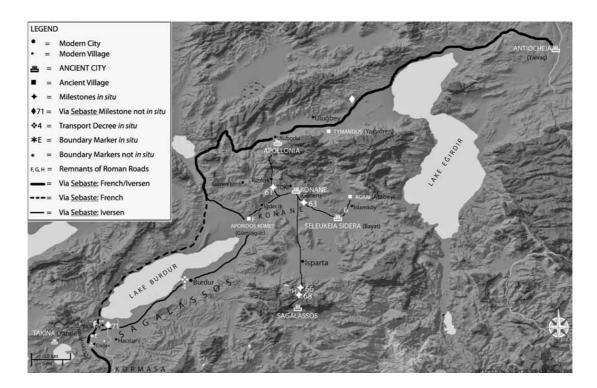
#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHWEST PISIDIA

The inscriptions published below were all found or studied as a part of the Isparta Archaeological Survey from 2009 to 2015, thirty-one of which are published here for the first time.



<sup>1</sup> I am particularly grateful to Director of the Isparta Archaeological Survey (IAS), Bilge Hürmüzlü, for all her support and encouragement. Thanks also go to Andrea De Giorgi (co-Director of the IAS until 2011), as well as to the T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı for the survey and museum permits and financial support, to the ministry representatives in 2009–2015, and to Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi for providing support, including the IAS's Survey House. Also special thanks go to İlhan Güceren and Mustafa Akaslan of the Isparta Museum and Hacı Ali Ekinci of the Burdur Museum for granting access to the collections, and to the Case Western Reserve University's College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Classics, and the Baker Nord Center for the Humanities for their financial support.

<sup>2</sup> On the research of the Isparta Archaeological Survey, see bibliography cited by Iversen 2012, p. 103, n. 2. Since then, also see B. Hürmüzlü and P. Iversen, Notes on Cultural Interaction in Northwest Pisidia in the Iron Age, in N. Chr. Stampolidis, Ç. Maner, K. Kopanias (eds), NOSTOI: Indigenous Culture, Migration, and Integration in the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia During the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Istanbul 2015), pp. 531–537; A. De Giorgi, Between Continuity and Change: Northern Pisidia Through Classical and Late Antiquity, MDAI(I) 64 (2014), pp. 57–72.

I. Inscriptions found in the territory of Sagalassos and/or Tymbrianassos I.1. Inscriptions found at Yarıköy

#### 1. Dice oracle

A pale brown (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2) squarish marble ἀστραγαλομαντεῖον ("dice oracle") with four faces, two of which (Sides C and D) are inscribed.³ The top of the block originally had some kind of a moulding, which has been largely obliterated. A large bowl is carved out of the middle of the block on the bottom (discovered upside down, so the bowl was facing up), probably done at some point to lighten the weight. Both Sides C and D are damaged at the bottom, especially in the corners. The stone was being kept in the office of the Yarıköy tea garden (muhtarlık), but it is virtually certain that it belongs with a fragmentary dice oracle found at nearby Yarişli/Takina (see more on this in the Commentary). The area of Yarıköy was located in the territory of ancient Tymbrianassos, a village that from at least the time of Nero belonged to a Roman imperial estate, one fifth of whose usufruct belonged to Sagalassos (see number 2 below for more on this). It also appears that the area around Takina also belonged to a Roman imperial estate, perhaps the same imperial estate that extended westward from Tymbrianassos, hence it is not clear where the monument originally stood.

Side A: width: 0.650 m.; thickness: 0.600 m. Side B: width: 0.600 m.; thickness: 0.650 m.

Side C: height: 0.450 m. (0.350 m. at preserved face); width: 0.650 m. (maximum 0.430 on the preserved face); thickness: 0.600 m.; letter height: 0.017–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010 m. Unpublished.

Side D: height: 0.450 m.; width: 0.600 m.; thickness: 0.650 m.; letter height: 0.012–0.019 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010 m. Published by Nollé 1997, pp. 59-60 (based on L. Robert's sketchbook from 1948). *Cf.* L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960), p. 596.

The lettering on Side C is on average larger, more thickly cut and more crowded than that of Side D, making it clear these were two different inscribers. On this (and my labeling of the Sides), see more below. It should also be noted that Side D begins two lines lower than Side C. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-III p.





Side C Side D

<sup>3</sup> On dice oracles, see Nollé 2007.

```
Side C:
                                         vacat 3 versus
Response XXIX
                              vacat
                                       ςς]δαα
                                                    ιη′
                                                           vacat
                          [τὴν πρᾶξιν πράσσ]ων ἐνχείρι· ἔσται ὁ καιρός.
                          [ἐν γενέσει χαλεπὸν κ]αὶ ὁ κίνδυνος παράκε[ιται].
                          [καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαν]τειῶν ἐστι καλ[ῶς σοι].
                             αςδδη ιη' οὐκ ἐσ]τὶν πράσσον[τα κατὰ]
Response XXX
                   5
                          [γνώμην ἃ μεριμνᾶς· οὔ]τε γὰρ ἐν [ἄλλῳ δήμῳ]
                          [ἰέναι σύμφορόν ἐστιν. οὔτε ἀνούμενος αἰσθή]-
                          [σει οὔτε ὀνήσιμον ἔσται. δδδγγ
                              vacat
                                      6+6]+4+1+1 =
                                                        18 vacat
                   Take in hand [and transact the business]. It will be the best opportunity.
                   [On your birthday difficulty a]nd danger lie at hand.
                   [And concerning all other prophecies,] all is well for you.
                   [1+6+4+4+3 = 18] It is not pos]sible for you to do according to
                   [plan what you intend. N]or [is it profitable to go] among
                   [another people. 4+4+4+3+3 = 
Side D:
                                        vacat 5 versus
                                                   κβ′
Response XLIV
                   1
                          [vac.]
                                                                 [vac.]
                          [εἰς σ]τόμα μὴ δοῖς χεῖρα λύκω, μή σοι τι γέ[νηται].
                          [δυσ]χερές ἐστιν πρᾶγμα, περὶ οὖ κεύθῃ, [καὶ ἄ]-
                          [πιστ]ον∙ 👻 ἀλλ' ἡσύχιος μένε λή<ξ>[ας ὁδοῦ]
Response XLV
                          [καὶ] ἀγορασμοῦ. vacat δδδ[δς vac. κβ']
                          [νας. ε]ίς πέ[λα]γ[ος] σπέ[ρμα βαλεῖν καὶ γράμ]-
                          [ματα γράψαι ἀμφότερος μόχθος τε κενὸς καὶ]
                          [πρᾶξις ἄπρακτος. μηδὲ βιάζου θνητὸς ἐὼν θεόν,]
                          [ὅς σ' ἔτι βλάψει. δγγςς κβ ------]
                   10
                          [vac.]
                                     1+6+6+6+3 = 22
                                                                 [vac.]
   Do not put your hand [to your m]outh with a hook, lest something (bad) happen to you.
            The business is [dif]ficult, which you are concealing, [and not to be]
                          trusted. We But stay quiet and cease from [travel]
                          [and] commerce. vacat 4+4+4[+4+6 = 22]
                          [vac. To sow] se[ed o]n the se[a] and to write let]-
                                [ters - both are a toilsome, vain and]
                   [unprofitable business. Being mortal, do not use force upon a god]
                          [who will yet harm you. 4+3+3+6+6 = 22 - - - - -]
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#### Side C:

Lines 1-4: The formulae are most closely paralleled as Response XXIX in a sequence of LVI Responses (see more on this under the Commentary below). For parallels, see Nollé 2007, pp.

41–46, Side C, Response 29, lines 1–7 (Ormeleis); Nollé 2007, pp. 60–67, Side C, Response 29, lines 1–4 (Adada); Nollé 2007, pp. 68–77, Side C, Response 29, lines 1–4 (Kremna); Nollé 2007, pp. 77–84, Side C, Response 29, lines 1–4 (Termessos); and Nollé 2007, pp. 95–101, Side B, Response 29, lines 1–4 (Perge). For a reconstruction of the Ur-text of this Response, see Nollé 2007, pp. 155–156, Spruch 29. It should also be noted that some examples have an extra "advice statement" between lines 1 and 2 of each Response, which is marked by Nollé as line "W" throughout his book. This extra advice statement is lacking throughout all the Responses of this example.

Line 1: No crossbar of dotted alpha is visible; epigraphically speaking it could also be a lambda. Each of the five numbers to the left represent the number of one of the five knuckle-bone dice thrown, in this case [66]411 (see commentary for more on this). If one adds these numbers up (6 + 6 + 4 + 1 + 1) the sum is 18, which is the number to the right  $(\eta = 18)$ .

Lines 5–8: This is another combination of dice that adds up to 18 ( $\alpha\zeta\delta\delta\gamma$  = 1 + 6 + 4 + 4 + 3). The formulae are most closely paralleled as Response XXX in a sequence of LVI Responses at Nollé 2007, pp. 41–46, Side C, Response 30, lines 7–14 (Ormeleis); Nollé 2007, pp. 60–67, Side C, Response 30, lines 1–4 (Adada); Nollé 2007, pp. 68–77, Side C, Response 30, lines 1–4 (Kremna); Nollé 2007, pp. 77–84, Side C, Response 30, lines 1–4 (Termessos); and Nollé 2007, pp. 95–101, Side B, Response 30, lines 1–4 (Perge). For a reconstruction of the Ur-text of this Response, see Nollé 2007, pp. 156–157, Spruch 30.

Lines 6-7: The formula does not scan as a hexameter.

Line 8: It is likely that Response XXXI began on this line (see Commentary).

#### Side D:

Lines 1–9: These are Responses XLIV and XLV in a series of LVI. The formulae are most closely paralleled on Nollé 2007, pp. 33–40, Block IV, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Anaboura); Nollé 2007, pp. 41–46, Side D, Responses 44–45, lines 1–9 (Ormeleis); Nollé 2007, pp. 54–59, Responses 44 and 45, lines 10–14 and lines 1–4 (Sagalassos); Nollé 2007, pp. 60–67, Side D, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Adada); Nollé 2007, pp. 68–77, Side C, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Kremna); Nollé 2007, pp. 77–84, Side D, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Termessos); Nollé 2007, pp. 84–91, Side C, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Termessos/Kitanaura); and Nollé 2007, pp. 91–95, Responses 44–45, lines 1–4 (Attaleia). For a reconstruction of the Ur-text of these Responses, see Nollé 2007, pp. 167–170, Spruch 44–45.

Line 1:  $\alpha[\zeta]\zeta\zeta\gamma$  Nollé (based on Robert's sketchbook), but the square-shaped stigma is clear on the squeeze (and cannot be an epsilon, since these are lunate).

Line 2: Nollé dots the iota in  $\tau_1$  and does not read the final epsilon, but the iota is clear both on the squeeze and in the photos, and the loop and a piece of the crossbar of the lunate epsilon are also visible on the squeeze and in the photos.

Line 3: Nollé dots the initial chi, but it is clear on the squeeze and in the photos. Nollé does not read the final eta, but a piece of the left vertical is visible on the squeeze and in the photos. In most other examples the formula is  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ i où  $\pi\epsilon$ ion.

Lines 3–4: Nollé puts  $[\mathring{\alpha}\pi \iota \sigma \tau]$  ov entirely in line 4, but I believe the spacing (with syllabic division) favors my interpretation of the layout.

Line 4: Most other examples have ἡσύχιος μένε φήσας; only at Nollé 2007, pp. 33–40, 44, line 4 and 56, line 4 (Anaboura) as well as Nollé 2007, pp. 84–91, 44, line 4 (Termessos/Kitanaura) is found the similar formula ἡσύχιος μένε λήξας or μέν(ε) ἡσύχιος λήξας. Here Nollé, in fact, reads λῆσ[ας] from Robert's copy (which he unfortunately does not reproduce). However, the right vertical, the entire cross-bar and a substantial piece of the upper left vertical of eta are pres-

ent, making its reading certain. On the other hand, today no piece of the sigma is present. It is possible that the stone has suffered damage here since Robert saw it, particularly since it was moved from the old village after the earthquake in 1971 (plus I was told it was recently moved from outside to the inside of the tea house), but  $\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (from  $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ) makes no sense with a genitive (and without a supplementary participle), so that even if the reading is correct, I am still inclined to read  $\lambda\eta'<\xi>\alpha\varsigma$  (from  $\lambda\eta\gamma\omega$ ). Likewise, I would read  $\lambda\eta'<\xi>\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  at Nollé 2007, pp. 91–94, 44, line 4 (from Attaleia). I should also mention that I believe I may see a piece of the left tip/serif of an upper vertical visible on the squeeze at this point, which if truly a letter trace could not belong to a lunate sigma but could belong to a xi. I am, however, not 100% certain it is a letter trace.

Line 5: In keeping with the formulae found on other copies of dice oracles, at the beginning of the line Nollé (2007, p. 60, n. 213) suggests restoring [ $\kappa\alpha$ i] or [ $\eta\delta$ i]. The spacing clearly favors the former. A piece of the horizontal top of the initial dotted alpha of  $\dot{\alpha}\gamma$ 0p $\alpha$ 0p $\alpha$ 0 is just visible on the squeeze. At the end of the line, only the upper parts of the dotted deltas are extent (the last of these only has a small piece of the top corner).

Line 6: Only the upper parts of all dotted letters are visible that epigraphically speaking could belong to other letters, but whose reading is not in doubt.

Line 9: It is likely that Response XLVI began on this line (see Commentary).

#### Commentary

This is a so-called dice oracle (ἀστραγαλομαντεῖον), the many examples of which are found mainly in Phrygia, Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Lykia and date to the second and third centuries of our era. Pausanias (7.25.10) mentions a similar example he saw while visiting the shrine of Herakles Buraikos in a cave near Bura, Achaia on mainland Greece. Here he says that the inquirer would stand before the image of Herakles Buraikos and offer a prayer, after which he would take four dice and throw them upon a table. For every summation made by the chance roll of the dice there was a ready-made schematic set of advice statements written on a tablet (πίναξ) that were read to the inquirer. The example above belongs to this class of inscription, which in this region consists of a schematic set of 56 or 120 ready-made oracular responses (generally hexameter verses) that were elicited by the inquirer's chance throw of five or seven dice (ἀστράγαλοι). Side C preserves Responses XXIX, XXX and Side D preserves Responses XLIV and XLV in a series of LVI that were elicited by rolling five dice.

The dice themselves were not numbered like modern dice, but the numbers were determined by the manner in which each knucklebone landed on its four sides. Since there were only four sides to a knucklebone, the rolls were interpreted as only four numbers – the numbers 1, 3, 4 or 6 (there were no numbers 2 or 5 – see Nollé 2007, pp. 7–9). As was noted above, these numbers were then added up and their sum was listed. Since there are 56 different ways the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 6 can be combined, this is how the 56 responses were generated.

These 56 responses generally have a consistent schematic set of advice statements, but some examples have an extra "advice statement" for each Response, which is placed directly after the line which gives the dice roll and summation of dice (that is between lines 1 and 2 in the example

<sup>4</sup> See map Nollé 2007, p. 23. An example preserved from Lykia (Nollé 2007, pp. 49–52, lines 1–2) indicates that the dice oracle there functioned as a part of the cult of Apollo Pythios: χρησμοὶ ἀπολλωνος Πυθίου ἐν / πέντ ἀστραγάλοις ἰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν.

above; Nollé marks this extra line as line "W" throughout his book). This particular example is of the type that does not have this extra advice statement per Response.

On other examples, the individual 56 Responses are also paired with a supernatural *numen*, which is also lacking on this example. For instance, on the parallel examples from Termessos, Kremna and Perge, Response XXIX is paired with the Adrasteia, the tutelary nymph chosen by Rheia to nurture the infant Zeus in secret in the Diktaian cave on Crete. Likewise, on the preserved portions of some of these same parallel examples, Response XXX is paired with Zeus Keraunios, Response XLIV with the Moirai Epiphaneis, and Response XLV with Poseidon. On this example found at Yarıköy (which below I will show belonged to the same monument as an example found at nearby Yarışlı), clearly a deity was understood and was probably communicated orally to the inquirer.

It is not clear to me why a particular combination of dice and sum were paired with a particular deity, but the pairing itself undoubtedly had to do with the belief that a particular *numen* was somehow seen to be related to a particular *numerus* (i.e., numerology). This idea that numbers are tied to specific deities and our fates was nothing new in the second and third centuries of our era. The question is why these Dice Oracles appear to be much more popular in this region of Asia Minor at this specific time than elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman World, given, as we saw above in Pausanias, there is evidence that they existed elsewhere?

Some of this undoubtedly has to do with fortune's fickle roll of the dice in the preservation of the monuments, or possibly because elsewhere the schematic set of advice was inscribed on a tablet of wood rather than on stone blocks (as appears to be the case at Bura), but undoubtedly local religious belief also played a large role. This local belief may have been influenced by this area's closer proximity to the older civilizations of the Ancient Near East. For instance, on a cuneiform tablet from ancient Babylon dating to the reign of the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668 - ca. 627 B.C.), the god Anu was associated with the number 60, Enil with the number 50, Éa with 40, Sîn (the moon) with 30, Šamaš with 20, Ištar with 15, and Adad with 6.7 In most of these instances the reason for the pairing of a particular deity with a specific number escapes modern scholars, and in Babylon the deities were also clearly tied to the heavens and astrology, which aspect the dice oracles seem to lack. On the other hand, it may be that the astrological tradition in Babylon was somehow combined with the Greek astragalogical tradition by means of a kind of false etymology or metonymic chain of ideas to produce ἀστραγαλομαντεῖον. Whether this be true or not (and I must admit I have no direct evidence for it), the tablet from Babylon does provide evidence of an older tradition of pairing a deity with a number that may have played a part in the apparently wider popularity of dice oracles and numerology in Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> A few epigraphical fragments also have been found in Thrace (see Nollé 2007, p. 285).

<sup>7</sup> Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum, Part XXV, pl. 50 (London 1909). See also A. Livingstone, Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars (Winona Lake, Indiana 2007), pp. 30–33 (for English translation of tablet) and pp. 44–48. Also see J. Bottéro, Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia, trans. by T. Lavender Fagan (Chicago 2001), pp. 70–71.

<sup>8 60</sup> was the supreme round number in the Babylonian decimo-sexagesimal system, so it is easy to see why it was associated with Anu (the leading father-figure deity), and it is likely that 30 was associated with Sîn (the moon) because 30 was the number of days in a "full" (as opposed to "hollow") month.

In addition, probably a lot of the popularity in this region at a specific point in time has to do with the fact that where dice are thrown, often a lot of money is to be made. Once one city or cult had financial success with this gimmick, the other cities and cults in the region wanted to try their own hand at it rather than watch patrons travel elsewhere to spend their money. In this way, they were probably not unlike the recent proliferation of gambling casinos in the upper Midwest of the United States, where scores of unemployed workers from shuttered rustbelt factories, particularly after the worldwide financial implosion at the end of 2008, are desperate to try their luck with the wheel of Fortune.<sup>9</sup>

As for the original provenance of this stone, a similar four-sided monument with Responses XIII/XIV/XV (Side A), XXVIII (Side B), XLII/XLIII (Side C), and LV/LVI (Side D) was found at the village of Yarışlı, which sits about 12 km west/southwest from Yarıköy and was near the site of ancient Takina (Nollé 2007, pp. 47–49). It is immediately apparent to me from the photos (Nollé 2007, Tafel 4) that the inscriber of Responses XIII, XIV, XV, and XXVIII of Side A of the example from Yarışlı (which Nollé reports is also the same inscriber as Side B) is the same inscriber as that of Responses XXIX and XXX of Side C of the Yarıköy example (with the bigger and more thickly cut letters), and the inscriber of Responses XLII and XLIII on Side C of the Yarışlı example was the same as that of Responses XLIV and XLV of Side D of the example from Yarıköy (with generally smaller, thinner and less crowded letters). The layouts are also identical, both lack the pairing with a deity, both lack the extra "advice statement" between lines 1 and 2 of each Response, both have the same kind of moulding that has largely been shaved away, both have folia, and Nollé reports that the dimensions of the block from Yarışlı were 0.600 and 0.650 m., the same as the example from Yarıköy. All this leads to the inexorable conclusion that the examples from Yarışlı belong to one and the same monument.

The conclusion that these are part of the same monument and the blocks were arranged in such a way that the Responses were contiguous is also borne out by the fact that in parallel examples there is only one dice combination that produces the number 17, and this is response XXVIII in the series, the same response as preserved on Side B of the example from Yarışlı. On other parallel examples this is immediately followed by a particular dice combination that yields 18 and is response XXIX in the series – the exact combination as on (what I identify as) Side C from Yarıköy. Likewise on parallel examples, there is only one combination of dice that adds up to 21 and this is response XLIII in the series, which is preserved on Side C of the Yarışlı example. This is followed immediately by a combination of dice that adds up to 22 that is response XLIV

<sup>9</sup> In my hometown of Cleveland, Ohio the local and state laws were changed in 2009, in no small part owing to the financial difficulties that began in 2008, to allow gambling in Ohio's major cities, including Cleveland. The result was the opening in 2012 of the Horseshoe Casino Cleveland. While the owners of these casinos have their own profit motives, the benefits of changing the state and local laws were directly sold to the voters as a way to raise income for the large cities and the state, especially for education, so that it not be lost to other cities and states in the region, such as to the casino in Detroit, Michigan (and in fact, the Cleveland casino revenue is taxed at 33%, which is very high by American standards). Of course, one big difference is that the Dice Oracle did not offer pay outs, but even in modern times people will pay a pretty penny to tarot card readers and the like.

<sup>10</sup> Nollé does not give an image of Side D, but believes it is the same hand as Side C.

<sup>11</sup> Nollé appears to report that width and thickness of Sides A and C is 0.650 and the width and thickness of Sides B and D is 0.600 m., but this is impossible (as I understand it), unless the block is not rectangular/squarish. I believe he means to say the width and thickness of Sides A and C is  $0.650 \times 0.600$ , while the width and thickness of Sides B and D is contrary, or  $0.600 \times 0.650$ . The height of the block at Yarışlı is recorded as 0.480 m., very similar to the height of the block at Yarıköy (0.450 m.), but in any case the height of the blocks could vary without any problem, particularly if Nollé is correct that the block at Yarışlı was sawn off from a larger monolithic stone.

in the series followed by another combination of dice that adds up to 22 that is response XLV in the series, both which are preserved on (what I identify as) Side D of the Yarıköy example. It is thus apparent that the responses on Sides C and D of the example from Yarıköy go right after the responses on both Sides B and C of the Yarışlı example.

There are two possibilities as to how the blocks from Yarıköy and Yarışlı relate to each other so that the responses on the example from Yarıköy go right after the responses on the example from Yarışlı. The first is that Side A consisted of 15 Responses (I–XV), Side B consisted of 13 Responses (XVI–XXVIII), Side C consisted of 15 Responses (XXIX–XLIII), and Side D 13 Responses (XLIV–LVI), which is what Nollé proposed for the block found at Yarışlı without associating it with the block from Yarıköy (and this is the arrangement I have chosen to follow). If correct, the block from Yarıköy sat at the top of the monument and the block from Yarışlı sat at the bottom, both originally part of a monolithic stone that has been sawed off into pieces. This would apparently result in the width of all the faces to match up, 12 it would mean that there was a kind of moulding at both the top and bottom of the monument (both probably defaced at the time the monument was sawed up), and it would also mean that the two inscribers' hands were not limited to a particular face of the monument.

The other possibility is that Sides A–C consisted of 15 Responses each, while Side D had the remaining 11. In this scenario, the block from Yarıköy sat directly below the block from Yarışlı, thus both blocks toward the bottom of the monument. This would mean that the destroyed band of moulding on each block would be contiguous with each other, that some responses sat below the moulding, and that the different inscribers' hands would each be on the same face, but it would also mean that the moulding was not at the very bottom of the monument and it would apparently also mean that the widths of the blocks do not line up (see notes 11 and 12). It would also mean that what I label Sides C and D would need to be relabeled Sides B and C.

Of these two choices, therefore, the width of the sides seems to be the decisive criterion, thus it seems more likely to me that the block from Yarıköy sat at the top of the monument, while the block from Yarışlı sat at the bottom. If correct, the monument would have been similar in form to that found at Adada (Nollé 2007, pp. 60–67 and Tafel 8–9).

Whether this monument was originally set up near Yarışlı (Takina) or near Yarıköy (Sagalassos/Tymbrianassos), or in some other location with both blocks migrating, is at present impossible to say, since both sites have other ancient artifacts. In addition, both may have been part of the same Imperial estate (see more on this in inscription 2), with which the dice oracle may possibly be related.

### 2. Boundary marker

A large, rectangular white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone block that is preserved on all sides except for the bottom, which is missing very little. At the top there is a crude pediment and a deeply cut vertical line that could have significance (representing the number 1 or 10?). The stone is located at the Yarıköy tea garden (*muhtarlık*). The lettering and interlinear spacing is sloppy and irregular (and the inscriber is very likely the same as number 3 below).

<sup>12</sup> There is, however, some doubt about the width of each face (see n. 11). However, measuring the letter heights in Nollé's photo and extrapolating from there leads me to believe this is the correct solution.

<sup>13</sup> There is evidence for some unspecified cult in SEG 60.1497 found at Sazak/Yeşilova, possibly in the territory of Takina. See numbers 2, 71 and 72 below for other ancient artifacts found at Yarıköy.

Height: 1.430 m.; width: 0.640 m.; thickness: 0.034 m.; letter height: 0.020–0.038 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.032 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

This stone is unpublished, but apparently seen by Robert in 1948 (Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1960, p. 596).

Date: inscribed or re-inscribed III p.? (from a letter dating 54/55 p.)

#### In pedimento: I?

### Sub pedimento:

1 ν έξ έπιστολῆς From a letter θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γof the divine Augustus Gερμανικοῦ Καίσαροermanicus Caesar. ς, Κοΐντος Πετρώνιοwhen Quintus Petroniu-5 ς Οὖμβερ πρ<ε>σβευτὴς s Umber was legatus pro praetore of Neκαὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίro Claudius Caeσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμsar Augustus Germανικοῦ καὶ Λούκιος Πούanicus, and when Lucius Pu-10 πιος Πραίσης ἐπpius Praesens was proίτροπος Νέρωνcurator of Nero ος Κλαυδίου Καίσα-Claudius Caesρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμar Augustus Germανικοῦ ώροθέτηanicus, the boundaries were fixed: 15 σαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξι[ᾶ] the territory on the right εἶναι Σαγαλασσέων, to belong to the Sagalassans, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερῷ κώμand that on the left to belong to the vill-[η]ς Τυμβριανάσ<σ>ου Νέρωage of Tymbrianas<s>os of Nero νος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρο[ς] Claudius Caesar 20 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Augustus Germanicus, νν ἐν ἦ καὶ τὸ πένπ[τον] on which [the Sagalassans] [μέρος Σαγαλασσέων]. are also to have one-fifth [usufruct].

The inscriber does not observe syllabification, as on number 3 (below).

Lines 1–3: The stone has a pronounced taper at the top.

Lines 4–5: Quintus Petronius Umber was the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of apparently Galatia or of Lykia-Pamphylia in A.D. 54/55.<sup>14</sup> His son would later be *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Lykia-Pamphylia.<sup>15</sup>

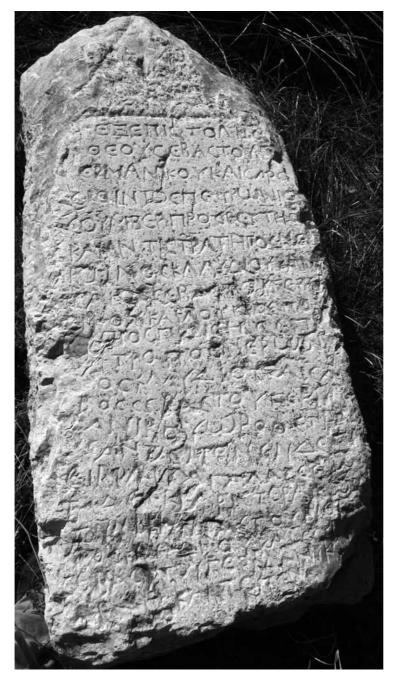
Line 5: ПРОСВЕҮТНС, lapis.

Line 9: The first two letters are above a pit in the stone.

Lines 9–10: Lucius Pupius Praesens is the same man as recorded at CIG 3991 (= ILS 8848 = IGR 3.258) and partially restored at IGR 3.262 (= SEG 34.1326), both found at Ikonion. He also ap-

<sup>14</sup> See B. Thomasson, Laterculi Praesidum, vol. I (Göteborg 2009), p. 103, 28:014.

<sup>15</sup> See Thomasson (n. 14), p. 115, 30:009. See also SEG 17.569; 34.1326; 42.1227.



pears on some inscriptions recently found at Perge.<sup>16</sup> These inscriptions indicate that he was first a tribunus militum, then a praefectus militum of the Ala Picentina, then a procurator ad ripas Tiberis, then a procurator of both Claudius and Nero for the province of Galatia-Pamphylia. His appearance on this inscription is not a detail likely to have been appropriated later from a fictitious letter and thus corroborates the authenticity of the letter.

Lines 9–15: The stone was damaged at the beginning of these lines when the inscriber began, so he worked around the damage.

Lines 14–15: The use of the aorist passive  $\omega \rho o \theta \epsilon \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$  strongly implies this was something that had been adjudicated in the past.

Line 15: The appearance of ἐν in the phrase τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾳ is not found on the other published examples, and should be restored on them (as Horsley and Kearsley do – see number 3 below).

Line 18: Only the bottom tip of the arc of dotted sig-

ma is extant; it could also be a lunate epsilon. TYMBPIANACTOY, *lapis*. On one example found at Düver/Düğer, Ramsay (1886, pp. 128–129) read TYMBPIANACC[- -] and Bean (1959, p. 85, 30 X) TYMBPIANACCE[- -] = Tυμβριανασσέ[ων], on a second one found at Düver/Düğer Bean (p. 85, 30 Y) read essentially the same (TYM/BPIANACÇΕΩΝ), and on a third one found between the villages of Düğer and Hacılar that is now in the Burdur Museum (Horsley and Kearsley 1998

<sup>16</sup> F. Onur, Two Procuratorian Inscriptions from Perge, *Gephyra* 5 (2008), pp. 53–66.

and number 3 below), I read TYNBPIACO/Y = Tυνβρια<νάσ>σο/υ. There is thus some doubt that the village's name was Tυμβριάνασσος, although this seems preferable to Tυμβριάναστος (the only other reasonable possibility). If correct, the question is whether the original letter had Tυμβριανασσέων or Tυμβριανάσσου. Since either is possible (the people of Tymbrianassos probably remained on the land and simply gave a portion to the Romans), it is impossible to say.

Line 19: The left half of dotted omicron is visible in the photo.

Line 20: At the end of the line a piece of the stone had apparently chipped away, and the inscriber smoothed the resulting (lower) surface and inscribed the last three letters on this.

Line 21:  $\Pi$ EN[--], *lapis*, not  $\Pi$ EM[--]. The letters of this line are bigger, so there was probably no room at the end of the line for more letters than what I have restored. This is the only example with the definite article  $\tau$ ò, which should be supplied on the other examples.

Line 22: The word  $\mu$ é $\rho$ oç is left off some examples, but with the definite article in the previous line it should be supplied. There may be some traces of letters, but it is difficult to distinguish between damage and letters.

#### Commentary

To date, at least seven examples of these boundary markers have been found in the area: two were found at the nearby village of Düver/Düğer by Ramsay (see map and A–B in Table I, which is located after number 57 below), <sup>17</sup> a third in Düğer by Bean (Table I, C and map), <sup>18</sup> two were announced by L. Robert as being found in pre-1971 Yarıköy but never published (Table I, D and map), <sup>19</sup> a sixth from between Düğer and Hacılar that is now in the Burdur Museum (= number 3 below and Table I, 3 and map), <sup>20</sup> and a seventh discovered by both French and Waelkens possibly *in situ* at a point that sits a few hundred meters off the modern dirt road that runs between Düğer and Yarıköy at a location about halfway between these two villages (Table I, E and map). <sup>21</sup> From Robert's sketch book it is certain that this newly discovered stone is one of the two examples seen by Robert at old Yarıköy, but moved about 2.5 kilometers away to new Yarıköy after the earthquake destroyed the old village in 1971.

It is not clear whether the same letter cutter inscribed all these examples, but we can now say that the inscriber of 2 is almost certainly the same as that of 3 as well as one of the examples found at Düğer (Bean 1959, 85, 30Y), who apparently had difficulty in reading the letter that served as his model, who was prone to make errors, and who (as Horsley and Kearsley have noted) may have worked in the third century AD (the aorist passive form  $\omega\rhoo\theta$   $\varepsilon\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  in lines 14–15 in particular implies this was something settled once and for all in the past).

As the multiple copies of this text indicate, on the authority of a letter authored by the divine (i.e., dead) Claudius, the boundary between the village of Tymbrianassos and Sagalassos was set in AD 54/55 when Quintus Petronius Umber was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* and Lucius Pupius Praesens was *procurator* of Galatia-Lykia, both who originally held these posts under Claudius and continued in them under Nero. It thus appears that at the end of Claudius' reign, he wrote a

<sup>17</sup> Ramsay 1886, pp. 128-129; Ramsay 1895, p. 336, no. 65; Ramsay 1941, pp. 234-236, nos. 237 and 238.

<sup>18</sup> Bean 1959, p. 85, 30Y (= SEG 19.765).

<sup>19</sup> L. Robert, Hellenica 11–12 (1960), p. 596 (= BE 1961.733).

<sup>20</sup> Horsley and Kearsley 1998, pp. 123-129 (= SEG 48.1550).

<sup>21</sup> Waelkens *et al.* 2000, p. 172 and map p. 177. I attempted to find this stone and went to the indicated GPS point (see Table I, E), but the area is now completely overgrown with thin, tall (5–20 m.) trees, a modern reservoir runs through it, and I was unsuccessful.

letter to Quintus Petronius and Lucius Pupius directing them how to set the boundary between these two neighbors and how to apportion the usufruct of the imperial estate. Whether this was because Claudius had turned the village of Tymbrianassos into an imperial estate himself (which I find most likely given the wording of the text) or he was redressing Sagalassan complaints of an earlier appropriation, or clarifying the boundary and usufruct for other reasons (such as indicating which city was responsible for supplying requisitioned transport to the Romans on either side of the Via Sebaste), is not absolutely clear, but when he died on 13 October AD 54, the stipulations of his letter had not yet been carried out, but on the authority of the letter they were, probably in the first year of Nero's reign. This Imperial estate may have extended at least 12 km west as far as Takina/Yarışlı, as evinced by an inscription found there that dates to AD 212/213 and also refers to a *procurator*.<sup>22</sup>

Since three examples were found in Düğer, one example apparently *in situ* about halfway between Düğer and Yarıköy (see Waelkens *et al.* 2000, p. 172 and map p. 177), two examples in Yarıköy and one example between Düğer and Hacılar (see number 3 below), it is likely that the boundary between Sagalassos and Tymbrianassos fell along a line that ran north(east)-south(west) between Düğer and Yarıköy.

It has been persuasively suggested that this north(east)-south(east) running line was the Via Sebaste (see Horsley and Kearsley 1998, pp. 127–128 and Waelkens *et al.* 2000, p. 172), not the Düğer Çayı (a stream) as Bean supposed. Whether this be true or not, based on the find spot of an inscription dating to AD 14–21 that records the rules propagated by the Romans for requisitioned transport in and around the area of Sagalassos (see number 4 below) along a major north-south running thoroughfare, I have proposed a new route for the Via Sebaste that ran near Düğer and on to Yarıköy (which is where the only milestone of the Via Sebaste has been found in the area, see number 71 below),<sup>23</sup> and then along the southeast side of Lake Burdur through the modern city of Burdur (see map), rather than skirting past the territory of Sagalassos by running on the northwest side of the lake as is usually supposed.<sup>24</sup> Part of the argument for this new route of the Via Sebaste involves the fact that in Roman times (and even more recent modern times), the level of Lake Burdur was much higher so the area around Yarıköy would have actually been on the southeast side of the lake, not the northwest.<sup>25</sup> In addition, a major road running on the southeast side of the lake would make more military sense than one running on the northwest side.

<sup>22</sup> See SEG 37.1186 (= 44.1112; 45.1768; 51.1812; 57.1429; 59.1537; 60.1496), a rescript of Caracalla that addressed some illegal actions of Roman soldiers against farmers in the area.

<sup>23</sup> This article (A New Proposal for the Via Sebaste in Sagalassan Territory, and the Roman Roads around Pisidian Konane) will appear in the proceedings of a conference held at the British School in Ankara entitled: Pathways of Communication: Roads and Routes in Anatolia from Prehistory to Seljuk Times.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance map in French 2014, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> A. Tudryn *et al.*, A 2300-year Record of Environmental Change from SW Anatolia, Lake Burdur, Turkey, *Journal of Paleolimnology* 49 (2013), pp. 647–662, 656–7, fig. 4.

### I.2. Boundary inscription said to be found between Düğer and Hacılar

### 3. Boundary marker

In August of 2015 I was able to inspect closely, photograph, and take a squeeze of Burdur Museum 12.26.88, which is a light grey (Munsell 10YR 7/1) rectangular limestone block consisting of two joined fragments that is preserved on all sides. The un-inscribed sides have been rough picked. The lettering and interlinear spacing is sloppy and irregular (and the inscriber is almost certainly the same man as number 2 above). Waelkens et al. (2000, p. 172) report that they were informed by French that this boundary marker was found about 1 km west of a bridge over the Bozçay stream about 300 m north of the Düğer-Hacılar road, and thus between Düğer and Hacılar.



Published: Horsley and Kearsley 1998 = Horsley, Kearsley and Alp 2007, p. 237, no. 336.

Height: 1.290 m.; width: 0.600 m.; thickness (at the top): 0.560 m.; letter height: 0.023-0.048 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.002-0.032 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: inscribed or re-inscribed III p.? (from a letter dating 54/55 p.)

- 1 ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος Κοΐντος Πετρώνιος Οὖμβερ πρε-
- 5 νν σβευτής καὶ ἀντισ-{τισ}τράτηγο<ς> Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ<μανικοῦ> {Καίσαρος} καὶ [Λο]ὑκ[ι]-
- 10 ος Πούπιος Πραίσης [ἐ]πίτροπος Νέρωνο- ς ν Κλαυδίου Καίσαρο- ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο- ῦ ὡρ(ναc.)οθέτησαν τὰ μ-
- 20 ν ου Καίσαρος Σεβασν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ν ἐν ἦ καὶ <τὸ> πένπτον ν μέρος Σαγαλασ<σέ>ω-[ν]. ναcat

See number 2 above for translation.

The text is that of Horsley and Kearsley, unless otherwise stated in the apparatus criticus:

Line 6: TICTPATH $\Gamma$ OYNEP $\Omega$ , lapis.

Line 8: CEBACTOΥΓΕΡ, lapis.

Lines 9–10: καὶ  $\{\sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\zeta\}$  Λούκ[ι]/ $\sigma\zeta$ , Horsley and Kearsley. The kappa after KAICAPOC is clear, followed by the apex of a letter (alpha or lambda), followed by the upper tip of a vertical hasta, followed by a pit in the stone, followed by part of the upper right branch of dotted upsilon, followed by a piece of the vertical of dotted kappa. The spacing of my reading works better too.

Line 11: Horsley and Kearsley do not read the initial  $\Pi$ I, but they are clear on the squeeze and in the photo.

Line 12: Horsley and Kearsley read the initial sigma, but the stone is completely missing here now.

Line 14: Horsley and Kearsley indicate a *vacat* between the rho and omicron of  $\dot{\omega}$ ροθέτησαν, but it is a pit (*cavum*) that must have been there when the stone was inscribed.

Line 15: ENΔΕΞΙΕΙΝΑΙ, lapis.

Lines 15–16:  $\Sigma \alpha / \gamma \alpha \lambda \alpha < \sigma \sigma \varepsilon > \omega \nu$ , Horsley and Kearsley. CA/ $\Gamma \Lambda \Lambda \Lambda \Omega N$ , lapis.

Line 17: This is the only known example with a redundant  $\varepsilon i v \alpha \iota$  (which is missing on number 2 above).

Lines 18–19: Τυνβρια<νασσέ>ω/<ν>, Horsley and Kearsley. TYNBPIACO/Y, *lapis*. The final CO in line 18 are a bit crowded so that they could be mistaken for omega, but I believe my reading is correct. For why this reading Τυνβριανάσσου rather than Τυνβριανασσέων is to be preferred, see *apparatus criticus* of number **2** above, line 18.

Line 22: πέμπτον, Horsley and Kearsley, KAIΠΕΝΠΤΟΝ, *lapis* (the τò can be supplied from comparing it with number **2** above).

Line 23–24: CA $\Gamma$ A $\Lambda$ AC $\Omega$ /[N], *lapis*. Horsley and Kearsley dotted the final nu, but I cannot discern any clear sign of it.

#### I.3. Inscription said to be found near the Burdur Railway Station

#### 4. Roman requistioned transport decree

In July of 2011 I was able to inspect closely, photograph, and take a squeeze of Burdur Museum 2670, a notable bilingual inscription dating to AD 14–21 that promulgates the rules governing Roman requisitioned transport in the territory of Sagalassos. The stone is said to have been found *in situ* near the Burdur railway station (see map). As noted above (under number 2), I believe this inscription was set up at the intersection of the Via Sebaste and a road running to Sagalassos. Although very lightly inscribed, the inscription is well preserved with only a few patches of difficult readings that have already mostly been resolved. The last line of the inscription (line 52), however, continues to perplex, and here a new solution is proposed. The Greek, as given by Mitchell, Reads:

<sup>26</sup> See S. Mitchell, Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire: A New Inscription from Pisidia, *JRS* 66 (1976), pp. 106–131; also see Horsley, Kearsley and Alp 2007, p. 232, no. 335. On the date, see *SEG* 36.1208.

<sup>27</sup> See Table I, 4 for the coordinates of the Burdur train station.

<sup>28</sup> S. Mitchell (n. 26).

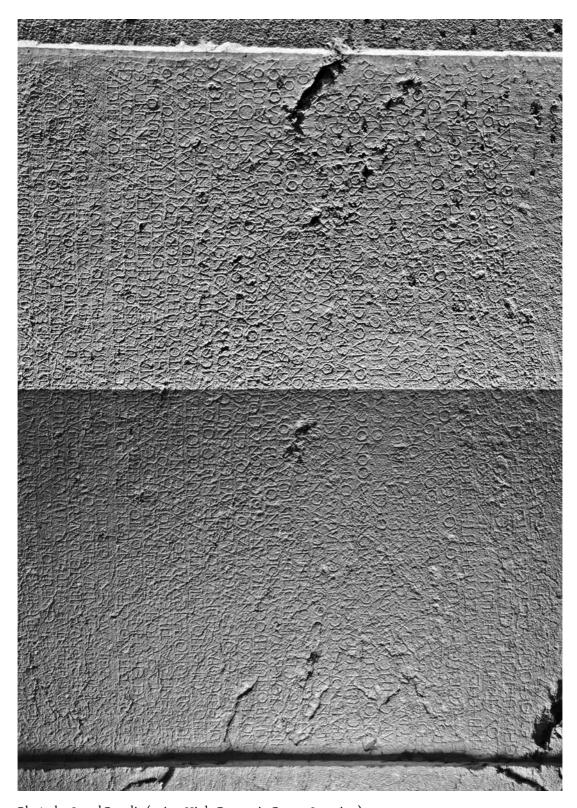


Photo by Jared Bendis (using High-Dynamic-Range Imaging)

50 ... καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐν πάσαις ἐπαρχείαις καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθέροις καὶ δούλοις καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσιν αὐτῶν ἄμισθον παρασχεθῆναι δεῖ, τἆλ-(vac.) λα δὲ ... ΡΝ[ ca. 5 ] . \ŅΠΑΡΑÇ . . ΟΝΤΩΝ. vacat vacat

Translation: [Accommodations] ... for those on military service in all the provinces and for the freedmen and slaves of Augustus and their beasts are to be supplied for free, but as for the other costs ...

Mitchell suggested that the last word could be  $\pi$ αρασχόντων, apparently a third plural imperative ("let them supply"), which was the reading endorsed by Horsley and Kearsley.<sup>29</sup> The corresponding Latin text in lines 24–25, however, reads:

eț militantibus ex omnibus provincis et principis optimi libertis et servis et iumentis eorum gratuitam pṛaeṣṭari oportet, ita ut reliqua ab invitis gratuita non e-x>sigant

Translation: [Accommodations] ... for those on military duty from all provinces and for the freedman and slaves of the Excellent Leader and their beasts are to supplied for free, thusly so that they do not exact the other costs for free from those who are unwilling.

The first thing to note is that there is a remarkable correspondence between the Latin and the Greek up until the end of line 51, with the Greek translation of the Latin almost word for word, with the only real difference being the Latin lacks the definite articles. If the reading  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  is adopted, it would depart from this norm. The second thing to note is that there is not really a *vacat* on the stone at the beginning of line 52, but a large pit in which are lost 4 wide or 5 letters (at least one must be an iota for it to be 5 letters). The restoration as given by the *editio princeps* assumes that this pit was there before the stele was inscribed, which seems likely given that the inscriber observed syllabification (something like  $\tau \alpha \lambda/[\sigma \iota \pi' \alpha \lambda] \lambda \alpha$  seems improbable). A third thing to note is that a negative  $\mu \eta$  or its equivalent is required somewhere to correspond with the Latin *ut ... non*. If the pit was there first and the inscriber worked around it, I would suggest (from autopsy, squeeze and photos):

51 .... τἆλ- (cavum) λα δὲ, [μ]ὴ πράττωσιν παρ' ἀξκόντων. vacat Translation: But as for the other (costs), let them not exact (these) from the unwilling.

Line 52: I believe that  $\Lambda A\Delta E[.]H\Pi P$  are clear on the squeeze and in the photos. Parts of the left diagonal and apex of dotted alpha are visible (and it may be a piece of the "broken-bar" horizontal is preserved, but this may be damage). Only a part of dotted tau's vertical is visible (and it occupies what seems to be about a letter space and a half), but after that I think TQCINПAPA is clear. Only the loop of the dotted lunate epsilon is visible within which there is damage, which is why previous editors have read it as lunate sigma. I believe the vertical and right two branches of the kappa are visible (and these two branches have been taken as part of a chi by previous editors), while the final letters ONT $\Omega N$  are not in doubt.

<sup>29</sup> Horsley, Kearsley and Alp 2007, p. 232, no. 335 read: τἆλ/(vacat)λα δὲ ... PN[- ca. 7 -]..N παρασχόντων.

### Commentary

The verb πράττειν can mean to "exact payment from", <sup>30</sup> and is the perfect word to render the Latin e[x]sigant, while the Greek παρ' ἀέκοντων is also the exact equivalent of ab invitis (for this expression, compare Xenophon Hellenica 6.2.38, Anabasis 7.7.14, Cyropaedia 7.5.77; Lysias Apologia dorodokias aparasemos 12.1; Demosthenes In Timocratem 87.9, etc., all these with the Attic contracted form παρ' ἀκοντ-). The two differences are that in the Greek, there is no equivalent for the Latin gratuita (= ἄμισθα) and the Greek employs a prohibitive subjunctive rather than a result clause. <sup>31</sup> The Greek, therefore, is somewhat more favorable to the locals (i.e., the Latin may imply that the other things can be exacted from the unwilling by a price determined by the Romans, whereas the Greek prohibits the Romans from exacting the other things unwillingly no matter what the price).

II. Inscriptions from the territory of Konane II.1. Inscriptions from Gönen

**5**. Funerary stele in honor of a mother(?)

A white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/1) limestone funerary stele broken on the bottom and a little at the top, but preserved on all other sides. There are remnants of three decorated acroteria, below which there is a pediment within which is a round disc. The pediment rests upon two pilasters



that grace each side. Under the pediment there is a wreath from which hangs a bunch of grapes. It is located at the east end of the north wall of the old *hamam* in Gönen about 3 meters off the ground (in 2009 when the IAS first inspected the *hamam* the writing of the inscription was covered in mortar, which eventually crumbled, so that the exposed writing was later noted by Dies Van Der Linde).

Preserved height: 0.500 m.; width: 0.360 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height 0.020- 0.028 m.; interlinear spacing 0.012 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

1 ['A]σκληπιάδης
['Aσκ]ληπιάδ[ου]
[τῆι] μη[τρὶ(?) -]

<sup>30</sup> LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v. πράσσω VI.

<sup>31</sup> The third person with a present prohibitive subjunctive is somewhat rare, but allowed. See H. W. Smyth, A Greek Grammar for Colleges (1920), p. 404, 1800, c. Perhaps the present tense suggests a more dynamic, repeated aspect: "let them not keep exacting ..."

Line 1: Only the upper left tip of the dotted lunate sigma is preserved; it could also be a lunate-shaped epsilon. The first three letters of lines 1 to 2 (and in my reconstruction line 3) are inscribed on the left pilaster, while the last three letters of the first two lines are inscribed on the right pilaster. The grape bunch hangs between the first H and  $\Pi$  in both lines 1 and 2. Asklepiades was named after his father. On naming conventions, see under number 12.

Line 2: Only the upper tips of dotted iota and delta are visible.

Line 3: Only the tip of the upper left vertical of dotted eta is visible (or it could be the right vertical if two letters are in ligature).

### 6. Funerary stele in honor of Quintus

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2) rectangular limestone funerary stele that is preserved on the bottom and two sides, and may also be preserved on the top (which is hidden under mortar). It had two pilasters, but the surface of the left one has been scrapped away. It probably also had a wreath from which hung a grape bunch, but these have also been scraped away. It was found freshly affixed into a cinder-block wall with mortar that had not yet fully cured at Orta Caddesi 14 in the village of Gönen. The owners claim not know whence it came.

Height: 0.850 m.; width: 0.330 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.024 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.003 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.



1 [.2-3.]υλὶς - Κοΐντῳ [ἀν]δρὶ - καὶ Κοΐ[ν]- [το]ς πατρὶ μνήμης χάρι[ν].

Line 1: The missing letters to the right were inscribed on the left pilaster, the surface of which has been largely obliterated. Since it is clear that there were originally two letters

on the pilaster at the beginning of lines 2 and 3, it is perhaps more likely that 2 are missing at the beginning of line 1, but 3 cannot be ruled out. If 2, the most likely restoration is ['Io] $\upsilon\lambda$ ìç (a female form not securely attested elsewhere), or possibly ['E $\pi$ ] $\upsilon\lambda$ ìç (attested once on Melos), or [ $\Delta$ 0] $\upsilon\lambda$ ìç (attested once at Oropos), or [ $\Gamma$ 6] $\upsilon\lambda$ ìç (attested once at Tanagra). If 3 letters are missing, then [M1 $\kappa$ ] $\upsilon\lambda$ ìç and [ $\Sigma$ 1 $\iota$ 1 $\iota$ 1 $\iota$ 2 $\iota$ 2 $\iota$ 3 are the most likely possibilities, followed by [B2 $\iota$ 6] $\upsilon\lambda$ 1 $\iota$ 6 (attested once at Larisa). There is a mark in the shape of "–" after the final sigma of the first name. The final  $\Gamma$ 2 $\iota$ 6 is on the right pilaster.

Line 2: The missing letters at the beginning of the line were inscribed on the left pilaster. There is a mark in the shape of "–" after the final iota of  $dv]\delta\rho$ 1. The final OI[N] are on the right pilaster.

<sup>32</sup> IG XII Suppl. 166.

<sup>33</sup> V. Petrakos, Οι Επιγραφές του Ωρωπού (Athens 1997), no. 583.

<sup>34</sup> IG VII 880.

<sup>35</sup> SEG 46.651.

Line 3: The missing letters at the beginning of the line were inscribed on the left pilaster. Line 4: Ligatures in  $M\underline{NHMH}C$ . The last three letters PI[N] are on the right pilaster (the last of which is covered by mortar).

### 7. Funerary stele in honor of Aurelius Nikanor



A white (Munsell Gley 1 8/N) marble cylinder with widened base that is broken at the top but preserved elsewhere. A wreath with hanging grape bunch graces the stone. It was found half-buried upside-down at the SE corner of the intersection of Gürsoy Sokak and Tekin Sokak in front of Tekin Sokak 4 (right across the street from the Isparta Archaeological Survey excavation house).

Preserved height: 0.630 m.; radius: 0.133 m.; letter height: 0.015-0.037 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.007-0.015 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)36

- 1 ν Αὐρήλιοι Μητροφάνης 'Αππα καὶ Μίκκα Αὐρ(ηλίω) Νεικάνορι
- 5 τέκνω μνήμης χάριν καὶ α<ὑ>τοῖς ζῶντες.

Line 2: Ligatures, MHTPO $\Phi$ ANHC. Line 3: The masculine name 'A $\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$  is commonly attested in Asia Minor, with most occurrences in Phrygia and Pisidia, <sup>37</sup> including at Konane. <sup>38</sup> Line 4: Ligature, NEIKANOPI. Line 5: Ligatures, MNHMHC. Line 6: KAIATOIC, *lapis*.

<sup>36</sup> The praenomen Aurelius probably places this inscription after the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212. For this edict of Caracalla, see Cassius Dio 78.9.

<sup>37</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 71-73, § 66-8.

<sup>38</sup> Iversen 2012, p. 121, no. 24, line 2; *ibid.* p. 122, no. 26, line 1; *ibid.* p. 134, no. 38, line 1. Also see number **21**, line 1 and number **47**, line 5 below.

### II.2. Inscriptions from Kızılcık

### **8**. Funerary stele in honor of Severus



A pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2) quadrangular limestone block broken on the top and the bottom, but preserved on all other sides (which are roughly worked with a chisel). At the preserved top there are remnants of a wreath from which hangs a fully preserved bunch of grapes. It is said to have come from the nearby village of Kızılcık.

Preserved height: 0.590 m.; width: 0.300 m.; thickness: 0.295 m.; letter height: 0.028–0.041 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.022 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)39

- Αὐρ. · Δημήτριος Σιλβανοῦ καὶ Σευήρα τέκνῳ Σευή ρῳ μνήσμης χάριν.
- Line 1: Ligature,  $\Delta HMH$ .

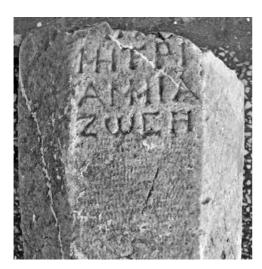
Lines 4–5: The boy Severus was probably named after his maternal grandfather, or some other male relative on his mother's side (see under number 12).

Lines 5–6: Ligatures, MNHCM. The spelling  $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\mu\eta\varsigma$  is relatively rare and normally followed by  $\mu\nu\eta\mu\eta\varsigma$ .

Line 6: Only the upper tip of the left vertical hasta of dotted eta is visible; only the piece of the upper arc of dotted sigma is visible, as well as the upper left tip of dotted chi's diagonal.

## 9. Funerary stele in honor of Ammia

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2) hexagonal limestone block that is broken at the top and the bottom, but preserved on all other sides. It has splotches of white paint on it, and is said to have come from the nearby village of Kızılcık.



Preserved height: 0.420 m.; width of base: 0.340 m.; width of shaft: 0.290 m.; thickness: 0.275 m.; letter height: 0.021–0.027 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.006–0.007 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

[----]
1 [.]N! / [.]
μητρὶ
'Αμμίᾳ
ζώση.
vacat

Line 2: Ligature, MHTPI. Line 4: Ligature, AMMIA.

## II.3. Inscriptions from area of Konane

#### 10. Dedication to the Mother of the Gods

A rectangular pale brown limestone block that is broken at the top but preserved on all other sides. At the preserved top there is a moulding, as well as at the base. It was found in the area of Gönen/Konane. Dimensions (unknown). Photo.

Date: II-IV p.



- 1 Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἐπηκόῳ Ἅτταλος Παπα ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου τὸ ἱέρω-
- 5 μα σὺν τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τῆ τραπέζη παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέθηκε.

Translation: Attalos son of Papas when priest for life erected this dedication along with the altar and the table from his own funds to the Mother of the Gods Who Hearkens.

Line 1: The cult for the Mother of the Gods is widely attested in Asia Minor, including in Pisidia and Phrygia but this is its first attestation at Konane.

Line 3:  $\Pi\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta$  is a predominately Asian name, with the bulk of attestations in Galatia, Lykaonia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. 40

Lines 4–5: The offering (iέρω/μα) is probably this dedication.

Line 7: Ligature, ANEΘΗΚΕ.

<sup>40</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 406–408, § 1199-1.

### 11. Funerary stele in honor of Thallousa



A pale brown limestone stele that is broken at the top (where there was probably a pediment), but preserved on all other sides. A pilaster runs down each side, from which hangs a wreath. At the bottom there is a stylobate. The first four lines of text are inscribed between lightly incised guidelines 0.020 m. apart. It was said to be found in the area of Gönen/Konane.

Height: 0.600 m.; width: 0.400 m.; letter height: 0.020-0.025 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.003- 0.015. Photo.

Date: II-IV p.

- Διονύσιος
   Θαλλούση
   τῆ γυναικὶ
   μνήμης χά νν ριν νας.
- Lines 1–4: There are faint alignment rulings for all these lines. Line 4: Ligature, MNHMHC.

## 12. Funerary stele in honor of Aurelia Apphia, Aurelia Eutychis, and Aurelius Eutychios

A very pale brown hexagonal-shaped limestone stele that is preserved on all sides. The inscription falls across two contiguous faces (marked A and B below). It is said to have been found in the area of Gönen/Konane.

Height: 1.90 m.; width (faces A & B): 0.200 m.; letter height: 0.012-0.025; interlinear spacing: 0.003-0.010 m. Photo.

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)41

## Face A | Face B

- 1 Αὐρ. Κό|νων Ἀρτε|μώνους Ἑ|ρμίου Αὐρρ. Ἀ|φφιᾳ Ἑρ-
- 5 μογέ|νους Κόνωνο|ς τῆ μητρ<ὶ> αὐτ|οῦ καὶ Αὐρρ. Εὐ|τυχίδι Εὐτυχί|ου Οὐ-



- 10 αλερίο|υ τῆ γυναικὶ | αὐτοῦ
  καὶ Αὐρ. | Εὐτυχί[ω]
   Οὐαλε|ρίου τῷ
  πενθε|ρῷ αὐ-
- 15 τοῦ ζῶ|ν ἀνέστησεν μ|νήμ-{μ}ης χά|ριν νν καὶ ἑαυ|τῷ ζῶν.

Line 1: Konon was named after his maternal great grandfather. Elsewhere in the Greek world, it was common for first and second sons to take the name of either their paternal or maternal grandfather, and the third son to take the name of his father or some other male relative such as an uncle (and first and second daughters to take the name of the maternal and paternal grandmothers etc.). For sons named after grandfathers, see numbers 8 and 51. For sons named after their fathers, see numbers 5, 19, 20, 27, 36, 43, 51, and 55.

Lines 2–3: The genitive ἀρτεμώνους is attested one other time at Aspendos, and apparently not an inscriber error for ἀρτέμωνος.  $^{43}$ 

Line 4: It is not clear to me why the inscriber abbreviates the praenomen Aὐρηλία as Aὐρρ. here and in line 8 for the women (which abbreviation appears not to be functioning to indicate more than one Aurelia), and Aὐρήλιος as Aὐρ. for the men in lines 1 and 12. Ἀφφια is an Asian name, with the majority of occurrences in Phrygia and Lycia.  $^{44}$ 

Line 7: PAYT OY, *lapis* (the first letter has damage in front of it).

Line 8: Only the upper part of dotted iota is visible.

Lines 12–13: EYTYXI/OYAAE PIOY, lapis.

Lines 16-17: MNHM/MHC, lapis.

Line 18: The  $\zeta \tilde{\omega} v$  is redundant, unless the  $\zeta \tilde{\omega} v$  in line 15 is a mistake for  $\zeta \tilde{\omega} v \tau \iota$ .

<sup>42</sup> On naming conventions in the Greek world, see for example A. Bresson, Règles de nomination dans la Rhodes antique, DHA 7 (1981), pp. 345–362. For an example of a daughter at Konane having the same name as her mother (and thus possibly also maternal grandmother), see Iversen 2012, p. 124, no. 30 (B $\alpha$ E $\alpha$ E $\alpha$ E).

<sup>43</sup> C. Brixhe, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul 26 (Paris 1976), p. 270, no. 133.

<sup>44</sup> See Zgusta 1964, p. 83, § 66-51 and Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturan 1999, p. 393. Also see Iversen 2012, p. 111, no. 3.

# II.4. Inscriptions from TOKİ housing complex (northwest Gönen)

The following 16 inscriptions (nos. 13–28) were all found in a Roman cemetery uncovered during the construction of the TOKi public housing complex about 1 km northwest of the center of Gönen (see map) and most were brought to the Isparta Museum on 7 November, 2008. Also recovered there were some grave goods, including three completely intact pieces of ceramic that date from the second to fourth centuries AD.<sup>45</sup> It is clear that the same workman or workshop made



several of these grave monuments, which are very similar to other grave stele found in the area of Gönen. In particular I would say the same mason inscribed inscriptions 15, 21 and 23, and another mason inscribed numbers 16 and 24.

## **13**. Funerary stele in honor of Menandros

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) limestone stele slightly broken at the top, but preserved on all other sides. It is decorated with 3 acroteria with a floral pattern (now all partially broken) atop a pediment, within which there is a disc. A vine with hanging grape bunch is strung across the top of two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No.: 10.9.09; height: 0.84; width: 0.337 m.; thickness: 0.186 m.; letter height: 0.024–0.026 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.015 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

Αὖκτα Με- ν νάνδρῳ ν ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν. vacat

Line 1: Outside of Italy, the name  $A\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$  is rare, attested only one other time at Konane.<sup>46</sup> It is attested on Greek inscriptions twice at Rome (*IGUR* II 903 and *IGUR* III 1342), and many times on Latin inscriptions.

<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, the workman separated the grave goods from the funerary stelae, so it is now impossible to know which grave goods went with which stelae. I would like to thank Murat Firat for the date of the pottery.

<sup>46</sup> J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies III, 1884–1885 (Boston 1888), p. 344, no. 482, ll. 10–11.

# 14. Funerary stele in honor of Marcus and mother



A very pale brown (Munsell Color 10YR 7/4) limestone stele slightly broken at the top, but preserved on all other sides. It is decorated with a pediment within which is a disc and above which are three acroteria (the middle one is now missing and the two on the sides are both broken). Below the pediment there is a vine with hanging grape bunch strung between the tops of two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No.: 10.10.09; height: 0.82 m.; width: 0.33 m.; thickness: 0.14 m.; letter height: 0.022-0.025 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005-0.007 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

- Κοΐντος Μάρκω τῷ ἰδίω πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ μν-
- 5 ῆς χάριν. νν vacat

Line 3: After  $\Delta I\Omega\Pi AT$  it appears the inscriber originally made a mistake and left out PI, but he apparently did not notice this mistake until he had already inscribed a K at the end of the line and AI at the beginning of the next line. He then turned the existing K into a P and added a very small I under the loop of the P followed by another K.

Lines 4–5: The spelling  $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  instead of  $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}\mu\eta\varsigma$  is common in Asia Minor (*cf.* number **35**, line 6 below).

#### **15**. Funerary stele in honor of Quintus

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) limestone stell broken at the top, but preserved on all other sides. It is decorated with a vine, hanging grape bunch, and a pilaster runs down each side. It probably also had a pediment at the top with acroteria, but those are now lost.

Isparta Museum No. 10.13.09; height: 0.66 m.; width: 0.36 m.; thickness: 0.20 m.; letter height: 0.030–0.035 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.012–0.014 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Provisionally published: P. Iversen, The Inscriptions from Konane (Conana) in the Isparta Museum, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 28, 2. Cilt (2010), p. 176, no. 4 (= *BE* 2012.431; *SEG* 61.1211). Date: II–IV *p.* 



Line 2: The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster. The name  $\Gamma i\lambda\lambda i\omega\nu$  is rare, attested only at Kalymna (M. Segre, Tituli Calymnii, ASAtene 22–23 (1944–1945), no. 167), Apollonia (MAMA 4.137 = Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 269, no. 6), and near Burdur (SEG 14.809).<sup>47</sup>

Line 5: Ligatures, MNHMHC.

## **16.** Funerary stele in honor of parents (see photo on p. 27)

A pale yellow (Munsell 2.5YR 8/2) limestone stele preserved on all sides. It is decorated with a pediment, above which are three acroteria with floral patterns and within which is a disc. There is also a vine with hanging grape bunch strung between the tops of two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No. 10.4.09; height: 1.07 m.; width: 0.33 m.; thickness: 0.10 m.; letter height: 0.017 –0.022 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.008–0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

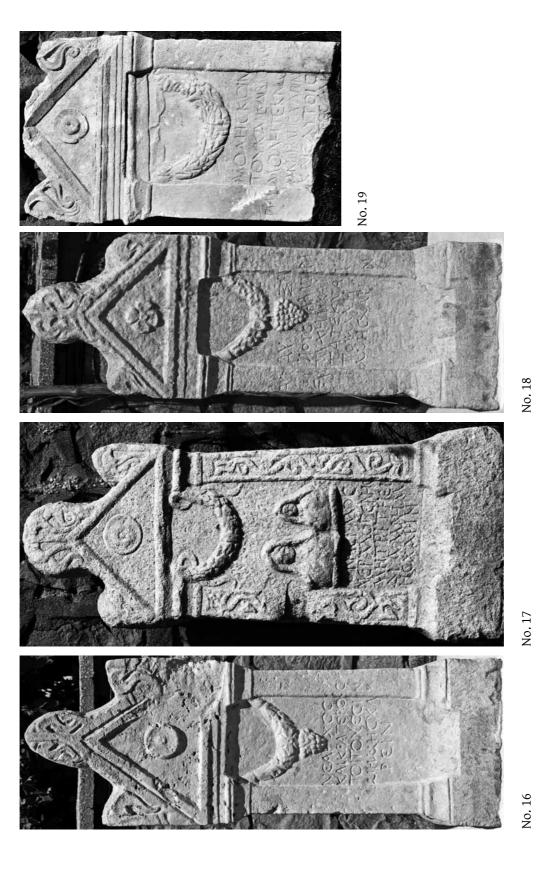
Provisionally published: P. Iversen, The Inscriptions from Konane (Conana) in the Isparta Museum, Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 28, 2. Cilt (2010), p. 175, no. 1<sup>48</sup> (= SEG 61.1208).

Date: II-IV p.

- Νέαρχος καὶ Κράτερος τοῖ<ς> γονέσιν μ<ν>ήμης χά-
- 5 ν ρειν. νν

<sup>47</sup> I had erroneously read Καιγιλλίω at the 2010 AST meeting.

<sup>48</sup> The editors of the Congress publication introduced several accentual errors into lines 2–3 of the text given at this talk (i.e. they printed  $\kappa\alpha$ i Kpátepos /  $\tau\sigma$ i's' yóve $\sigma$ iv).



Line 1: The grape bunch extends down between the letters P and X.

Line 2: The final C is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 3: TOIFONECIN, *lapis*; the final N is inscribed on the right pilaster. The spelling yovéσιν is attested one another time, also in Pisidia (*TAM* III.232, l. 2), but both may be an error for the expected yove $<\tilde{v}>\sigma v$ .

Line 4: MHMHC, lapis.

Line 5: The spelling χάρειν for χάριν is commonly attested elsewhere, including Asia Minor.

The two brothers appear to have been named after two of Alexander the Great's well-known generals.

### 17. Funerary stele in honor of a mother (see photo on p. 27)

A pale yellow (Munsell 2.5Y 8/4) limestone stele well-preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria with floral patterns above a pediment within which there is a disc. A vine hangs between two pilasters, which run down the sides below the pediment and are also decorated with a floral pattern. Below the vine two female figures are sculpted, the left one larger than the right.

Isparta Museum No. 10.5.09; height: 1.30 m.; width: 0.370 m.; thickness: 0.155 m.; letter height: 0.015–0.023 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.023 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Provisionally published: P. Iversen, The Inscriptions from Konane (Conana) in the Isparta Museum, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 28, 2. Cilt (2010), p. 175, no. 2<sup>49</sup> (= SEG 61.1209).

Date: II-IV p.

- 1 'Ονήσιμος καὶ 'Ερμογένης μητρὶ τῆ εἰδία μνήμ-5 ης χάριν. ν
- Line 2: The K, which is smaller, was apparently inscribed later on the left pilaster. Ligature, EPMOΓΕ<u>NH</u>C. Line 4: Ligature, M<u>NH</u>M.

Since two female figures are sculpted in relief (one smaller than the other), it appears that Onesimos and Hermogenes chose a prefabricated stele that was incongruous with the fact that only their mother was deceased.

## 18. Funerary stele in honor of Eutyches (see photo on p. 27)

A light gray (Munsell 2.5Y 7/2) limestone stele well-preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria with floral pattern atop a pediment within which there is a rosette. A vine with hanging grape bunch is strung between two pilasters, which run down the sides of the stele.

<sup>49</sup> The editors of the Congress publication introduced several accentual errors into lines 2–4 of the text given at this talk (i.e., they printed καί Ερμογένης μητρί τή εί/δί $\alpha$ ).

Isparta Museum No. 10.6.09; height: 1.050 m.; width: 0.310 m.; thickness: 0.120 m.; letter height: 0.015-0.025 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.015-0.035 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)50

```
    Αὐρ(ηλία) Αὐξά-
νουσα ἀνδρὶ
    Εὐτύχηδι, καὶ
τὰ τέκνα <α>ὐ-
    τοῦ μνή- ν
μης χάριν.
ναcat
```

Line 1: The initial three letters, AYP, are inscribed on the right pilaster. The hanging grape bunch extends down between the AY and  $\Xi A$ .

Line 2: The hanging grape bunch extends down between the NOYC and AAN $\Delta$ . The final two letters PI are inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 3: The initial two letters, EY, are inscribed on the left pilaster.

Line 4: TEKNAY, *lapis*. The final Y is inscribed on the right pilaster. The wording strongly suggests that Aurelia Auxanousa was not the biological mother of these children, who also were responsible for erecting the monument for their father.

Line 6: The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster.

## 19. Funerary stele in honor of Moles (see photo on p. 27)

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) limestone stele slightly damaged at the top and broken at the bottom, but preserved on all other sides. It is decorated with three acroteria wth floral patterns (the middle one missing) atop a pediment within which is a disc. A hanging vine is strung between the tops of two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No.: Etütlük 59; height: 0.870 m.; width: 0.460 m.; thickness: 0.180 m.; letter height: 0.020–0.034 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.018 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

```
    Μολης Κοΐν-
του καὶ Βαβις (ἡ μή-
τηρ) Μολη τέκνω
μνήμης χάριν
    καὶ ἑαυτοῖς
[ζῶ]ντες ἀν-
[έστησαν].
```

Lines 1 and 3: The masculine name Μολης is found mainly in Pisidia, Lycia, and Pamphylia.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See n. 36.

<sup>51</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 323–324, § 946-1. It is also attested on another inscription from Konane; see Iversen 2012, p. 114, no. 9.

Lines 2–3: The female name  $B\alpha\beta\iota\varsigma$  (also spelled  $B\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) is especially common in Phrygia and Pisidia. The final three letters of line 2, HMH, are inscribed on the right pilaster, and the initial three letters of line 3, THP, are inscribed on the left pilaster. These letters are shallower, but it appears they are by the same hand as lines 1–4 and were added later as a clarification.

Line 3: The son Mo $\lambda\eta\zeta$  has taken the name of his father (for naming conventions, see number 12).

Lines 5–6: The letters in lines 5–6 are larger, deeper and more elegantly cut than those of lines 1–4 and appear to be by a different inscriber who added them later.

Line 6: Only the upper right apex of dotted N is preserved.

# **20**. Funerary stele in honor of Hermogenes (see photo on p. 31)

A pale yellow (Munsell 2.5Y 7/3) limestone stele with two joining pieces that is well-preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria atop a pediment within which there is a disc. Below the pediment there is a vine with hanging grape bunch strung between two pilasters, which run down either side of the stele (down which a considerable amount of the brown glue used to join the two fragments now runs).

Isparta Museum No. 10.12.09; height: 1.030 m.; width: 0.039 m.; thickness: 0.160 m.; letter height: 0.018–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

- 1 Παμμένης καὶ Ἑρμογένης τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ Ἑρμογένῃ μν-
- 5 ήμης χάριν.

Line 1: The name Παμ(μ)ένης is attested on another inscription from Konane. 53

Line 2: The (probable) younger son Ερμογένης has taken the name of his father (see naming conventions above number 12).

Line 4: Ligature, EPMOFENH. The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster.

#### 21. Funerary stele in honor of Aurelia Aphphia (see photo on p. 31)

A white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/1) limestone stele that is well-preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria atop a pediment within which there is a disc. Below the pediment there is a vine with hanging grape bunch strung between two pilasters, which run down either side of the stele in a noticeable slant-wise manner since the monument is wider at the base than at the top.

Isparta Museum No. 10.8.09; height: 1.270 m.; width: 0.310 m.; thickness: 0.100 m.; letter height: 0.017–0.032 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.011–0.025 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

<sup>52</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 115–116, § 133-14/15 and Drew-Bear *et al.* 1999, p. 393. Also see Chr. Naour, Inscriptions du Moyen Hermos, *ZPE* 44 (1981), pp. 42–43, no. 23. The name is already attested at Konane; see Iversen 2012, p. 115, no. 11 and p. 124, no. 30. Also compare number **24** below.

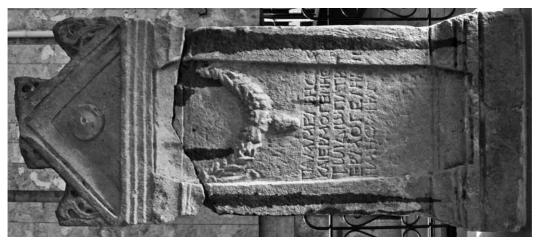
<sup>53</sup> Rott 1908, p. 355, no. 27 = Iversen 2012, p. 126, no. 33, where Rott's reading  $\Pi$ AMENIC is corrected to  $\Pi$ AMENHC.



No. 22



No. 21



No. 20

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)54

Αὐρ(ήλιος) ἀππας ὑΡόδωνος
 Αὐρ(ηλία) ἀφφια συνβίω γλυ κυτάτη μνή-μης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν.

Line 1: The masculine name ' $A\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$  is commonly attested in Asia Minor, with the bulk of occurrences in Phrygia and Pisidia. <sup>55</sup> The final C is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 3: For the Asian name 'Αφφια, see number 12, line 4 and note 44.

Line 4: The final Y is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 6: The final I is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 7: The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster.

## 22. Funerary Stele in Honor of Tatia (see photo on p. 31)

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4) limestone stele preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria above a pediment within which there is a disc. Two pilasters run down the sides. Isparta Museum No. 10.7.09; height: 0.830 m.; width: 0.355 m.; thickness: 0.160 m.; letter height: 0.014–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.023 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

νας α t

1 ἡ ἰδία ἀπελευθέρα
Φαῦστα Τατιᾳ τῆ ἰδίᾳ ν

5 θρεψάση ἀνέστησεν μνήμης
χάριν. νας α t
νας α t

Lines 3-4: The name Τατια is common in Asia.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See n. 36.

<sup>55</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 71–73, § 66-8 and Drew-Bear *et al.* 1999, p. 382. The name is also attested on other inscriptions from Konane; see Iversen 2012, p. 121, no. 24 and p. 124, no. 38.

<sup>56</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 499–501, § 1517-10 and Drew-Bear *et al.* 1999, p. 395. Also see Iversen 2012, p. 110, no. 1 and p. 110, no. 2.

#### Commentary

The use of  $i\delta(\alpha)$  two times is redundant, but apparently Fausta wanted to strees she was the actual freedwoman of her former mistress Tatia, whom she honored probably from a sense of affection, gratitude, loyalty and possibly even piety.

## 23. Funerary stele in honor of Eutychia and Helios (see photo on p. 35)

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 7/4) limestone stele that is well-preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria with floral pattern that sit atop a pediment, within which there is a disc. It also has a vine with hanging grape bunch that is strung across two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No. 10.3.09; height: 0.955 m.; width: 0.340 m.; thickness: 0.170 m.; letter height: 0.015–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.008–0.011 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Provisionally published: P. Iversen, The Inscriptions from Konane (Conana) in the Isparta Museum, Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 28, 2. Cilt (2010), p. 175, no.  $3^{57}$  (= SEG 61.1210).

Date: II-IV p.

- Τατεις ν καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρος Εὐτυχία καὶ Ἡλίω
- 5 τέκνοις ν μνήμης χάριν. vacat

Line 1: The grape bunch extends down between the letters TAT and EIC. The female name  $T\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is a very common in Asia, especially in Phrygia. <sup>58</sup>

Line 2: The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 4: The final  $\Omega$  is inscribed on the right pilaster.

Line 6: Ligatures, MNHMHC. The final N is inscribed on the right pilaster.

### **24**. Funerary stele in honor of Asklepiades (see photo on p. 35)

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/4) limestone stele that is well preserved on all sides. It is decorated with three acroteria with floral patterns that sit atop a pediment, under which are two pilasters that run down the sides. A male figure representing the deceased, Asklepiades son of Antiochos, is also sculpted in relief above the inscription. The letters are some of the finest examples found at Konane, and red paint was still visible in most of them.

Isparta Museum No. 10.1.09; height: 1.210 m.; width: 0.395 m.; thickness: 0.225 m.; letter height: 0.012–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.007–0.009 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

<sup>57</sup> The editors of this publication introduced several errors into lines 2–3 of this text (i.e., they gave καί Άξξαν/δρος Ευτυ/χία καί Ηλίω).

<sup>58</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 497–498, § 1517-5 (cf. p. 504, § 1517-23). Also see nos. **25** and **43** below.

Line 1: For the name  $B\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\zeta$ , which is commonly attested in Phrygia and Pisidia, see number 19 above.

# 25. Funerary stele in honor of Neikostratos (see photo on p. 35)

A very pale brown (10YR 7/3) well-preserved limestone stele comprised of two joining fragments. It is decorated with three acroteria with floral patterns (the middle one very large) that sit atop a pediment, within which there is a disc. In addition, a vine with hanging grape bunch is strung across the top of two pilasters, which run down the sides.

Isparta Museum No. 10.2.09; height: 1.450 m.; width: 0.375 m.; thickness: 0.200 m.; letter height: 0.020–0.024 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.015 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

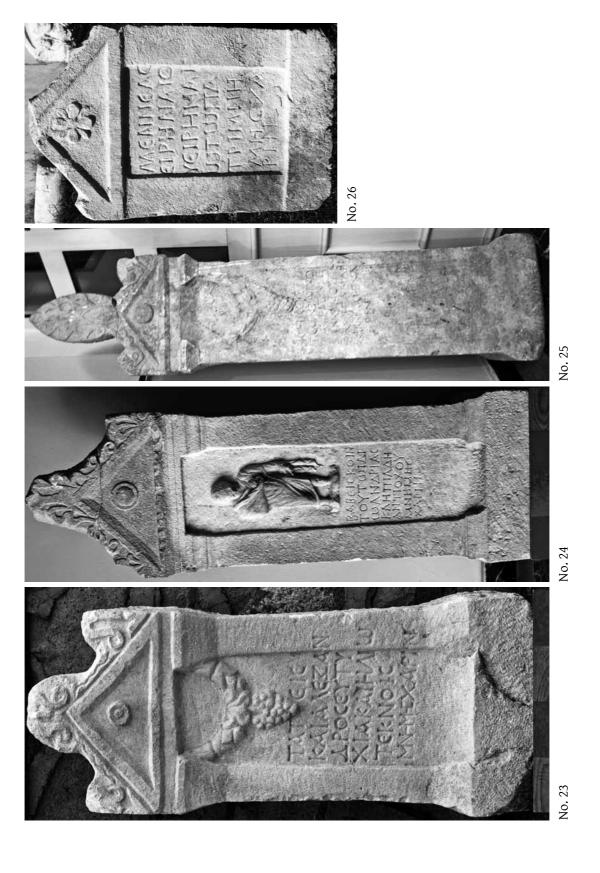
1 Νεικοστράτω Νειάρχου Τατεις Μέμνονος τῷ 5 ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάνν ριν. vacat

Lines 1 and 2: EI for I (Νεικοστράτω) and E (Νειάρχου) are common late orthographic variants. Line 2: For the very common Asian/Phrygian name Τατεις, see number **23** above. Line 5: The word ἑαυτῆς is superfluous.

## 26. Funerary stele in honor of Eirenaios (see photo on p. 35)

A pale yellow (Munsell 2.5Y 8/3) limestone stele that is well-preserved on all sides except the top where three acroteria are broken off. It is decorated with a pediment, within which is a rosette. Isparta Museum No. 10.11.09; height: 0.535 m.; width: 0.324 m.; thickness: 0.115 m.; letter height: 0.018–0.024 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.012–0.018 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos. Date: II–IV p.

1 Μεννέας Εἰρηναίου Εἰρηναίω τῶ πα-



5 τρὶ μνήμης χάριν. vacat

Lines 2–3: The patronym is redundant in light of the fact that the father's name appears also in lines 3–4.

### 27. Funerary stele in honor of Neikanor

A white (Munsell N 9/1) limestone stele broken on all sides but the right. There is a preserved



bottom half of a pilaster on the right, and the clear remnants of one on the left. Undoubtedly a pediment once graced the top. There also appears to be remnants of the bottom of a wreath.

Isparta Museum Etütlük; height: 0.415 m.; width: 0.380 m.; thickness: 0.200 m.; letter height: 0.022–0.027 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.018 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.

vacat

- [Ν]εικόστρα-[τ]ος καὶ [Ν]εικάνωρ Νεικάνορι πατρὶ
- 5 μνήμ<η>ς *νν ν* χάριν. *νacat*

Line 1: Only the bottom loop of dotted E is visible (a lunate-shaped E).

Line 2: Only the apex of dotted I is preserved.

Lines 2–4: The younger son has taken the name of his father. On such a naming convention, see number 12.

Line 5: MNHMPIC, lapis.

## 28. Funerary stele in honor of Aphphias

A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone stele broken in two non-joining fragments. The top fragment is broken at the top, where the remnants of a pediment can be seen. A pilaster runs down on each side of the monument.

Isparta Museum Etütlük. Measurements of bottom fragment only: height: 0.353 m.; width: 0.290 m.; thickness: 0.130 m.; letter height: 0.015-0.017 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005-0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.



ναcat

1 'Αφφιαδι Πατρόκλου τὰ ἰδία τέκνα μνήμης ν νν χάριν. ναc. ναcat

Line 1: The form 'Αφφιαδι could be from the masculine or feminine name 'Αφφιας, but statistically it is more likely to be feminine. In either case, the name is predominately attested in Lydia and Phrygia.<sup>59</sup>

III. Inscriptions from the territory of Seleukeia Sidera

III.1. Inscriptions from Atabey (Agrai)60

### 29. Altar dedication to Zeus Soter



A white (Munsell N 8.5) cylindrical-shaped altar that appears to be preserved on all sides. It was found set into the black asphalt at the edge of the road (Ismail Hakku Kutlu Caddesi) at the southwest corner of the Tekke Camii in Atabey.

Height: 0.310 m.; radius: 0.290 m.; letter height: 0.023–0.030 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.015–0.025 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-I a.

1 [vac. Δι] [Σωτ] ῆρι vacat
[---] Ω[2-3]ς Κρέοντος
[ίερ] ατεύσας τὸν βωμὸν
vac. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. vacat

[-----] son of Kreon after he served as priest (dedicated) this altar from his own funds [to Zeu]s [Sot]er.

<sup>59</sup> For the feminine, see Zgusta 1964, p. 84, § 66-53. The masculine name in the genitive ('A $\phi$  $\phi$ i $\alpha$  $\delta$  $\phi$  $\phi$ ) occurs at TAM V,1 7; cf. Zgusta 1964, p. 83, n. 273.

<sup>60</sup> For a discussion of Atabey/Agrai in the territory of Seleukeia Sidera, see Hirschfeld 1879a, p. 314 = Hirschfeld 1879b, p. 303; D. Kaya, Zwei neugefundene Grabstelen aus Atabey (Isparta), MDAI(I) 45 (1995), p. 179.

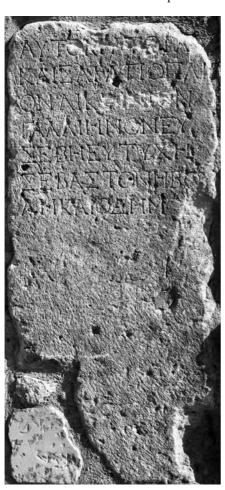
Line 1: Part of the vertical hasta of dotted iota is visible, but it is damaged. Part of the vertical hastae of dotted eta are also visible. The cult of Zeus Soter is also attested on number 36 at Atabey/Agrai.

Line 2: Only the bottom horizontal of dotted sigma is preserved.

The lettering (with slanted nys, four-bar sigma) and the lack of any reference to Romans suggest this is earlier than number 36.

The following nine inscriptions (nos. 30–38) were all found at the Ertokuş Medresesi in Atabey. It is possible that some of the ones built into the walls of the Medresesi may actually have been transported from the area of Seleukeia Sidera's acropolis near Bayat. Five of these nine inscriptions have already been published, but they are included here as there are minor corrections or additions that can be made to most texts, plus to my knowledge they have never been properly photographed and documented.

# 30. Dedication to Roman Emperor Gallienus



A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) limestone rectangular block dedicated to Gallienus. It is preserved on all sides except the lower left corner and is built horizontally into the south wall of the Ertokuş Medresesi towards the east end. Hirschfeld noted it was there in 1879, but gave no text,<sup>61</sup> while it appears Sterrett and all subsequent visitors missed it.

Height: 1.160 m.; width: 0.510 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.038–0.045 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.018–0.028 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: 260-268 p.

- Αὐτοκράτορα
   Καίσαρα Πόπλι ον Λικίννιον ν
   Γαλλιηνὸν Εὐ- νν
   σεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ ν
- 5 σεβή Εύτυχή ν Σεβαστὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμο[ς]. ναcat

# Translation

The Council and People (honor) Imperator Caesar Publius Licinnius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus.

The inscription appears to have been erected when Gallienus was sole emperor (AD 260–268).

# **31**. Funerary stele in honor of Ioullos



A very pale brown limestone grave stele that features two pilasters which support an architrave, under which there is the bust of man in relief. A pediment probably once graced the top, no longer extant. It is built horizontally close to the middle of the south wall of the Medrese, about four meters off the ground. Some nails have been sunk into it, that now stick out. Despite it being high up on the wall, the inscription is perfectly legible from the ground in good sunlight.

Dimensions: indeterminable. Photos and inspection from below.

Date: II-IV p.

1 Τατια *ν* Ἰούλλω ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

Line 3: Ligatures, MNH. Line 4: Ligature, MHC.

# 32. Funerary stele in honor of?

A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone stele with black and gold splotches of mold. The upper half is missing, but it is preserved on all other sides. Two pilasters can be seen resting on a stylobate; there was probably a pediment at the top now lost. The stone was found at the southwest corner of the Medrese lying on the ground.

Preserved height: 0.390 m.; width: 0.380 m.; thickness: 0.285 m.; letter height: indeterminable; interlinear spacing: indeterminable. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: I-IV p.



Line 1: Only a bit of the lower arc of dotted omicron is visible; it could also be a theta. The lower diagonals of a splayed letter appear to be visible that must belong to either an alpha or lambda. Possibly read  $[\mathring{\alpha}\pi]$   $\mathring{o}$   $\mathring{\lambda}$   $\mathring{\epsilon}$   $\mathring{i}\varsigma$ . The four-bar sigma suggests this could be as early as the first century AD.

# **33**. Funerary stele in honor of?



A white (Munsell 7.5YR 9.5/1) limestone funerary stele broken a little at the top and bottom but preserved on all other sides. At the top is a pediment that sits upon an architrave with a blank field supported by two pilasters at the sides. In the center of the stele there is a large shield behind which is a sword and key. The stone has been dressed with a claw chisel.

Preserved height: 0.829 m.; width: 0.546 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.034 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.007 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

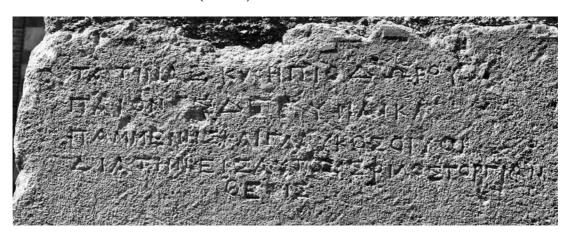
Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 337, no. 471. Date: II–III p.

1 Μ(ᾶρκος) · Αὐρήλιος Δη- ν μητριανὸς υἱὸς [-----]

Line 2: Only a bit of the upper right vertical of dotted mu is visible. The upper parts of both vertical hastae of dotted eta are visible. Only the upper loop of dotted rho is visible; epigraphically speaking it could also be a beta. Only the

upper apex of dotted alpha is visible. At the end of the line, only a bit of the upper horizontal of dotted sigma is visible.

### 34. Dedication in honor of Tatin (or Tatis)



A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) squarish block of limestone preserved on all sides. It is built into the southwest corner of the Medrese about 1.7 m. off the ground, with the inscribed surface facing south.

Height: 0.811 m.; width: 0.705 m.; thickness: 0.314 m.; letter height: 0.009–0.015 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.004–0.028 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 336, no. 469.

Date: II-I a.

Τατιν 'Ασκληπιοδώρου,Παίονος δὲ γυναῖκα,Παμμένης καὶ Γλαῦκος οἱ ὑοὶδιὰ τὴν εἰς αὑτοὺς φιλοστοργίαν.

5 vacat  $\theta \epsilon \tilde{oig}$ , vacat vacat

The sons Pammenes and Glaukos (honor) Tatin daughter of Asklepiodoros and wife of Paion on account of her tender love for them. For the gods.

Line 1: The nominative form of the female name  $T\alpha\tau\nu$  is found on a small altar at Rhodes, where the dedicator identifies herself as being of Phrygian origin, <sup>62</sup> suggesting this may be an indeclinable form. This nominative form is also found at Athens. <sup>63</sup> It is possible, however, that our example is a Hellenized accusative of  $T\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ , a name most commonly attested in Phrygia and Phrygian Pisidia. <sup>64</sup> AΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΩΡΟΥ, Sterrett; ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ, *lapis*.

Line 2: The second omicron in  $\Pi AIONO\Sigma$  is clear on the squeeze and in the photo (Sterrett put it in square brackets in his minuscule text, which for him seem to be equivalent to a dotted letter).

Line 4: αὐτοὺς, Sterrett (with smooth breather rather than rough breather).

The lettering, both in its size and shapes, along with no Roman names and no mention of the Roman emperors argue for a Hellenistic date (broken-bar alpha suggesting II–I a.).

# 35. Funerary stele in honor of Asklepiades

A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone grave stele of two joining fragments broken a bit at the top, but preserved on all other sides. At the top there are remnants of acroteria, which sit above a pediment within which is a rosette. Below, two pilasters support the pediment, from which hang a wreath and a bunch of grapes. The inscription was lying on the ground at the southwest corner of the Medrese.

Preserved height: 0.710 m.; width: 0.315 m.; thickness: 0.228 m.; letter height: 0.030–0.040 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.012 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: D. Kaya, Zwei neugefundene Grabstelen aus Atabey (Isparta), MDAI(I) 45 (1995) 180,2 (= SEG 45.1759).

Date: II-IV p.

<sup>62</sup> M. Segre and G. Pugliese-Carratelli, Tituli Camirenses, ASAtene 27–29 (1949–1951), p. 268, no. 168: Τατιν / Φρυγία. The form of this text (name and ethnic in the nominative) is paralleled numerous times on Rhodes with other Phrygians, corroborating that this is meant to be a nominative.

<sup>63</sup> ΙG ΙΙ<sup>2</sup> 12761: Τατιν / Θυσίας / θυγάτηρ.

<sup>64</sup> Zgusta 1964, p. 496, § 1517-4.



Lines 1–3: A Πρῖμα Σωσθένου is already attested as making a dedication to her mother  $\Delta$ ιάς on another inscription found at Atabey and now housed in the Isparta Museum (see SEG 60.1456). While the patronym is spelled slightly differently, this may very well be the same Prima.

Line 2. The final epsilon is on the right pilaster.

Line 3: The final eta is on the right pilaster.

Line 4: Ligature, MNHC. MNHM =  $\mu\nu\eta\mu<\eta\varsigma>$  ed. pr. I believe, however, that what was taken to be a mu on the right pilaster is in fact damage, and that a small square sigma is in ligature with the eta before the pilaster. In addition, the spelling  $\mu\nu\eta\varsigma$  is common (see no. 14, lines 4–5 above).

Line 5: XAPIN is inscribed on the stylized stylobate.

### 36. Dedication to the Divine Augusti, Zeus Soter and the city

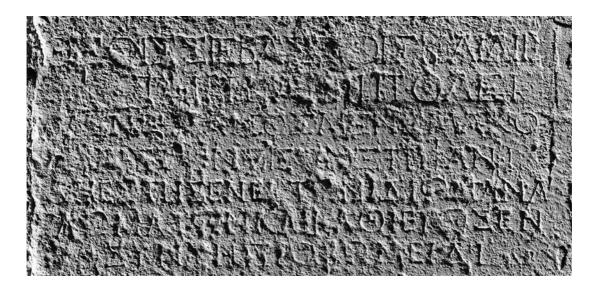
A white (Munsell 10YR 9.5/1) limestone block with dark discolorations that is broken at the top, but preserved on all other sides. At the top is a moulding of what appears to be a triangular pediment. It is built upside down into the west wall at the north end of the building. In normal lighting, the inscription was very difficult to read, not only because it was sitting mostly in the shade, but also because in areas the surface is very damaged and worn with the black splotches of mold. However, on a whim I asked that the inscription be filmed with a technique called photogrammetry as an experiment, <sup>65</sup> and the resulting 3-D images surpassed all my expectations and rivaled, or even bettered, the usefulness of a squeeze and allowed the fourth line to be deciphered.

Preserved height: 0.635 m.; width: 0.580 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.021–0.034 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photogrammetric photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 335, no. 465 = IGR 3.327.

Date: I-II p.

<sup>65</sup> I want to thank Arie-Kai Browne of the Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft, Berlin for being willing to test this technology, which is used for mapping archaeological foundations and buildings, on an inscription.



- Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Διῒ Σωνας. τῆρι καὶ τῆ πόλει νας.
   [Μ]ενέμαχος Μενεμάχου
  [τὰ π]λ[ι]νθεῖα ἐπιφανῆ
- 5 ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῷν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ καθιέρωσεν σὺν τῆ προβωμείδι.

Menemachos son of Menemachos erected the visible brickwork from his own money and dedicated them along with the fore-altar to the Divine Augusti, Zeus Soter and the city.

Line 1: Sterrett read the final omega (see facsimile), which today is covered by mortar.

Line 2: Only the bottom strokes of dotted alpha, iota and tau are visible.

Lines 2-3: The cult of Zeus Soter is attested elsewhere in Phrygia. 66

Line 3: [.]ENEMAXOYMEN[.]MAXOY, Sterrett, but the crossbar of the first alpha and the square outline of the fourth epsilon are visible in the photogrammetric photos.

Line 4: [..]\ N I  $\Sigma$  E  $\Xi$  I I  $\Phi$  A N H, Sterrett. The bottom tips and part of the right diagonal of dotted lambda are visible. Parts of the arc of dotted theta are visible, and it may be that the central horizontal is also there, but there is a slash of damage running through here leaving the reading somewhat in doubt. Only the upper serif of dotted iota is visible, while the upper apex of dotted alpha is also visible. Sterrett read all of the final eta, but today only the left vertical is visible. Given the adjective  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\phi\alpha\nu\tilde{\eta}$  (all the letters of which apart from the last were also quite visible on the squeeze), it seems likely that  $\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\pi\lambda\iota\nu\theta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$  refers to the visible, higher quality brickwork (as opposed to that of lesser quality hidden behind mortar or plaster) rather than to window frames or casing, although normally the meaning brickwork is in the singular.

Line 5:  $\Lambda$  I E  $\Sigma$  T H  $\Sigma$  E N E K T[.]N I  $\Delta$  I  $\Omega$  N A N A, Sterrett. The right diagonal and a part of the lower left diagonal of dotted alpha are visible. The upper left arc of dotted omega is visible, as well as a piece of its lower right foot.

Line 6:  $\Sigma$  Y N T H  $\Pi$  I  $\Omega$  B  $\Omega$  N E I  $\Delta$  I, Sterrett. All letters (apart from the tau) are plainly visible in the photogrammetry images. The letters are well-cut and appear not to be later than the second century AD.

<sup>66</sup> See Th. Drew-Bear and Chr. Naour, Divinités de Phrygie, ANRW II 18,3 (1990), pp. 1949–1950.

# 37. A dedication to one of the Divine Augusti

A rectangular limestone block broken at the top, but preserved on all other sides. It is incorporated into the north wall of the Medrese towards the east end.



Preserved height: 0.365 m.; width: 1.045 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.025–0.145 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.028 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Hirschfeld 1879a, pp. 314–315 and 1879b, p. 303; *CIL* III.6869 (and p. 2061). Date: post 14 p.

[-----]

vac. divo vac.
vac. Augusto. vac.
vacat

[-----] for the divine Augustus

#### 38. Church renovation notice

A white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/1) limestone block with black splotches of mold built into the north wall of the Medrese towards the middle. A border is inscribed around the inscription.

Height: 0.258 m.; width: 0.800 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.033-0.065 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005-0.023 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: fin. VII/init. VIII p.



1 [ἐκα]ληεργήθη ὁ ναὸς
[τ]οῦ ἀγήου Γεωργήου
[ἠν]δηκτήονος κς΄
[-]ΕΠΑΠΑ Νηκήταν ΤΟΓΛ.Ο.

The naos of Hagios Georgios was renovated in the 26<sup>th</sup> Indiction .... Neketas .....

Lines 1–3: To the right of lines 1–3 there are some smaller letters in a separate field partitioned off from the text to the left, which I was unable to decipher.

Line 1: Only the tips of the lower left and right digonals of dotted lamba are visible.

Line 3: The spelling Nηκήτ- rather than Nικήτ- or Nικατ- is also attested in northern Phrygia at Alaca Asma.  $^{67}$ 

<sup>67</sup> Ch. Haspels, The Highlands of Phrygia. Sites and Monuments (Princeton 1971), p. 325, no. 68 and p. 328, no. 78.

The main interest in this inscription lies in the fact that it attests to a Christian church of Hagios Georgios in the vicinity of Atabey. Given that some of the stones at the Medrese probably came from Bayat/Seleukeia Sidera, it is probably the same Hagios Georgios as attested on an inscription dating to the fifth or sixth century found at Bayat, 68 as well as an almost identical copy of this inscription originally found in a fountain in Isparta and now in the backyard of the Isparta Museum. 69

# III.2. Inscription from Bayat, Isparta province

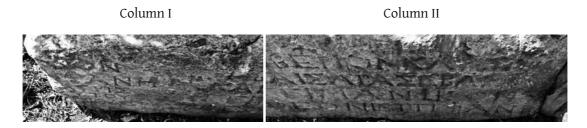
# **39**. Dedication in honor of Caligula(?) and Claudius

A large rectangular white (Munsell 10YR 9/2) limestone block (architrave?) preserved on all sides with monumental Roman Imperial lettering on one side. At each corner of the upper surface there is a dowel for a clamp. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century it was built into the west wall of the old mosque, making column I unreadable.<sup>70</sup> From here it was evidently removed when the old mosque was renovated and apparently expanded, and it is now located on the property of the local Imam under a tree close to a relatively recently installed cinder-block wall that encloses his garden, making it difficult to read and to properly photograph.

Height: 0.530 m.; width: 1.580 m.; thickness: 0.780 m; letter height: 0.042–0.072 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.038 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Hirschfeld 1879a, p. 313. Sterrett 1888, p. 334, no. 466; *IGR* 3.328; D. Kaya, Die Theaterausgrabung von Seleucia Sidera (Klaudioseleukeia), in *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien* IV (1999), pp. 163–165 (= *SEG* 49.1863); E. Lafli, Greek inscriptions and inscription fragments from Seleukia Sidera in Pisidia (South-western Turkey), *Orient Express* (1999, issue 2), p. 60, no. 2; Lafli 2002 (n. 68), pp. 317–318.

Date: AD 37-41?



<sup>68</sup> See Sterrett 1888, p. 333, no. 465; H. Grégoire, Notes épigraphiques, *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 51 (1908) 277–280; Robert 1955 (who notes that Grégoire errs when he equates the Bayat of Isparta with the Bayat of Afyonkarahisar, see number 40); E. Lafli, Notes on the history of Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia (South-Western Turkey): Second preliminary report on the inscriptions, in P. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z. Fiema and B. Hoffmann (eds), *Limes XVIII: Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Held in Amman Jordan (September 2000)*, BAR International Series 1084 (2002), vol. I, p. 318, no. 2 (= *AnnÉp* 2002.1480; *SEG* 52.1398).

<sup>69</sup> J. R. S. Sterrett, An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens II, 1883–1884 (Boston 1888), p. 118, no. 89. See also Rott 1908, p. 354, no. 18 and Robert 1955, p. 240.

<sup>70</sup> See Sterrett 1888, p. 334, no. 466; Rott 1908, pp. 9-10.

```
1 [-----]κὸν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο[ν]
[--- Θεὸν Ἐπι]φανῆ Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸ[ν]
[---- φιλοπ]ατρὶς Γερμανικὸν
[-----]αυτοῦ Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.
5 [-----]πιόδωρος
[------]ΡΟΚΛ[--]
```

#### Column I

Line 2: The epithet Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ seems to rule out the restoration [Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Βριταννι]κὸν (which appears to have been a title he held before being emperor) and argues instead for another emperor to be listed here.

Lines 3–6: These letters are smaller, probably by the same inscriber as the rest of Column I and II, and probably refer to the dedicator, probably the priest of the imperial cult.

Line 3: [--φιλοπ]ατρὶς, Kaya.

Line 4: Possibly  $[--\dot{\epsilon}]\alpha \upsilon \tau o \tilde{\upsilon}$ , rather than  $\alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \tilde{\upsilon}$  (the latter as Kaya and Lafli 2002 have it).

Line 6: Only the upper apex of dotted lambda is preserved; it could also be an alpha. Lafli 2002 actually reads [--]POKA[--] in his majuscule text, but in his miniscule text he follows Kaya and makes it a patronym in the genitive ([--]pok $\lambda$ [έους]) going with the [--]πιόδωρος end of line 5. Given that the length of the line is likely to be longer (see commentary below), a patronym with [--]πιόδωρος seems very unlikely to me.

# Commentary

I would suggest that the dedication in Column I refers to Caligula, the Roman emperor who directly preceded Claudius. If correct, Column I, lines 1–2 can be restored:

Column I [Block 1] [Block 2] Block 3 1 [Γάι|ον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμαν|ι]κὸν 2 [Θεο|ῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἔκγονον, Θεὸν Ἐπ|ι]φανῆ.

There are 22–24 letter spaces on the preserved block (what I label "Block 3" above) for the first two lines. If the text was centered on two blocks of equal size (which is far from certain), we would expect the first two lines to have *ca.* 44–48 letters. The restoration given results in the first line of 50 letters and a second line of 47 letters. If correct and if one block was missing to the left, it was either slightly larger than the preserved block, or the lettering was slightly more crowded than on the preserved block. Thus the other possibility that I think more likely is that there were originally 3 blocks of equal size and Column I was centered on these (with about 3–5 letters at the beginnings and ends of the first two lines on Blocks 1 and 3, and about 22–24 letters on Block 2),<sup>71</sup> and when Tiberius Claudius succeeded Caligula, his name was added in the space to the right shortly after his ascension (= Column II), probably by the same inscriber who inscribed Column I. The other possibility is a reference to Nero, but this seems unlikely to me, as logically the missing name here appeared before Tiberius Claudius (along with the dedicator's

<sup>71</sup> On Greek inscriptions there are very few attested examples of Caligula's titles after the epithet Γερμανικός, (Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ, for instance is not attested elsewhere as far as I know), but this is hardly surprising since his rule was so short.

information in Column I, lines 3–6). In addition, if the dedication to Tiberius was the original one, it would not have been centered on any block.

III.3. Inscription from Bayat, Afyonkarahisar province

1

#### 40. Dedication to Zeus Galaktinos

At the village of Güneykent I recorded an inscription that I read as being dedicated to Zeus Galaktinos (Διὶ Γαλα/κτίνω). The epithet Γαλάκτινος is corroborated on another inscription long ago seen at Bayat in the province of Afyonkarahisar and published by W. M. Ramsay. All the province of Afyonkarahisar and published by W. M. Ramsay.

	ΕΤΣΥΗΝΟΙΔΙ
	ΓΑΛΑΚΤΙΝΩΚ
	ΑΤΑΕΠΙΤΑΓΗΝ
	ΙΙΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΥΓ
5	<b>ΜΚΑΡΠΩΝΕΥΧΗΝ *</b>

,	Ετσυηνοὶ Δι[ὶ]
I	Γαλακτίνω κ-
(	xτὰ ἐπιταγὴν
[	[Ά]πόλλωνος ὑπ-
[	ερ κάρπων εὐχή

The Etsyenoi (dedicated this) to Zeus Galaktinos at the command of Apollo in

[èρ] κάρπων εὐχήν. [addition to] a vow of fruit.

Line 1: For a discussion of the ethnic Ἐτσυηνοί and the provenance of this stone, see Robert 1955.

III.4. Inscription from Islamköy

# **41**. Funerary stele in honor of a daughter

A very pale brown funeral stele that is broken at the top, but is preserved on all other sides. At



the top there was probably a pediment (now lost), which is supported by two pilasters (one on each side) that rest upon a stylized stylobate. Below the putative pediment there is a hanging wreath preserved, above which are two hands extended upward with their palms out (probably representing the hands of Hermas' deceased daughter). The stone was found in Islamköy.

Preserved height: 0.38 m.; width: 0.27 m.; thickness: indeterminable. Photo.

Date: II-IV p.

 Έρμᾶς θυγατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

<sup>72</sup> Iversen 2012, p. 123, no. 29 and addendum II, p. 136 (= SEG 60.1480). G. Labarre, M. Özsait and N. Özsait, Monuments funéraires et inscriptions de Pisidie (Burdur-Isparta), Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010), p. 85, no. 3 (= BE 2011.579) read the epithet on this same inscription as  $\Gamma \alpha \lambda \alpha / \kappa \tau \eta \nu \tilde{\phi}$ .

<sup>73</sup> The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (1890), p. 235. See also H. Grégoire, Notes épigraphiques, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique 51 (1908), p. 281 and Th. Drew-Bear and Chr. Nour, Divinités de Phrygie, ANRW II 18,3 (1990), p. 1950.

The extended hands of the deceased child reaching upwards conjure up a poignent scene on this otherwise banal grave stele.

IV. Inscriptions from Apollonia IV.1. Inscriptions from Uluğbey

The following nine inscriptions (nos. 42–50) were found in 2010 at the Seyyit Veli Baba Sultan Türbesi in Uluğbey and probably came from the territory of ancient Apollonia. Most of them have recently been published, but in either rather out-of-the-way publications or with less-than ideal photos. In addition, some improvements to the readings can be made for many of the published versions.

# 42. Funerary stele in honor of Tata and a wife



Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)75

A white (Munsell 7.5 YR 9/1) limestone funerary stele that is broken a little at the top with the bottom half missing, but preserved on all other sides. At the top there is a pediment, above which probably there were acroteria. In the pediment a circular decoration has been obliterated, possibly a figure in relief. The pediment sits upon an architrave, which is inscribed. A pilaster runs down each side of the stele below the pediment, and in the field below the architrave there is a figure that has been scrapped away, leaving only the ghost of a figure. It was found leaning against the southeast wall of the Türbe. On a subsequent visit, it was no longer there.

Height: 0.650 m.; width: 0.475 m.; thickness: 0.175 m.; letter height: 0.020–0.043 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.050 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 275, no. 17 (= *SEG* 61.1198); Coşkun Abuagla 2014, pp. 347–348, no. 3.

- 1 Αὐρ(ήλιος) · Δοῦλος κὲ Αὐξάνουσα · θυγατρὶ Τάτα.
- 3 [A]ὖρ(ήλιος) · Δημήτριος τῆ εἰδία γυνεκὶ μνήμης χάριν.

<sup>74</sup> Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011; Coşkun Abuagla 2014.

<sup>75</sup> See note 36.

Line 1: An Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δοῦλος is attested at nearby Tymandos.

Lines 1–2: Αὐρ. Δοῦλος Με/... ανου Γαίου ΓΛ... ΑΣ, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. After Δοῦλος, Coşkun Abuagla read Μεννέ[ου] / [καὶ Α]ὐξάνουσα. Hhile the kappa of κὲ in the shape of K does resemble a mu at first glance, the spelling γυνεκὶ in line 3 indicates we are to expect the spelling κέ. In addition, there are no clear traces of the letters NNE in Coşkun Abuagla's putative reading Μεννέ[ου], and in fact the lower left diagonal of dotted alpha is visible (and the slant argues against nu, which elsewhere has straight verticals). Also, a part of the vertical of dotted upsilon is visible, while what is taken for E is also clearly part of the dotted xi. Finally, at the beginning of line 2 there are no traces of the letters YΞ before the AN (and in any case certainly 6 letters cannot fit before the AN, which line up perfectly with the first two letters in line 1).

Line 3: Φ. . . . . O . ṬḤṢIΔ . AΓY . KI, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. τῆ ἰδία, Coşkun Abuagla. Line 4: Ligatures, MNHMHC.

# 43. Funerary stele in honor of Asklepiades



A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone funerary monument with acroteria atop a pediment within which is the face of a Gorgon. On the front face there are 2 figures standing on a ledge, the first of which holds something in his hand (a scythe?), while the second wears a toga. The right side is decorated with two cows yoked together in profile, pulling a plough. This identical motif is found on no. 44 below and on some funeral stele housed in the Isparta Museum's back garden, and obviously from the same workman or workshop. The left side has been smoothed, while the backside is rough picked. It was found leaning against the west wall of the Türbe.

Height: 1.000 m.; width: 0.530 m.; thickness: 0.510 m.; letter height: 0.013-0.015 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.003-0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 274, no. 14 (= *SEG* 61.1195); Coşkun Abuagla 2014, pp. 345–346, no. 1 (but see n. 76).

Date: II-IV p.

<sup>76</sup> This misreading is partly my fault, as this was my initial hastily-made text, which she apparently followed (Coşkun Abuagla's texts are all mostly identical to my survey report notes that she had access to). The key to decipher the text was to see that what I initially thought to be a mu in line 1 was really a kappa.

[Z]ωτικὸς 'Ασκληπιάδου, Τατεις ἀδελφὴ εἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ 'Ασκληπιάδη μνήμης χάριν.

Line 1: For the very common name Τατεις in Phrygia, see above no. 14.

Lines 1–2 are inscribed on the stylized architrave, while line 3 is inscribed below.

Lines 2–3: The deceased was named after his father (see naming conventions under no. 12).

# **44**. Funerary stele in honor of Auxanon, Zo[---], and (Zo[--]'s?) children

A limestone funeral monument with acroteria above a pediment within which there is a Gorgon face. Face A has six figures, one of which is an adult male (1) flanked by two children (2 on the left and 3 on the right), then an adult (female?) (4) who is shorter than 1, to the right of which are two figures who are shorter than her/him (5 and 6, with 5 being taller than 6, 2 and 3, but shorter than 1 and 4). Face B has a boat with two figures in it, one holding an oar and the other holding a trident with which he is stabbing a fish; there is also a second fish under the boat. Face C has two cows yoked together in profile pulling a plough. It was obviously made by the same workman or workshop as no. 43.

Height: 0.990 m.; width: 0.615 m.; thickness: 0.045 m.; letter height: 0.010–0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.000–0.010 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 357, nos. 513/514; J. Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi: Imprecations Against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor* (Bonn 1997), p. 207, no. 301; A. Coşkun





Abuagla, A Revised Gravestone from Pisidian Apollonia, *Gephyra* 8 (2011), pp. 1–4;<sup>77</sup> Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 273, no. 13 (= *SEG* 61.1203).

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)<sup>78</sup>

#### Front face

On architrave

1 Αὐρ(ήλιος) ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ᾿Ανδρονίκο<υ> [τοῖς] ἰδίοις τέκνοις Α<ὐ>ξάνοντι καὶ Ζω[- - -],

Below architrave, above the 6 figures: καὶ {Ε} αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μνήμης ν χάριν.

Below the 2 figures to the left:

5 Αὐξάνων τὸ καλὸν τέκνον.

# Right face

On moulding 1 [δ]ς ἂν τοῦτῳ τῷ μνημ[είῳ] [β]λαβερὰν χῖρα προσά[ξξι],

Below moulding, above two figures in a boat: ἔξξι χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἕριμον.

#### Front face

Lines 1–2 are on the architrave, lines 3–4 below the architrave but above the figures, and lines 5–7 are below figures 1 and 2 to the left.

Line 1: ἀνδρονίκο<υ>, ego. ἀνδρόνικο<ς>, Sterrett and Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. ΑΝΔΡΟ-ΝΙΚΟΕ, lapis. [τοῖς] ego (compare line 3).

Line 2: ΑΞΑΝΟΝΙΤΙ, *lapis*.  $Zω[τικ\tilde{φ}]$ , Sterrett, Coşkun Abuagla and Özsait, Labarre and Özsait, but many other names are possible, such as Zω[πύρφ], Zω[ΐλφ], Zω[σίμφ]. It could even be the feminine of all these (i.e.  $Zω[τικ\tilde{η}]$ , Zω[πύρφ], Zω[σίμη].

Line 3: καὶ {E} αὐτοῖς, ego. KAIEAYTOIC = καὶ ἑαυτοῖς, Sterrett, Coşkun Abuagla, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait and the lapis, but the grammar of what is on the stone does not make sense. I believe with the help of the iconography, we can perhaps infer that Aurelius Asklepiades (figure 1) set this up for his own son Auxanon (figure 2, under which lines 5–7 can be closely associated), for his own son or daughter Zo[--] (figure 4), and also for Zo[--]'s children (figures 3 and 5, and

<sup>77</sup> Again Coşkun Abuagla's text in this article is also mostly identical to my 2010 survey report notes that she had access to.

<sup>78</sup> See note 36.

6), which would be the grandchildren of Aurelius Asklepiades. This interpretation would also gain the advantage in that the  $i\delta i o i$  line 2 would make much more sense (i. e., to be contrasted with the children of Zo[--]). The apparent loss of all these children and grandchildren at one blow is likely to have involved a sickness, if not a plague.

The only other reasonable possibility is to read  $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha v < \tilde{\phi}>$ , but the disadvantages of this interpretation are that the iconography would not match the number of deceased, the  $i\delta i$ 0 in line 2 would not have a point, and the second  $t \tilde{o} i \tilde{c} t \tilde{c} k v \tilde{o} i c$ 0 would be redundant.

Line 6: Only a trace of the right side of dotted tau's upper horizontal is preserved today; it could also be a  $\Gamma$ .

Line 7: Sterrett read TEKNON, but the stone has suffered damage here so that today only a bit of the upper arc of dotted lunate epsilon is preserved, and the end of dotted kappa's upper diagonal.

### Right face

Line 1:  $[\ddot{o}]$ ς αν τοῦτ $\dot{\omega}$  μνημ[είω], ego and Özsait, Labarre and Özsait (who did not read part of the dotted mu). [Οἱ δεῖνες ἐποίη]σαν τοῦτο τὸ μνη[μεῖον], Sterrett, which supplement is impossible, as there is room for only 1–2 letters at the beginning of the line. Only the upper half of the dotted M's left diagonal is visible; it could also be A or Λ.

Line 3: [ὀρφανὰ τέκνα] ἕξ{ξ}<ε>ι, Sterrett; ἕξξι Strubbe and lapis (there is no room for any letters before ἕξξι). For the future verb termination in Pisidia/Phrygia of -ξξι, see MAMA VI 325, line 15 (ἀνορύξξι) and M. Waelkens, Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür (Mainz am Rhein 1986) 398, line 3 (προσάξξι). For the iotacism of ἕριμον, cf. χῖρα in line 2 and ἕξξι in line 3.

### **45**. Funerary stele in honor of?

A pale yellow (Munsell 2.5 YR 8/2) limestone block that is broken on the left, but appears to be preserved on all other sides (although the bottom left corner is broken). It is built into the south wall of the caretaker's house, which sits behind the Türbe.

Height: 0.305 m.; width: 0.300 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.020-0.030 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.017-0.028 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 275, no. 16 (= *SEG* 61.1197); Coşkun Abuagla 2014, p. 346, no. 2 (but see n. 76).

Date: II-IV p.

<sup>79</sup> Initially I suggested the subjunctive  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma$ [ $\gamma\eta$ ] in my survey notes, which Coşkun Abuagla follows, but the future with  $\alpha$ 0 is more common in the area.



- 1 ['Αρ]τεμιδώ-[ρ-]ΓΠΑΦΙΕΤΛΗ
  - [- -]συβίω ΜΕΝ[.]
  - [- -]μου ὃν CIΩ-
- 5 [--]KEOPEO(?).

Lines 1–2: [- -]MIΔΩ, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait; [Άρ]τεμιδώ/ρ-, ego. Coşkun Abuagla reads [Άρ]τεμιδώ/[ρου], but the genitive seems unlikely. More likely is the nominative ([Άρ]τεμίδω[ρος] or [Άρ]τεμιδώ/[ρα]), or the dative ([Άρ]τεμιδώ/[ρα]) or [Άρ]τεμιδώ/[ρα]).

Line 2: . II ΑΦΙΕΤΛΗ, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. In my 2010 preliminary notes I suggested ἐτάφι ἔτ(ους) λη(?), which Coşkun Abuagla follows, but there appears to be a

letter trace ( $\Gamma$ ?) that is inconsistent with a lunate epsilon before what is clearly a pi. If this first letter trace is a square-shaped epsilon or sigma, I would restore (['Ap] $\tau \epsilon \mu i \delta \omega / [\rho o] \varsigma$ . It may be that there is a < on the stone after the tau signaling an abbreviation, but I think this is more likely to be damage. Perhaps read  $\Pi \alpha \phi i < o \nu > \tilde{\epsilon} \tau \lambda \eta$ ?

Lines 3–4:  $[--]\Sigma YBI\Omega$  . . EI, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait; CYBI $\Omega$ MEN, ego. Coşkun Abuagla suggests  $\sigma \upsilon \beta i \omega$  Mev $[\epsilon \delta \dot{\eta}]/\mu \upsilon \upsilon$ , but the genitive following the dative  $\sigma \upsilon \beta i \omega$  makes no sense. In addition, at the end of the line there is no room to restore so many letters, while there is room at the beginning of line 4 for at least 2 letters. Perhaps  $[\Sigma \omega] \sigma \upsilon \beta i \omega$  Mev $[\epsilon]/[\delta \dot{\eta}] \mu \upsilon \upsilon$ ?

Line 4: ΦΟΥΟΝΕΙΟ, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. [--]MΟΥΟΝCIΩ, ego.

Lines 4–5: Perhaps  $\sigma_1\omega/[\pi\alpha]$ ?

Line 5: . EOPEO, Özsait, Labarre and Özsait. κè OPCO, Coşkun Abuagla. [--]KEOPEO, ego.

The reading remains very enigmatic.

#### **46**. Funerary stele in honor of Aurelius Zotikos

A white (Munsell 10YR 8.5/1) limestone stele built into the west wall of the Türbe, towards the north end. The stone is broken to the left and has mortar lathered on it, especially at the top (which may be partially shaved off), while the bottom right half suffers from severe spalling.

Height: 0.540 m.; width: 0.350 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.025–0.036 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.006–0.025. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: MAMA IV.179.

Date: III-IV p. (probably post 212)80





81 See note 36.

[Αὐρ.(?) - - - -]

1 καὶ Α[- - - - -]α Παπας
Αὐρ(ηλίω) Ζωτίκω
γλυκυτάτω τ<u>έ</u>5 κνω μνήμης
χάριν.

Line 1: καὶ Λ[--] MAMA IV.

Lines 2–3: Originally there was some sort of ornament (a grape bunch?) in the middle of lines 3 and 4 (and possibly also lines 1 and 2) that is now worn away, around which these lines are inscribed: AΠΑΠΑ C (line 3), and AYPZΩ TIKΩ (line 4). A(ὑρήλιος) MAMA IV, but the abbreviation A is statistically rather uncommon and obviously not paralleled in line 4. I take it to be the final alpha of a feminine name with the patronym Παπας or possibly the end of the praenomen Aὑρηλία with the indeclinable feminine form Παπας (cf. TAM V,1 710, lines 4–5 and SEG 39.1303).

Line 4: The final epsilon was read by the editors of MAMA IV, but is no longer visible.

# 47. Funerary Stele in Honor of Aurelius Appas

A white (Munsell 5Y 8/1) limestone funerary stele that appears to be preserved on all sides. It has a wreath inside the lower inscription is found. It is built into the west wall of the Türbe.

Height: 1.070 m.; width: 0.380 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.030–0.035 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.020. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 359, no. 516; MAMA

Date: III-IV p. (probably post 212)81

# Above wreath

1 [--]...Αὐ[ρ.] ᾿Αλέξαν-[δρο]ς Πασικράτου καὶ [Αὐρ.] Διογένης Μεννέο[υ] [καὶ] Αὐρ.[. 2-3 .] . ΕΝΑC

#### Within wreath

Αὐρ. ἀππα
 Διογένους
 ὑπὲρ πάσης
 τειμῆς μνή-μης χάριν
 φίλοι.

Lines 1–2: [---] 'Alekav/[ $\delta \rho o$ ] c, Sterrett;  $[\tilde{\epsilon}\tau] o u c$   $\alpha \tau$ '  $\dot{A} \dot{\varrho}[\rho]$  'Alexav/[ $\delta \rho o$ ] c, MAMA IV. At the beginning of line 1 there is not enough room before  $A \dot{\varrho}[\rho]$  for 5 extant letters. I see possibly traces of three, but I can make out none of them clearly.

Line 3: Διογένης Μεννέο[υ], Sterrett; [Αὐρ.] suppl. MAMA IV.

Line 4: AYP[......]ENAΓ, Sterrett; [καὶ] Αὖρ. Θε[όδωρος(?)] Ξενᾶς, MAMA IV (the final sigma is square in shape, not lunate). There is room for only 2–3 letters after Aὖρ., and there may be traces, but I cannot make out anything clear. After this, there is what appears to be a gamma, epsilon, xi, or sigma. If MAMA IV's reading of Θε is correct (and I have doubts about this), the best option is to restore Aὖρ. Θε[ό]ξεν<ο>ς. The other possibilities are Aὖρ. [. 2–3 .] Ξενᾶς or Aὖρ. [. 2–3 .]ς Ένας (this last has the advantage that it would match the naming conventions of all the other individuals on this inscription). For the masculine Phrygian-Pisidian name Ένας, see Zgusta 1964, p. 163, § 334-4.

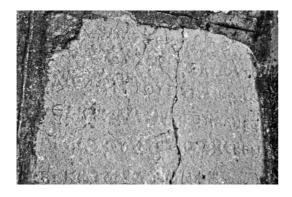
Line 5: Aὐp. 'A $\pi\pi\alpha$ [ $\varsigma$ ], Sterrett; Aὐp. 'A $\pi\pi\alpha$ <v>, MAMA IV. I take 'A $\pi\pi\alpha$ , however, to be the dative form of 'A $\pi\pi\alpha$ ; see Zgusta 1964, pp. 71–72, § 66-8 for other examples; also see comment under line 10 below.

Line 7: ΥΠCΙΠΑCHC, Sterrett; ὑπὲρ πάσης, MAMA IV.

Lines 8–9: ΤΕΨ Γ MNH/MHCXAPIN (= ...μνή/μης χάριν), Sterrett; τειμήσεως / [ὑ]πέρ[τ]ατον, MAMA IV; τειμῆς μνή/μης χάριν, ego. Compare E. Bosch, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından 46 (Ankara 1967), p. 400, no. 343, line 10 (= [ὑ]πὲρ τι<u>νῆ[ς] μνήμης χάριν).

Line 10: ΦΛΟΝ, Sterrett; φίλον, MAMA IV. I think previous editors have mistaken a slight groove in the stone as the diagonal of a ny and a crack as the right vertical, whereas I believe there is only a single vertical hasta for the last letter. Taking  $^{\prime}\!A\pi\pi\alpha$  as a dative in line 5 also supports this reading (and taking  $^{\prime}\!A\pi\pi\alpha$  as a dative is also more likely given the reading μνήμης χάριν, which indicates this is funerary rather than a mere dedication).

### 48. Dedication in honor of Anathasia(?)



A white (Munsell N 8/2) limestone stele broken a bit a the top and bottom, but preserved on the sides. It is built into the west wall of the Türbe. A Latin-style Christian cross was inscribed on its side later just under the last line.

Height: 0.595 m.; width: 0.460 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.013-0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.015-0.030. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: MAMA IV.158.

### Date: I-II p.

1 ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν The people honored ἀργαθασίαν(?) Κόρδου το[ῦ] Anathasia(?) daughter of Kordos son of Μελεάγρου, γυναῖκα δὲ Meleagros, and wife of Έρμογένους τοῦ Μενεσ- Hermogenes son of Menes- τράτου, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν tratos, for her virtue νν καὶ σωφροσ[ύ]ν[ης]. and modesty.

The lunate epsilon suggests a date of I–II p. rather than earlier. The text is that of MAMA IV, unless stated otherwise.

Line 2: [.....]ασιαν ΜΑΜΑ, Ἀναθασίαν(?), ego. Line 3:  $[\Pi]$ οδ[ά]γρου, ΜΑΜΑ; Μελεάγρου, ego. Line 6: σωφροσ[ύνης], ΜΑΜΑ; σωφροσ[ύ]ν[ης] ego.

# 49. Dedication in honor of Emperor Trajan



A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/2) limestone bilingual Roman imperial honorary inscription built into the west exterior wall of the Türbe. It is preserved on all sides but the left

Height: 1.003 m.; width: 0.325 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.045–0.060 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.030–0.175. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 358, no. 515; *CIL* III.6868; *IGR* III.313; *MAMA* IV.146.

Date: 102-114 p.

[Αὐτοκρ]άτορα

1

# Translation

The people (honor) Imperator [Ner]va [Trai]anus [Caes] ar [Augu]stus [Germa]nicus [Dac]icus [from the last will and tes]tament [of - - -?]

Line 2: Only a piece of the arc of dotted omicron is visible.

Line 3: A small piece of the lower right foot of dotted alpha is visible.

Line 7: Some of the vertical hasta of dotted iota is just barely visible.

Line 9: [--]ΓΑΜΕΝΙΟ[--], Sterrett; [ex tes]tamento, Mommsen.

Line 10: As the editors of MAMA observed, there likely was another block below on which was inscribed the name of the testator. The only other possibility is that [--]o $\varsigma$  at the end of line 8 was a part of the testator's name, but given the spacing and the size of these letters, this seems very unlikely.

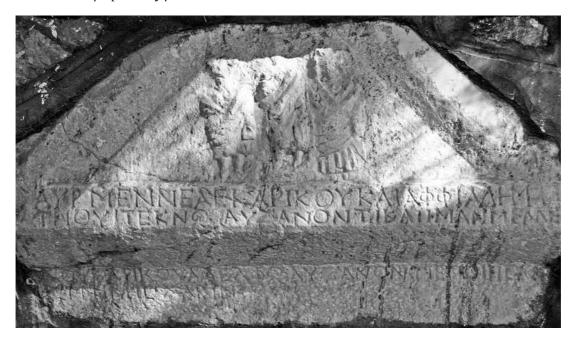
# 50. Funerary stele in honor of Auxanon

A pinkish white (Munsell 7.5YR 8/2) limestone stele on which there is a large pediment within which are three robed figures whose faces have been chiseled off (two males to the left, and a female to the right). It is built into the south wall of the caretaker's house, which sits behind the Türbe.

Height: 0.845 m.; width: 0.480 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.020-0.029 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.000-0.005. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Özsait, Labarre and Özsait 2011, p. 275, no. 15 (= *SEG* 61.1196); Coşkun Abuagla 2014, pp. 348, no. 4 (but see n. 76).

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)82



# On the architrave

1 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μεννέας Καρικοῦ καὶ ᾿Αφφια Δημητρίου {ι} τέκνῳ Αὐξάνοντι καὶ Ἰμαν Μεννέ-

Below the architrave

ου Καρικοῦ ἀδελφῷ Αὐξάνοντι ἐποίησαν μνήμης χάριν.

Line 1: On the name 'A $\phi$  $\mu$  $\alpha$ , see no. 12, line 4 (and n. 44). Ligature,  $\Delta H$  $\underline{MH}$ .

Line 2: TPIOYITEKN $\Omega$ , *lapis.* 'I $\mu\alpha\nu$  is a very common Pisidian/Phrygian name.<sup>83</sup> Ligatures, MENNE.

Two of the figures undoubtedly represent the parents Aurelius Menneas and Apphia. The remaining male figure could either be Auxanon (the deceased) or his brother Iman (one of the dedicators).

IV.2. Inscriptions found in Uluborlu

#### **51**. Dedication in honor of Alexandros

A white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/1) limestone stele built upside down into the northeast section of the Byzantine fortification of above modern Uluborlu (area of ancient Apollonia). It seems to be preserved on all sides.

Height: 0.260 m.; width: 0.860 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.035–0.060 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.020–0.050. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: MAMA IV.167.

Date: I a.-II p.



1 νας. οἱ μύσται νας. 'Αλέξανδρον υἱὸν Πατροείνου 'Αλεξάνδρου. ναςαt The (fellow) initiates (honor) Alexandros son of Patroeinos son of Alexandros.

Lines 2–3: Alexandros was named after his paternal grandfather (see naming conventions under no. 12).

<sup>83</sup> See Zgusta 1964, pp. 195–196, § 466-1; Iversen 2012, p. 119, no. 22.

It's not clear why Alexandros' fellow initiates are honoring him, but it does not appear to be a funerary stele.

### **52**. Funerary stele in honor of Alexandros

A very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3) limestone stele built sideways into the northeast section of the Byzantine fortification above Uluborlu. It has a pediment at the top (slightly broken in the upper left corner) within which is a rosette (circle with a cross in it). At the bottom of the

inscription there is a ivy leaf.

Height: 0.770 m.; width: 0.460 m.; thickness: 0.490 m.; letter height: 0.015-0.016 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: MAMA IV.222. Date: *ca.* 250–300 *p.* 

On the architrave

1 Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρ-

Below the architrave τέμωνος δ΄ 'Ολυνπίχου καὶ Αὐρ. Κοσμία 'Ασκληπι<ά>-5 δου β΄ Μεννέου τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί, καὶ Αὐρ. <'Αρ>τεμωνὶς πατρὶ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ μνήμης χάριν. ναcat

Line 3: Ligature, TOAYNIIXOY. Line 4: A $\Sigma$ KAHII, *lapis* and ligature. Line 5: Ligatures, MENNEOY. Line 6: AYPTEM $\Omega$ NIC, *lapis* and ligature. Line 8: Ligatures, MNHMHC.

For the family stemma, see MAMA IV, pp. 48-49.

# **53**. Funerary stele in honor of Telymithres and Xanthias

A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone funerary stele with a pediment within which was probably a rosette. Two pilasters run down the sides, from which a wreath hangs with two bunches of grapes. The inscription is preserved on all sides, with only a piece on the top on the left and the left bottom missing. It is built into northeast section of the Byzantine fortification above Uluborlu in the west angle of the tower.

Height: 0.680 m.; width: 0.390 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.019-0.020 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005-0.019 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 364, no. 527; MAMA IV.175.



Date: II-IV p.

1 'Ιούλιος Φιλοδέσποτος Τηλυμίθρη καὶ Ξανθία 5 τέκνοις μνήμης χάριν.

Line 1: These letters are on the left pilaster.

Line 2: the final OC are on the right pilaster.

Lines 3–4: The text in MAMA leaves the iota subscript off the last letter of both names, but the book's index of names makes it clear the editors recognized these as coming from the masculine forms  $T\eta\lambda\nu\mui\theta\rho\eta\varsigma$  and  $\Xi\alpha\nu\thetai\alpha\varsigma$ .

Line 3: the final H is on the right pilaster. The form Thlumíbrh from Thlumítrhs is attested only here (the form Thlumítrhs is, however, attested elsewhere).  $^{84}$ 

Line 4: the final IA are on the right pilaster. Line 6: the final IN are on the right pilaster.



### 54. Funerary stele in honor of children

A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) limestone funerary stele built sideways into the northeast section of the Byzantine fortification above Urluborlu, at the east angle of the tower. The stele has a pediment (part missing at the top), within which is the head of a gorgon. On and below the architrave there is an inscription, and below the inscription there are two adults flanking a child, all standing on a ledge. One adult is holding his arm on his chest and is wearing a robe that covers his feet between which there is something (a spear?). The other adult is wearing a robe that falls to the knees and has an open arm. The stele is very worn and difficult to read.

Height: 0.694 m.; width: 0.341 m.; thickness: 0.153 m.; letter height: 0.014 m; interlinear spacing: 0.008. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

[--- vestigia----]
 N[vestigia] τ[έκν] οις γλυκυτάτοι[ς]
 [κ]αὶ αὐτοῖς μνήμης
 χάριν.

<sup>84</sup> IDidyma 370, lines 8 and 13; IDidyma 371, line 1; Milet VI 2, 939, lines 2 and 4; ISmyrna 428.

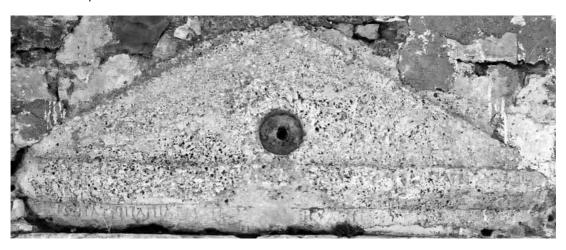
Lines 1–2: The stone is too abraded here to read the remnants of the parents' names.

# 55. Funerary stele in honor of Papias

A white (Munsell 7.5YR 8/1) limestone funerary stele built into the bottom of a Ottoman *çeşme* that sits after the main gate of the Byzantine fortification on the left. The stele has a large pediment in a bad state of preservation on which the iconography has been erased. In the middle of the pediment, there is a hole with a pipe in it to let water out for the *çeşme*.

Height: 0.653 m.; width: 1.571 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.028–0.031 m.; interlinear spacing: indeterminable. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Date: II-IV p.



1 [-----] Παπίου ἐποίησ[αν] τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ Παπία P . AP . . . . . . μνήμης χάριν. vacat

Line 1: The missing part of line 1 is long, and should accommodate more than one name, hence the restoration of the plural at the end of the line.

V. Inscriptions from Tymandos (Yassıören)

### **56**. Funerary stele in honor of parents

A funerary inscription decorated with a pediment within which there is an eagle and two circular decorations with rosettes. It was found built in the lower part of the north wall of Babagarkın Türbesi (Sinan Paşa Caddesi), and was covered with a greenish paint.

Height: 0.475 m.; width: 1.000 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.018–0.035 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.007. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Sterrett 1888, p. 392, no. 569; MAMA IV.262.

Date: II-IV p.



1 τειμῆς χάριν τῆ ἰδία μητρὶ καὶ τῷ ἰδίω πατρὶ ἀνέστησεν Θεόδ<ω>ρος Παπίου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμά[των] ΤΝ N.

Line 2:  $\Theta EO\Delta NPOC$ , lapis

Line 3: TN and N, Sterrett; [-]IN vacat N =  $\mu\nu(\eta\mu\eta\varsigma)$  ( $\chi\alpha\rho\iota$ )v, MAMA. Aside from the fact that such an abbreviation is extremely unlikely, the photo in MAMA suggests the first set of letters is [--]TH $\Delta$ [--].

# 57. Funerary stele in honor of the parents Eut[ychos] and Ioulias



A white limestone stele built inside the Babagarkın Türbesi that appears to be preserved on all sides except the bottom (all the left and right margins are covered in mortar). The bust of two figures in relief, a man to the left and a shorter woman to the right, are found at the bottom, and they undoubtedly continued below the break.

Height: 0.390 m.; width: 0.460 m.; thickness: indeterminable; letter height: 0.020–0.030 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.010–0.030. Autopsy, squeeze and photos. Published: Coşkun Abuagla 2014, p. 349, no. 5 (but see n. 76).

Date: II-IV p. (probably post 212)85

Αὐρ. νν Εὕτυχος
 [[καὶ Αὐρ. - - - - -]]]
 [ναc.?] ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς
 [ἑαυ]τῶν γονῖσιν Εὐτ[ύχῳ]
 [καὶ] Ἰουλιάδι γλυκυ[τά] [τοι]ς μνήμης ναc. χάριν.

Lines 1-4: These lines have larger letters.

Line 2: The name of Aurelius Eutychos' brother has been thoroughly erased, suggesting the two siblings had a falling out at some point after their parents' death.

Lines 3–6: The disposition of lines is not certain, hence it may be that the erased brother's name continued into the beginning of line 3. Lines 4–6 are given above on the assumptions that the  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho$ IV at the end of line 6 represents the right margin and that syllabification was observed (Coṣkun Abuagla gives Eὐτ[ύ]/[χ $\dot{\omega}$  καὶ] and γλυκυ/[τάτοι]ς in accordance with the preliminary text in my survey notes).

Line 4: Ligature,  $\Omega \underline{N\Gamma}$ ONICIN. E $\dot{\upsilon}\tau[\dot{\upsilon}\chi\omega]$  can be safely restored based on the eldest son's name in line 1.

Line 6: The final sigmas of the first two words are square shaped. After MNH the bust of the left figure in relief intervenes followed by MHC (ligatures). Coşkun Abuagla missed the final  $\chi$ άριν (as I did in my survey notes), but it is clearly visible in the photo.

The two figures undoubtedly represent the deceased parents, Eutychos Senior and Ioulias.

# VI. Milestones from the territories of Konane, Seleukeia Sidera and Sagalassos

Since 2009 the Isparta Archaeological Survey has been researching the Roman road system in and around the territory of ancient Konane in the modern region of Isparta. To date the survey, with the help of members of the Isparta Museum, has discovered seven previously unpublished or only partially published milestones (numbers 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, and 68, although the latter two have now been published by others), three of these very close to in situ (numbers 63, 66 and 68) and a fourth that had probably not been moved very far (number 61), and we have restudied five previously published milestones (numbers 58, 62, 64, 71 and 72). We have also documented an extensive network of Roman roads in the area, based both on the milestones and stretches of the actual roads themselves. These roads include vestiges of a path that undoubtedly ran from the Via Sebaste eastward toward Konane (F, Table I), along which sat milestones 58, 59, and 60, a path that probably ran north of Konane through a mountain pass toward Apollonia (milestone 61), a road that ran from Konane east toward Seleukeia Sidera and/or Agrai (milestone 63), a road that ran from Seleukeia Sidera to Agrai (G, Table I and possibly milestone 65), and stretches of a path that ran from the Isparta plain south and over a mountain pass directly to Sagalassos (H, Table I and milestones 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, and 70). Finally, in the Burdur Museum I have examined an inscription dating to AD 14-21 that governed the rules propagated by the

<sup>85</sup> See note 36.

Romans for requisitioned transport in and around the territory of Sagalassos. As noted above (under number 4) based on the find spot of this inscription (4, Table I) as well as a milestone of the Via Sebaste found at Yarıköy (number 71), I have proposed that the path of the Via Sebaste ran on the southeast side Lake Burdur rather than on the northwest, as is usually thought (although I could find no physical evidence of the Via Sebaste at Yarıköy, or northeast of it).

Table I – Findspots of Boundary Stones, Transport Edict, Roads, and Milestones

Letter / number	Site name (territory)	Туре	Location	Latitude	Longi- tude	Loca- tion accura- cy
A	Düğer (Tymbrianassos/Sag.)	boundary stone	secondary context	37.58247	30.02449	approx- imate
В	Düğer (Tymbrianassos/Sag.)	boundary stone	secondary context	37.58247	30.02449	approx- imate
С	Düğer (Tymbrianassos/Sag.)	boundary stone	secondary context	37.58247	30.02449	approx- imate
D	Old Yarıköy mosque; New Yarıköy Tea Garden (Tymbrianassos/Sagalassos)	boundary stone	secondary context secondary context	37.63852 37.62380	30.08418 30.06628	precise precise
Е	Between Düğer and Yarıköy (Tymbrianassos/Sagalassos)	boundary stone	in situ	37.60514	30.03922	precise
2	Old Yarıköy, mosque? New Yarıköy Tea Garden (Tymbrianassos/Sagalassos)	boundary stone	secondary context secondary context	37.63852 37.62380	30.08418 30.06628	approx- imate precise
3	Between Düğer and Hacılar	boundary stone	unknown	37.583388	30.059565	approx- imate
4	Burdur, near train station (Sagalassos)	transport edict = Via Sebaste?	in situ	37.72329	30.28166	approx- imate
F	Gümüşgün (Konane)	road surface	center-point of road	37.90034	30.41487	precise
58	Iğdecik (Konane)	milestone I	secondary context	37.92500	30.43824	precise
59	Iğdecik (Konane)	milestone IIII	secondary context	37.92441	30.43902	precise
60	Iğdecik (Konane)	milestone or caput viae	secondary context	37.92463	30.43867	precise
61	Kızılcık (Konane)	milestone?	in situ	37.97493	30.46346	precise
62	Gönen (Konane)	milestone?	secondary context	37.95612	30.51337	precise
63	Gönen (Konane)	milestone 2?	in situ	37.93357	30.54034	precise
64	Isparta, Sermet Mah. (territory of Konane)	milestone VI	secondary context	37.76385	30.56434	approx- imate
65	Bayat (Seleukeia Sidera)	milestone?	secondary context	37.89103	30.62116	precise

G	Near Bayat (Seleukeia Sidera)	road surface	in situ	37.89410	30.62180	precise
66	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	milestone IIII	in situ	37.71307	30.52680	precise
67	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	milestone IIII	secondary context	37.71307	30.52680	approx- imate
68	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	milestone III	in situ	37.69950	30.52077	precise
69	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	milestone II	in situ	37.69043	30.51220	approx- imate
70	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	milestone II	in situ	37.69043	30.51220	approx- imate
Н	Road to Sagalassos (Sagalas.)	road surface	center-point of road	37.69950	30.52077	precise
71	Old Yarıköy mosque; New Yarıköy Tea Garden (Tymbrianassos/Sagalassos)	Via Sebaste milestone LXXXVIII	secondary context secondary context	37.63852 37.62380	30.08418 30.06628	precise precise
72	Old Yarıköy mosque; New Yarıköy Tea Garden (Tymbrianassos/Sagalassos)	milestone or caput viae	secondary context secondary context	37.63852 37.62380	30.08418 30.06628	precise precise

### VI.1. Milestones in the territory of Konane

**58.** A milestone made of a white (Munsell 1 FOR GLEY N 8/1) hard limestone with rust-colored mold on it that is preserved on all sides in the form of a column with a square dowel hole on top. It was set at the foot of a modern grave in the Iğdecik cemetery, where it was seen by the Isparta Archaeological Survey (hereafter IAS) on 27 July 2009. Later it was taken to the Isparta Museum, where it now resides in the back garden.

Height: 1.405 m.; circumference: 1.015 m.; letter height: 0.020–0.045 m. Autopsy, squeeze, and photos.

Published: *Cf.* J. and L. Robert *CRAI* 1948, pp. 401–402 (= L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* 3.1455); *cf.* J. and L. Robert, La persistence de la toponymie antique dans l'Anatolie, in *La toponymie antique. Actes du colloque du Strasbourg* 1975 (1977), p. 59, n. 127; D. H. French, *EA* 17 (1991), p. 55,4 (= *AnnEp* 1991.1527); French 2014, p. 78, 38(A).

Date, Use 1?: indeterminable, but probably Tetrarchic and similar to number 64 below. Date, Use 2: 313–317 p. Date, Use 3: 333–335 p.

# Use 2

vac. dd(ominis) nn(ostris) vac.
Fl. Val. Çonstantino
et Val. Liciniano [Li][cini]o pp(iis) ff(elicibus) invict[is]
vac. Augg(ustis) vac.
[a] civitat(e) Conanensium.





Use 2 Use 3/4

Line 4: French read [Li]/[cinni]o, restoring two Ns. The spacing and normal spelling (see milestone 62 and 64, for instance) require one N.

Line 5: French 2014 does not restore [a] at the beginning of the line, but grammatically something is required given an oblique case of *civitas* has been abbreviated (without a doubt the ablative; see **59** Use 2, **62** Use 2, and **64** Use 2 below for comparanda).

# Use 3/4

1 Fl. Val. Constantino maximo victori Aug(usto) et

[Fl. Cl. Cons[tantino et]]

Fl. Iul. C[on]stantio et

Fl. Iul. Constante [nobbb(ilissimis) C]aesss(aribus)

(vacat 3 versus)

5 vac. mi(lle passum) I.

Line 4: French gives [nobb C]aesss, restoring only two Bs in [nobbb(ilissimis). The *vacat* after line 4 has erased text underneath it, probably from Use 1.

Line 5: French wonders whether the name of Dalmatius was added here and later erased. I think rather it has the remnants of Use 1.

Line 7: The I of MI of mi(lle) is in ligature above the M.

It appears that lines 2–5 made up the original inscription, but Flavius Claudius Constantinus' name was erased in line 2 and Flavius Valerius Constantinus' name was added above. Compare milestone **64** below for a similar state of affairs.

If this milestone was not moved very far from its original location, it appears it was milestone I west of Konane along the ancient route that connected Konane with the Via Sebaste. Rott (1908, pp. 81–82) reports that he followed this road on 12 September 1906, which was apparently quite evident in his day, until it disappeared under alluvial deposits as he passed the village of Iğdecik and headed east towards Gönen, the site of ancient Konane. The Isparta Archeological Survey has also found a stretch of this road (see Table I, F).

**59**. A milestone made of very pale brown (Munsell 10 YR 8/3) limestone that preserves the top and bottom, each with a dowel hole in it. It was found 27 July, 2009 at the Iğdecik cemetery, where it was recently fastened, with cement that was not yet fully cured, upside down as a kind of entrance ornament at the NW gate of the newer part of the cemetery on the south side of the road. Given that the stone also appeared to be somewhat moist still, it was probably only recently ploughed up in a nearby field (and Iğdecik lies about 4 Roman miles west of Konane). Subsequent to this, it was brought to the Isparta Museum, where it now resides in the back garden.

Height: 0.670 m.; circumference: 1.500 m.; letter height: 0.023–0.067 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.005–0.140 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Preliminary publication: P. Iversen, in B. Hürmüzlü et al., CollAnt 8 (2009), p. 244.86



Line 1: The bottom of a long horizontal is preserved that could belong to a square-shaped epsilon or sigma, but the other preserved examples of these letters are rounded. It could also conceivably be a line over the letters preserved in line 2 (see more on this below under commentary).

Line 2: The apex of the first dotted latter could belong to an alpha, delta, lambda, or my. After an interval of 2–3 letters,

there appears to be a U, conceivably a part of a Use 3 (*cf.* numbers **62** and **64** below), but it is not cut as deep and I am not certain whether this is a letter or a gash.

Line 3: After the omicron there is the shadow of letter. There may even be the shadows of two more letters after this, but it is difficult to be certain.

Line 5: The K indicates this is a Greek text. Only the left vertical and horizontal of dotted H are preserved. Since there is damage at the top and bottom, it could conceivably be an E, but elsewhere these are lunate.

<sup>86</sup> The text of this preliminary publication is here superseded.

Line 6: The dotted alpha could also be a complete  $\Delta$ , but the scale of the other letters argues for the upper half of A. This is followed by what looks to be a large y-shaped letter that could conceivably be a damaged X or possibly a K. After the lunate sigma, there is a cursive-shaped M, followed by what appears to be a round letter that could also be omicron, a lunate epsilon, or possibly even a lunate sigma.

# Commentary

Two possibilities for interpreting this text come to mind. The first is that these are the unerased remnants of Use 1 that lie between Use 2 and possibly also a Use 3 (the possible U in line 2 would belong to this use) now mostly lost, in much the same way as is numbers **58**, **62** and **64**. If so, then the remnants of line 4 could belong to the phrase [ $\tau \circ \tilde{\zeta} \in \pi \iota \phi \circ \tau \circ \tilde{\zeta} \in \pi \iota \phi \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{\zeta} \circ \tilde{$ 



Use 2(?)
Date: 312–324 p.

[DD(ominis) NN(ostris)]

1 [Fl(avio) Val(erio) Co]nstantino
[et Val(erio) Lic]iniano
[Licini]o pp(iis) ff(elicibus) invict(is)
[Augg(ustis)] a civit(ate) Conanen
5 sium
mi(lia passum) IIII.

Line 3: Just a small sliver of dotted O is visible on the surface where the stone is spalling. PP FF INVICT (with abbreviation marks, <, high in the line).

Line 4: ACIVIT CONANEN (with abbreviation mark, <, high in the line).

Line 6: The I of mi(lia) sits in ligature above the M.

If this milestone was not moved very far from its original location, it appears it was milestone IIII west of Konane along the ancient route that connected Konane with the Via Sebaste.

**60**. A large circular milestone (or road terminus stone) made of white marble (Munsell 7.5 YR 8/1), found secured in the ground upside down in the Iğdecik cemetery on 27 July, 2009. Later it was taken to the Isparta Museum.

Height: 1.240 m.; diameter 1.000 m.; circumference: 1.750 m.; letter height: 0.020-0.049 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.001-0.033 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.



Partially published: D. H. French, *EA* 17 (1991), p. 55 and D. H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, 43<sup>rd</sup> Annual Report, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (1991), p. 154; French 2014, p. 79, 38(B).

Use 1/2

Date: 293-305 p.

- 1 Αὐτοκράτο[ρ]σιν Κέσα[ρσιν Γ.] Οὐαλ[ερίῳ Διο]-[κλ]η[τιανῷ καὶ]
- 5 [M.] Αὐ[ρ. Οὐα]λερίῳ Μαξ[ιμιανῷ Εὐσεβέσιν] Εὐτυχέσιν Σεβαστο[ῖς] καὶ Φλαβίῳ [Οὐαλερί]ῳ Σεβήρῳ
- 10 κὲ Γαλερίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Μαξιμιανῷ [τοῖς] ἐπιφανεστάτοις Κέσαρσιν.

Lines 1–9: Because the stone was inserted into the ground upside down, French was able to read only part of lines 10–14, which are larger and appear to have been added later.

Line 10: French reports that at the beginning of the line KE is in ligature, but the letters are normally spaced.

Line 11: The letter, xi, is inscribed  $\chi$ , like the Roman numeral for ten. French does not include the  $[\tau o \tilde{\varsigma}]$ , but the stone is very scarred here and I think I may see the faint outline of some the letters, although I am not sure.

There is no trace of a mileage indicator below the last line, which perhaps indicates this stone served to mark the *caput viae*. If correct, it probably sat where the road to/from Konane connected into the Via Sebaste.

**61**. A cylindrical milestone made of white limestone (Munsell White 2.5YR 1/1) found on July 6, 2010 about 1 kilometer south of Kızılcık in a pile of rocks at the edge of a farmer's field near the modern road. The stone was still darkened with moisture and clearly came from the farmer's recently ploughed field. It is broken at the bottom (unfortunately at the point where the name of the city and mileage may have appeared). Elsewhere it is severely scarred and could only be read with great difficulty over a period of several days in favorable light.

Height: 0.730 m.; circumference: 1.110 m.; letter height: 0.038–0.050 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.000–0.018. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Preliminary publication: P. Iversen, in B. Hürmüzlü *et al.*, Isparta Arkeolojik Surveyi 2010 yılı çalışmaları: Konane (Conana), *Araştirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi* 29, 1. Cilt (2011), pp. 5–6.

Date: 293-305 p.





1 Αὐτοκ[ράτορσιν] Καίσαρ[σιν] Γαΐω Οὐ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\lambda}$ (ερίω) Διοκλη[τι]αν $\widetilde{\omega}$  καὶ Μ(άρκω) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Οὐ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\lambda}$ (ερίω)

5 Μαξιμι[αν]ῷ Εὐσεβέσιν,
Εὐτυχέσι[ν, ἀ]γεικήτοισιν [Σεββ(αστοῖς)]
κα[ὶ] Φλα[ουίῳ Οὐαλ(ερίῳ)]
[Κωνσταντίῳ κτλ. - - - - -]
[-----]

Line 2: The iota of  $\Gamma\alpha\tilde{\imath}\omega$  is smaller and high the line, and the final two letters, AA have an overline above them to signal an abbreviation.

Line 4: The final two letters,  $A\Lambda$  are overlined to signal an abbreviation.

Line 8 ff.: It is likely that Galerius appeared in the missing portion below.

**62**. A light greenish gray (Munsell 1 FOR GLEY 10Y 8/1) Roman milestone, with rust-colored mold splotches, that is preserved on all sides. The lettering is very worn and erased, hence the text is difficult to read. Towards the bottom there are two diamond-shaped engravings and a *crux immissa quadrata*. The milestone is located in a park (Şehit Polis Mehmet Telli Parkı) in Gönen next to the main square as a part of an archaeological display,<sup>87</sup> where I saw it on 30 June 2009, 15 July 2011, and 12 August, 2014.

Height: 0.850 m.; diameter: 0.375 m.; letter height: 0.030-0.054 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.025 m.; elevation, 1046 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published, Th. Drew-Bear, Araştirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi 26, 1. Cilt (2008), 147–54.

Date, use 1: Tetrarchic. Date, use 2: 313–317 *p*.

Use 1

[[-----]]]

[[--] Μαξιμιανῷ]]
[τοῖς ἐπιφανεστά[τοις]]]
[Καίσαρσιν].

• μί(λια) [β΄]]

 $<sup>\,</sup>$  The stone was catalogued as #19 by the Isparta Archaeological Museum.

Line 1: The M of Maximuava sits right below the first T of CIVITAT in line 6 of Use 2 (see below). Before I noticed that there was an earlier erased text, I took this to be the M of m(ill-) of Use 2. The vestigia of this earlier erased text can also be seen scattered among the letters of lines 1-6 of Use 2.

Line 3: The bottom of the second iota of  $K\alpha$ io $\alpha$ pow touches the top of the iota in ligature with the M in the next line, giving the appearance of one very long iota.

Line 4: Drew-Bear does not read MI, which is actually quite visible on the stone, squeeze and in the photos. These are very large letters, with the iota (0.052 m.) in ligature above the my (0.076 m.). They are also positioned just where they should be, below the erased  $[K\alpha i\sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\nu]$ . After the MI (with iota in ligature above the my), the mileage appears – the two single vertical strokes of Use 2. The second vertical stroke, however, also has the faint remnants of middle crossbar and possibly the top and bottom loops. I believe the second vertical stroke originally was the left vertical of beta, and the loops were erased and a second vertical stroke added in front of it to make the II of Use 2 (which see).

Use 2



- 1 d[d](ominis) nn(ostris)
  Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantino
  [et Val(erio) Li]ciniano
  Licinio pp(iis) ff(elicibus) invict(is)
- 5 Augg(ustis) a civitat(e) Conan<en>sium. (tres versus erasi Use 1)
  - ♦ mi(lia passum) II.

Line 1: The second D is missing because of a pit on the stone.

Line 3: Drew-Bear read *et V[al(erio Lic]inano*. I can see the right side of the top and bottom arcs of the C in some photos, but no clear trace of the first 3 letters on the stone, on the squeeze, or in the photos. A middle piece of dotted iota's hasta is visible, sandwiched tightly between the N and A.

Line 4: The first L is small, but it is there.

Line 5: The decipherment is complicated by the confusing *vestigia* of Use 1. Drew-Bear read AUG[G], but I believe the second G is clear.

Line 6: Drew-Bear read CONANIUM = Conanium, but the S is very clear and the genitive plural is Conanensium (cf. numbers 58, 59, and 64). It may be that it was simply an abbreviation and not a mistake (i.e., Conan(en)sium), but in view of the repetitive nature of the syllables of this word, a mistake is very easy to make.

Line 7: As noted above, Drew-Bear did not read the *mi(lia passum) II*. I believe the Greek MI (with iota in ligature above the my) was just repurposed as Roman MI, the loops of beta erased, and an extra vertical stroke added before what was originally the vertical stroke of beta to make II.

It is unclear whether this was milestone II south, west, or north of Konane, but it was probably not southeast (see number 63).

**63**. A white (Munsell 5Y 8/1) limestone Roman milestone broken to the left, below and to the back that was found 4 July 2009 sitting in a driveway in the village of Gönen (Pazar Mahellesi, Gürsoy Sokak 14). It was brought to our survey house. The owners of the house later brought us to their field where they said it was ploughed up in the area of Haudan (Kınık Çiftliği), a little less than 4 kilometers south/southeast of Gönen. The inscriber employed a late, cursive script (for example, the Rs look like Greek lambdas with a stroke at the apex extending to the left).

Height: 0.400 m.; circumference: 1.240 m.; letter height: 0.044–0.049 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.003–0.017 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: P. Iversen, in B. Hürmüzlü et al., CollAnt 8 (2009), pp. 243–244.

Date: aetate Septimii Severi



[Impe]ṛaṭ[or Caesar] Lucius Septimius [Se]verus Pius Perṭinax Augustus Arabicus Adi]abenic[us] Par [thicus Maximus], Pon[t]ifex [Maximus - - - - - - - - - - - ]

Line 1. Only the lower tip of the R's right diagonal is visible, as is the lower tip of the T.

Line 3: Only the right tip of the T's horizontal hasta is visible.

Given the findspot, this was probably milestone II south, southeast of Konane.

**64**. Isparta Museum B-106 (12.1.02). Milestone of hard greyish-white limestone with four square-shaped holes drilled into it.

Height: 1.210 m.; circumference: 1.47 m.; letter height: 0.030–0.065 m.; interlinear spacing varies between uses. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: D. H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, fascicule 2, part 2, An Interim Catalogue of Milestones (Ankara 1988), p. 153, no. 401; Th. Drew-Bear, Araştirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi 26, 1. Cilt (2008), 147–154; French 2014, p. 91, no. 45(A).

The following is my reconstruction of this milestone, which differs from French's latest version mainly in that I have 6 Uses, rather than his 8 (the reader is encouraged to compare his version). Admittedly, the various Uses make this stone difficult to interpret, but I believe the following is a more elegant solution and more consistent with the very difficult readings in some parts.

Use 1. Date: 293–305 p. Use 1 consists of an erased Greek text situated underneath, between, and below Use 2 and Use 3, dating to the Tetrarchy. The lines of the text descend downwards a bit in comparison to Use 2 and Use 3. While there are different possibilities about how to restore, abbreviate names and divide the lines, the following is what I consider to be a plausible solution:

[[Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν]]
 [[Γ. Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Διοκλητιανῷ]]]
 [[καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐ]αλερί[ῳ Μαξιμιανῷ]]]
 [[καὶ Φλ. Οὐαλερίῳ] Κ]]ωσ[[τ[αντίῳ]]]
 [[καὶ Γαλερίῳ Ο]ὐ]αλ[[ερίῳ Μαξ[ιμιανῷ]]]
 [[τοῖς ἐπι]φ]]ανεσ[τάτοις [Καίσαρσιν]]].
 [[νacat 5 versus]]
 ἡ τῶν Κονανέων
 πό(λις) μί(λια) ς'.

Line 2: French recognized the traces MAXIM under the FLCLCONSTANTINO of Use 3, and he identified these as belonging to a Use 2, rather than to Use 1. I could not discern them (and if they are there, they would have been erased twice). If they are there, I suspect they are a part of the presumed  $\Delta IOK\Delta HTIAN\Omega$  of my Use 1.

Line 3: Some of the text in lines 3 to 6 is clear, sandwiched between the end of Use 2 and the beginning of Use 3 (it appears that some of these letters were never erased, as indicated in my text).

Line 4:  $[---]\Omega C$ , French. The omission of the N of  $K\omega(\nu)\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\iota\dot{\omega}$  is quite common. The omega and sigma are in ligature and both letters are square-shaped. The end stroke of the upper diagonal of dotted kappa is visible high in the line and it appears it was repurposed as part of an abbreviation mark for use 2 (i.e., one sees INVICT° $\Omega$ CFIUL, where the lower diagonal of ° was originally the upper diagonal of K). The vertical stroke of F of FIUL at the beginning of line 4 of use 3 may have also originally belonged to the T of  $K\Omega$ CT.

Line 5:  $\llbracket --- \rrbracket$ IMN, French. Only the vertical stroke and upper right diagonal of Y are visible (the left diagonal having been erased), while the vertical of dotted E (and possibly the middle horizontal) along with the bottom horizontal of a square-shaped  $\Omega$  are visible (French believes AUGG was inscribed over the erasure of Dalmatius here in another use, which he calls Use 7–8).

Lines 6: [- - - ]ANEC, French. Only the top of dotted phi's loop is visible; it could also be an omicron. The shadow of TATOIC of ἐπιφανεστάτοις is just visible on the stone.

*Vacat.* The *vacat* between lines 6 and 7 is partially occupied by the *mi(lia passum)* VI of Use 2. It also is occupied by the five lines of erased text of Use 3.

Line 7: The line descends downward after the initial 3 letters  $HT\Omega$  so that the lower half of nu can be seen under one of the square-shaped holes. The lower right tip of dotted kappa's lower diagonal is just visible; epigraphically speaking, it could also belong to a chi. The final  $\Omega N$  are in ligature (with a square-shaped omega).

Line 8: As in line 7, the O is diamond-shaped (French claims the  $\Pi O$  are in ligature, but they are not). The iota of  $\mu i(\lambda \iota \alpha)$  is in ligature above the mu, as French notes.



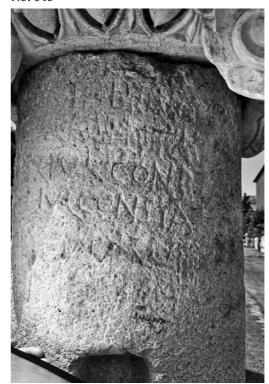
No. 64a



No. 64c



No. 64b



No. 64d





No. 64e No. 64f

Use 2 (312-324 p.)

- 1 DD(ominis) NN(ostris)
  [Fl(avio) Val(erio)] Constantino
  et Val(erio) Liciniano
  Licinio pp(iis) ff(elicibus) invict(is)
- 5 Augg(ustis) a civit(ate) Conanensium *v* mi(lia passum) VI.

Line 1: [DD(ominis)] NN(ostris) Drew-Bear; the DD and NN are quite visible.

Line 2: [Fl(avio) Val(erio) C]onstantino, Drew-Bear; As French notes, the AUGET at the end of line 2 of Use 3-4 (which French calls Use 5-6) obliterates the [FLVAL] at the beginning of the line.

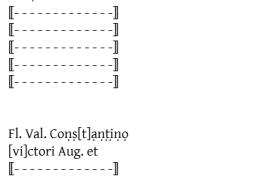
Line 3: [et Val(erio)] Liciniano, Drew-Bear; the ETVAL are clear on the stone, squeeze and some photos.

Line 4: [Lici]nio, Drew-Bear; LICINIO on the stone, squeeze and photos. There are abbreviation marks high in the line, i.e.  $PP^FF^INVICT^F$  (the last one being the repurposed remnants of the K of  $K\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\dot{}(\omega)$  in Use 1, line 3, hence backwards – see Use 1).

Line 5: [Aug]g(ustis) civit(as), Drew-Bear; AUGG<sup>c</sup>CIVIT<sup>c</sup>, French. AVGG<sup>A</sup>CIVIT<sup>c</sup> stone and squeeze (i.e., a small A high in the line is inscribed between the last G and the C; it may be this was originally an abbreviation mark turned into A).

Line 6: M VI is in larger letters and slightly lower in the line than the initial four letters SIVM. Also, the I of mi(lia) sits above the M in ligature.

Use 3: There are five lines of erased text starting to the right of the VI in line 6 of Use 2. The last of these erased lines sits just above the  $\mbox{Kov}\alpha\mbox{v}\mbox{\'e}\omega\mbox{v}$  in line 7 of Use 1. It is not clear to me when this use occurred, but it is here labeled Use 3 for convenience.



Use 5/6

Use 4

Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantino maximo victori Aug(usto) et

[[Fl(avio) Cl(audio) Constantino]] et

Fl(avio) Iul(io) Constantio et

F(lavio) Iul(io) Constante n[(o)bbb(ilissimis) Caesss(aribus)]

Above Line 1: [DDDD(ominis) NN]NN(ostris), Drew-Bear. There are some seeming traces on the same line just before the Fl(avio) at the very top of the stone that could conceivably belong to DDDNNN, if in ligature and very crowded, but the traces may just as well be damage or part of another use. The reading is also made difficult by the presence of a column capitol that has been placed on the top of the milestone by the Isparta Museum staff.

Line 1: F(lavio) Val(erio) Co[ns]tan[tino Aug(usto)] Drew-Bear. The first letter, F, sits above the final N of CONSTANTINO in Use 2. This line was added later, probably at the same time Line 2 was erased.

Line 2: F(lavio), Drew-Bear; FLCL, stone, squeeze and photos. All letters in the erasure can be seen on the stone, squeeze and photos.

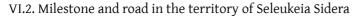
Line 3: F(lavio) Iul(io) Con[s]tanti[o], Drew-Bear; FLIULCONSTANTIOET stone, squeeze and photos.

Line 4: French reads "FLIULCONSTANTENŅÇĀEṢṢ (sic)". FIULCONSTANTENBBBCAESSS, however, is on the stone and squeeze (there may be a small O of NOBBB sitting above the first B), although after the N of N(o)bbb(ilissimis) the text is erased (and it may be that at some point a single B of n(o)bbb(ilissimis) and single s of Caesss(aribus) were erased before all of it was erased).

Line [5]: After line 4, French reads [et [----]]. I believe this erasure belongs to Use 1. I could not discern any trace of et.

For lines 4–[6], Drew-Bear reads F(lavio) Iul(io) Consta[nti] / [Nob(ilissimis) Caes(aribus)]] / Aug(ustis), but the n[(o)bbb(ilissimis) Caesss(aribus)]] is clearly on line 4 and what Drew-Bear takes to be AUG may be the remnants of what I consider to be Use 1.

It appears lines 2–4 formed the original Use 4, but Flavius Claudius Contantinus' name was erased in line 3 and Flavius Valerius Constantinus' name added above later with a longer title (= Use 5).





**65**. A white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/1) limestone, cylindrical milestone that is preserved on all sides, except at the bottom where a rectangular section of the stone has been removed. The text has largely been erased. It was found in the village of Bayat on the Imam's property built into the end of a wall that serves to enclose his garden.

Height: 1.010~m.; radius: 0.185~m.; letter height: 0.050~m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Perhaps this is one of the milestones mentioned as being seen in the cemetery of Bayat by D. H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestone of Asia Minor*, Fascicule 3.2, *Galatia* (2012), p. 166, no. 100, A–B (mentioned without texts).

The inscription has been so thoroughly erased, it is beyond my ability to decipher it.

Apart from this milestone, the IAS, with a tip from İlhan Güceren of the Isparta Museum, recorded a stretch of the Roman road that ran from Seleukeia Sidera to Agrai (Table I, G).

## VI.3. Milestones in the territory of Sagalassos

**66**. A white marble milestone broken a bit at the top. The IAS, with İlhan Güceren of the Isparta Museum, found it lying in the ditch next to the modern dirt road that goes directly south from Isparta through a mountainous pass to Sagalassos (recently there had been a lot of rain, and the runoff probably exposed it). It is a large milestone and could not have been moved far. Indeed, when the mileage indication is combined in relation to milestones **67** and **70**, it is clear that it was not far from its original location. Apparently a little later i. Güceren showed it to G. Labarre and the Özsaits.

Letter height: 0.030-0.050 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.012-0.040 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Labarre *et al.* 2011, p. 122, no. 1 (= *SEG* 61.1213). Date: II–III *p.* (before 268–270 *p.*?)



Lines 1–6: There may have been one more line above the first preserved line. There are *vestigia* of letters in the erasure of all these lines, but the milestone would have to be studied and photographed in better light to decipher them. Labarre *et al.* give my line 5 as their line 1.

Lines 6–7: Labarre *et al.* dot several of these letters, but they are clear on the squeeze.

Line 7: Labarre *et al.* do not read the last alpha, but it is clear on the squeeze. They also do not restore the final sigma, but the city and ethnic is everywhere else attested with two sigmas, <sup>88</sup> and the restoration maintains syllabic word division.

Lines 9–10: At the end of line 9 and beginning of line 10 Labarre et al. read  $\Pi\iota\sigma\iota\delta(\alpha\zeta)$  [ $\varphi\iota\lambda\eta$ ] kaì, but the text is divided as I give it (compare number 70 below, which has the same word division), and the letters are mostly clear. The exceptions are at the beginning of line 10, where only the upper apex of dotted  $\Lambda$  is visible, while only the lower third of dotted H's left vertical is visible. CYMAXOS lapis.

Line 11: At the beginning of the line, Labarre *et al.* restore  $[\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu]$ . I see no trace of this on the squeeze. In addition, the normal formula in Pisidia, particularly at Sagalassos, is  $\phi(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta) \kappa(\lambda \eta)$ . The upper part of the vertical hasta

and loop of dotted rho are visible on the squeeze; it could also be a B.

Line 12: Labarre et al. do not read the MI (the iota is in ligature over the M).

<sup>88</sup> SEG 54.1368, line 12 is possibly one exception, but it should probably be read  $\Sigma\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma<\sigma>\epsilon\dot{\nu}c$ . At SEG 48.1550 the eds. pr. read lines 15–16 as CA|ΓΑΛΑΩΝ, but in the published photo I see CA|[ΓΑ]ΛΑ[-]ΕΩΝ (the place for the ΓΑ is covered by a shadow in the photo). At lines 23–24 they read CAΓΑΛΑCΩ|N, but in the published photo I see CAΓΑΛΑCC.|[-] (the place for the final ny is again covered by shadow in the photo). In any case, these last two, if as the eds. pr. give them, are clearly errors.

<sup>89</sup> *Cf.* J. Nollé and F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge* 12, ll. 6–8; K. Lanckoroński-Brzezie, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* 2.224,189, ll. 10–11 (Sagalassos); *ibid.* 2.225,191, ll. 8–9 (Sagalassos); *ibid.* 2.227,203, ll. 21–22 (Sagalassos); *ibid.* 2.228,209, l. 2 (Sagalassos); *SEG* 47.1770, ll. 11–12 (Sagalassos); *SEG* 56.1700, ll. 8–9 (Sagalassos) = number 72 below. This same correction should also be made at Labarre *et al.* 2011, p. 122, no. 3A, line 6 and p. 125, no. 5, l. 7.

It is not clear when lines 1–5 were erased, but the erasure on number **72** below might have occured at the same time, and thus it may have been during the short career of Claudius Gothicus (AD 268–270).

**67**. Published by Labarre *et al.* 2011, p. 122, no. 3 (= *SEG* 61.1215), who say it was found near number **66**. This milestone has two other inscriptions on it. Photo.

Date: II-IV p.

Line 1: In the photo, I believe what Labarre  $et\ al.$  took as an initial  $\Omega$  is really a pi with some discoloration or damage at the bottom of it (there is a horizontal at the top making the pi just as likely as an omega). The vertical and perhaps even some of the loop of dotted rho are visible in the photo. The bottom half of diamond-shaped omicron is visible (the same shape as the omicron in line 3). The spacing of this reading also makes much more sense.

Line 3: For the restoration σύμμαχος ['Ρωμαίων] instead of σύμμαχος [τῶν 'Ρωμαίων] of the eds. pr., see number **66**, line 11.

Line 4: The restoration of  $[\mu i(\lambda \iota \alpha)]$  comes from number 66. I cannot make out the delta in the photo, but it appears to be a copy of the same mile marker as number 66 that was discarded and/or repurposed.

**68**. A milestone made of a white marble. It was at the back of the property of a farmer who showed it to us. It must have been close to *in situ*, as it was half buried, plus it was located at least two hundred meters from the modern road where there was no path by which a vehicle could have probably moved it. More importantly, the remnants of the Roman road that it served were still visible. Apparently İ. Güceren later showed it to G. Labarre and the Özsaits.

Height: 1.080 m.; circumference: indeterminable; letter height: 0.044–0.050 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.007–0.020. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: Labarre *et al.* 2011, p. 124, no. 4 (= *SEG* 61.1216).

Date: 198-209 p.

- [Αὐτοκράτορσι]
   [Κ]α̞ί[σαρσι]
   Λουκίῳ [Σεπτι]μίῳ Σε[ουή]ρῳ
- 5 Εὐσεβεῖ Περτίνακι καὶ Μάρκω Αὐρηλίω ἀντωνείνω Σεβαστοῖς Μεγίστοις ἀραβικοῖς
- 10 'Αδιαβηνικοῖς Παρθι-



κοῖς [[καὶ Π. [Σεπτι]]][[μίω] Γέτα υ[ἱῷ]]]
[[καὶ ἀδελ[φῷ]]] τῶν μεγάλων βασιλέων.

vacat
μι(λια) γ΄.

15

Line 15: The top part of a cursive M is preserved, and I believe the top tip of the dotted iota is also visible above the my. Epigraphically speaking, dotted  $\Gamma$  could also be an E, but given the distance from Sagalassos and the mileage on milestone **66/67**, the  $\Gamma$  is assured.

Milestones 66/67 and 68 sit just under 2 km apart, suggesting a Roman mile of just under 2 km. This distance is consistent with the mileage reading of number 71 (see below).

69. As noted above, Arundell recorded a milestone along this road on trips he made there in both 1826 and 1833. More specifically he states: "Having crossed and recrossed and traversed the bed of the river so frequently, we see no more of it as we come to the foot of the memorable mountain [from his trip in 1826] covered with snow. It [the river] rises in two sources near this spot, and flowing down to the town of Isbarta ... We found here the inscription seen on my first journey ... Having copied

the inscription, we soon began to ascend the mountain ..." It is clear from Arundell's description of the findspot that this milestone was found near where Labarre, the Özsaits and Güceren found milestone 70, hence this milestone was almost certainly also two miles from Sagalassos.

Published: V. J. Arundell, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia; With an Excursion into Pisidia (London 1828), p. 134; V. J. Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor; Including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Cities, and Especially Antioch of Pisidia (London 1834), pp. 26–27; CIG 3.4371; IGRR 3.341; French 2014, p. 93, no. 45(B).

The text Arundell gives, using the Leiden conventions and adding accents, is as follows:

This is the text given by Böckh at CIG 4371. Böckh's publication was followed by Cagnat and Lafaye's text at IGRR 341, who indicate that their text derives from CIG 4371, but it differs substantially at the end where they read lines 8 and following thusly:

- 8 'Αδιαβηνικο[ῖς Παρθι]κοῖς [καὶ Π. Σεπτιμίω Γέτα]
- 10 [υἱῷ καὶ ἀδελφῷ τῶν μεγ]άλων βασιλέων καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Δόμνῃ, μητρὶ κάστρων.

Since it is unlikely they saw this stone and it seems their evidence for the text derives entirely from CIG 4371, this probably represents a printing error with brackets missing, or:

- 8 'Αδιαβηνικο[ῖς Παρθι]κοῖς [καὶ Π. Σεπτιμίω Γέτα]
- 10 [υἱῷ καὶ ἀδελφῷ τῶν μεγ]άλων [βασιλέων καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Δόμνῃ], [μητρὶ κάστρων].

The restoration, however, seems highly unlikely since the inscription varies between 10 and 17 letters in the securely restored portions in lines 1–8, whereas Cagnat and Lafaye's restored text in lines 9 to 11 yields lines of 20–22 letters, which is double or more the number of letters elsewhere on this inscription.

A further question that arises is whether Arundell's text was the same as number **68**. Even accounting for a printing or some other error, the only way Arundell's milestone could be the same milestone as number **68** is if the right half of number **68** was somehow covered when Arundell saw it, which is possible, but he does not say this, nor does this make complete sense, since apparently Arundell could read the letters at the end of his line 10 (and his reading of the end of his line 10, if correct, precludes these stones from being the same example).

In addition, Arundell reports he saw this milestone near the top of the hill along the road that went directly from Isparta to Ağlasun near the source of the rivulet that flows down this valley where the road began to descend toward Ağlasun. This makes it virtually certain that number 68 and number 69 are two different examples, and that number 69 was milestone 2 and should now be restored:

Date: 198-209 p.

- 1 [Αὐτοκράτορσι] [Καίσαρσι] Λουκίω [Σεπτι]μίω [Σεουήρω]
- 5 Εὐσεβεῖ [Περτί]νακι καὶ [Μάρκω]
  Αὐρηλίω [Άντωνεί]νω Σεβασ[τοῖς με]γίστοις 'Α[ραβικοῖς]
- 10 'Αδιαβηνικο[ῖς Παρθι]-

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κοῖς [[καὶ Π. Σεπτι]]-
[[μίω Γέτα υἱῷ καὶ]]
[[αδελφῷ]] τῶν μεγ]άλων
[βασιλέων].
[vacat]
15 [μι(λια) Β΄].
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Lines 11–14: The text as given through line 14 is substantially the same as French's (although he restores all of  $\Sigma \epsilon \pi \tau \iota \mu i \omega$  at the end of line 11), who shrewdly noted that lines 11–13 may have been erased. This hypothesis is corroborated by number **67** and perfectly explains the gaps in Arundell's text.<sup>90</sup>

Line 15. The mileage can be restored based on the fact that from Arundell's description, this milestone must have found up the hill from milestone 68 close to number 70, which is milestone 2. That there were two different examples of milestone 2 along this road is also not troubling, as there were also two different examples of milestone 4 (see numbers 66 and 67).

**70**. Published: Labarre *et al.* 2011, p. 125, no. 5 (= *SEG* 61.1217). Date: II–IV *p*.

Lines 2–3: For the restoration of  $[C\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma/\sigma\epsilon\omega]v$  with two sigmas contra the eds. pr., see number **66**, line 7.

Line 6: For the absence of the definite article at the beginning of the line contra the eds. pr., see number 66, line 11.

Milestones in the village of Yarıköy (Sagalassos/Tymbrianassos)

**71**. A white (Munsell 10YR 8/1) cylindrical milestone of the Via Sebaste preserved on all sides except for a piece missing at the top. Originally it was located at the Old Yarıköy mosque, before the village was abandoned due to the earthquake in 1971. Now it is in the tea garden of New Yarıköy, about 2.5 km away.

Height: 1.070 m.; circumference: 1.748 m.; letter height: 0.029–0.087 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.017–0.047 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: French 2014, p. 34, no. 07(B) Yarı 2. Date: 6 a.

<sup>90</sup> The slightly different word or syllable division given in 69, lines 12–14 in respect to 68, lines 12–14 is of no great consequence for this theory, as often the layouts of milestones of the same type diverge slightly.





- 1 Imp. C[aesar. Divi f.]
  Augustus p[ont. maxim.]
  cos. XI desig. XII imp. XV
  trib. potest. XIIX viam
- 5 Sebasten curante Cornuto Aquila leg. suo pro pr. fecit XXCIIX.

Line 1: Imp. [Caesar...], French. The bottom of dotted C's arc is visible on the squeeze and in the photos.

This stone sat 88 Roman miles from its *caput viae* at Pisidian Antiocheia. The distance from Yarıköy to Yalvaç (site of Antiocheia) along the modern road (that runs along the southeast side of Lake Burdur) is 168 km, suggesting a Roman mile just under 2 km. This is consistent with the evidence of the distance between milestones **66/67** and **68** above.

**72.** A white cylindrical limestone milestone (or road terminus stone) that is chipped at the top and at the base, but preserved on all other sides. It has a dowel hole at the top. An erased text lurks underneath that is not legible. Originally it was located in the old Yarıköy village at the old mosque, before the village was abandoned due to the earthquake in 1971. Now it is in the tea garden of the new village.

Height: 0.868 m.; circumference (top): 1.444 m.; letter height: 0.022-0.034 m.; interlinear spacing: 0.012-0.034 m. Autopsy, squeeze and photos.

Published: D. H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, fascicule 2, part 1, An Interim Catalogue of Milestones (Ankara 1988), p. 199 (lines 5–8); French 2014, p. 35, no. 07(C) Yari 3; SEG 56.1700.

Use 1 under lines 1–4 (illegible) and lines 5–8 (see under Use 2).

Use 2 (lines 1-4). Date: 268-270 p.

- 1 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρ. Κλαυδίω Εὐσεβεῖ, Εὐτυχ<ε>ῖ Σενας. βαστῷ. ναςat
- δ ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σαγαλ[α]σσέων πόλις πρώτη τῆ[ς] Πισιδίας φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος 'Ρωμαίων. vacat

Lines 1-4: These lines comprise the second use. An erased text that is not legible sits underneath.

Line 1: French dots the first tau, and the two alphas in  $K\alpha i\sigma\alpha\rho\iota$ , but they are clear on the squeeze.

Line 3: EYTYXI, lapis.

Line 4: Only a bit of the arc of dotted omega is visible.

Lines 5–8: These lines were a part of Use 1 and are by a different hand. French and I disagree on some of the dotted letters, but I have mostly the same readings as he does.

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## Özet

Bu makalede incelenen 71 adet yazıt, 2009–2015 yılları arasında Isparta Yöresi Arkeoloji Araştırmaları kapsamında bulunmuş olup, 31 tanesi burada ilk kez yayınlanmaktadır. Burada ilk kez yayınlanan yazıtları şu şekilde gruplamak mümkündür:

- No. 1: Yarıköy'de bulunan bir zar falı fragmenti. Makalede, bu fragmentin Yarışlı'da (Takina) bulunmuş olan fal metninin diğer bir parçası olduğu iddia edilmektedir.
  - No. 2: Yarıköy'de bulunan yeni bir miltaşı.
  - No. 10: Gönen'de (Konane) bulunan ve Tanrıları Anası'na sunulmuş olan bir adak.
  - No. 29: Atabey'de (Agrai) bulunan ve Zeus Soter'e sunulmuş olan bir adak.
- No. 38: Atabey'de (Agrai) bulunan ve Hagios Georgios Hristiyan kilisesindeki bir onarımı kaydeden yazıt.
  - No. 59-61: Gönen (Konane) arazisinde bulunan dört adet miltaşı.
  - No. 65: Bayat'da (Seleukeia Sidera) bulunan bir miltaşı.
- No. 13-28: Gönen merkezinin bir km. kadar kuzeybatısındaki bir inşaat alanında, iyi korunmuş seramik buluntularla birlikte ele geçen ve burada ilk kez yayınlanmakta olan 16 adet mezar steli.

Bunlara ek olarak, makalede, daha önceden yayınlanmış olan bazı yazıtlar için yeni okumalar önerilmekte, bölgedeki ulaşım sistemi üzerine kapsamlı yorumlar yapılmakta ve bu arada *Via Sebaste* adlı Roma yolunun güzergahının, bugüne kadar düşünüldüğü gibi Burdur Gölü'nün kuzeybatısından değil güneybatısından geçtiğine ilişkin düşünceler öne sürülmektedir.