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NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM PESSINOUS (VIII)

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## NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM PESSINOUS (VIII)\*

The corpus of inscriptions of Pessinous, the Galatian city of the Mother of the Gods,<sup>1</sup> was published in 2005 by J. Strubbe, with the assistance of F. Schuddeboom.<sup>2</sup> Since then, some thirty new inscriptions have been discovered or found back in the local museum or in the inventory books; they are published here for the first time. J. Devreker, director of the excavations at Pessinous, provided copies of the texts; Ch. Laes and J. Strubbe had photographs at their disposal. The first inscription dates from the Byzantine period; the following from the Greco-Roman period.

### I. Byzantine inscription

#### 1. Threat

Found in the street S. of the former school house. Now in the garden of the Pessinous Research Centre, inv. no. P.05.3.

Part of a Doric white marble column, reused. Diam. 0.60–0.67; h. 1.975.

Letters: *alpha* with oblique cross-bar and horizontal bar on top (see below); cursive *epsilon* and *sigma*; cursive *omega* with outward curves; oblong lettering; ligatures (L. 1 NN, TH; L. 2 OY; L. 3 MH; L. 4 MH; L. 5 OY); h. 0.29–0.48 (*eta* in κτη- in L. 1 and *upsilon* of συ in L. 4 are much smaller than the other letters).

[†] Πῶς ἦλθες ὦδε, σύννομε κτηνοφθόρε,  
[ν]ομάς λελοιπὸς ὥς ἐγὼ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους;  
ἄπελθε φεύγων, μή σε καὶ φθερῶ τάχα,  
4 εἰ καὶ δοκεῖς μήκιστος εἶναι συ λέων.  
φύλαξ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ νεῶ τῶν Ἀγίων. †

2. [ν]ομάς: only the upper right part of *omikron* is visible. – 5. τῶν: the left half of *omega* is visible; the *nu* is clearly visible on photographs taken at the moment of discovery.

\* The authors very sincerely thank the following scholars for their help and advice: Th. Drew-Bear, Izmir (who provided copies and translations of nos. 1, 6, 7, 11), D. Feissel, Paris (no. 1), A. Verlinde, Gent (who established the date of no. 2), A. Zuiderhoek, Gent (no. 2), P. Stork, Leiden (nos. 1, 5), K. Demoen, Gent (no. 5), P. Monsieur, Gent (who dated most ceramics).

Apart from the usual epigraphic abbreviations, we use the following:

*Acropolis* = J. Devreker, H. Thoen, F. Vermeulen, *Excavations in Pessinus: the so-called Acropolis. From Hellenistic and Roman Cemetery to Byzantine Castle* (Gent, 2003)

*I. Pessinous* = J. Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous* (Bonn, 2005) [IGSK 66]

*Pessinonte* = J. Devreker, M. Waelkens (eds.), *Pessinonte. Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967–1973 I A-B* (Brugge, 1984)

*Pessinous* = I. Claerhout, J. Devreker, *Pessinous. Sacred City of the Anatolian Mother Goddess. An Archaeological Guide* (Istanbul, 2008).

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the city, readers are referred to J. Devreker, in *Pessinonte I A*, p. 13–28; K. Strobel, *Der Neue Pauly IX* (Stuttgart, Weimar, 2000), col. 658–660; *I. Pessinous*, p. ix–xiv; *Pessinous*, p. 19–55; K. Strobel, *Kleio 89* (2007), p. 377–380; see also the website: <http://www.archaeology.ugent.be/pessinus>.

<sup>2</sup> See *SEG LV* (2005) no. 1399 (cf. nos. 1400, 1402–1403). The volume also includes the inscriptions published by J. Devreker, H. Verreth, *New Inscriptions from Pessinous (VII)*, *Anatolia Antiqua 14* (2006), p. 143–151 (announced in the Preface of the book and handled in the index as published in *Epigraphica Anatolica*). The new fragment of a letter written by Attalos II of Pergamon (159 BC) is still unpublished; see *SEG LV* (2005) no. 1401; ph. in *Pessinous*, p. 53; cf. <http://www.archaeology.ugent.be/pessinus/inscription>.



*How did you come here, companion destroyer of cattle,  
having quitted the habitual pasture grounds, as I (did)?  
Go away and flee, lest I will destroy you swiftly,  
even if you seem to be the mightiest lion.  
For I am the guardian of the church of the Saints.*

Byzantine period.<sup>3</sup> D. Feissel has very kindly informed us that the letter-forms, especially *alpha*, *delta* and *lambda*, point in his view to the twelfth–thirteenth century AD. These letters have a horizontal bar on top which extends towards the left and ends at a right angle downwards. Moreover some words bear a diacritical mark, an accent or (just once) a rough breathing. As far as we can see on the photographs,<sup>4</sup> these are: L. 1: accent on ΣΥΝ-; L. 2: accent on -ΠΩΣ and rough breathing on ΩΣ; L. 3: accent on -ΠΩ; L. 4: accents on -ΚΕΙΣ, ΜΗ-, ΕΙ-, ΛΕ-; L. 5: accent on ΝΕΩ (here the accent is erroneously a circumflex).

The inscription is written in the Byzantine dodecasyllable: each line counts twelve syllables (five | caesura | seven, or seven | caesura | five). The quantity of the syllables does not matter, as is usual from the twelfth century onward. All verses end in a very regular way with a paroxytone word; the composer follows the general rule that a stress accent should fall on the eleventh syllable. The poem very much reminds of the epigrams of the famous court poet Manuel Philes of Ephesos (ca. 1275–1345), composed for the greater part in paroxytonic dodecasyllables.

The content of the inscription is unique. We have not found any comparable text. Apparently a lion is speaking to another lion. The first lion guards the church of the Saints: perhaps a statue of a lion was set up as a guardian near the entrance of the church and the inscription was engraved on the column next to it.<sup>5</sup> How should we interpret the second lion that has come the church? It is hardly conceivable that he is a real living lion, for he would not be frightened off by the statue and the threat (if lions ever lived in the neighbourhood of Pessinous, which is improbable)<sup>6</sup>. Per-

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Pessinous in the Byzantine period, see J. Devreker, in *Pessinonte* IA, p. 28–32; F. Vermeulen, in *Acropolis*, p. 384–385; *Pessinous*, p. 42–45.

<sup>4</sup> We just indicate the marks which are certain; close inspection of the stone could perhaps reveal more marks but it is hard to distinguish between accidental scratches and diacritical marks on the photographs.

<sup>5</sup> Statues of lions were set up in the classical period as guardians of graves or cemeteries, see *I. Pessinous*, p. 106 ad no. 88; D. K. Money, *AS* 40 (1990), p. 43–45.

<sup>6</sup> Lions presumably lived in mountainous regions in S. Asia Minor, see D. K. Money, *art. cit.*, p. 44.

haps some person is meant by the image of the lion. D. Feissel has suggested to us that the lion, λέων, could point to a man bearing the name Leo, Λέων (see below). This is indeed a form of pun very popular in Byzantine literature. Anyway, the epigram seems to play on a confusion of the characteristics of a real lion and a dangerous man.<sup>7</sup>

L. 1: σύννομος: ‘feeding on the same νομαί’ (see L. 2). The word is well suited for two real lions; it is used in this context in Greek literature, e.g. Apollonios of Rhodes IV, 1339. It is also suited for persons who live or have lived together; the meaning is more general then: ‘partner, companion’.

Κτηνοφθόρος means according to the *Lexicon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität* ‘Tiere vernichtend’.<sup>8</sup> The word is found in Manuel Philes, *Carmina Inedita*, Poem 10 line 24 (ὁ λιμὸς εὐρεθεὶς κτηνοφθόρος).<sup>9</sup> According to Lampe *PGL* the word means ‘committing bestiality’. As such, it appears for the first time in *Testamentum Levi* 17:11, a text generally dated to the second century BC, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of which is dated to the period circa 225–175 BC. Both κτηνοφθόρος and παιδοφθόρος are now interpreted as second or early third AD Christian interpolations in the *Testamentum Levi*.<sup>10</sup> If the word in the poem refers to a real lion, it may have the original meaning of ‘destroying cattle’ (τὰ κτήνη); if it refers to a person, it may be a term of abuse not to be taken literally.

L. 2: [ν]ομὰς λελοιπώς: νομαί are pasture lands. Ἐξ ἔθους: defines τὰς νομάς, cf. already Aristotle *EN* 1103a 17, 1148b 29–30; in the Byzantine period e.g. Georgios Akropolites (ca. 1220–1282), *Annals* 84. Lions usually do not live on pasture lands. A poem of Manuel Philes, *De Leone*, part of the didactic poem *De Animalium Proprietate*, describes that the lion who has grown old and has no longer the strength required for hunting, goes frequently to the fields and the pasture lands in the valleys (φοιτᾷ πρὸς ἀγροὺς κὲ νομαῖς ἐναυλίαις (sic)).<sup>11</sup> Could νομαί in our poem have a different meaning, sc. ‘hunting grounds’? If the word refers to a person, it may refer to ‘the country side’.

L. 4: μήκιστος: ‘tallest, mightiest’; possibly in the sense of ‘most powerful’.

L. 5: γάρ: explains the power of the speaking lion and gives the reason why he is able to destroy the other lion, even if the latter is very great.

Ναὸς τῶν Ἀγίων: we already knew the names of three churches at Pessinous: the cathedral Hagia Sophia, the church of the Myriangeloi ‘outside the walls’ (both sixth century AD)<sup>12</sup> and the church of the Holy Mary. The latter is mentioned in an inscription found at Sivrihisar (16 km from Pessinous) which dates from the early ninth century AD (some years before 838).<sup>13</sup> The Saints after whom the church is named are not specified. Perhaps the Saints are Saint Martyrs. There were several famous groups of martyrs, i.a. the ten martyrs of Crete under Decius (250), the forty martyrs of Sebaste in the Pontic region under Licinius (320), the forty-two martyrs of

<sup>7</sup> In classical antiquity the image of the lion sometimes designated a bad person: a savage one, see Aeschylus *Ch.* 938, or a coward, see Aeschylus *Ag.* 1224.

<sup>8</sup> Fasc. 4, p. 891 (Wien, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Ae. Martini (Naples, 1900).

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Martens, “Do Not Sexually Abuse Children”: the Language of Early Christian Sexual Ethics, in C. B. Horn, J. W. Martens (eds.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity* (Tübingen, 2009), p. 227–254, esp. p. 237–243.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. J. C. de Pauw, *Phile De Animalium Proprietate* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1730), p. 132–135 no. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *I. Pessinous*, p. xiii; *Pessinous*, p. 42–44.

<sup>13</sup> *CIG* IV no. 8682; cf. J. Strubbe, in *Pessinonte* IA, p. 223 no. 35. The church was embellished by the protospatharios Aëtios, strategos of the theme of Anatolikon.

nearby Amorion who were captured in 838 by the Arabs and murdered seven years later.<sup>14</sup> We do not know where the church of the Saints was located. It is not impossible that the church, built with older materials, was situated at or near the finding place.

Our inscription is the latest of all found at Pessinous. It reveals that Christianity was still alive in the city in the medieval period, despite the raids of the Arabs who possibly captured the city at first in 664 and probably again in 838. In the twelfth century Pessinous most probably belonged to the Islamite sultanate of Rum (Ikonion). The exact boundaries of the sultanate in that period are not known, but it is almost certain, as P. Wirth has convincingly argued, that the fortress of Dorylaion (Eskişehir), rebuilt by Manuel I Komnenos shortly before 1176, was situated near the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, Pessinous persisted as a bishopric: several *Notitiae Episcopatum* of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries mention the city. It usually occupies the nineteenth place among the metropoleis.<sup>16</sup>

If the lion who approaches and might trouble the church of the Saints is in reality a man, called Leo, a conflict must have existed between Leo and the church. Its character is unknown: financial or economic (for example over landed property) or more probably religious. Leo could be a man who, once a Christian (the word σύννομος in L. 1 could point to this), had deserted orthodox faith (a heretic) or even had abandoned Christian beliefs (an apostate converted to Islam). Or Leo could be an Islamite. The latter possibility looks not very probable at first sight since Leo is a Greek name. Leo was a man who apparently lived outside the city: in the country side (νομαί of L. 2) or farther away. Anyway, he must have been a man of some importance and power. We have not found a prominent figure called Leo in the literary sources of the period. So, Leo remains unidentified.

Still we would like to propose very hesitatingly an identification. In the period 1156–1192 the Seljuk sultan Kiliç Arslan II reigned over the sultanate of Rum. *Arslan* is the Turkish word for *lion*. Kiliç Arslan is very famous for having defeated the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos near Myriokephalon (N. of the Hoyran Gölü) in 1176.<sup>17</sup> The Christian inhabitants of Pessinous (most probably part of the sultanate, see above) may have feared that the Islamite sultan from Ikonion (see [ν]ομάς λελοιπώς in L. 2), very powerful after Myriokephalon (see μήκιστος in L. 4), might trouble the Christian Church of the Saints. The identification of Leo with Kiliç Arslan II is of course highly speculative. It could be substantiated if Kiliç Arslan were called Λέων in the Greek historiographical works of the twelfth century, especially Niketas Choniates and Joannes Kinnamos, who both wrote contemporary history. But the former renders the sultan's name as

<sup>14</sup> A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 56 (1986), p. 150–160.

<sup>15</sup> P. Wirth, *BZ* 55 (1962), p. 21–29; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1980), p. 391 note 2. If Pessinous was not part of the sultanate of Rum, the city was certainly threatened by the army of Kiliç Arslan II or may have been overrun some time after Myriokephalon because the sultan (though he had not dealt a decisive blow to the Byzantines in 1176) made several incursions into the Byzantine Empire; he i.a. destroyed Kotyaion, plundered the Maeander and Kayster valleys. See M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204. A Political History* (London and New York, 1984), p. 193.

<sup>16</sup> J. Devreker, in *Pessinonte* 1A, p. 31–32: *Notitia* XI (tenth–twelfth century): 20; *Notitiae* XII–XIII (twelfth century): 19; *Notitia* XIV (1142/3): 22; *Notitiae* XV–XVI (twelfth century?): 19. It is sometimes argued, e.g. by F. Vermeulen, in *Acropolis*, p. 385, that the *Notitiae* are little more than literary constructs. Pessinous was occasionally called Justinianopolis from the sixth until the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> See for example P. Magdalino, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* IV. 2 (Cambridge, 2004), p. 625–626; Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 390–391.

Κλιτζασθλάν(ης); the latter as Κλιτζιεσθλάν. This, however, is no proof that the common people of the Greek cities did not call the sultan ‘the lion’.

## II. Building inscription

### 2. Inscription on an architrave

Found in the bed of the Gallos river in 2009. The bloc lies in the area where the quay-walls are replaced by steps;<sup>18</sup> probably carried from elsewhere (see below).

White marble architrave; the surface of the bloc is damaged. The lower part now consists of two fasciae; above these a much damaged moulding. The upper part has a frieze consisting of undulating tendrils with leaves (ivy?) and fruits (pomegranate?). Above this a moulding. L. ca. 2.60; h. ca. 0.50.

The inscription is on the upper fascia. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; rectangular *sigma*; *rho* with open rounding; h. 0.09.



--]ος τοῦ λανπρότατ[ου --

1. The lower part of the letters ΥΛΑΝΠΙ is effaced.

Augustan-Tiberian period. The architrave is dated to this period on stylistic grounds. The decoration of the frieze has a rigorous, almost schematic composition and lacks detail and naturalism. The closest parallel is the frieze above the cella door of the temple of Augustus in Antiocheia near Pisidia, which was begun under Augustus and completed under Tiberius.<sup>19</sup>

The architrave cannot belong to one of the buildings, erected along the canal near the finding-place, the area where the quay-walls are replaced by steps (DL 7-11, DR 5-12). The porticoes of sectors DL 8-10 and DR 8-12, of which the columns rested on the pedestals built into the steps, date to ca. 50 – 150 AD, which is too late. The portico or basilica of sector DL 11 dates to the reign of Augustus or the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, but the fragments of its architraves have an undecorated frieze.<sup>20</sup> The stone may have been transported from elsewhere through the canal.

Λαμπρότατος is the well-known rank title of a Roman senator (*clarissimus*), but this title was normally not used before the late second century AD. The word was also used in Anatolian inscriptions as a laudatory adjective defining the word δῆμος. But again, this use only occurs from the late second century onwards. There is no indication that the inscription was carved in

<sup>18</sup> See *Pessinous*, p. 67–68.

<sup>19</sup> L. Vandeput, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: a Case Study* (Leuven, 1997), p. 304, Pl. 71, 4. Cf. also the Gate of Masaïos and Mithridates at Ephesos and the temple of Augustus and Roma at Ankyra.

<sup>20</sup> M. Waelkens, in *Pessinonte I A*, p. 116–125, 128–131.

that period. In some honorary inscriptions for benefactors from the Imperial period λαμπρότατος is used for the honoured regardless his rank. Could this also be the case with our building inscription?

### III. Inscriptions of various character

#### 3. Christian inscription

Found in a deserted house in the centre of the village, near the house of Ismael Özer. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.07. 4.

Rectangular block of grey marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.73; w. 0.65; th. 0.32. Letters: rectangular *sigma*; h. 0.024.



Ἡσυχίς ξενοδόχος  
ἐποίησε εὖσ vacat

1. Final word: only the vertical *hasta* of the rectangular *sigma* is visible.

*Hesychis, hostess of a guest-house, made it.*

Late Roman period (possibly fourth century AD; the letter forms do not point to a very late period).

A ξενοδόχος is a person who gives hospitality to strangers. This is a Christian virtue, much promoted by Christian leaders (e.g. the Church Father Basilus). Anyone who gave hospitality to strangers could be called ξενοδόχος. Many Christian women practiced this form of charity, either in their home or as hostess in a Christian inn (women in pagan antiquity frequently worked in hotels and inns), e.g. Euphronia in the region of Andabilis (*I. Tyana*, p. 196–197 no. 20), Maria at Archelaïs (G. Jacopi, *Esplorazioni e Studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia* (Rome, 1937), p. 33–36). We interpret our text in this way and therefore think that Hesychis is the name of a woman (recorded e.g. at Perinthos-Herakleia, *I. Perinthos* no. 153), not the abbreviated form of the male name Hesychios.

An alternative interpretation is that Hesychis (possibly a man) was ‘head of a *xenodocheion*’. After the end of the persecutions many *xenodocheia* were founded (the name was new, different from the pagan πανδοχεῖα); they were houses for free lodging for Christian strangers, mainly pilgrims travelling to the Holy Places. They were often established by the local bishop or attached to a monastery. The *xenodocheia* became common in the East in the second half of the fourth century and in the fifth century. Not only pilgrims but all kind of people in need were welcomed: poor, sick and old people, widows, orphans, foundlings.<sup>21</sup> For pilgrims at Pessinous, see the remains of eulogy ampullae found there (*I. Pessinous* p. 220–228 nos. C 29–41). No remains of a *xenodocheion* have been excavated in or near the city.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Nollé, in *I. Tyana*, p. 197 with bibliography, esp. O. Hiltbrunner, *RAC* 14 s.v. Herberge, col. 617–621.



ἐποίησε may mean that Hesychis constructed (i.e. paid for) a (part of a) building or some decoration, or that (s)he made some object, e.g. as sculptor.

The last word of L. 2, left unfinished, probably referred to Hesychis' εὐσέβεια, piety.

#### 4. Jewish inscription

Two fragments of a grey-white marble slab. The left fragment (provenance unknown) was published *I. Pessinous* F9 as 'part of an epitaph (?)'; now in the local museum without inv. no. The right fragment (provenance also unknown) was later discovered in the local museum; without inv. no. This fragment is broken on all sides. H. 0.38; w. 0.12–0.175; th. 0.05.

We think the relief decoration is the upper right part of a Jewish *menorah*.

The letters are engraved above and between the branches, and on the border. Letters: cursive *epsilon* with unconnected cross-bar; *upsilon* with cross-bar; h. 0.015–0.02.



Above the branches

Ι Ο  
Υ Λ(?) Ο Υ Τ Ο

On the border

Υ

Between the branches

Τ Ε Κ Ν

Ο Υ

Fifth–seventh century AD.

We interpret the relief decoration as the upper right part of a *menorah*, the Jewish seven-branched lamp stand.<sup>22</sup> One sees the upper part of three semi-circular branches (at the right of the central shaft which is broken off). The branches end at the same height. The tops of the branches are connected by a horizontal bar. This bar holds light fittings on top of the arms with the form of rounded cups. These fittings were no doubt glass containers (filled with oil).<sup>23</sup> The branches are decorated with alternating two or one small round parts and elongated parts.<sup>24</sup> The relief is inside a round frame (a medallion). Outside the frame is a moulding.

This stone is the first unquestionable evidence of the presence of Jews at Pessinous.<sup>25</sup> Until now the presence of Jews was considered possible but unproved on the basis of two inscriptions: *I. Pessinous* no. 94, an epitaph with the names Ioustos/Iou(s)ta, frequent in Jewish circles, and no. 23, a dedication to the god Hypsistos. These inscriptions were considered pagan since there was

<sup>22</sup> R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora* (Leiden, 1998), p. 312–344 (further abbreviated as *Jewish Art*); eadem, *The Menorah. The Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum. Origin, Form and Significance* (Leiden, 2001) (further abbreviated as *Menorah*).

<sup>23</sup> Hachlili, *Jewish Art*, p. 323–329 (for glass cups on the cross-bar, see p. 343); *Menorah*, p. 147–168 (for glass cups, see p. 160–161, 168).

<sup>24</sup> A few lamp stands have a similar decoration, less stylised, see Hachlili, *Jewish Art*, Pl. VII.10 (p. 326, Dura Europos); *Menorah*, fig. III.24 no. D9.2 (p. 154, Rome). These decorations represent the flowers and knobs of the *menorah* described in the Bible (*Exodus* 25, 33).

<sup>25</sup> The *menorah* is an unquestionable criterion for identifying an inscription as Jewish, see T. Ilan, *SCI* 25 (2006) 71–96.

no proof of Jews living at Pessinous. Strubbe, however, pointed to indubitable attestations of Jews in the neighbourhood of Pessinous, at Goëleon (territory of Germia), and in N. Galatia.<sup>26</sup>

It is not clear to what kind of monument our fragment belongs. Is it a funerary plaque, or is it a decorative plate from a building? *Menoroth* are frequently depicted on both types of monuments, and the only word which can be understood, τεκν[-, can evidently belong to an epitaph but also to an inscription recording a donation (e.g. μετὰ τῶν] τέκν[ων. However, R. Hachlili has pointed out that *menoroth* with a bar across the tops of the branches are rare in a funerary context.<sup>27</sup> So the slab was probably an architectural element, possibly from a synagogue. It could be part of a decoration, for example from a marble wall revetment, but we guess the slab was part of the chancel screen of a synagogue. Those screens were used to separate the *Torah* shrine from the public prayer hall. They consisted of posts with vertical grooves in which stone slabs were inserted. These slabs were decorated and occasionally inscribed (here with the names of the donors?). Examples survive from e.g. Sardis, Priene.<sup>28</sup> If our interpretation is correct, one has to reckon with the possibility that a Jewish synagogue existed at Pessinous in the fifth–seventh century, the period in which Christianity obtained a firm footing at Pessinous.<sup>29</sup> Until now no traces have been found of a Jewish building.

The second letter of the second line above the branches is enigmatic. It was considered a *lambda* in *I. Pessinous* F9, and Strubbe hesitatingly suggested reading δο]ύλου τ[οῦ Θεοῦ, which of course cannot be maintained in a Jewish context. The letter rather looks like an *alpha* with a broken cross-bar which descends deep below the legs and ends upon a horizontal bar. Could it be an *alpha* or a *delta* or a combination of *alpha* and *delta*? It is probably the end of a personal name, on -ύλου or -υδου (-υδαν/-υαδου is not probable), followed by τοῦ [- (patronymic), e.g. Πα]ύλου τοῦ [-.<sup>30</sup>

Concerning the date of the slab, Hachlili has argued that the *menorah* with cross-bar (her Type IV) originated in the late fourth century AD; they are frequent in the fifth–seventh centuries AD.<sup>31</sup> Usually ritual objects accompany the *menorah*: *lulav*, *ethrog*, *shofar* and vase, but these are missing since the stone is broken.

#### IV. Funerary inscriptions

##### 5. Funerary epigram for a woman

Found in the cemetery on the so-called acropolis in the E. wall of trench Pess.88.I.3 near tomb 81.<sup>32</sup> Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.06.1.

Grey marble column, broken above. H. 1.20; diam. 0.345.

Letters: *alpha*, *delta* and *lambda* with elongated right leg; *epsilon* mostly with unconnected middle stroke; cursive *omega*; h. 0.017–0.022.

<sup>26</sup> *I. Pessinous*, p. 43 ad no. 23; see now W. Ameling, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II. Kleinasien* (Tübingen, 2004), p. 335–341 nos. 162 (Germ(i)a), 163–166 (Tavion).

<sup>27</sup> Hachlili, *Jewish Art*, p. 333; *Menorah*, p. 162.

<sup>28</sup> Hachlili, *Menorah*, p. 68, 254, 358 nos. D4.1–4.

<sup>29</sup> *Pessinous*, p. 41–42; *I. Pessinous*, p. xiii.

<sup>30</sup> In the case of -υδαν one could consider the restoration 'Ιο]υδαίου. But 'Ιουδαῖος is attested as a personal name only twice at Delphi (a variant of 'Ιούδας). In a Jewish context (here: inside a synagogue) the term is used only for a special reason, sc. to stress group membership of proselytes or immigrants, for which there is no indication. See M. H. Williams, *ZPE* 116 (1997), p. 249–262, esp. p. 253–254 with p. 258 App. I nos. 3–6.

<sup>31</sup> Hachlili, *Menorah*, p. 165–167.

<sup>32</sup> See F. Vermeulen, in *Acropolis*, p. 34 fig. 28.



- [-----]  
 ἄνδρα δὲ χῆρον | [—○○]—  
 σεν, θαλερὴν δ' ἔκλασεν  
 ἡλικίην. | τόνδε δὲ οἱ ὅσι-  
 4    αι ἄνδρὸς χέρες ὑψώσαν-  
      τον | Γερμανοῦ γλυκερὴν  
      {ρην} εὖνιν ὀδυρομένου. | ἄλλ' ἐπὶ  
      οἴκου ἵη κείσθω κόνις. ὦ πι-  
 8    κρὲ δαίμων, | οἴην συσζυγί-  
      ην λύσσαο βασκανίηι. vac.

1–2. There is room for 4–6 letters at the end of line 1. The metre indicates that three (—○○) or two (—) syllables are missing.

-- the husband bereaved. He broke off her blooming young age. The pious hands of the husband raised up this grave, of Germanos who mourns about his sweet wife. But let the dust which is common (to all) lie upon the grave. O bitter demon, what a wife did you kill in your envy.

Probably fourth century AD. The cemetery on the so-called acropolis had two main periods of occupation: the late Hellenistic–early Roman period (ca. 100 BC–25 AD) and the late Roman period (ca. 250–400 AD). The graveyard was intensively used throughout the fourth century.<sup>33</sup>

The epigram is composed of bits of rather conventional phrases:

Verse 1 (ἄνδρα χῆρον): cf. Merkelbach–Stauber *SGO* III no. 16/51/05 (Synnada): νήπιον υἱὰ λιποῦσα κασιγνήτους τε καὶ ἄνδρα χῆρον (cf. *ibidem* I no. 03/06/07, Teos).

Verse 2 (θαλερὴν ἡλικίην): cf. Peek *GVI* no. 843 (Pantikapaion): οἰκτεῖρων θαλερὴν ἀνέρος ἡλικίη[v] (cf. *ibidem*, no. 1535, Athens).

<sup>33</sup> H. Thoen, F. Vermeulen, in *Acropolis*, p. 130–134; cf. *Pessinous*, p. 123–124.

Verse 5 (κόνις): see below.

Verse 6 (οἶν συζυγίην): cf. Peek GVI no. 2005 (l. 44): οἶν συζυγίην ἔτεμεν θεός (Carales on Sardinia).

The image of the daimon is also stereotype. He is, as usual, pictured as a cruel figure: he is πικρός (bitter), βάσκανος (jealous) and he takes away people by force (frequently ἄρπάζω, snatch away; here λύω, destroy). Daimon is often a synonym of Hades, with whom he has many characteristics in common.<sup>34</sup>

Ll. 6–7 (verse 5): The phrase reminds of the common formula that the earth (γαίη, χθών), the dust (κόνις) will rest lightly (κούφη) on the deceased (equivalent of the Latin formula ‘sit tibi terra levis’), e.g. Merkelbach–Stauber *SGO* I nos. 05/01/52 (Smyrna), 03/06/06 (Teos), 03/02/11 (Sardes), Peek GVI no. 1456 (Rome). But the author of the epigram has replaced κούφη by ἦ (= ἦα from ἴος, ‘one’)<sup>35</sup> introducing thereby another comforting idea, that dust is the same/common to all people, that earth will cover everyone. Death is inevitable. The combination of ἦ and κόνις is found a few times in the works of Gregory of Nazianze (fourth century AD). In *Praecepta ad virgines* lines 143–144 (*PG* 37, p. 590 lines 2–3): ἔν πάντες μετὰ τύμβον, ἦ κόνις. Ἰσος ὁ χώρος δμώεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι (translated in the Migne-edition as *Unum omnes sumus post tumulum, unus cinis: aequalis locus servis et regibus*), and in *De exterioris hominis vilitate* lines 93–94 (*PG* 37, p. 773 lines 3–4): τί πλέον ἐν φθιμένοισιν; ἦ κόνις, ὅστέα μούνα ἦρως Ἀτρείδης, Ἰρος ἀλητοβόρος (translated in the Migne-edition as *Quodnam discrimen inter mortuos? idem pulvis, ossa sola, heros Agamemnon et Irus qui polenta pascebatur*). But in both passages the idea is different from the idea in our poem: after death nothing remains but dust (inside the grave), men of whatever status are equal in death.

L. 2: ἔκλασεν: the *alpha* is short. Therefore it is not a form of κλα(ι)ω (= ἔκλαυσεν), ‘to lament’ but of κλάω, ‘to break off’. The subject is no doubt the daimon; cf. *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Epigrammata sepulcralia*, Epigram 254, lines 1–2 (Ἄιδης | ἔκλασεν -- δύσμορον ἡλικίην). The same daimon may also be the subject of the lost verb in lines 1–2: he has made the husband a widower.

L. 3: τόνδε, sc. οἶκον (cf. l. 7) or τάφον, the grave.

Ll. 4–5: ὑψώσαντον with parasitic *nu*, cf. C. Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Nancy, 1987), p. 34–35.

Ll. 8–9: συζυγίην, poetic word, with pleonastic *sigma*, cf. Brixhe, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

## 6. Christian epitaph of Paulos

Found in the field of Halil Özkara, E. of the village. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.6.

Rectangular stele of grey marble, damaged on all sides. H. 1.08; w. 0.40; th. 0.35.

The inscription is in a recessed field. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; rectangular *sigma*; cursive *omega*; *omikron* and *phi* are lozenge-shaped; h. 0.029–0.04.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>† Μνημα δια-<br/>φέρον Παύλ[ου]<br/>ἀπὸ πριμιξ[ε]-<br/>4 ρί)ων. vac.</p> | <p>Εἰ δέ τις ἐπ[ιχι]-<br/>ρήσι ἐπιβου-<br/>λεῦ(σ)ε τοῦ-<br/>8 τω, ἔχη πρὸ[ς]<br/>τὴν Τριάδα.</p> |
|---|--|

<sup>34</sup> R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana Ill., 1942), p. 147–148.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s.v. *Iota*, entry 357 line 1: ἦ· μία, μόνη.



2. Παύλ[ου] or Παύλ[ω]. – 4. ΠΩΝ, *lapis*. – 7. ΛΕΥΕΕ, *lapis*.

*Memorial belonging to Paulos, ex-primicerius. If someone will try to injure this (grave), he will have to reckon with the Trinity.*

Fourth century AD or later (?).

L. 3: *πριμικήριος* is the Latin word *primicerius*, denoting a chief, either in the military or in the civil service. Ἀπό indicates that the man has retired (= *ex primicerius*). This expression, typical for the late Roman–early Byzantine period, is frequent in Egypt, but the same expression is found several times in Galatia in Christian epitaphs, e.g. at Günyüzü (N. of Germia) for Alexandros ἀπὸ πριμικρίου (*RECAM* II 121A) and at Tavion for Stephanos ἀπὸ πριμικριῶν (*RECAM* II 499). See also no. 7.

Ll. 8–9: the usual form of this Christian curse is ἔχη πρὸς τὸν Θεόν (so in *I. Pessinous* nos. 50, 191). L. Robert has collected in 1960 the records of this formula (see the commentary to *I. Pessinous* no. 50) and its variations.<sup>36</sup> He noted two instances of the variation πρὸς τὴν Τριάδα, both at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (his nos. 10–11): *MAMA* I no. 160 (*SEG* VI no. 302): ἔξι]η πρὸς τὴν [Τριάδ]αν and *MAMA* I no. 168 with correction on p. xxxvii note 7: ἔσ[χε]ι πρὸς τὴν Τριάδαν (epitaph of a woman

from Seleukeia, either in Isauria or in Pisidia). A new record from Aspendos was published by C. Brixhe in 1988: ἔχη πρὸς τὴν Τριάδα (in C. Brixhe, R. Hodot, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud. Inscriptions inédites* (Nancy, 1988), p. 185–187 no. 204).<sup>37</sup> The use of this formula is late (third–fourth century AD).

### 7. Epitaph of Ourphilas

From a tomb in a necropolis W. of the village, clandestinely excavated. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.06.05. Bomos of grey marble; the upper part is broken away. H. 1.84; w. 0.59–69; th. 0.40.

The inscription is engraved inside a wreath, which is crudely sculpted. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; cursive *epsilon*; ligatures (L. 5 MHN); h. 0.25–0.27.

[Μνη]μα  
διαφέρον  
Οὐρφίλα  
4 πριμικηρί-  
ου. † Ἀμήν.

5. The word Ἀμήν is very faintly incised; it looks like a later addition; *mu* and *eta* are hardly legible.

<sup>36</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris, 1960), p. 401–404.

<sup>37</sup> *SEG* XXXVIII (1988) no. 1375B.



*Memorial belonging to the primicerius Ourphilas. Amen.*

Late Roman or early Byzantine period.

L. 3: Οὐρφίλας is a variant of Οὐλφίλας. It is the name of the well-known Arian bishop and translator of the Bible into the Gothic language (ca. 310–383). The historian Philostorgios calls him three times Ourphilas in his *Church History*. Epigraphically, this form is attested on a bronze seal found on Corfu in 1875, which cannot be dated, neither be allocated to a specific place: Οὐρφίλα with the monogram ἐπισκόπου.<sup>38</sup> In Anatolian epigraphy *lambda* is often replaced by *rho*, see C. Brixhe, op. cit. ad no. 5, p. 44. We did not find records of Οὐλφίλας nor of Οὐρφίλας in Asia Minor. It is not clear how the Gothic name Wulfila (“little wolf”) ended up in

Pessinous. It is hard to link it with the Gothic invasions of central Anatolia and the pillage of Pessinous in 253 AD (see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, men, and gods in Asia Minor I* (Oxford, 1993), p. 235–236; *I. Pessinous* T47).

Ll. 4–5: another *primicerius* in no. 6.

## 8. Sarcophagus lid



Found not far from no. 6; now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.5.

Lid of a sarcophagus of grey marble. The front side has a fronton with three undecorated akroteria. Inside the fronton is a disc. H. 0.21; w. 0.62; l. 1.43.

The letters are engraved left and right of the disc; cursive *sigma*; h. 0.037.

Left: Λ  
Right: CY

Undated.

The meaning of the letters is not clear.

## 9. Epitaph of a woman

Found in the field of Gurcan Memişoğlu, S.-E. of the village. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.7.

Part of a bomos (?), broken on all sides. The lower part has a moulding. It is not excluded that this moulding once framed a door and that we have to do with a part of a doorstone (the cornice above the frame and the project-

<sup>38</sup> See V. Gardthausen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 48 (1924), p. 448–458. For an exhaustive study on the variant versions of the name Ulfila (Greek, Latin and Syriac), see K. Schäferdiek, *BN* 25, 3–4 (1990), p. 267–276, esp. 270–271.



ing border on top of the monument have been cut away). H. 0.51; w. 0.40; th. 0.405.

The inscription is above the moulding (on the space between cornice and upper border?). Letters: h. 0.032.

--]αίλλη τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ --

(for) --]ailla, his own wife --

Probably Roman Imperial period. We have not found female names ending on -]αίλλα unless αἰ stands for ε. In that case one could think of e.g. Μάρκ]ελλα. Perhaps the first *alpha* is not really on the stone but the legs are part of *mu* or *delta*. There

are numerous (Roman) female names ending on -dilla, -milla.

#### 10. Epitaph of a woman



Found in the centre of the village. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.07.1.

Grey marble fragment, possibly from the upper part of a doorstone. The lower part of the fragment has a moulding. H. 0.175; w. 0.20; th. 0.20.

The inscription is above the moulding. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; cursive *epsilon*; h. 0.031.

--]δι τῇ ἐαυτοῦ --

Only the right part of *delta* is preserved; *omikron* is damaged.

Probably Roman Imperial period.

#### 11. Epitaph



Exact provenance unknown; the stone was brought by Alihirsä Ormanoğlu. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.08.1.

Rectangular marble block without decoration, broken above and below. H. 0.71, w. 0.36, th. 0.165.

The inscription is on the lower half of the stone. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; h. 0.031.

Ἀπολλώνιος  
Ἰπποδάμου  
ΜΝ[-----]  
4 ΤΟΥ[---]Η[---]  
ΧΡΗ[---]Ο[---]  
μητρὶ [-----]  
[-----]

Probably Imperial period.

## V. Fragments of uncertain character

## 12. Fragment



From an enclosure wall of Karaoğlu. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.1.

Triangular block of grey marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.18; w. 0.16; th. 0.225. Letters: h. 0.038.

--] . ΩΔ[--

Before *omega* the lower part of an oblique *hasta* (right part of *alpha*, *lambda*, *mu*?).

Undated.

## 13. Fragment



Found in the wall of an abandoned house belonging to Apsin Opsin, near the mosque. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.2.

Fragment of grey marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.255; w. 0.145; th. 0.33.

Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; careless script; h. 0.022–0.035.

----]ο[--

--] . ΑΛ[--

--]ΑΜΙΟ[--

4 --]ΧΕ[--

1. Lower right part of *omikron* is preserved. – 2. Before *alpha* a vertical *hasta*.

Undated.

## 14. Fragment



Found in trench B6D, W. of the Roman temple. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.06.24.

Fragment of grey marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.3; w. 0.265; th. 0.155. Letter: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; h. 0.08.

Α

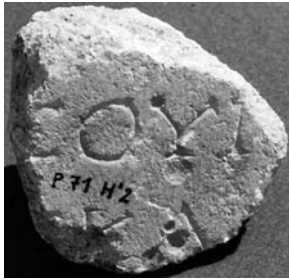
Undated. Perhaps a mason's mark, see no. 22?

## 15. Fragment

Found in trench H' (area of the agora) in the bed of the Gallos river, S. end of the village. Now in the local museum, inv.no. P.71H'2.

Marble fragment, broken on all sides. H. ca. 0.07; th. ca. 0.05. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; h. ca. 0.015.





--]EOY|[--  
 --] . KA[--

1. First letter probably *epsilon*, rather than rectangular *sigma*. At the end a vertical *hasta*, possibly part of *nu* or *mu*. – 2. Before *kappa* part of a horizontal stroke.

Undated.

## VI. Inscriptions from the territory of Pessinous

### 16. Epitaph of Andreas

From Karacaören.<sup>39</sup> Discovered in an illicit excavation in a garden in the centre of the village. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.07.13.

Grey marble doorstone of type F,<sup>40</sup> broken on the l. and r. sides; upper and lower sides damaged. Though both sides are broken, there is no indication that the monument once had bomos-shaped pillars at the corners, like type G. The door itself, which is almost square, has two wings separated by a pilaster. The door panels have a Lesbian cyma. The upper panels are nearly square and contain at the l. a knocker, at the r. a key-plate. The lower panels are rectangular and contain both a lozenge with a trefoil. Between the upper and lower panels are two small



<sup>39</sup> The village of Karacaören is situated 12 km ESE of Ballıhisar. The name “black ruins” and the abundant ancient remains (anepigraphic as well as epigraphic) indicate that there was an ancient village here or in the neighbourhood. See *I. Pessinous*, p. 174–182.

<sup>40</sup> See *I. Pessinous*, p. 68–69; J. Devreker, F. Vermeulen, in *Acropolis*, p. 120–121; M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), p. 284.

undecorated rectangular panels with concave sides. The door is surrounded by an Ionian frame and surmounted by a moulded cornice. A projecting (damaged) border occupies the upper part of the monument. H. 0.93; w. 1.12; th. 0.28.

The inscription is on the surface between the cornice and the projecting border. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; cursive *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega*; h. 0.02–0.027.

Μαμας Ἀνδρέα πενθερῷ μνήμης χάριν. leaf  
*Mamas for his father-in-law Andreas, in memory.*

Probably late second century AD. The Pessinuntian doorstones of type F date between ca. 150 and 200 AD. Our stone is very much like the anepigraphic doorstone published by M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), no. 737 which is dated to the last quarter of the second century AD (esp. the almost square door, Lesbian cyma etc.). Waelkens, *op. cit.*, no. 736 (*I. Pessinous* no. 134) from ca. 150–175 AD is also a close parallel.

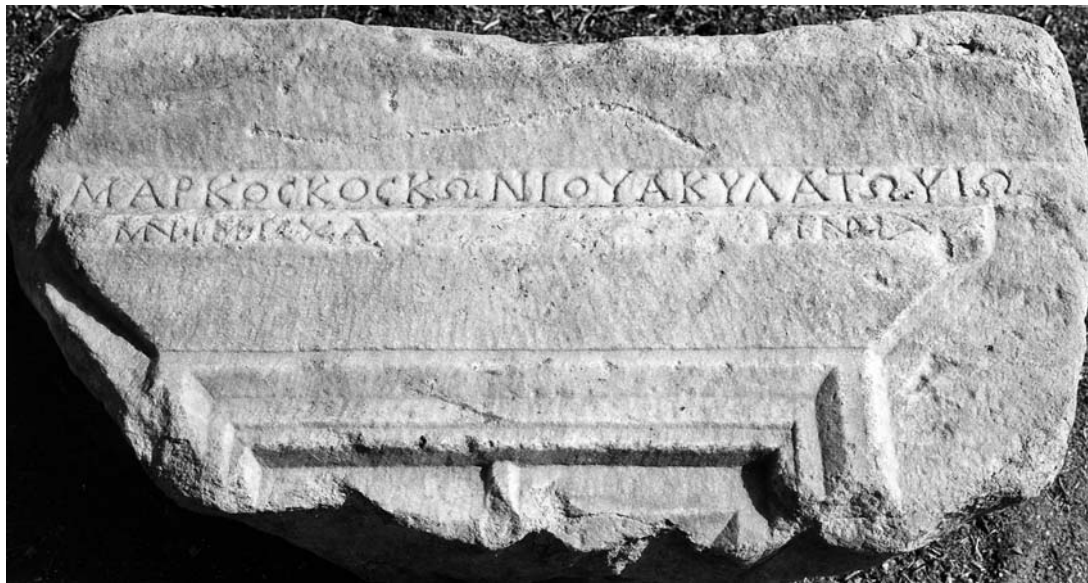
Μαμας is a common ‘Lallname’.

#### 17. Epitaph of Akylas

From Ertuğrul (formerly Yakapınar).<sup>41</sup> Found in a field, left of the road Ballıhisar–Ertuğrul and Ertuğrul–Karacaören. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.07.25.

Upper part of a grey marble doorstone, probably of type F (see no. 16), broken below and at the l. side. The door, of which only small part of the upper right panel survives, is surrounded by a simple Ionian frame. Above it is a simple cornice. A projecting border is at the top of the monument. H. 0.365; w. 0.78; th. 0.33.

The inscription is on the surface between the projecting border and the cornice (L. 1), and on the upper part of the cornice (L. 2). Letters: *alpha* with normal and curved cross-bar; cursive *sigma*; *omega* with curved endings; *eta* with point instead of cross-bar; h. 0.016–0.023; ligatures (L. 2: MNH, MH).



Μάρκος Κοσκωνίου Ἀκύλα τῷ υἱῷ  
 μνήμης χά vacat ριν. leaf  
*Markos, son of Koskonios for his son Akylas in memory.*

<sup>41</sup> The village of Ertuğrul is situated 6 km S of Ballıhisar. An ancient cemetery has been discovered a few kilometres from the centre. See *I. Pessinous*, p. 183–185.

Second half of the second century AD (doorstone of type F, see no. 16).

L. 1: The three generations bear Roman names. The Roman nomen Cosconius is also on record in *I. Pessinous* no. 177 from Karacaören. The son of this man, by chance, bears the name Akylas.

## VII. Letters on marble architectural blocks

### 18. Fragment of a marble column



Found along the road to Ertuğrul near the bridge over the river. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.05.8.

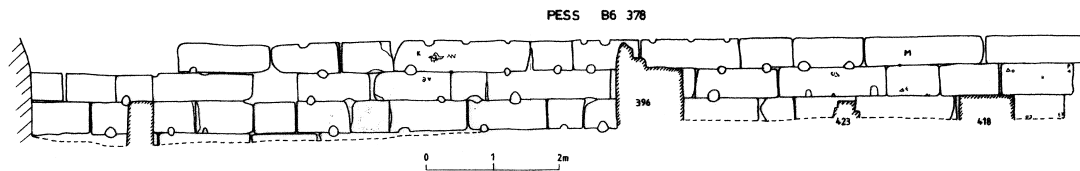
Fragment of a white marble column. H. 0.47; diam. 0.445. Letter: h. 0.065.

H

Undated.

### 19. Mason's marks on a terrace wall

In the temple area (B6). The letters are engraved on the marble terrace wall (no. 378) in trench B6D, N. of the so-called Severan theatre.<sup>42</sup> All letters are on the front side of the blocks.



#### a) North side

Ph. in *Pessinous*, p. 106. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; h. 0.026; 0.048; 0.071.



Upper layer

K two birds (doves?) incised AN

Second layer

Θ (or a spiral?) chalice incised or an hourglass motif consisting of two inverted triangles?

Mason's marks.

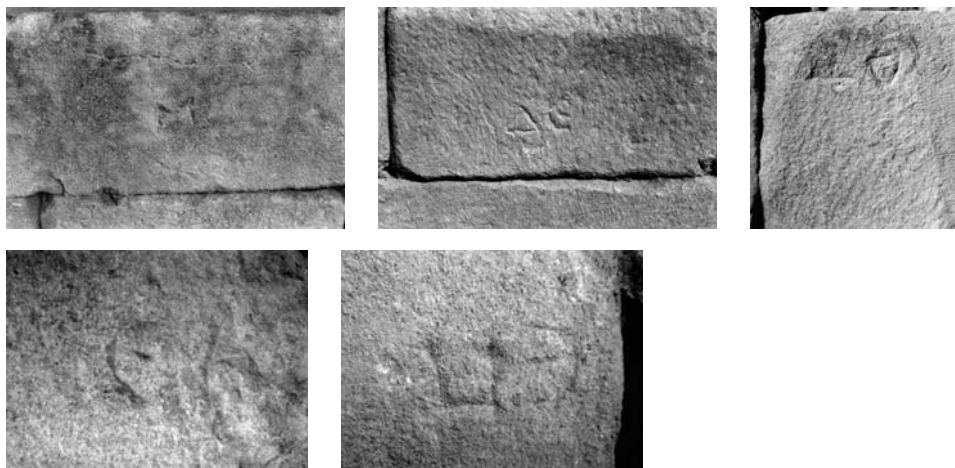
The drawings are a Christian addition. They presumably belong to the building period of

<sup>42</sup> See *Anatolia Antiqua* 14 (2006), p. 120–121 (*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27, 1 (Ankara, 2006), p. 138–139, 146; *ibidem* 29, 1 (Ankara, 2008), p. 281–282, 288–289).

room B (an early Christian prayer house?), constructed against the terrace wall in the late Roman or early Byzantine period.

b) South side

Letters: normal and cursive *epsilon*; h. 0.045; 0.05.



From N. to S.

Upper layer M

Second layer (on three different blocs)

EΔ Θ, ΔE, ΔO H PΔ (*delta* below *rho*)

Third layer AE (both in reverse) EB

Fourth layer . E (in reverse) (the first sign looks like a rectangular *omikron* without upper horizontal stroke)

Mason's marks.



c) At the S. end of the S. side

On the lowest block of the foundation. Letter: h. 0.068.

K (in reverse)



d) On a *spolium* from the terrace wall, re-used in the Byzantine wall B6 d-418.<sup>43</sup>

Letters: cursive *epsilon* with unconnected middle bar; h. 0.048; 0.051.

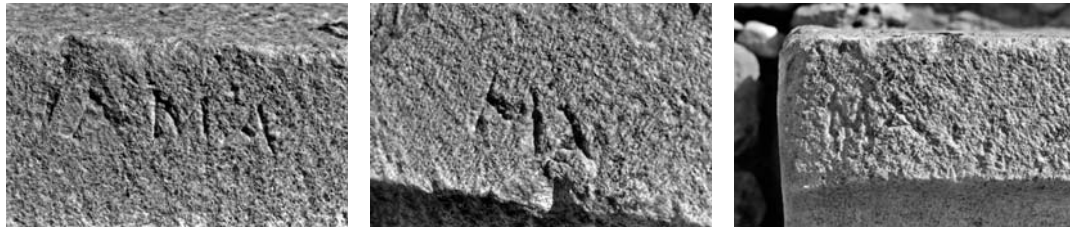
E Δ (*delta* is upside down)

<sup>43</sup> See the forthcoming report in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2010.

All marks date to the mid-Roman period (construction period of wall no. 378).<sup>44</sup> Several Pessinuntian buildings bear such marks, see *I. Pessinous* p. 206–208 nos. B3–B8 and the following numbers.

#### 20. Masons' marks in the stairway theatre

On different blocks in the stairway theatre in the temple area (B); exact locations not recorded.



AMA second *alpha* with broken cross-bar

MA *alpha* with extended right leg and curved cross-bar

MA on the vertical border of a marble seat, near the left end of the block

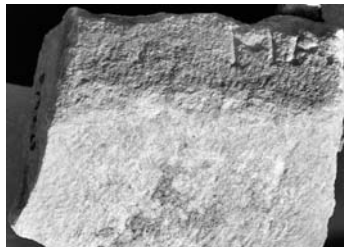
If the marks belong to the building phase of the stairway theatre, they date under Tiberius (ca. 25–35 AD).<sup>45</sup>

#### 21. Mason's mark in the stairway theatre

Found in the temple area (B) in the filling of the cavea of the stairway theatre. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P 73 B27.

Fragment of a marble seat, broken on all sides. H. 0.17; w. 0.20; th. 0.10.

The letters are engraved on the vertical border of the front of the seat, near the right end of the block. Letter: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; h. ca. 0.025.



MA

Reign of Tiberius (see no. 20).

#### 22. Mason's mark

Found in the colonnaded square (agora) in the valley at the foot of the temple (area H); exact location not recorded (probably on one of the steps).

Letter: *alpha* with curved cross-bar; h. ca. 0.07.



A

<sup>44</sup> *Pessinous*, p. 103, 105–107.

<sup>45</sup> *Pessinous*, p. 74–75.

If the mark belongs to the building phase of the agora, it probably dates from the reign of Tiberius; however, a late Hellenistic date is not excluded.<sup>46</sup>

### 23. Mason's mark

On the quay-wall of the newly discovered section of the canal (section D–E).<sup>47</sup> Letter: h. 0.047.



K

First–second century AD (construction period of the quay-wall).

### 24. Mason's mark

Found in the river on the road to Dinek.

Fragment of a grey marble bloc, possibly a seat from the theatre. H. 0.465; w. 0.405; th. 0.90. Letter: h. 0.033.



M

First–second century AD (the theatre was built or repaired under Hadrian<sup>48</sup>).

### 25. Mason's mark

Found near an enclosure on the left side of the road to Dinek.

Grey marble bloc. H. 0.285; w. 0.125; th. 0.54. Letter: cursive *sigma*; h. 0.028.



C

Undated.

## VIII. Inscriptions on ceramic vessels, tiles, etc.

### 26. Stamp



Found in the temple area (B) in the filling between the temple and the stairway theatre. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P 73 B14.

Fragment of a flat plate of red sigillata. The bottom shows an incised decoration consisting of waves between two concentric circles, applied 'a rotella' (cf. no. 27). H. 0.041; w. 0.039; th. 0.004.

In the middle a rectangular stamp. Letters: cursive *epsilon* and *sigma*; h. not recorded.

Κέρ-  
δος

2. The left and lower part of *delta* is effaced.

*Gain.*

<sup>46</sup> Pessinous, p. 82–87. New research has suggested an earlier date for the construction of the agora: ca. 120–80 BC.

<sup>47</sup> See *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30, 1 (Ankara, 2009), p. 293–298.

<sup>48</sup> Pessinous, p. 113.

Early Roman period (?).

Good wish, common on ceramics in the East, see e.g. *SEG XL* (1990) no. 1074 (Sardes), *LII* (2002) no. 1145bis (Ephesos), J. W. Hayes, *Sigillate orientali*, in I. Baldassarre (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche II. Ceramica fine Romana nel Bacino Mediterraneo (tardo Ellenismo e primo Impero)* (Rome, 1985), p. 29, 36 (ESA), p. 58 (ESBI), p. 63, 66, 67 (ESB2).

### 27. Potter's stamp

Found in sector E (residential quarter near the monumental arch, sector D2). Now in the local museum, inv. no. P 70 E74.



Fragment of a sigillata plate, Eastern Sigillata B1; it probably belongs to type 5 of the typology of J. W. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 54. In the centre an incised decoration consisting of waves between two concentric circles, applied 'a rotella'. H. 0.112; w. 0.074; th. 0.04.

In the middle a rectangular stamp; only the last letter of each of the two lines is preserved. Letters: h. 0.002.

--]K

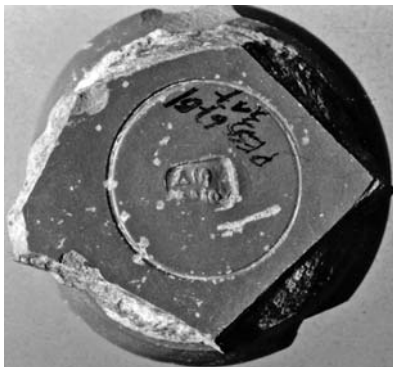
--]Y

Probably post-Augustan, especially ca. 25–50 AD (date of the fabric).

Among the stamps referred to by J. W. Hayes, there is only one name which corresponds to the letters of our stamp: [ʼA]νεκλήτου. It is read on a stamp found at Ephesos (on the Panayirdağ), see R. Heberdey, in O. Benndorf (ed.), *Forschungen in Ephesos I* (Wien, 1906), p. 170 no. 16. Eastern Sigillata B was produced in Western Asia Minor (ESB1 possibly at Tralleis).

### 28. Potter's stamp

Found in the temple area (B). Now in the Museum of Ankara, inv. no. Pess. 67 B317.



Part of the foot of a vase of reddish brown sigillata. H. 0.013; diam. 0.04.

In the middle of an incised circle a rectangular stamp, dimensions unknown.

Letters: h. unknown.

Διο-

[τί]μου

2. Only the upper half of the letters is visible.

*Of Diotimos.*

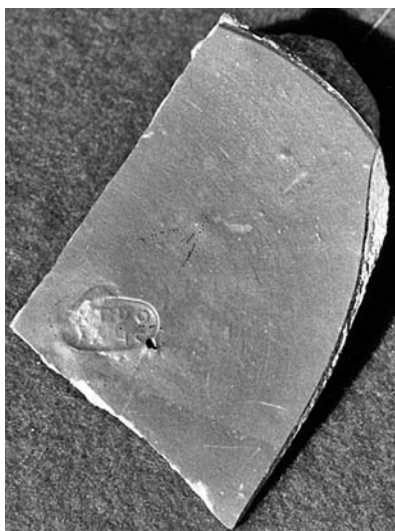
Undated.

Production mark of the potter, cf. *I. Pessinous C24*. One or two letters at the most have been lost at the beginning of L. 2. It is very probable that the name of the potter is the common name Diotimos. Other names, much rarer, like Διόδημος, do not seem to fit.

### 29. Potter's stamp


Found in the temple area (B) in the filling between the temple and the stairway theatre. Now in the local museum, inv. no. P 73 B15.

Fragment of a flat plate of red sigillata. H. 0.039; w. 0.026; th. 0.001.



In the middle an elliptical stamp. Letters: cursive *sigma*; h. not recorded.

[.]τρο-  
[.]λης (?)

1. The first letter is drawn in the inventory book as ; possibly *alpha*. – 2. The inventory book reads ΛΗΣ, preceded by a very faint vertical bar.

Undated.

Production mark of the potter. If the first letter of L. 1 is really *alpha* and there is room for a small letter before it, one could read [']ατρο|[κ]λῆς.

### 30. Amphora stamp

Found in area P 05 (theatre), between stone 555 and stone 556.



Upper part of an amphora handle made of dark reddish brown clay; inclusions nearly visible. L. 0.047; w. 0.023. The cartouche with the stamp measures 0.03 x 0.024. In the middle an unidentified symbol.

Letters: *alpha* with curved cross-bar; cursive *sigma*; small *omega* above the line; h. 0.002–0.005.

Ph. in *Pessinous*, p. 18 and 35.

Θασίω[ν]  
Χαιρέας

*Of the Thasians; Chaireas.*

First quarter of the third century BC.

Many fragments of amphorae have been found at Pessinous from numerous production centres, Chios, Lesbos (?), Kos, Rhodes and even Italy, but this is only the second example with a stamp. The other example is *I. Pessinous* C 28, also Thasian (of Kadmos). The amphora stamps of Chaireas have been collected by A. M. Bon – A. Bon, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos* (Paris, 1957), p. 410–412 nos. 1688–1696. His stamps display many different symbols, among which an *oinochoe*, a bunch of grapes. For the significance of the personal name (manufacturer?) and the ethnic (control of the production by the city or levy of taxes?), see the commentary in *I. Pessinous*, p. 220.

### 31. Amphora stopper



Found in area P 02 / H (cleaning of the W. part of the stoa at the foot of the Roman temple).

Half of an amphora stopper, probably of Adriatic fabric, made of light brown clay with pinkish grey core; some red and white inclusions. In the centre a nipple for grip; lengthwise a fine rib. Diam. 0.095; h. 0.014, th. 0.01.

Letter: h. 0.02.

Δ (?)



First century BC.

It might be a number, cf. *I. Pessinous* C11.

### 32. Graffito on a pot



Found in the temple area (B6). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 95 B6.81-82.

Foot of a pot made of grey clay in the Phrygian tradition. H. 0.0145; w. 0.068; diam. 0.048. The graffito is on the underside. Letters: h. 0.039–0.040.

BA

First quarter of the first century BC.

### 33. Graffito on a pot



Found in the temple area (B). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 68 B82.

Foot of a pot made of coarse grey clay in the Phrygian tradition. Diam. base 0.0744; h. 0.0113; th. 0.0071. The letter is incised on the underside. Letter: h. 0.037.

Hellenistic period (Phrygian tradition).

### 34. Graffito on a bowl



Found in the temple area (B). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 68 B80.

Foot of a bowl made of coarse grey clay in the Phrygian tradition. Diam. base 0.062; h. 0.0093; th. 0.0044. The letters are incised on the underside. Letters: h. 0.008–0.010.

Hellenistic period (Phrygian tradition).

### 35. Graffiti on a cup



Found in the temple area (B). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 69 B73.

Half of a cup made of coarse grey clay in the Phrygian tradition. Diam. 0.114; h. 0.036; th. 0.007. One letter is incised on the interior of the cup, one on the underside of the foot. Letters: h. 0.012; 0.015.

Interior side A

Underside E

Hellenistic period (Phrygian tradition).

## 36. Graffito on a sherd



Found in the temple area (B). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 95-B6-79-GP2.

Fragment of black polished clay. H. 0.076; w. 0.037; th. 0.008. Letter: h. 0.035.

Hellenistic period.

## 37. Graffito on a cup



Found in the temple area (B). Now in the local museum, inv. no. Pess. 69 B175.

Lower fragment of a cup made of coarse grey clay in the Phrygian tradition. Diam. 0.090; h. 0.028. The letter is incised on the underside. Letter: h. 0.021.

Π

Hellenistic period (Phrygian tradition).

## 38–39. Stamp on two tiles

Found in the temple area (B). One tile is now in the local museum, inv. no. P 73 B28; the second, inv. no. P 73 B19, was not found back.

Two fragments of two red tiles. H. 0.175; w. 0.12; th. 0.028 and h. 0.095, w. 0.185; th. 0.026. Letters: h. 0.032; ligature.



Roman Imperial period (?).

The stamp, which is completely preserved on tile no. 39, is a monogram, probably a combination of the letters *pi*, *mu* and *rho*.

## 40. Stamp on a tile



Found in area H (the colonnaded square at the foot of the Roman temple). Inv. no. P 72 H90 but not found back in the local museum.

Fragment of a red tile. H. 0.06. The stamp is within a circle. Letters: h. not recorded; ligature.

First century AD or earlier (?) (construction date of the agora, see no. 22).

Ligature of *alpha* and *rho*.

#### IX. Graffito on stucco

##### 41. Graffito on stucco



Found in area H (see no. 33). Now in the local museum, inv. no. P 72 H105 + 107.

Fragment of red stucco. H. 0.035; w. 0.047; th. 0.08. Letters: h. 0.006 and 0.015 (?).

First century AD or earlier (?) (construction date of the agora).

#### Appendix

After the completion of the manuscript, three new inscribed pieces from Pessinous were discovered in the archives. Also three unpublished inscriptions from the village of Dutlu (or Tutlu), stored in the museum of Pessinous, came to notice. Dutlu is situated on the N.E. slope of the Arayıt or Günyüzü Dağı (Mount Dindymos) near Hamamkarahisar. The place did not belong to the territory of Pessinous in the Imperial period but presumably to Germa (Germokoloneia), located near Babadat.<sup>49</sup>

##### App. 1. Letters on the foot of a pithos

Found in area B (temple area) in trench B1 (residential complex with houses from the late Hellenistic to the early Byzantine period, see *Pessinous* p. 96, 110). Now in the local museum, inv. no. P.92 B1/10.



Foot of a pithos; diam. of the foot ca. 0.14.

The letters are incised on the underside. Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar and elongated right leg; h. ca. 0.025.

cross

Θ A

Probably early Byzantine period. The letters may be numbers, compare *I. Pessinous* C11.

##### App. 2. Graffito on stucco

Found in area B (temple area) in the very dark charcoal layer. Now in the local museum, inv.no. P.71 B18.



Small fragment of red stucco. H. 0.041; w. 0.032; th. 0.017.

Letters: h. ca. 0.015. Clumsy writing.

.. Ω N

.. K O Σ

<sup>49</sup> J. H. M. Strubbe, *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981) 119–120, who published four epitaphs (all from the Roman Imperial period) from the village (*SEG XXXI* (1981) nos. 1076–1079) and listed the ancient remains. For the location of Germa, see also K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien* (Wien, 1984; Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. Bd. 172; *TIB* Bd. 4), p. 168–169 s.v. Germokoloneia and *SEG XXXIV* (1984) no. 1283.

1. First letter perhaps *sigma*; the second letter consists of an oblique and a vertical stroke. – 2. First letter looks like the upper right part of *psi* or *kappa*. The second letter looks like the left half of *mu*.

Late Hellenistic period (Devreker).

Before the first letter of L. 1 there may be a tiny part of an oblique hasta (if not just a scratch). The second letter of L. 1 may be an *iota*, clumsily written. If all this is right, one could read -] ἄσιων, perhaps part of a personal name like Πασίων. The first letter of L. 2 may be *kappa*; the second may be an *alpha*, clumsily written. If that is correct, one could read κακός. The two lines could form an abuse. For other inscribed stucco fragments, see *I. Pessinous* S1-2 and no. 41 above.

### App. 3. Stamp

Found at Pessinous, location not recorded. Now in the archaeological depot, without inv. no.

Fragment of red sigillata with a rectangular stamp, broken on the right side. No dimensions recorded.

Letters: cursive *sigma*. H. not recorded



Σ Η Ω(?)

The last letter looks like a 'pointed' *omega* of which the right hasta has been broken off.

Undated.

The meaning of the letters is not clear. For other stamps on ceramic vessels, see *I. Pessinous* C24–27 and above nos. 26–29.

### App. 4. Funerary inscription



Found at Dutlu. Now in the garden of the Pessinous museum, inv. no. 51.

Upper left corner of a marble gravestone, decorated with an architrave, broken on upper, lower and right sides. H. 0.34; w. 0.335; th. 0.45.

Letters: cursive *sigma*; h. 0.029.

μνήμης vac.

Undated, probably Roman Imperial period.

### App. 5. Funerary inscription?

Found at Dutlu. Now in the garden of the Pessinous museum, inv. no. 502.

Square marble basis of a column, with mouldings now cut away. H. 0.205; w. 0.23; th. 0.21. Diam. of the column 0.205.

Inscription on two opposite sides of the block, below the moulding. Side (a) is broken on all sides, side (b) as well except at right.

Letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar and (in a) elongated right leg; rectangular *epsilon* and *sigma*; cursive *omega* which is smaller than the other letters; *eta* with unconnected middle bar; in b the oblique bars of *kappa* are not connected to the horizontal bar, and the left oblique bar of *lambda* is not connected to the right oblique bar; ligatures (a L. 2 ΗΣ, b L. 2 ΗΣ); h. 0.014-0.016.



a. --]ΤΕΡΕΩΤ[.?.]  
 --] αὐτῆς κ[αὶ]  
 --]. ΤΕ . Ν . [..?]

b. --] Ἀσκληπίω κα[ὶ]  
 --] ἀνέστησα[ν]  
 -----]Ν . [..?]

a.1. One might consider reading ἱερέως, but there is a horizontal bar above *iota* and the last letter looks rather *tau* than a rectangular *sigma*.

a. 3. First letter: upper part of a vertical hasta. Fourth letter looks like the upper left part of *mu* (perhaps *mu* written in ligature with *nu*?). Last letter: left part of a rounded letter, probably *omega*.

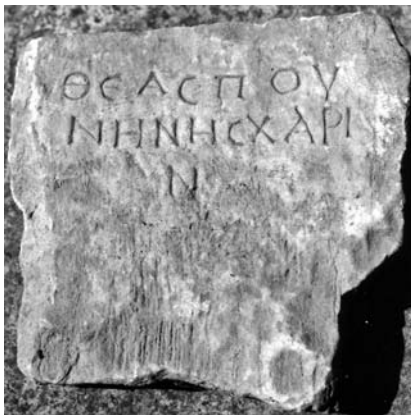
b. 2. Only the upper part of alpha and epsilon is preserved. – 3. Last letter: left part of a rounded letter, probably *omega*.

Roman Imperial period (letter forms).

The word ἀνέστησα[ν] in (b) L. 2 suggests that we have to do with a funerary inscription. The relation between the two texts is not clear: did the text of side (a) continue on side (b) or vice versa; were the other defaced sides uninscribed? For columns used as grave markers at nearby Pessinous, see *I.Pessinous* nos. 60, 86, 131.

#### App. 6. Funerary inscription

Found at Dutlu. Now in the garden of the Pessinous museum, inv.no. 503. White marble stele, broken at the upper and left sides; the lower right corner is broken off. H. 0.27; w. 0.28; th. 0.085.



Letters: one *alpha* with elongated right leg; cursive *epsilon* and *sigma*; *upsilon* with a very short vertical shaft; h. 0.016-0.021.

--]ΘΕΑΣΠΟΥ  
 -- μ]νήμης χάρι-  
 vac.        v        vac.

2. ΝΗΝΗΣ, *lapis*.

Undated, probably Roman Imperial period.

Though no text is engraved above L. 1, this line need not be the first. A figure or object may divide the inscription into an upper and lower part. It is not clear how many

letters have disappeared at the left side; it is possible but not a must (and in our view unlikely) that the *nu* of L. 3 was placed in the middle of the line.

One could read L. 1 as -]θεα (or -]θεα) Σπου[- (a form of e.g. Σπουδαῖος, Σπούδιππος) or -]θέας Που[- (a form of e.g. Πούβλιος). It is also possible that ΣΠΟΥ[- is the beginning of the word σπουδῇ, 'zealous help'. The words σὺν σπουδῇ (+ gen.) occur in a small number of grave inscriptions in the region, i.a. at Dutlu itself (*Mnemosyne* 34 (1981) p. 122–123 no. 13, cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 95 (1982) no. 428; *RECAM* II no. 120; *SEG XXXI* (1981) no. 1076).<sup>50</sup> In that case -]θεα would be the end of a personal name in the genitive, which seems not very likely and would imply a rather long text, which is also improbable.

Μνήνης for μνήμης, an error of the engraver. Since no trace of *mu* can be observed in the large open space before *nu*, it is not excluded that the engraver made a double mistake writing νήνης for μνήμης.

### Özet

Makalede, Pessinous ve civarında bulunan bazı yeni yazıtlar, taşçı işaretleri ve seramik, amphora, siva ya da kiremit üzerindeki bazı mühürler, graffitolar vs. yayınlanmaktadır.

1. Geç Bizans devrine (XII-XIII. yy.) ait olan ve kiliseye yaklaşan ve Kilise Azizleri'ne sorun olacak olan bir aslanı (ya da Leo adındaki bir insanı) defetmek üzere yazılmış bir şiir: *Benim gibi (?) yerini yurdunu terkedip, nasıl geldin buraya, sığırları yok eden süründen ayrılıp ? Çek git ve kaç, seni hemen şuracıta yok etmeden, her ne kadar en güçlü aslan sen olsan da! Çünkü ben Azizler Kilisesi'nin muhafızıyım.*

2. Yazıtlı arşitrav parçası (İ.S. I-II. yy.).

3. Hristiyan yazıtı: *Konukevinin sahibesi Hesychis yaptırdı* (İ.S. IV. yy.).

4. Üzerinde bir *menorah* motifi olan ve Pessinous'da bir Yahudi nüfusun varlığını kanıtlayan yazıt parçası (İ.S. V-VII. yy.).

5. Bir mezar şiiri (İ.S. IV. yy.): *... yoksun kalan koca. Ondan henüz bir çiçek gibi açarken ayrıldı. Sevgili karısı için yas tutan kocası Germanos'un dindar elleri yaptı bu mezarı. Ama bırak, mezarın üzerini toz kaplasın, herkesinki gibi. Ey acımasız Şeytan, kıskançlığından öyle bir eşi öldürdün ki!*

6. İ.S. IV. yüzyıla (veya daha sonraya) ait bir Hristiyan mezar yazıtı: *Bu mezar, emekli memur Paulos'a aittir. Eğer biri bu mezara zarar vermeye kalkarsa, Kutsal Üçlü'ye hesap verecektir.*

7. Geç Roma veya erken Bizans dönemine ait bir mezar yazıtı: *Bu mezar Emekli memur Ourphilas'a aittir. Amin.*

8-11. Bazı mezar taşı parçaları.

12-15. Mahiyeti anlaşılmayan bazı yazıt parçaları.

16. Pessinous arazisinde yer alan Karacaören'de bulunmuş yazıtlı bir kapıtaşı (İ.S. II. yüzyıl sonları): *Mamas, kayınpederi Andreas'ın anısı için (yaptırdı).*

17. Pessinous arazisinde yer alan Ertuğrul'da (eski Yakapınar) bulunmuş olan yazıtlı bir kapıtaşı (İ.S. II. yüzyıl sonları): *Koskonios oğlu Markos, oğlu Akylas'ın anısı için (yaptırdı).*

18-25. Mermer mimarî blokların üzerindeki bazı harfler (taşçı işaretleri).

26-29. Seramik üzerinde yer alan bazı mühürler.

30-31. Amphoralar ve bir amphora mührü (İ.Ö. yak. 300-275): *Thasos üretimi; Chaireas.*

32-37. Hellenistik devir seramikleri üzerinde yer alan bazı graffitolar.

38-40. Kiremit ya da tuğla üzerindeki bazı mühürler.

41. Bir siva parçası üzerindeki graffito.

Ekler 1-3. Seramik ve siva üzerindeki bazı değişik yazıtlar.

Ekler 4-6. Muhtemelen Germa (Germokoloneia) arazisinde yer alan Dutlu'da bulunan bazı mezar yazıtı parçaları.

University of Gent  
University of Antwerp, Free University of Brussels  
University of Leiden

John Devreker  
Christian Laes  
Johan Strubbe

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also at nearby Atlas, S.W. of Günyüzü, *RECAM* II no. 128.