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New Inscriptions from Northeast Phrygia: The 2021 Survey

HALE GÜNEY – ERMAN YANIK*

Abstract

An epigraphic survey covering more than half of the province of Eskişehir in central Turkey commenced in 2014. Thus far it has yielded an abundance of new epigraphic evidence. This article includes all the inscriptions found during the 2021 survey and presents a wide range of unpublished Greek inscriptions such as epitaphs, Phrygian curse inscriptions, liturgical texts from the book of Psalms, and Byzantine prayers. It also includes different types of grave monuments such as stelai, columnar grave-stones, and doorstones. The article begins with the historical geography of the survey area, followed by a catalogue of inscriptions with commentary.

Keywords: Eskişehir, Phrygia, Galatia, Phrygian curse inscriptions, doorstones, liturgical texts

Öz

2014 yılından bu yana Eskişehir ilinin Mihaliççık, Mahmudiye, Alpu, Çifteler, Beylikova ve Sivrihisar ilçelerinde yürütülen epigrafik yüzey araştırmalarında çok sayıda yeni yazıt tespit edilmiştir. Bu makale, 2021 yılı araştırma sezonunda bulunan tüm yazıtları içermekte ve mezar yazıtları, Frigce lanet yazıtları, litürjik metinler gibi çok çeşitli yayımlanmamış Eski Yunanca yazıtları ve ayrıca mezar stelleri, sütun mezar taşları ve kapı formu mezar anıtları gibi farklı mezar anıt türlerini sunmaktadır. Makale, yüzey araştırması alanının tarihi coğrafyası ile başlamakta, yazıtları ve yazıtlara ilişkin yorumları içeren katalog bölümü ile son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eskişehir, Phrygia, Galatia, Frigce lanet yazıtları, kapı formu mezar stelleri, litürjik metinler

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The Epigraphic Survey Project in Eskişehir Province in the Districts of Mihaliççık, Mahmudiye, Alpu, Çifteler, Beylikova and Sivrihisar received approval from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. We would like to express our sincere thanks to the Ministry and its representatives for their interest in and contribution to the successful outcome of the survey. We thank Ece Taşdemir (BA student, Mimar Sinan University) for her help in recording the inscriptions and the local people for their hospitality during the survey in 2021. We would like to thank the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (under the Marie Skłodowska Curie grant agreement no 754513), the Aarhus University Research Foundation, and the Aarhus Institute of Advanced Studies for their support. We are much obliged to the anonymous referees and to the editorial advisory board of Adalya as well as Pawel Nowakowski (for nos. 8, 13, and 14) and Benet Salway (for no. 8) for their comments, which helped to improve the content of this article. For all remaining errors and shortcomings, we take responsibility.

I. Historical Geography

An epigraphic survey covering more than half of the province of Eskişehir in central Turkey commenced in 2014. Thus far it has yielded an abundance of new epigraphic evidence.¹ The area covered by the survey lies between the ancient cities of Juliopolis, Dorylaion, Gordion, and Amorion and includes the imperial estate of the Choria Considiana as well as the cities of Colonia Germa and Pessinus, Akkilaion, and Midaion.² Today this area encompasses the six districts of Mihalıççık, Alpu, Sivrihisar, Mahmudiye, Çifteler, and Beylikova. Juliopolis, a city located in modern Gülşehir two kilometers from Çayırhan in the province of Ankara, was the closest neighboring ancient city to Mihalıççık. To date, the inscriptions found in our survey and in the territory of Juliopolis do not reveal any territorial connection with Juliopolis.³ In the Life of Theodore of Sykeon (7th century AD), it is indicated that the territory of Juliopolis was expanding towards Akreina (probably Kozlu village, Mihalıççık).⁴ However, an epigraphic analysis conducted by S. Mitchell shows that Phyle (Beyköy village near Kozlu, Mihalıççık) and its surroundings were apparently part of another estate belonging to the Roman senatorial family of the Plancii. The estate was situated east of the Choria Considiana during the Roman Imperial period.⁵ Most recently, B. Takmer has interpreted the fragmentary inscription MAMA 10, 255 found in Kusura (modern Esen) in the territory of Kotiaion. According to him, this inscription must refer either to the Choria Considiana or, more likely, to the Choria Planciana.⁶ The inscription refers to the land in the Aslanapa plain as (praedia) [. . .]cianorum. The genitive plural here derives from a nomen gentilicum or cognomen, which must be Praedia Plancianorum. This highlights the fact that the Plancian family based in Perge might have possessed an estate in the Aslanapa plain before it fell into imperial hands.⁷

The Choria Considiana, which constituted an estate originally owned by a family of Italic origin and then passed into imperial hands during the Principate, are named in a single inscription previously found in Yukarı İğde Ağaç in the district of Beylikova south of Mihalıççık.⁸ This inscription records the erection of a temple and statues dedicated by Eutyches, oikonomos of the Choria Considiana under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus between AD 177 and 180. The estate under consideration, therefore, comprised the territory of at least seven villages and was run by an imperial slave serving as oikonomos.⁹ However, a recently published inscription found in Mihalıççık and now in the Eskişehir Museum reads: *διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος χωρίων κωμῶν* and *ἐν ταῖς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος κώμαις*. This refers to the imperial estate, Choria

¹ See previous publications from the surveys: Güney 2016, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2021.

² Talbert 2000, Phrygia, map 62: <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/609442> (11.05.2022).

³ Güney 2016, 128.

⁴ Vita of Theodore of Sykeon 1.79.24-27, 66-67.

⁵ Mitchell 1974; Belke 1984, 120, 175-76, 215.

⁶ Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) termini [. . .]cianorum per Papirium Paullinum procur(ante) Septembre Aug(usti) lib(erto); see Takmer 2018a, 431-32.

⁷ Takmer 2018a, 432.

⁸ The inscription found in the village of Yukarı İğde Ağaç reads: τὸν ναὸν σὺ[v] (2) τοῖς ἀγάμ[α]σιν κατεσ[κεύ] (4) ασεν Εὐτύχη|<ς> Σεββ. οἰκόνου(6) {v}μος χωρίων | Κωνσιδιανῶ[v] (8) [σὺν Φα]υστε[ί]νω και Νευκε(10) ρωτιανῶ ουέρναις [v] ἰοῖς | (12) αὐτοῦ, ἀπο[ι]ε]ρουῖντος Κλα[v] (14) δίου Οὐάλερια|νοῦ το[v] κρατ[ί]σ[σ] (16) του ἐπιτρόπ[ου]. “Eutyches, the bailiff of the two Augusti of the Considian estate, with his sons the slaves Faustinus and Neikerotianos, constructed the temple with the statues, when the most powerful procurator, Claudius Valerianus, was priest” (trans. adapted from RECAM 2, 34).

⁹ For the names and locations of the seven villages, see Güney 2022.

Considiana.¹⁰ Uzunoğlu dates the inscription to a period from the end of the second century to the first half of the third century AD. According to Uzunoğlu, the attestation of the *mistbotai* (leaseholders) in the inscription specifies that the estate was not a compact estate run by an *oikonomos* without the supervision of a procurator. This inscription apparently records a letter issued by the imperial legate of the province of Galatia because of the illegal behavior of soldiers and some imperial staff in the Choria Considiana.

Therefore, the testimony of inscriptions found in Beylikova and Mihaliççık indicates that these districts belonged to the Choria Considiana during the Roman period. The Choria Considiana was roughly located south of Sarıyar Dam, north of the district of Sivrihisar, and east of the districts of Alpu and Mahmudiye in Eskişehir province. The Sangarius River probably separated the estate from Bithynia with the closest city being Juliopolis, on the Bithynian-Galatian border.

The Choria Considiana was in the province of Galatia, northeast of the ancient cities of Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir), Midaion, and Akkilaion.¹¹ After 25 BC and the creation of the imperial province of Galatia by Augustus, the border between the provinces of Asia and Galatia ran through this region. Akkilaion was the easternmost city of Asia. J.G.C. Anderson has proposed that Akkilaion was located at Uyuz Tepe, today near the village of Yeşildon, and situated between Alpu and Beylikova.¹² However, there is no further evidence to confirm this location. The city of Midaion was located 30 kilometers east of Eskişehir in Karahöyük near Alpu.¹³ Finally, the villages of Babadat, Mülk, and Nasreddin Hoca, which are located east of the town of Sivrihisar, lay in the territory of Colonia Germa, which was in Galatia.¹⁴

Further south, Germa and Pessinus were neighboring cities in the district of Sivrihisar. Trokna (or Troknada) was a town located in Kaymaz, also in the same district. The city of Nakoleia was the neighbor of Trokna on the southwest. Inscriptions recording *procuratores provinciae Phrygiae* have been found in Trokna.¹⁵ Unlike equestrian freedmen of the province of Asia who resided in Ephesus, freedmen procurators of Phrygia were *liberti Augusti* residing in Synnada.¹⁶ Moreover, the records of Phrygia's freedmen procurators and their subalterns, members of the *familia Caesaris*, indicate that the procurators were responsible for all the imperial estates and marble quarries in the region. By this administrative integration, the agricultural products of the estates could be distributed more efficiently to meet the needs of the quarry workers.¹⁷ Recent publications, based on new inscriptions from the city of Kotiaion, propose the existence of Phrygia as an administrative subdistrict of the *provincia Asia* during the reign of Claudius or Nero at the latest.¹⁸

¹⁰ Uzunoğlu 2021.

¹¹ Avram 2016; Güney 2019a, 157.

¹² Anderson 1899, 90-91; Efe and Perello 2016, 41. Uyuz Tepe was recorded as Yeşildon Mound by the Eskişehir Council for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage: <https://kulturenvanteri.com/yer/yesildon/#16/39.731017/31.04225> (11.05.2022).

¹³ Belke and Mersich 1990, 341-42; Bilgen 2006.

¹⁴ Mitchell 1974; Niewöhner et al. 2013, 104.

¹⁵ CIL 3, 348; Christol 1991, nos. 1-2; Vitale 2015, 37; Dalla Rosa 2016, 324-25; Takmer 2018a, 437, 439.

¹⁶ Vitale 2015, 33-34; Takmer 2018a, 424-25.

¹⁷ Dalla Rosa 2016, 328-30; Takmer 2018a.

¹⁸ Vitale 2015; Dalla Rosa 2016; Türkütüzün and Ünan 2017, 36-37, no. 1; Takmer 2018a, 2018b.

II. Catalogue

Abbreviations: H: height; W: width; T: thickness; L: letter size.

1. Epitaph of Karikos

Findspot: Old cemetery in Ortaköy village (ancient Orkistos), Inv. No. 133, Çifteler District (figs. 1-2).

Description: Grey marble doorstone with two panels, broken at the top and on the right and left sides; an annulet in the pediment and decorations at the top; a pruning hook, a key plate, a shovel, and a hammer on the left panel; a comb on the right panel. H: 137 cm; W: 84 cm; T: 21 cm; L: 3-3,5 cm.

Text:

- 1 ἀνέστησαν [Αμ]-
μία καὶ Ἀλο[- - -]
ἀδελφῶ [- - - - -]
φ Καρικῶ [μνή]-
5 μης [χάρην].

Translation: Ammia and so and so erected for their brother Karikos, in memory.



FIG. 1 Epitaph of Karikos found in Ortaköy, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 2 Detail. Epitaph of Karikos found in Ortaköy.

L. 1-2: The name of the first dedicator is [Αμ]μία, a female name frequently attested in inscriptions from Phrygia. The name of second dedicator begins with Ἀλο[-, whose full name may be Ἄλωπος. This name was found in Pisidia and in Phrygia in the form of Ἄλωπος.¹⁹

¹⁹ LGPN 5C.

L. 3-4: If the lines are shorter, it can be read as ἀδελφῶ ἀπὸ τῶν, but the beginning of line 4 has an ending in the dative singular. It seems likely that it belongs to a proper name of which syllabification separates the *oxythion* in the dative like Αὐρ-η-λί-φ or a similar praenomen. This does not mean that the proper name must be Αὐρήλιος. However, Αὐρήλιος is often attested with Καρικὸς in the region.²⁰

Commentary: This doorstone monument was typical for the region.²¹ The inscription survived as a fragment since the monument has been cut on the right side in the middle of a panel. This makes it difficult to read the entire text. The panel on the left displays male-related items, while the one on the right probably belonged to a woman since a comb can be identified.²² There must be at least a male and a female deceased commemorated on this monument; however, we could only identify a male name. This indicates that the lines are generally longer. The proportion of the monument also indicates that there were in fact four panels: two on the right side and two on the left side as we have seen in no. 3 and no. 4 in this article. The number of deceased would then increase to four. The findspot, Orkistos, was an ancient town belonging to the territory Nacoleia. The town was granted city status under Constantine the Great in 331 after the inhabitants made a petition in 325.²³ The inscription was found in an old cemetery along with previously published inscriptions.²⁴

2. A Phrygian curse

Findspot: Doğanay village, Inv. No. 134, Çifteler District (fig. 3).

Description: Grey marble lintel broken on the left side. H: 55 cm; W: 24 cm; T: 22 cm; L: 2,5 cm.

Text:

[ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανει κακον αδδακετ τιτετικ-
2 [μεν]ος ειτου.

Translation:...whoever does harm to this tomb, let him become accursed.



FIG. 3
Phrygian curse
inscription found
in Doğanay,
photo by H. Güney.

L. 1: σεμον or σεμονν is a demonstrative pronoun meaning “this.” κνουμανει is a noun meaning “tomb, memorial.” αδδακετ is a verb meaning “to do, put, place” and is third person singular

²⁰ RECAM 2, 32; MAMA 7, 212.

²¹ See Waelkens 1977, 1986.

²² Masségliā 2013, 101-2, 122-23.

²³ Mitchell 1993, 1:179; 2:58, 60, 62.

²⁴ MAMA 7, 304, 307-9.

indicative present active here.²⁵ *Κακον* is a noun meaning “harm.” *τιτετικμενος* is a participle meaning “accursed.”²⁶

Commentary: This lintel belonged to a funerary monument, which was probably a doorstone. The lintel bears a new Neo-Phrygian inscription that partly includes a Phrygian curse. This curse is often found on doorstone monuments from Phrygia and Galatia. It has long been debated in current literature whether Phrygian was a spoken language or whether it was only found among curses like the one presented here with personal and place names.²⁷

There is enough space to complete the protasis as follows: *ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανει κακον*. The expression *δεως ζεμελωσ* (gods and men) is usually found before *τιτετικμενος ειτου* in the apodosis.²⁸ In our example here, however, the apodosis is in shortened form. If we consider an omega in line 2 instead of an omicron, the apodosis can also be read as *ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανει κακον αδδακετ τιτετικ-[μενος δεως ζεμελ]ωσ ειτου* (whoever does harm to this tomb, let him be accursed in the sight of gods and men).²⁹ However, there is an exact parallel to this short curse form in another inscription found in Ortaköy and published by Pococke.³⁰ The findspot in the village of Doğanay must have been in the territory of ancient Orkistos, because Doğanay is only a few kilometers from Ortaköy. Our team was told that this lintel was recently unearthed during construction in the village and that the villagers had erected it in its current location. Not many Phrygian curses have survived in inscriptions today. We can now add one more Phrygian curse to the repertoire.³¹

3. An epitaph

Findspot: Courtyard in Sadiroğlu village, Inv. No. 135, Çifteler District (figs. 4-5).

Description: Grey marble doorstone broken on the left and right sides and at the top; divided into two panels, jugs on mensa tripes, a key plate (?), a plough, a hammer, and a pruning hook on the left panel and a basket, a mirror, a spindle, and a distaff as well as a comb on mensa tripes on the right panel. H: 117 cm; W: 115 cm; T: 30 cm; L: 2 cm.

Text:

[...]ος Μαξίμου ἰδίᾳ γυναικί Πυ[. . .]τη[.]ο[-
2 [γ]λυκυτάτη μνήμης χάριν κἔ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν.

Translation: So and so, son of Maximos, for his own sweetest wife so and so, in memory, and while living for himself.

Commentary: The provenance of this inscription and no. 4 is the same. The findspot in the village of Sadiroğlu is a short distance from Orkistos. The beginning of both inscriptions did not survive. It is, thus, difficult to read the names. It seems two brothers, who were the sons of Maximos, erected the monuments for themselves and their wives. Although two inscriptions belonged to one funerary monument, the surface of the stone is more worn in no. 3 than no. 4. On both monuments, the iconography presents biographical props separating gender roles:

²⁵ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 157-59.

²⁶ see the lexicon of the Phrygian inscriptions in Obrador-Cursach 2020, 154-411.

²⁷ Brixhe 2002; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 1-7.

²⁸ *ιος νι σεμον κνου]μανει κακον αδδακετ δεως ζεμελωσ τιτετικμενος ειτου*; see Brixhe 2002, 252-53; Waelkens 1986, nos. 505, 509.

²⁹ Obrador-Cursach 2020, 133, 563, 296.

³⁰ CIG 3822e: *Αὐρ. Τύραννος Παπᾶ καὶ Ἰρήνη | ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν | μνήμης χάριν. ἰος σεμου κνου | μανε κακ[ον] <αδδακετ>, ετιτετακμενος ειτο[υ]*.

³¹ For another fragmentary curse inscription recently found in the survey area, see Güney (forthcoming).



FIG. 4 Epitaph found in Sadıroğlu, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 5 Detail. Epitaph found in Sadıroğlu.

women with carding/weaving tools and men with agricultural tools. It is known that the men were also presented as literate through depictions of scrolls, tablets, and styluses, while the women were attentive to personal grooming through depictions of perfume, combs, sandals, cosmetic vessels, and mirrors.³²

4. An epitaph

Findspot: Courtyard in Sadıroğlu village, Inv. No. 136, Çifteler District (figs. 6-7).

Description: Grey marble doorstone broken on the left and right sides; a door knob, a key plate, a comb on mensa tripes, a standing figure (?) on the left panel; a door knob, a key plate, a hammer, a pruning hook, and a plough on the right panel. H: 110 cm; W: 132 cm; T: 33 cm; L: 3-3,5 cm.

Text:

[...]ος Μαξίμου Νιννα γυναίκι γλυκυτάτη μνή[μης χάριν]

2 καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν.

Translation: So and so, son of Maximos, for his sweetest wife Ninna in memory, and while living for himself.

Commentary: see no. 3. Ninna is a Lallname found in Galatia and Cappadocia.³³



FIG. 6 Epitaph found in Sadıroğlu, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 7 Detail. Epitaph found in Sadıroğlu.

³² Masséglia 2013, 101-2, 122-23.

³³ Zgusta 1964, § 1040-49; LGPN 5C.

5. A votive column

Findspot: Cemetery in Beyyazı village, Inv. No. 137, Sivrihisar District (figs. 8-9).

Description: Grey marble column. H: 77 cm; D: 46 cm; L: 3-4 cm.

Text:

ΟΥ ν ν † ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς ΔΙΩ[- - -]

Translation: In fulfilment of the vow of...



FIG. 8 Votive column found in Beyyazı, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 9 Votive column found in Beyyazı, photo by H. Güney.

Commentary: After ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς, one expects to read the word or name in genitive form. The column was damaged on the right side. A large cut and cracks start after ΔΙΩ on the right side. If the reading of ΔΙΩ is correct, one suggestion for the name in the genitive can be Διονυσίου. However, the fact that there is more space on the column indicates a longer line. The erection of a column dedicated “as a vow” to the god or saints for salvation, preservation, or safety was a common practice in Asia Minor and Greece.³⁴

6. An epitaph

Findspot: Cemetery in Beyyazı village, Inv. No. 138, Sivrihisar District (figs. 10-11).

Description: Grey marble stele with moldings and triangular pediment with floral acroteria, pilasters on each side, a knob or a shield in the pediment. H: 147 cm; W: 52 cm; T: 30 cm; L: 2,5-3 cm.

Text:

[.]Α[.]ΟΣΖΩΥΙ
 2 ΡΟΥ Νανας
 τῆ ἑαυτοῦ γυναι-
 4 κὶ ἀνέστησεν
 μνήμης χά-
 6 ρειν. Νανα
 ΑΜΝΕΛΕ [θ]-
 8 υγατρί . . .
 Νόνιος ἀ-
 10 δελφός
 Κακείλιος καὶ Νόνιος



FIG. 10 Epitaph found in Beyyazı, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 11 Detail. Epitaph found in Beyyazı.

³⁴ Ogereau 2019, 628.

12 καὶ Χρῆστος καὶ Ἄμω[μ]-
ο[ς] ἀδελφοί (leaf).

Translation: So and so, son of so and so, erected (the stele) for his wife Nana (or Nanas) in memory. Nana for her daughter so and so, Nonios, brother. Kaikeilios, Nonios, Chrestos and Amomos, brothers.

L. 2: *Navaς* seems to be in the dative case here.³⁵

L. 7: The first epsilon in AMNEAE is slanting while the second one is lunate.

L. 8: Gamma is minuscule.

L. 9 and 11: The name Nonios as brother is mentioned twice.

L. 12-13: The name could also be Ἄμω[v], a Semitic name found in the region.³⁶ Line 13 can be read as οἱ ἀδελφοί, the brothers. However, the article is also missing in line 9.

Commentary: The reading of lines 1-2 and 7 is highly problematic. The engraver did not use a ruler for lines 1-10. Moreover, the stone had been painted white when we discovered it. This makes it difficult to read the beginning of the inscription. The letters became a little bit more visible when we applied mud on the surface. The clumsy execution of the inscription on the lower part of the stone also indicates that the stone might have been reused in a later period, e.g. third century AD.³⁷ The family possesses Greek (Chrestos, Amomos) and Latin (Kaikeilios) names as well as Lallname (Nana).³⁸

7. An epitaph

Findspot: Tekke outside Ahiler village, Inv. No. 139, Sivrihisar District (fig. 12).

Description: Grey marble doorstone monument broken on all sides with a key plate on the panel. H: 67 cm; W: 45 cm; T: 24 cm; L: 2.3 cm.

Text:

Π or T---- ΟΛΙΤΑ

Commentary: This fragment belongs to a doorstone monument. It seems that many funerary monuments were used in the tekke as spolia. Perhaps the area was first used as a Roman necropolis and later as a tekke including Muslim graves. Crystallized marble stone seems to have dissolved over time due to weather conditions. The fragment may be read as οἱ πολῖται or in the accusative / dative case, referring to the citizens/compatriots. The village of Ahiler must have belonged to the territory of Pessinus in the Roman period.



FIG. 12 Epitaph found in Beyyazı, photo by H. Güney.

³⁵ The dative and nominative forms of the name Nana is usually the same in the inscriptions; see MAMA 7, 236. Nanias, as a name in the nominative form, was also found in the inscriptions from Phrygia; see SEG 32, 1282.

³⁶ The name Amon is found in Gökçeayva village in the district of Beylikova of Eskişehir province; see RECAM 2, 39.

³⁷ I would like to thank Birte Poulsen for her comment.

³⁸ The name Amomos is found in Phrygia; see LGPN 5C.

8. An epitaph

Findspot: Boyalıözü outside İğdecik village; Inv. No. 140, Sivrihisar District (figs. 13-14).

Description: Grey marble column; its dimensions are not known because it is now lost.

Text:

ἐτείμησ-
 2 αν Επατων
 α σύνβιος Β-
 4 αβου κ̅ε̅ τέκ-
 να αὐτῶν
 6 Φοῖνιξ κ̅ε̅ Μα-
 μμη κ̅ε̅ Τιμ-
 8 ὄθεος μνή-
 μης χάριν.

Translation: His wife Babou and his children Phoinix, Mamme and Teimotheos honored Epatonas or Epatorix in memory.

Commentary: This inscription and no. 9 are now lost. The villagers, however, provided us with three photos taken previously. Our team

also visited the site outside the village where these inscriptions were found. The site was either a necropolis or a settlement because our team observed a few marble blocks and many accumulated stones used for construction, e.g. houses. The inscription is well preserved. Only the name of the deceased is uncertain; however, we have a few suggestions. Given that there is at least one ligature in μνήμης towards the end of the text, at the end of this line we might have a ligature between the cursive omega and nu, i.e. ΕΠΑΤΩΝΑ. The name Επατωνας is not attested. There are, however, many names ending in -ωνας. Therefore, it is perhaps slightly more plausible that it is a *hapax legomenon*. Another suggestion would be a rho instead of a nu after the omega, i.e. Επατωρας or even Ε<̅>πάτωρα. Linked with this suggestion, the final suggestion is a rho after the omega, which means that the name Επατωρα in the accusative case. The Celtic name Epatorix was previously identified in the survey area.³⁹ One would expect the accusative, Επατοριγα, but perhaps the engraver did not know the correct case form and used a different declension of this name. The family possesses Greek names - Phoinix and Teimotheos - and names like Babou and Mamme, which are registered in the onomastics of Anatolia.⁴⁰ καί is always cut as κ̅ε̅ with a ligature between kappa and epsilon. Finally, nu and eta are ligated in μνήμης.



FIG. 13 Epitaph found in İğdecik, photo provided by the villagers.



FIG. 14 Detail. Epitaph found in İğdecik.

³⁹ The village of Kavak is in the district of Mihalıççık in Eskişehir province; see RECAM 2, 85.

⁴⁰ Zgusta 1964, § 133-13 for Βαβου and § 850-12 for Μαμμη.

9. A fragment without context

Findspot: Boyalıözü outside İğdecik village; Inv. No. 141, Sivrihisar District (fig. 15).

Description: Grey marble fragment broken on all sides; its dimension are not known because it is now lost.

Text:

ΚΟΣΤΗΣ
2 ΔΙΟΝΗΣ

Commentary: It seems that the engraver did not use a ruler to carve this inscription (see no. 6), so it is difficult to define the context of the inscription. The letters in line 1 may belong to a word ending with -κοστῆς. In line 2, the omicron seems to be triangular in ΔΙΟΝΗΣ.



FIG. 15 Fragment without context found in İğdecik, photo provided by the villagers.

10. An epitaph

Findspot: Gravel pit outside Dümrek village; Inv. No. 142, Sivrihisar District (figs. 16-17).

Description: White marble stele with moldings and triangular pediment, palmette in acroteria and on the corners, broken at the bottom. H: 173 cm; W: 43 cm; T: 18 cm; L: 2.5 cm.

Text:

[Α]λεξάνδρεια ΑΑΓ
2 ---- ΡΟΥ θυγάτ[τηρ]
----- Σ Αλ(ε)ξάν[δρω]

Translation: Alexandria, daughter of so and so, for Alexandros...



FIG. 16 Epitaph found in Dümrek, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 17 Detail. Epitaph found in Dümrek.

Commentary: Alexandria could be either in the dative or the nominative case. The correct form in Greek is Ἀλεξάνδρεια. It must be nominative here since the formula starts with the name of the commemorator and then the name of the commemorated. The patronym could be a common name in the region – Agathemeros.⁴¹ Thus, it must be Ἀγαθημέρου in lines 1-2. There are two alphas in line 1. The engraver perhaps mistakenly carved two alphas for the name Agathemeros. As seen in line 3, the name Alexandros is also missing an epsilon.

⁴¹ LGPN 5C.

11. An epitaph

Findspot: Gravel pit outside Dümrek village; Inv. No. 143, Sivrihisar District (figs. 18-19).

Description: White marble grave stele with moldings, evenly cut at the top and on the right; a tongue for insertion into the socket of the pedestal is preserved. H: 100 cm; W: 26 cm; T: 15 cm; L: 2 cm.

Text:

ΕΠΟ [- - - - - ἀνέστη]-
2 σεν Ι[- - - - - μνήμης]
χάφ[iv].

Translation: So and so erected for so and so, in memory.

Commentary: The inscription survived as a fragment since it was later cut from the top and the right side, perhaps due to reuse. The names Επόνη or Ἐποσσορις found in Galatia can be suggested as the name of the commemorator in line 1.⁴²



FIG. 18 Epitaph found in Dümrek, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 19 Detail. Epitaph found in Dümrek.

12. Epitaph of Marcus Antonius Teukros

Findspot: Gravel pit outside Dümrek village; Inv. No. 144, Sivrihisar District (figs. 20-21).

Description: White marble stele with moldings and a worn triangular pediment, a four-petal rosette in the pediment, invisible ornament in acroteria, an S-shaped curve on the right side of the stone; a tongue for insertion into the socket of the pedestal is preserved. H: 145 cm; W: 35 cm; T: 25 cm; L: 3 cm.

Text:

Μάρκῳ Ἀντῶ-
2 νίῳ Τεύκρῳ
εὐχαριστίας
4 ἕνεκα υἱοὶ
χαῖρε.

Translation: For Marcus Antonius Teukros, in gratitude the sons, farewell.

Commentary: The εὐχαριστίας ἕνεκα formula can also be found in two other inscriptions discovered in neighboring villages.⁴³ The tria nomina suggest that the family of Marcus Antonius Teukros obtained Roman citizenship from Mark Antony when the triumvir campaigned in the East.⁴⁴



FIG. 20 Epitaph found in Dümrek, photo by H. Güney.



FIG. 21 Detail. Epitaph found in Dümrek.

⁴² LGPN 5C.

⁴³ The village of Elcik in the district of Sivrihisar in Eskişehir province; see RECAM 2, 103; in Mesudiye Çiftlik in the same district; see RECAM 2, 93.

⁴⁴ Majbom Madsen 2020, 185-86.

13. Fragment of a liturgical text

Findspot: Spolia in a fountain in Dümrek village; Inv. No. 145, Sivrihisar district (fig. 22).

Description: White marble lintel broken on all sides. H: 100 cm; W: 30 cm; L: 8 cm.

Text:

--- ἐκέκρα]ξα φωνὴν ἐν ἀλαλα[γμῶ
 2 ----- ἔ]λαβα τροφὴν ἀπὸ μασθ[ῶν
 ----- -]. . ον τὴν κτίσιν Θ[εοῦ...

L. 1: read φωνήν.

L. 3: read κτίσιν.

Translation: I uttered a loud cry...I was nourished from the breast...the creation of God...

Commentary: This fragment and no. 14 bear liturgical texts from the Greek version of the book of Psalms and in Byzantine prayers. Letter shapes indicate a date in the Middle Byzantine period (7th-11th centuries). Line 1 is probably based on the following psalms: Ps. 26:7: εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἧς ἐκέκραξα, Ps. 46:6: ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῶ, and Ps. 32:3: καλῶς ψάλατε ἐν ἀλαλαγμῶ.

In line 2, ἔλαβα instead of ἔλαβον is not a correct Greek aorist of λαμβάνω, but it is present in later Greek and even the past tense of λαμβάνω in modern Greek.⁴⁵ Τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σου ἔλαβα μασθός is a later form of μαστός, often used in the Septuagint.⁴⁶

In line 3, -ον is an ending in the aorist first person singular (I ... the creation, e.g. admired etc.). Moreover, one would expect here a verb in the first person, as in the above lines. One can also consider the aorist imperative στήριξ]ον, since it appears in Euchologion, Eccl., Hymn. et Liturg. Euchologium (e cod. Barb. gr. 336) in section 233 line 9: στήριξον τὴν κτίσιν (see TLG) [support the creation?]. However, there seems to be two more letters before -ον. They may be read as double nu (-ννον) or eta and nu (-ηνον).

This fragment and no. 14 were found in a field in the village of Dümrek along with a baluster and a panel. The inscriptions bearing liturgical texts from Psalms and Byzantine prayers may come from a lintel over the doorway of a church or from some other architrave inside it. They might also have been used in a cultic building.⁴⁷ There are, however, some marble fragments and architectural elements scattered in the field, which indicates there was a building nearby. In fact, a church dedicated in 897 by an official of the emperors Leo and Alexander to the saints Nicolaus, Basilius, and Hypatius was found in Mesudiye Çiftlik, less than 9 kilometers from Dümrek.⁴⁸ This stone was perhaps taken from Dümrek. Therefore, the location of the church must have been near Dümrek.



FIG. 22 Fragment of a liturgical text found in Dümrek, photo by H. Güney.

⁴⁵ Judges 1:24 70: ἔλαβαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ; Historia Alexandri Magni 94:10.

⁴⁶ LSJ⁹, s.v. μαστός and Ps. 21:10: ἡ ἐλπίς μου ἀπὸ μαστῶν τῆς μητρὸς μου.

⁴⁷ A fragment of a sarcophagus cover found in the village of Memik, five kilometers from Dümrek, is dated to the same period. The context also fits the inscription presented here; see Güney 2021, 72-73, no. 13.

⁴⁸ Mesudiye Çiftlik is in the district of Sivrihisar in Eskişehir province; see RECAM 2, 98. Another fragment found in the village of Kozlu in the district of Mihalıççık mentions Nicolaus' church; see Güney 2018a, 176, no. 12.

14. Fragment of a liturgical text

Findspot: Spolia in a fountain in Dümrek village; Inv. No. 146, Sivrihisar District (fig. 23).

Description: White marble lintel. H: cm 130; W: 45 cm; L: 7 cm.

Text:

TMO - AN -

2 ONMHTPOΣ

- Π or ΓΝ - -

Commentary: See no. 13. It is difficult to suggest anything specific, but perhaps it is related to the phrase εἰσήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον μητρός found in Song of Songs and often commented on by Christian writers.⁴⁹



FIG. 23 Fragment of a liturgical text found in Dümrek, photo by H. Güney.

⁴⁹ Song of Songs 3:4: ἐκράτησα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσω αὐτόν, ἕως οὗ εἰσήγαγον αὐτόν εἰς οἶκον μητρός μου καὶ εἰς ταμίειον τῆς συλλαβούσης με; Song of Songs 8:2: παραλήψομαί σε, εἰσάξω σε εἰς οἶκον μητρός μου καὶ εἰς ταμίειον τῆς συλλαβούσης με.

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