In the pediment, cross in circle; on the upper part of the shaft, inscription in *tabula ansata*, below, inset panel containing large cross in relief. Found at Anbar, in a lane.

Ht. 1.39; W. 0.64; Th. 0.15; letters 0.020-0.030.

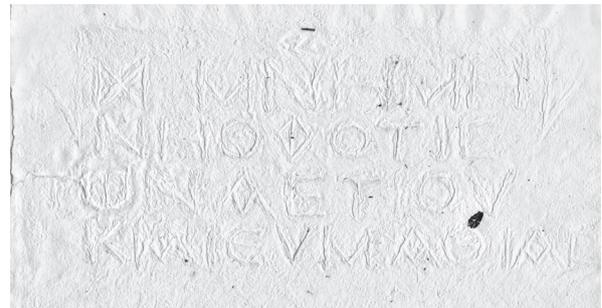
Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/64).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† μνήμη
νηφοτίσ-
των Ἀετίου
καὶ Εὐμαθίας.

Memorial of Aetios and Eumathia, the newly-enlightened ones.

The term νεοφώτιστος, 'newly-enlightened', i.e. 'newly-baptised', is common in early Christian Greek funerary epigraphy, particularly for children; cf. e.g. Feissel 1983: 119-21, no. 123 (Thessalonike), with commentary; *SEG* 27, 875 (Ankara). For funerary inscriptions of this type (μνήμη + genitive), cf. 381 below (Anbar); 386 (Kavuklar). For the form of the monument, cf. 381.



380. Anbar

Funerary inscription of a presbyteros.

Blue marble slab, broken right and above, buried left. Inscription in *tabula ansata*, between deep incised guide-lines; at left, incised wreath, apparently tied with ivy-leaf below. Found at Anbar, in the steps of a house. Ht. 0.83+; W. 0.50+; Th. 0.16; letters 0.075-0.095. Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/66). Fifth or sixth century AD.

ἐνθ[άδε κίτε]
 Θεοδ[- -]
 πρεσβ[ύτερος.]

He[re lies] Theod[- -], presbyter.

The name in line 2 could be Θεοδόσιος, Θεόδωρος, Θεόδουλος, or Θεόδοτος. The inscription is notably more elegantly cut than most monuments from this region.



381. Anbar

Funerary stele of Sisinnios.

Blackish limestone *stele*, complete. Inscription upside-down in crude *tabula ansata*; below, inset panel containing large cross in relief with semicircular base. Above the arms of the cross, two plain bosses in relief; below, the letters alpha and omega in relief. Found at Anbar, by the *höyük*. Ht. 1.96; W. 0.96; Th. 0.16; letters 0.065-0.090. Unpublished. Edition based on MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/67). Fifth or sixth century AD.

μνήμη
 Σισινίου.

Memorial of Sisinnius.

For funerary inscriptions of this type (*μνήμη* +genitive), cf. 379 above (Anbar); 386 below (Kavuklar). The monument is of exactly the same type as 379: a large *stele*, with an inset panel on the shaft containing a large cross in relief, with a *tabula ansata* above. To all appearances, this *stele* has been turned upside-down, its



original inscription erased, and the *tabula ansata* reinscribed with the text given here.

382. Karamankırı

Funerary inscription of Titus.

Limestone column, broken below. Below the inscription, an incised crescent. Found at Karamankırı (Güvercinlik), outside the mosque; said to have been found nearby at Tütün Tömeği.

Ht. 2.00+; Diameter 0.41; letters 0.020-0.025.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy (1957/59).

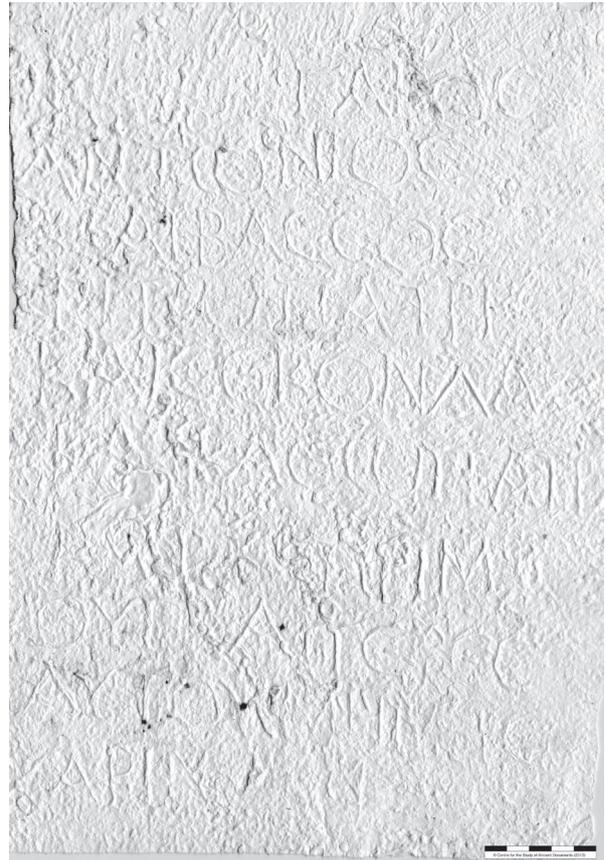
First or second century AD.

Γάϊος
 Ἀντώνιος
 κ ν. αἰ Βάσσος
 Τίτῳ πατρὶ
 5 καὶ Σεκόνδα
 καὶ Κλεωπάτρα
 καὶ ν. ν. Πρῖμ[α]
 θυγατέρες
 αὐτοῦ μ(ν)ήμης
 10 χάριν.

Line 9: ΜΗΜΗΣ.

Gaius Antonius and Bassus, for their father Titus, and Secunda and Kleopatra and Prima, his daughters, in memoriam.

The deceased Titus named his daughters Prima, Secunda and Kleopatra, presumably in that order:



on Roman numeral *praenomina*, see Kajava 1994: 122-3. For the incised crescent at the end of the inscription, cf. 354 above (Savatra); 374 (Aşiran Yaylası [Ekinözü]).

383. Akçaşehir

Funerary inscription set up by Domitius and others.

Block of creamy-white limestone, broken left and above. Remains of a panel moulding below and right (defaced). Found at Akçaşehir: built into the east wall of the porch of the mosque.

Ht. 0.34+; W. 0.51+; Th. --; letters 0.030-0.035.

Paris and Radet 1886: 513, no. 33; Pridik 1900: 20, no. 4 (*non vidi*); [Laminger-Pascher 1992: 96-7, no. 131]. Edition based on squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/58).

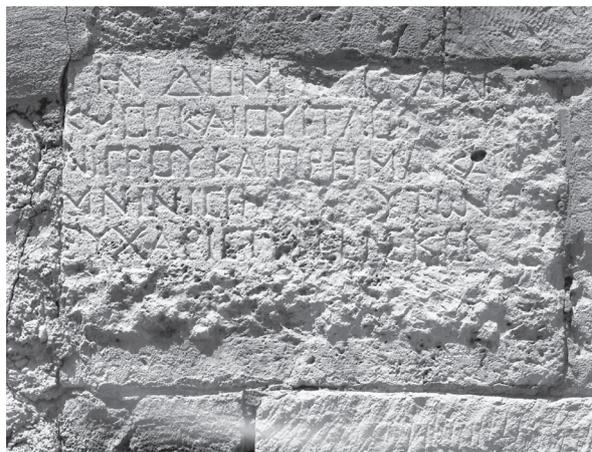
Roman imperial period.

[(e.g.) ἀνέστησαν τὴν στήλην ταύ]-
 τὴν ν. Δομίτιος καὶ Δέ-
 κμος καὶ Οὐίτλος [ὕ]οι
 Νίγρου καὶ Πρεῖμα καὶ
 ΜΗΗΝΙΣ ἢ μ[η]τ[ῆρ] αὐτῶν
 5 εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν.

Line 1: Δόμν[α]ν καὶ Ρ(aris) and Ρ(adet). Line 4: εὐχαριστίας Ρ. and Ρ.

[... they set up this stele], Domitius and Decimus and Vitulus the sons of Niger, and Prima and ... their mother, in gratitude.

This stone was seen by Paris and Radet in the mosque at Akçaşehir in May 1885. To judge from Laminger-Pascher's report of Pridik's 1900 publication of the stone (from an 1895 copy by Smirnov), their copy was distinctly superior to that of Smirnov. I am unable to offer a plausible explanation of the sequence MNHNIS in line 4, which ought to represent a woman's name. It is possible that the first couple of letters of this name were inscribed on the moulding at the end of line 3 or at the start of line 4 (i.e. [.]MNHNIS). For the spelling *Ούιτλος* in line 2 (= *Vitulus*), cf. *MAMA VI 296* (Akmonia: *Ούιτλιανῶ*); *I.Ankara 8.40* (*Ούίτλου*).



384. Kavuklar

Funerary inscription of Longinus.

Blue marble slab, broken in two. Incised rectangle, with two incised concentric circles at centre; four smaller incised circles in the corners. Inscription in a ring between the two concentric circles. Found at Kavuklar, in a garden opposite the school (with 385 and 386).

Ht. 1.25; W. 0.75; Th. --; letters 0.045-0.070.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/61).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† μνήμα Λουγίνου.

Memorial of Longinus.



385. Kavuklar

Funerary inscription of Stephanos.

Blue marble slab, broken in two; both fragments broken above. The two fragments do not quite join (c. 3-5cm missing). Inscription in incised *tabula ansata*, with stylised incised blind arcade above (three arches within rectangle). Found at Kavuklar, in a garden opposite the school (with 384 and 386).

(Fr.1) 0.45+; W. 0.46+; Th. --; (Fr.2) 0.40+; W. 0.36+; Th. --; letters 0.025-0.050.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photographs (1957/62).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

ἐνθα [κ]ατάκιτε
 Στέφανος ὁ εὐλαβ(έστατος)ς
 ἀρχιδιάκ(ονο)[ς] Γουνδ-
 ουρι(αείτης?). †

Here lies Stephanos, the most pious archdeacon, from the village of Kindyreou (?).

The reading ΓΟΥΝΔΟΥΡΙ in lines 3-4 seems certain. This seems very likely to be an abbreviated ethnic. I suggest that we are dealing with a phonetic variant of the ethnic of the village of *Kindyreou*, an ancient site on the territory of Laodikeia Katakekaumene, whose name was until recently preserved in the modern toponym Kindıras (*TIB Phrygien* 302, s.v. Kindyria; the village has now been renamed Demıroluk). For the ethnic, see *MAMA VII* 106 (Ilgin), Μάμας Μεμελάου Κινδουριαεΐτης οἰκοῦντος ἐν Λαγεινοῖς Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ κατὰ κέλευσιν,



with Thonemann 2008: 43-4; for the toponym, see *SEG* 37, 1240 (Kindıras), Ἰουλιανοῦ τιμίου πρεσβυ(τέρου), πατρίς Κινδουρεου ἥνπερ θεὸς εἰς ἑῶνα φυλάττει, with Drew-Bear 1987: 610-12.

386. Kavuklar

Funerary inscription of -meilla.

Blue marble slab, broken left and above. Inscription in incised *tabula ansata*, with geometric triangular design above; above, at centre, a cross in a circle. Found at Kavuklar, in a garden opposite the school (with 384 and 385).

Ht. 0.73+; W. 0.61+; Th. --; letters 0.060-0.070.

Unpublished. Edition based on squeeze; MB notebook copy; photograph (1957/63).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

[μ]νήμη
[-]μειλλα-
[s.]

Memorial of -meilla.

The name in lines 2-3 should presumably be



restored [Μαξι]μειλλα[s], [Πρι]μειλλα[s], [Ῥω]μειλλα[s] *vel sim.* For funerary inscriptions of this type (μνήμη + genitive), cf. 379 and 381 above (both from Anbar).

387. Kesmez

Church door lintel.

Reddish trachyte door-lintel, broken at both upper corners. In the centre of the upper moulding, a cross in a circle, flanked by two *tabulae ansatae*. Found at Kesmez, in a rough building of large blocks, including many spolia, on the lower outskirts of the village.

Ht. 0.35; W. 1.65; Th. 0.60; letters 0.030-0.050.

Laminger-Pascher 1992: 115, no. 158 (from the photograph published by K. Belke, *TIB Galatien* Abb.32). Edition based on partial squeeze; AH notebook copy; photograph (1957/56).

Fifth or sixth century AD.

† αὕτη ἡ πύλη [εἰς]ελεύσου-
τοῦ Κ(υρίου)· δίκαιοι [ται] ἐν αὐτῇ. †

This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter therein.

This inscription is a citation from Psalm 117:20. In late antiquity, this verse was very commonly inscribed on the lintels of churches; some thirty examples are collected by Feissel 1984: 225-6; Dagron and Feissel 1987: 52. For another example



in southern Lykaonia, see Laminger-Pascher 1992: 60, no. 58 (Fisandon, territory of Laranda).

The village of Kesmez, east of Karapınar on the slopes of the Karaca Dağ, marks the site of a late Roman and early Byzantine settlement, perhaps the ancient Thebasa: see *TIB Galatien* 232-4 s.v. Thēbasa; Laminger-Pascher 1992: 114-5.

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INDEX

I. PERSONAL NAMES

This index includes all personal names attested in the MAMA XI corpus, excepting names of Roman emperors, which are listed in Index II below. Names preserved in Greek are listed first (Index I.1), followed by names preserved in Latin (Index I.2). Roman *nomina* (including *Aurelius*) and *cognomina* are listed separately. Ordinary Roman *praenomina* are not usually included, except in cases where they are being used as a separate name in their own right; so Οὐαλέριος Γάιος (44, 1-2) receives entries under both Γάιος and Οὐαλέριος, but Γάιος Ἐγνάτιος Παῖτος (66, 15) is indexed only under Ἐγνάτιος and Παῖτος.

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135 Imp(eratori) Nerva(e) Cae[s](ari) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(im)o trib(unicia) pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriciae) III co(n)s(uli)

Trajan

308 Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρουα Τραια[νῶ] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ]

Hadrian

309 [Αὐ]τοκράτο[ρος] Καίσα[ρος] Τραια[νοῦ] Ἄδριανοῦ

Marcus Aurelius

90 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκων) Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνινὸ[ν] Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενικὸν Παρθικό[ν]

Lucius Verus

90 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιο[ν] Οὐήρον Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενικὸν κὲ Μηδικόν

Commodus

157 (original text) [[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]] [[Μάρκων Αὐρήλιον Κόμμοδον Ἀντωνεῖνον] Σαρματικὸν Γερμανικὸν Βρετανικὸν Σεβαστόν

Septimius Severus

9 [Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septim]i[us] [Sever]u[s] [Pius Per]tinax Aug(ustus) Arabicus A[diabe]nicus Parthi[cus] maximus pont[ifex] max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI imp(erator) [XI co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul)]

91 [[Αὐ]τοκ[ρα]το[ρ]α [Καί]σα[ρα] Λ(ούκιον) Σεπτίμιον Σεουήρον]] [τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότην

136 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα] Λ(εύκιον) Σεπτίμιον Σ[εου]ήρον Εὐσεβῆ Πε[ρτίνα]κα Σεβ(αστὸν) Ἀραβ(ικὸν) Ἀδιαβηνικὸν Παρθικὸν Μ[έγισ]τον

157 (revised text) [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα] Λεύκιον Σεπτίμιον Σεουήρον Περτίνακα] Σαρματικὸν Γερμανικὸν Βρετανικὸν Σεβαστόν [Νέον Ἴ]λιον]

295 [Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Se]pt[im]ius Severu[s] Piu[s] Pertinax Aug(ustus) A[rabic]us Adiabe[ni]cus Parthicus maximus pon[tifex] maxim[us] trib(unicia) potest[ate] V] I imp(erator) XI [co(n)s(ul)] II p(ate)r p(at)ri(iae) p[ro]co(n)s(ul)]

296 [Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus maximus pontifex max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI] imp[er]ator [XI co(n)s(ul) II pro]co(n)s(ul)]

Caracalla

9 [Imp(erator)] Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Antoninus Aug(ustus) [co(n)s(ul) Part[hi]cu[s] maxi[m]us]

295 Imp(erator) Ca[esar] [M]ar[cu]s Au[re]liu[s] Antonin[us] Aug(ustus) co(n)s(ul) Par[thi]cus m[axi]mus]

296 Imp(erator) Caes[ar] [M]ar[cu]s Au[re]liu[s] Antoninus A[ug]ustus] co(n)s(ul) Parthi[cus] maximu[s]

Philip the Arab

66 Αὐτοκράτορι [[Καίσαρι Μ(άρκω) Ἰουλίω Φιλίππω Εὐσεβ(εῖ) Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ(αστῶ)]]

Constantine

296 [DDDD(ominis)] NNNN(ostris) [Fl(avio) Val(erio) Const]antino Aug(usto) [et Fl(avio) Cl(audio) Const]antino et [Fl(avio) Constantio] et [Fl(avio) Iul(io) Con]stante] [Nobbb(ilissimis) CCC(aesaribus)]

Valentinian

72 d(omini) n(ostris) Valentinian[i] Aug(usti) IIII

Romanos IV Diogenes

61 τοῦ Δημογένου(ς)

Uncertain

26 [τὸν] Καίσαρα; 27 Σεουήρ--; 107 [θεοῖ]ς Σεβαστοῖς; 310 τῶν θεοφυλάκτ(ων) ἡμῶν δεσππο(τῶν); 315 Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς]

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 AD 130/1 **34** (Sullan era, Year 215)
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 AD 196/7 **157** (Sullan era, Year 281)
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 AD 198 **35** (Sullan era, Year 282, Month 8)
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