

The sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos and the cult of Zeus in northeastern Phrygia

Hale Güney

University of Cologne, Germany
hgueney1@uni-koeln.de

Abstract

This article presents the discovery of two fragmentary inscriptions which demonstrate the existence of an unknown naos of Zeus Sarnendenos in the northern part of the Choria Considiana, an extensive imperial estate in northeastern Phrygia. It also presents a votive offering to Zeus Sarnendenos and five new votive inscriptions to Zeus Akreinenos found in the village of Kozlu near İkişazer (ancient Akreina?), which was apparently part of another estate, belonging to the Roman senatorial family of the Plancii, situated to the east of the Choria Considiana. These inscriptions were found during the course of an epigraphic survey carried out in 2015 in Mihaliççık, a region located 90km to the northeast of Eskişehir in modern Turkey. The article consists of three main parts. It begins with an introduction to the historical and geographical backgrounds of the survey area; this is followed by a catalogue of inscriptions and, finally, an analysis of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos and the new votive offerings to Zeus Akreinenos, with reference to other evidence for the cult of Zeus in Phrygia and neighbouring regions. The inscriptions discovered in this area provide new information about the location and dispersal of the cult of Zeus in northeastern Phrygia.

Özet

Bu makale kuzeydoğu Phrygia’da geniş bir imparatorluk mülkü olan Khoría Konsidiana’nın kuzeyinde daha önce yeri bilinmeyen Zeus Sarnendenos kültüne ait bir tapınağa işaret eden iki yazıt fragmanını sunmaktadır. Makale Zeus Sarnendenos’a sunulan bir adak yazıtının yanı sıra aynı bölgede bulunan Zeus Akreinenos’a adanan beş adak yazıtını da içermektedir. Bu yazıtlar 2015 yılında Eskişehir iline 90 km uzaklıkta bulunan Mihaliççık ilçesinde yürütülen epigrafik yüzey araştırmasında tespit edilmiştir. Makale, üç ana bölümden oluşur. Yüzey araştırması projesine ve bölgenin tarihi coğrafyasına değinen giriş bölümünü yazıtların kataloğunu içeren ikinci bölüm izler. Makale, son bölümde Zeus Sarnendenos kutsal alanını, kültürünü ve Zeus Akreinenos kültürünü Phrygia ve komşu bölgelerdeki diğer Zeus kültürleriyle beraber değerlendirerek analiz eder. Bu çalışmada sunulan yazıtlar böylelikle kuzeydoğu Phrygia’daki Zeus kutsal alanlarının yerleri ve kültürlerin dağılımı konusunda yeni bilgiler sunmaktadır.

An epigraphic survey covering more than half the province of Eskişehir in central Turkey, which commenced in 2014, has provided evidence for the existence of Galatian and Thracian names, a previously unknown sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, cults of Zeus Sarnendenos and Zeus Akreinenos, as well as local stonemasonry in northeastern Phrygia (fig. 1). The area covered by the survey lies between the cities of Juliopolis, Dorylaion, Gordion and Amorion, and includes the imperial estate of Choria Considiana as well as the cities of Colonia Germa and Pessinous, Akkilaion and Midaion (see <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/609442>). Today, this

area encompasses the six counties of Mihaliççık, Alpu, Sivrihisar, Mahmudiye, Çifteler and Beylikova. Over the course of three seasons of fieldwork, 82 new inscriptions have emerged (fig. 2). These inscriptions offer some new information about the cultural and social status of the inhabitants of the area. They are mostly dated to the second and third centuries AD. Ten – of which three include epigrams – came from a necropolis situated close to a limestone quarry at Çalçak in Mihaliççık; these have previously been published in *Anatolian Studies* (Güney 2016a). Other inscriptions, found mostly as spolia in villages, have been published in *Gephyra*, *Philia* and *Epigraphica*

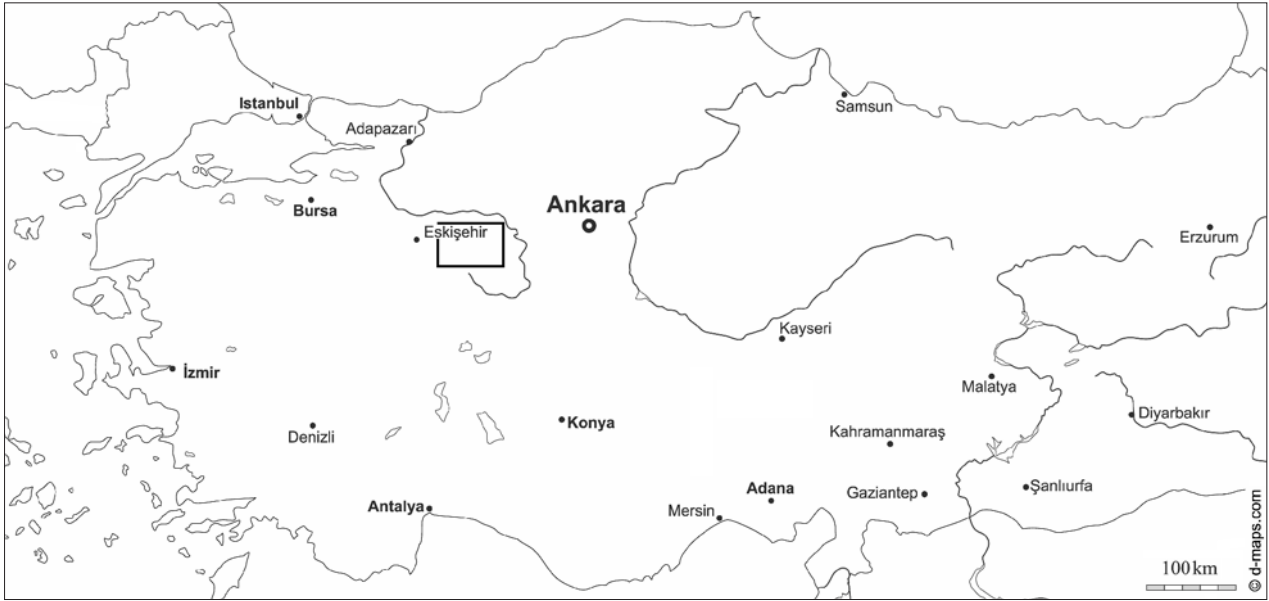


Fig. 1. Map indicating the survey area within the wider region (© 2007–2019 d-maps.com, <https://d-maps.com/>).

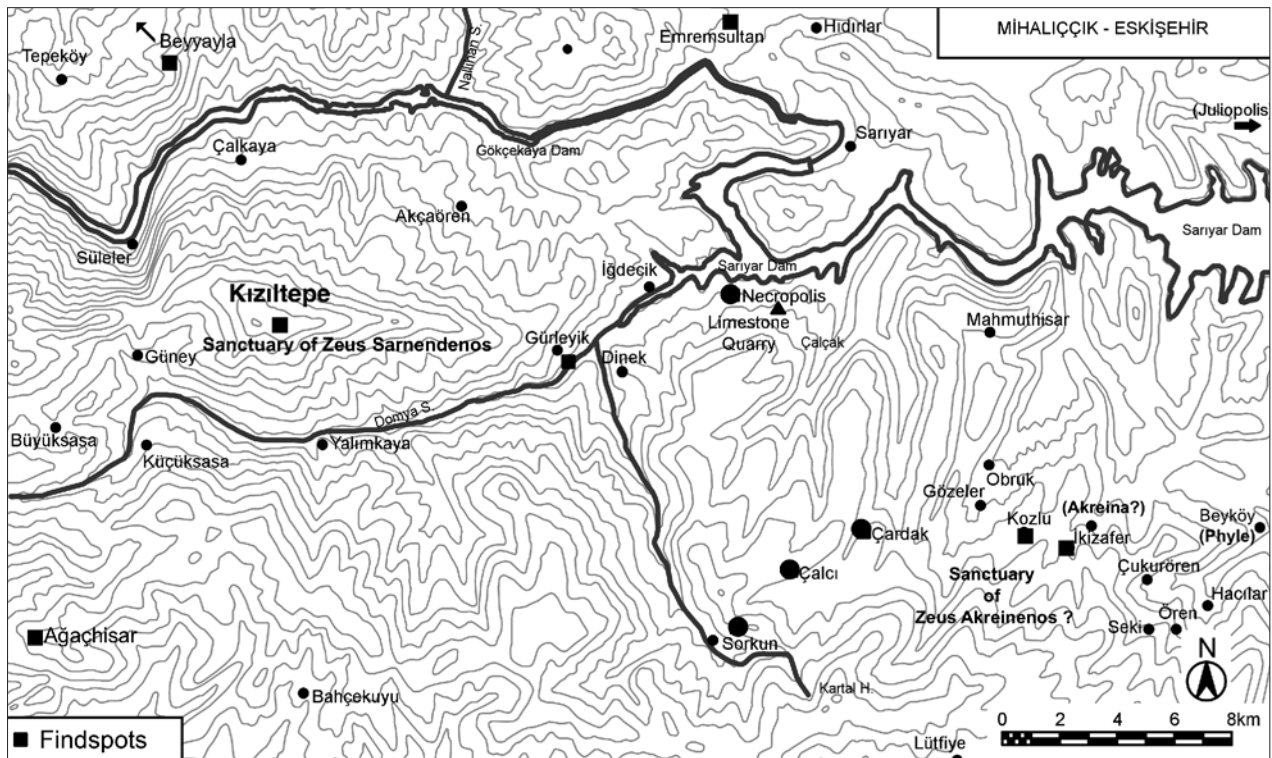


Fig. 2. Map of epigraphic findspots in the survey region (by Ertunç Denктаş).

Anatolica (Güney 2018a; 2018b; forthcoming). Ongoing work aims to transcribe, translate, analyse and publish the inscriptions found during the survey. This, in turn, will contribute to the wider aim of the project to present the social and economic history of eastern Phrygia, based on new epigraphic evidence from the surveys as well as existing epigraphic and numismatic evidence and other archaeological finds, in the context of a series of themes. In view of the contents of the inscriptions, research focuses

on eight specific themes: (1) pagan cults, (2) historical geography, population and ethnicity, (3) local identity, (4) the Phrygian household, (5) the local economy, (6) stone masons and local quarries, (7) early Christianity and (8) cultural heritage.

The aim of this article is to present the new discovery of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos and new votive inscriptions to Zeus Sarnendenos and Zeus Akreinenos. The question of which city or estate the area (Mihaliççık)

in which they were located belongs to is not easily answered; none of the inscriptions found so far bears a place name, such as that of an estate or city. Juliopolis, a city located in Gülşehir, 2km from Çayırhan in the modern province of Ankara, was the closest neighbouring city (Ruge 1917: 102; Strobel 1999: 18–19; Marek 2000: 129–35). The territory of Juliopolis, however, is difficult to ascertain, since the city was flooded after the construction of the Sarıyar dam on the Sakarya river (ancient Sangarios) between 1951 and 1956 (Onur 2014: 66). To date, the inscriptions found in our survey do not reveal any territorial connection with Juliopolis.

Another option is the Choria Considiana, an estate originally owned by a family of Italian origin which passed into imperial hands (*RECAM* 2.34; *SEG* 1982: 1263), and the locations of the sanctuary and the votive inscription to Zeus Sarnendenos are indeed sited in the northern area of the Choria Considiana. The estate lay in the province of Galatia, northeast of the ancient cities of Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir), Midaion and Akkilaion (Talbert 2000: Phrygia, map 62; <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/609442>). The Sangarios river separated the estate from Bithynia, where the closest city was Juliopolis, on the Bithynian-Galatian border. The villages of Babadat, Mülk and Nasreddin Hoca, which are east of modern Sivrihisar, lay in the territory of Colonia Germa which was in Galatia. (Mitchell 1974; Niewöhner et al. 2013: 104).

The inscriptions to Zeus Akreinenos were found in the village of Kozlu, a few kilometres from İkişazer (ancient Akreina?). In a later account (seventh century), Theodore of Sykeon states that the territory of Juliopolis was expanding towards Akreina and Phyle (Beyköy) (*Vita Theodore of Sykeon* 1.79). An epigraphic analysis conducted by Stephen Mitchell shows, however, that the ancient settlements of Akreina and Phyle were apparently part of another estate, belonging to the Roman senatorial family of the Plancii, which was situated to the east of the Choria Considiana during the Roman Imperial period (Mitchell 1974; Belke 1984: 120, 175–76, 215). There is no clear evidence to indicate where the boundary between the estates lay. Both estates, however, neighboured the small cities of Akkilaion and Colonia Germa, as well as Juliopolis.

The Choria Considiana is named in a single inscription previously found in Yukarı İğde Ağaç in Beylikova, to the south of Mihaliççık (*RECAM* 2.34; *SEG* 1982: 1263). The 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: ‘Eutyches, the bailiff of the two Augusti of the Considian estates, with his sons the slaves Faustinus and Neikerotianos, constructed the temple with the statues, when the most powerful procurator, Claudius Valerianus, was priest.’ It is not clear to whom this temple was conse-

crated. Another inscription also found in Yukarı İğde Ağaç bears traces of a vow for an altar of Zeus Heptakomeitôn by priests and priestesses on behalf of seven villages, all of whose inhabitants worshipped Zeus as their deity within the same imperial estate. The inscription records: ‘Philinus son of Phi—, priest, and Nana daughter of Gaios, his wife, priestess, and Babas and Gaios their children performed a vow for an altar to Zeus of the inhabitants of seven villages’ (*RECAM* 2.37). This hints that the temple mentioned above might have been consecrated to Zeus Heptakomeitôn. The estate under consideration therefore probably comprised the territory of at least seven villages and was run by an imperial slave *oikonomos*.

Such local names of Zeus as Sarnendenos, Narenos and Akreinenos recorded from some of the villages in our survey area, and others in the neighbouring area of north-western Galatia, clearly bound together several communities within the same region, including those of the Choria Considiana and the estate owned by the Plancii (Mitchell 1993: 2.23–24). The epithets Akreinenos, Sarnendenos and Narenos are based on the toponyms Akreina, Sarnenda and Nara; the Greek suffix –ήνός generally refers to a place. The location of the first of these settlements is known only approximately. Although the sanctuaries of Sarnendenos, Akreinenos and Narenos were apparently located in our survey area, the location of only the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos is identified here.

In the absence of ancient literary and numismatic sources, epigraphic and archaeological data form the basis for information about these cults. It is hoped that the new material from our survey can help to localise the settlements and sanctuaries.

In the next part of the article, a catalogue of the new inscriptions is presented. This is followed by a section of analysis. It considers the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos and the new votive offerings to Zeus Akreinenos alongside other evidence for the cult of Zeus in Phrygia and neighbouring regions. This section also compares the location and structure of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos to similar sanctuaries. It then moves on to the cults of Zeus Sarnendenos, Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Narenos, and discusses the possible locations of the related sanctuaries and settlements. Finally, it considers the distribution of these cults beyond Asia Minor.

Catalogue

H = height; W = width; T = thickness; L = letter size.

The sanctuary and cult of Zeus Sarnendenos

No. 1 (figs 3–5)

Inv. no. 42; H-W: 0.26m × 0.45m; L: 0.035m; findspot: in the basement wall of İmamlar mosque in the village of Gürleyik.



Fig. 3. Inscription found in Gürleyik (no. 1).



Fig. 4. Inscription found in Gürleyik (no. 1).



Fig. 5. Inscription found in Gürleyik (no. 1).

Text

[ὁ δεῖνα Σ]ωκράτου ἱερε[ῦς -]
 2 [καὶ Ἀλ]έξανδρος υ[ἰὸς αὐτοῦ]
 [ἐποίησα]ν τὸν ναόν, ἐ[πεμελο]-
 4 [ῦντο Ἀσκλη]πιὸς εἰαιρεῦ[ς - -]
 [- - οἱ π]απποι μου [-]
 6 [- - - - - - - - - - -]

Translation. (So and so) son of Socrates the priest and Alexandros his son built the temple; Asklepios the priest ... my grandfathers ... had oversight(?).

Description. White marble bearing a fragment of inscription, broken above, right and left.

Commentary. The survey team found this fragment as spolia in the village mosque of Gürleyik. The fragment is a badly damaged portion of a large inscription that was found in situ in the sanctuary (see no. 2). This large inscription seemingly records the foundation and contribution list of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos. Here, one can read only that a son of Sokrates and his son Alexandros built or repaired a temple.

No. 2 (fig. 6)

Inv. no. 52; H-W: 0.75m × 0.38m; L: 0.03m; findspot: at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, Kızıltepe.

Text

[Διὶ Σαρν]ενδηνῶ εὐχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος
 2 [ἱερεὺς καὶ] Δαδα γυνὴ ἱέρισσα καὶ Ἀ[π]-
 [πας - - -] ταῦτα ἀγάλματα [ἀνέ]-
 4 [στησαν ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων· Αὐρ. Α[-]
 [- - - Σαρν]ενδηνοῦ ἐπὶ Οἰππ [-]

Translation. A vow to Zeus Sarnendenos: Alexandros (the priest) and Dada, his wife, a priestess, erected these statues from their resources. Aurelius A ...(?) of Sarnenda had oversight(?).

Description. White marble bearing fragment of inscription, broken below right and left.

Commentary. This fragment (along with no. 1) is a portion of a large inscription. It is the only inscription attested at the sanctuary site. The style of the letters and the context are the same as those of the previous inscription (no. 1). During the survey, the villagers spoke about a marble wall encircling this site that included inscriptions on the surface. Unfortunately, this wall, which was possibly a temenos wall, no longer exists. This large inscription, perhaps inscribed on the temenos wall, records who built and contributed to the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos. The

name Alexandros here and in no. 1 apparently refers to the same individual. As recoded in the first inscription, Alexandros and his father seem to have built the temple, and later he and his wife, Dada, assumed the duty of erecting statues for Zeus Sarnendenos.

The letter shapes could belong to the late second century AD, but the name Aurelius suggests a date after AD 212. Dada is a common local name attested in the region (*RECAM* 2.23, 29, 33; *LGPN* 5c.104; Zgusta 1964: 139, no. 244-1). The epithet Sarnendenos is related to the toponym Sarnenda, as the Greek suffix *-ηνός* generally refers to a place, for example Cyzikenos. Also, line 5 refers to a certain person (Aurelius) from Sarnenda (*Σαρπενδηνοῦ*).

The cult of Zeus Sarnendenos is also recorded a few kilometres away from Gürleyik in Emremsultan (in Nallıhan: Marek 2000: 131–32), and also in the villages of İkizafer (*RECAM* 2.76), Ağaç Hisar (in Alpu: Riel 1994: 157–74, no. 23) and Beyayla (in Sarıcakaya county of Eskişehir province: *IK* 10.1.1128). The origin of the cult was Galatia, but it is attested in Dacia too (*CIL* 3.7762; Ruscu 2003: 14–15 no. 5, 22–23 no. 16; Russu et al. 1984: 391, no. 400; Nemeti 2008: 179–80; Avram 2016: 74–78; Piso 2018: 50, 52). According to Louis Robert, the cults of Zeus Bussurigijs, Zeus Narenos and Zeus Tavianos were taken by emigrants from Galatia to Dacia (Robert 1963: 124; 1980: 222; see discussion in Daicoviciu 1937–1940: 201–303 nos 2, 4; Petolescu 1978: 213–18). There is an inference that the same may have been the case with the cult of Zeus Sarnendenos.

No. 3 (fig. 7)

Inv. no. 24; H-W: 0.70m × 0.25m; T: 0.25m; L: 0.015m and 0.03m; findspot: in the courtyard of a house in Gürleyik village.

Text

- Δημήτριος
- 2 Ἀντιπάτρου κὲ
- Ἀντίπατρος Δη-
- 4 μητρίου Δι Σαρ-
- πενδηνοῦ
- 6 εὐχὴν leaf

Translation. Demetrios son of Antipatros and Antipatros son of Demetrios performed a vow for Zeus Sarnendenos.

Description. Rectangular crystallised limestone bomos with mouldings at top and bottom. The inscription ends with a leaf decoration.

Commentary. Ligatures can be found between kappa and epsilon in line 2, and also between delta and eta in line 3. The names Antipatros and Demetrios are not very distinc-



Fig. 6. Inscription found at Kızıltepe (no. 2).



Fig. 7. A vow to Zeus Sarnendenos found in Gürleyik (no. 3).

tive, but they are typical of Macedonian settlers from the Hellenistic period, and it is very likely that Macedonian colonists came to this region – as to other parts of Phrygia – in the late fourth century BC and settled (for Graeco-Macedonian settlers in central and northern Phrygia, see Cohen 1995: 295–99; Thonemann 2013: 17). The names Demetrios and Antipatros are often found in Galatia and Phrygia (Demetrios: *LGPN* 5c.110–12; Antipatros: *LGPN* 5c.35). The inscription for Zeus Sarnendenos found in Dacia (noted above) was made by Rufus (Rouphos) son

of Antipatros; that is, the same name as that attested here in Gürleyik (*CIL* 3.7762; Ruscu 2003: 14–15 no. 5, 22–23 no. 16). The names do not necessarily refer to the same family.

The testimony of votive inscriptions found in Dacia does show, however, that the cult of Zeus Sarnendenos had a wide range of dissemination beyond Asia Minor. Thus, those who made dedications to the same god in quarry areas of Dacia probably came from the quarryman/stonemason community that was identified during our survey in 2014 in the Çalçak Roman necropolis, which is located near a limestone quarry in the Choria Considiana (Güney 2016a; 2018c).

Votive inscriptions to Zeus Akreinenos

No. 4 (figs 8–11)

Inv. no. 32; H-W: 0.225m × 0.70m; T: 0.21m; L: 0.025m; findspot: in the courtyard of a house in Kozlu village.

Text

- Δι̅ Ἀκρε-
 2 ινηῶ
 Βραννος
 4 Μηῶ *leaf* καὶ Β-
 ερονείκη
 6 εὐχήν

Translation. Brannos son of Menas and Beroneike performed a vow for Zeus Akreinenos.

Description. Rectangular white marble bomos with mouldings and a hollow for libations on top; an ox's head in relief at the top and behind; leaf decoration in the middle.

Commentary. The Galatian name Brannos is attested in a nearby village (Çalçı near Kozlu; Erten forthcoming). Also – in the form Brennos – the name has been found in Tyriaion in Phrygia (*LGPN* 5c.90; Jonnes, Riel 1997: 12). Berenike is the name of the wife of King Deiotarus I (ca 120–41/40 BC; Coşkun 2006: 6). This name was frequent among Hellenistic queens and is attested in Phrygia and Galatia in forms similar to Beroneike here (*RECAM* 2.128, 166, 188; *LGPN* 5c.88; Coşkun 2006: 6–7). Menas is another common name that occurs frequently in Phrygia and Galatia (*LGPN* 5c.286–87).

Zeus Akreinenos is attested in İközler and Mihaliççık; the epithet refers to the ancient site of Akreina (*RECAM* 2.75; Riel 1994: 157–74, nos 6–7). The frontal depiction of oxen is frequently seen on votive inscriptions to Zeus in Phrygia, as in this inscription (Drew-Bear et al. 1999: 47–48; Akyürek-Şahin 2006: nos 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 17, 23, 65, 108, 117, 122, 153).



Fig. 8. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 4).

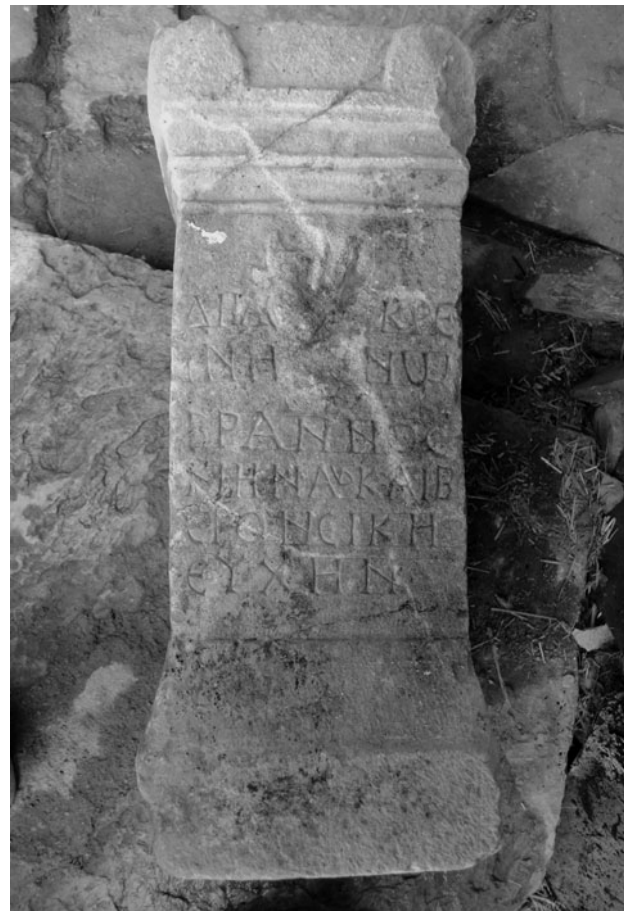


Fig. 9. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 4).



Fig. 10. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 4).

Description. Rectangular white marble bomos, broken at top, with plain mouldings; two ox-head reliefs encircled by a garland below the inscription.

Commentary. A ligature can be found between nu and eta in line 3. The restoration of oxen, βο] ὄν, in the inscription is suitable in terms of pictorial and grammatical considerations. A similar dedication to Zeus can be found in Kızılbörukü village, also in the survey area (βοιδίων: RECAM 2.61). See commentary for no. 4.

No. 6 (figs 14–15)

Inv. no. 34; H-W: 0.18m × 0.60m; T: 0.14m; L: 0.025m; findspot: in the wall of a house in Kozlu village.

Text

[X]άρων καὶ
 2 [A]λέξανδ-
 ρος Ἐπιν-
 4 εἴκου Δεῖ
 Ἀκρεινην-
 6 ῶ εὐχὴν



Fig. 11. Detail of top of no. 4.



Fig. 12. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 5).

No. 5 (figs 12–13)

Inv. no. 33; H-W: 0.45m × 0.65m; T: 0.32m; L: 0.02m; findspot: in the wall of a house in Kozlu village.

Text

[ὁ δεῖνα ὑπὲρ βο]-
 2 ὄν σωτηρίας Δι Ἀ-
 κρεινηνῶ εὐχὴν

Translation. (So and so) for the safety (of his oxen?) performed a vow to Zeus Akreinenos.



Fig. 13. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 5).



Fig. 14. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 6).

to Zeus Narenos (*RECAM* 2.53), as well as in Aizanoi, Kotyaion, Dorylaion and Kibyra (*LGPN* 5c.139–40). See commentary for no. 4.

No. 7 (figs 16–18)

Inv. no. 35; H-W: 0.38m × 0.45m L: 0.04m; findspot: in the wall of a house in Kozlu village.

Text

Κο. [Μ]ού-
 2 κιος Φαβια-
 νός Γαλατι-
 4 κός Διὶ Ἄκρ[ε]-
 ἴνηνῶ εὐχή[ν]



Fig. 15. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 6).

Translation. Charon and Alexandros sons of Epineikos performed a vow for Zeus Akreinenos.

Description. Rectangular grey marble bomos with plain mouldings, broken above left; depiction of an ox's head below the inscription.

Commentary. Ligatures can be found between omega, nu and kappa in line 1, and between nu, eta and nu in line 5. The name Charon is also found in Oinoanda (*LGPN* 5c.449). The name Epineikos is attested as Epinikos in the village of Güce (in the same county) in a votive inscription



Fig. 16. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 7).

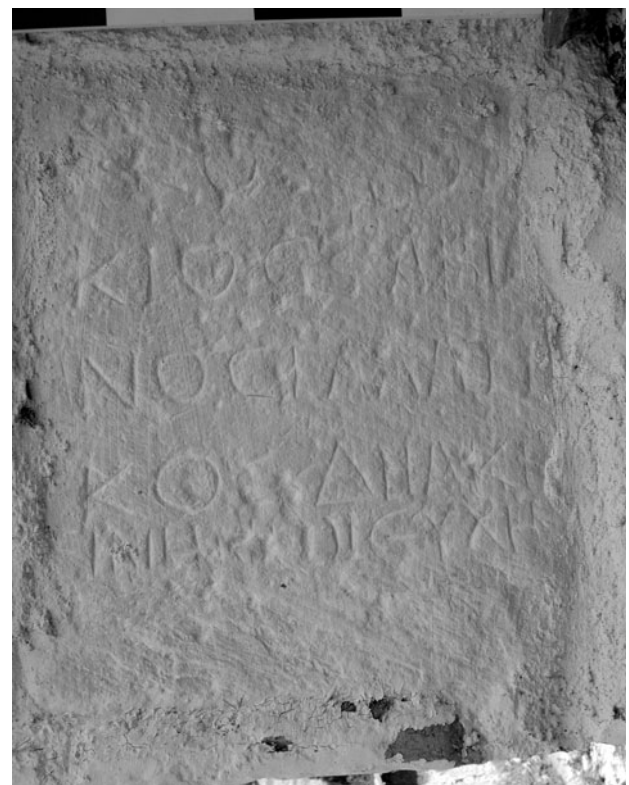


Fig. 17. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 7).



Fig. 18. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 7).

Translation. Quintus Mucius Fabianus Galaticus performed a vow for Zeus Akreinenos.

Description. Rectangular, possibly a marble bomos with votive inscription; placed in house wall and painted white.

Commentary. The expected reading of the second name is Mucius, since the succession of praenomen (Quintus), nomen gentile (Mucius) and several cognomina (here Fabianus Galaticus) is a very common phenomenon. Below the stone bearing the inscription is a clear depiction of an ox's head, which possibly belonged to the votive offering (see commentary for no. 4). The dedicator is a Roman citizen, and probably associated with the administration of one of the large estates of this region, attached to the property of the Plancii.

No. 8 (figs 19–20)

Inv. no. 39; H-W: 0.35m × 0.95m; T: 0.35m; L: 0.03m; findspot: in a private garden near the mosque in the village of Kozlu.

Text

[Διί] Ἀκρειν-
 2 [νηνῶ]]εὐχὴν
 [- -] ΟΤ
 4 [- -] Ν
 [- -] ΟΓΟ
 6 [- -] Ἄκρ-
 [εἰνηνοί ?]

Translation. A vow for Zeus Akreinenos. X + Y + Z, inhabitants of Akreina(?).

Description. Rectangular grey marble bomos.

Commentary. A slot has been cut down the centre of the stone when it was reused, perhaps to fit a wooden window frame. This has removed much of the inscription, which took the form of a vow followed by the names of the dedicators. The three letters that are readable in the last preserved line are probably part of the ethnic Akreinenos.



Fig. 19. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 8).



Fig. 20. A vow to Zeus Akreinenos found in Kozlu (no. 8).

Analysis

The inscriptions presented above were found in Kızıltepe and the villages of Gürleyik and Kozlu in the county of Mihaliççık (fig. 2). In what follows I will present my interpretation and analysis of this material.

When compared to the inscriptions found during survey in the same area in 2014 and 2015 (Güney 2016a: fig. 4), the inscriptions under consideration here are dateable to the mid-second and mid-third centuries AD (fig. 21). Very similar forms of the same letter appearing on different inscriptions (for example, ω Ω, Σ C, ε E) indicate that they all belong to more or less the same period, which extends over approximately 100 years (ca AD 150–250). All the letter forms occur in this quite short time frame, with the inclusion of the name Aurelius being an indicator of the end of the period (no. 2).

These inscriptions provide information about the cult of Zeus in northeastern Phrygia, including the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos. In view of the contents of the inscriptions, this section focuses on five themes: (1) the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, (2) a comparative analysis of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, (3) the distribution of the cults of Zeus Sarnendenos and Zeus Akreinenos, (4) the locations of Nara and Sarnenda and the sanctuaries of Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Narenos and (5) the cults of Zeus Sarnendenos, Akreinenos and Narenos beyond Asia Minor.

The sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos

Inscription no. 1 was identified in the village of Gürleyik in 2015. This fragmentary inscription was found as spolia in the lower part of the village (İmamlar) mosque (figs 3–5). It reveals the existence of a naos that was built or repaired by a priest and possibly a prominent local villager, whose name is unknown, and his son Alexandros, in the northern part of the Choria Considiana.

Some modern villagers reported to the survey team that they had found large marble blocks at a place they called Erenler’in Yeri (place of the saints), located some 10km from Gürleyik; this particular location is hidden from casual view. Such religious continuity in relation to ancient sacred places can be observed also at hilltop sanctuaries in Amaseia, Amisos and Sinope (Summerer 2014: 207–12). Erenler’in Yeri was found to correspond to Kızıltepe, the summit of mount Sündiken (Sündiken Dağları) at an elevation of 1,818m above sea level. Believing this to be the site of the temple, a detailed survey was conducted at Kızıltepe, which overlooks Gürleyik, in order to locate its exact location. When the area was examined, a stepped structure was observed. The villagers spoke of a marble wall encircling this site which included inscriptions on its surface. Unfortunately, this wall, which was possibly a temenos wall, no longer exists. However, the fragment of inscription (no. 2) that was found in the vicinity must have

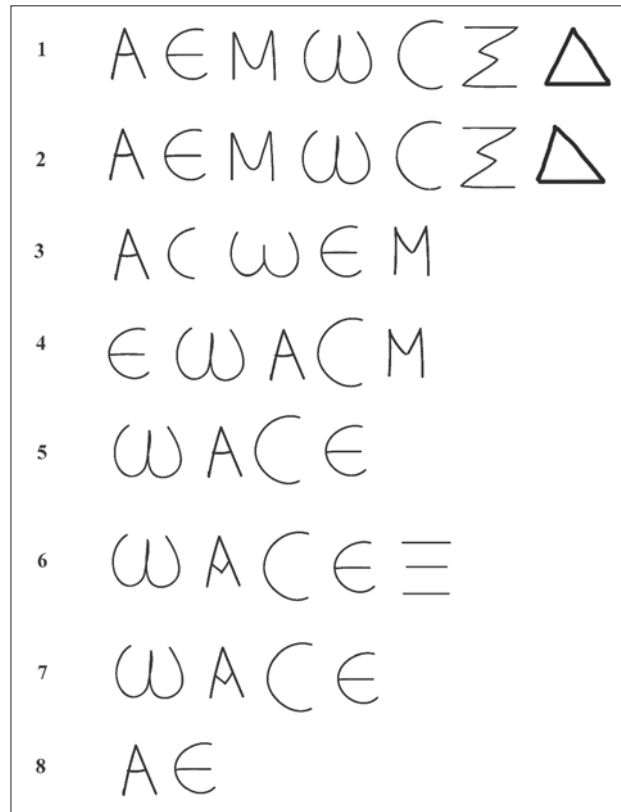


Fig. 21. Letter forms found on the inscriptions (by catalogue number).

been a part of the temenos wall. This fragment informs us that Alexandros, possibly the same Alexandros as that attested in the first inscription (no. 1), and his wife Dada, who was a priestess, erected statues to Zeus Sarnendenos.

Priest and priestess families were common in Phrygia. They were the heads of the senior cult personnel of village sanctuaries (RECAM 2.37; Mirbeau 1907: 77–78, no. II; Calice 1908: 199–200; Riel 1991: 10–11, no. 20; 2003: 81). Moreover, for the cult under consideration, the priesthood seems hereditary, as Alexandros apparently continued to serve as priest, after his father’s death (for hereditary priesthood in Lydia, see Riel 2003: 83–84). In addition, the letter forms on these two fragments (nos 1 and 2), which indicate a close family connection at the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, suggest that they were cut in the same period. All the letter forms are seen to be the same, apart from the letter delta, which shows slight variation (fig. 21). It is possible that the same stonecutter inscribed both of them, as these two fragments were portions of the same large inscription on the temenos wall. This inscribed wall carried the names of the people who built, repaired, served at and contributed to the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos over a period of time. Such practice, perhaps marking cult association in an organised form, is commonly observed in many sanctuaries of Asia Minor and elsewhere (Mitchell 2002; Riel 2003: 92–93; Wallner 2016).

Furthermore, the modern villagers also reported that they had brought many marble blocks from this forested area of Kızıltepe to build houses. Seven inscriptions and many architectural elements – such as columns, capital slabs, etc. – have been noted in Gürleyik, either used as spolia or lying scattered in the courtyards of houses and mosques. Indeed, one of these inscriptions bears a votive offering to Zeus Sarnendenos (no. 3).

The actual temple site, set within a rectangular modern enclosure, can be seen further uphill from the spot where inscription no. 2 was found (fig. 22). The statues mentioned in the inscription have not been located. However, a few broken columns and slabs, and possibly the base of one of the statues mentioned in the inscription have been identified (figs 23–25).

The sanctuary site, at the summit of mount Sündiken, of the major mountain range of the region, overlooks a vast territory including villages and the Sangarios river (now the site of the Saryar Dam). The ancient inhabitants of this region surely intentionally chose the highest point for the sanctuary location. Such sites were an important and influential element for worshippers (for locations with similar impact, see Summerer 2014: 207–13; Williamson 2014). Today, the site encompasses an area with pine, wild pear and hawthorn trees, along with a spring that runs down the hill. It is not known whether these features existed here in antiquity. Nonetheless, its dramatic location must have created an ideal spot for the festivals and ceremonies of the cult of Zeus Sarnendenos (fig. 26).

Comparative analysis of the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos
This section analyses the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos, comparing it with other sanctuaries of Zeus in neighbouring regions (Summerer 2014). Although inscription no. 1 mentions a temple, it has been concluded that the stepped structure identified during the survey (noted above) was in fact a monumental altar with temenos, rather than a temple.

One example that is comparable with the discovery at Kızıltepe is the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios located on a plateau (Büyük Evliya) about 10km east of Amaseia near the town of Ebimi, today Yassıçal. The structure here has been identified as a monumental altar dedicated to Zeus Stratios, rather than a temple complex (Williamson 2014: 177). That there was a monumental altar in the temenos of Zeus Stratios is confirmed by numismatic evidence (Marek 2003: 67, fig. 101).

Franz Cumont discovered this sanctuary in 1900, and he describes the hill as being encircled by a peribolos wall with a square feature at the centre (roughly 40m × 40m) (Cumont 1901: 47–57). He concludes that this religious structure was a monumental altar rather than a temple, and he considers it comparable to the Great Altar on the acropolis of Pergamon (Cumont 1901: 51). Assembly points were grouped around the altar; these were for each of the regions into which the territory of Amaseia was divided (French 1996: 83). The points were designated by inscribed markers and on one stone the stump of an iron post has survived in a slot (French 1996: 81).



Fig. 22. Rectangular enclosure at the sanctuary site, Kızıltepe.



Fig. 23. A broken statue base found in the rectangular enclosure at the sanctuary site, Kızıltepe.



Fig. 24. A column base found near the rectangular enclosure at the sanctuary site, Kızıltepe.



Fig. 25. Architectural blocks found in the rectangular enclosure at the sanctuary site, Kızıltepe.

The size of the Kızıltepe rectangular-plan enclosure does not seem to be comparable with that of the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, as it apparently did not exceed 10m × 4.60m (for comparison with northern Anatolian examples, see Summerer 2014); an archaeological excavation is needed to reveal the exact size and plan of the structure.

The existence of a recently abandoned marble quarry at Kızıltepe indicates the easy availability of marble for such a sanctuary. Nevertheless, an archaeometric analysis is needed in order to confirm which quarry of the region was exploited for the construction. The modern villagers told the survey team that there is another marble quarry in the village of Güney, a few kilometres from the site of the sanctuary. The local availability of marble was surely an important factor within the building programme, as well as in its use in funerary and votive contexts. The inhabitants of Phrygia notably took advantage of marble quarries in their region, as in Docimeum (Drew-Bear et al. 1999: 13–14; Masségliia 2013: 95–96). In contrast to most other regions of the Empire, the abundance of marble allowed people of even lower social strata to use it for funeral rites and dedications, and for other forms of expression (Masségliia 2013: 95–96). The same phenomenon occurs in relation to the cults of Zeus Thallos, Zeus Ampelites and Zeus Andreas near the town of Appia in northern Phrygia where there were smaller marble quarries (Drew-Bear et al. 1999: 13–14).

In terms of geographical location, an analogy can be made with the temple of Men Askaenos at Pisidian Antioch. The remains of a temple are located at the summit of Sultandağı at a height of between 2,200m and 2,340m; they too are hidden from casual view (Mitchell, Waelkens 1998; Mitchell 2002). A sacred enclosure, frequently with a stand of trees forming an *alsos*, was perhaps the normal rural pattern, as seen in the cases of the Phrygian cults of Zeus and Apollo Alsenos (Mitchell 1993: 2.16). Location within a sacred grove or *alsos* was also typical for sanctuaries (Drew-Bear, Naour 1990: 1915–39).

Sanctuaries of Zeus are frequently attested in Phrygia, and the god was worshipped with many different epithets in the region (for a list, see Riecl 2003: 78, n. 3). Another example comes from the sanctuary of Zeus located near Seyitgazi (Nakoleia) where Zeus Bronton and Limnenos were worshipped. Excavation conducted here by the Eskişehir Archaeology Museum in 1979 provided a sketch plan of the sanctuary site, with foundation blocks, as well as a necropolis and houses (Akyürek-Şahin 2006: 7; also see Akyürek-Şahin 2006 for the votive inscriptions from the sanctuary). It seems that village communities of the region visited the site and performed a vow to Zeus in order to ensure their own well-being and to protect their cattle and crops (Akyürek-Şahin 2006: 13–15).

As noted by Marijana Riecl, sanctuaries dominated the life of farming communities in Phrygia and Lydia, and many villages grew up around temples (Riecl 2003: 77). For these highly agrarian village communities, the safety of their community, livestock and harvest were essential (Riecl 2003: 78). This is reflected in the many votive inscriptions which have been found in Kozlu (no. 5; Riecl

2003: 78, n. 4). These communities comprised extended families, rather than nuclear families (Ricl 2003: 79), and, clearly, ceremonial assembly and solidarity in times of misfortune were important elements for ensuring the survival of these communities. Thus it is not surprising to see rather rare names of family members – such as *enater* (husband’s brother’s wife) and *daer* (husband’s brother) – and also reference to adopted children in the inscriptions, which demonstrate the strong ties within these large families (Mitchell 2014: 279; for examples from the survey area, see Güney 2016a: 134 no. 7, 136 no. 9).

The distribution of the cults of Zeus Sarnendenos and Zeus Akreinenos

Besides the examples from Gürleyik and the sanctuary site, votive inscriptions to Zeus Sarnendenos have emerged from Emremsultan, a few kilometres north of Gürleyik, and also from the nearby villages of Ağaç Hisar, İkizafer and Beyyayla in Sarıcakaya county, Eskişehir. The testimony of votive inscriptions therefore indicates the wide distribution of the cult in the region (İkizafer: *RECAM* 2.76; Emremsultan: Marek 2000: 131–32; Ağaç Hisar: Ricl 1994: 157–74, no. 23; Beyyayla: *IK* 10.1.1128). Sanctuaries usually served not just one village, but several in the same district. One such example is the sanctuary in the territory of Appia in the Upper Tembris valley, where dedications were made to Zeus Ampelites by individuals from villages throughout

the area, such as Aragua, Gordus, Mossyna, Passita, Trikomia and others (Robert 1983: 529–42; Mitchell 1993: 2.18). Another example of a village temple was that for Asclepius at a settlement in the territory of Amorium (Drew-Bear 1976: 257, no. 13). It is probable that this was the case for the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos as well.

A further votive inscription to the highest and greatest god has been found in the village of Hıdırlar in Nallıhan, approximately 25km from the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos. According to this inscription, Cattius Tergius offered an altar for the safety of himself, his children and his oxen (Marek 2000: 129–30). Only the attributes of the god (the best, the greatest, the one who listens to prayers/is willing to listen, saviour, most revered among the blessed and ruler of the world; θεός ἄριστος, μέγιστος/μέγ’ ἄριστος, ἐπήκοος/φιλήκοος, σωτήρ, μακάρων κύνδιστος and κοίρανος κόσμου) are mentioned in the inscription; the name was not inscribed. Christian Marek suggests that this god might also have been Zeus Sarnendenos (Marek 2000: 129–35). However, no dedication to Zeus Sarnendenos found so far indicates his attributes. Indeed, it is difficult to see from the votive inscriptions whether there was any specific reason for the worship of Zeus Sarnendenos. Nonetheless, given the prominent location of the sanctuary at the highest point in the region, the attributes listed in Cattius Tergius’ dedication could well be considered as appropriate for Zeus Sarnendenos.



Fig. 26. The view from the sanctuary site overlooking a valley of pine, hawthorn and wild pear trees, Kızıltepe; the Sarıyar Dam (the ancient Sangarios river) is to the left.

In terms of depictions on the votive inscriptions to Zeus Sarnendenos, the only repeated motifs are ox heads, bucrania (*RECAM* 2.76; Riehl 1994: 168, no. 23; Marek 2000: 132). Robert concludes that the ox heads on a series of small votive altars dedicated by Phrygian villagers at Metropolis represent oxen that the villagers had sacrificed (Robert 1980: 297). Thomas Drew-Bear and Christian Naour, however, point out that it is much more likely that they symbolise a prayer – that the gods protect the villagers' cattle (Drew-Bear, Naour 1990: 2006–08). The Phrygians esteemed oxen as their companions in labour. Indeed, Aelian reports that 'Among the Phrygians any man who kills a ploughing ox is punished with death' (Aelian *On Animals* 12.34). Therefore, the bucrania on such votive offerings are unlikely to symbolise the sacrifice of oxen.

The votive inscriptions to Zeus Sarnendenos include the names of the dedicators. Since these individuals generally have just a single name (rather than the Roman *tria nomina*), they were clearly local inhabitants without Roman citizenship. There is, however, one exception to this; an inscription found as spolia in the village of Beyyayla in Sarıcakaya county, Eskişehir, provides the name of L. Cl. Pacorianus Eupator – possibly an estate owner of the region of Iranian descent (*IK* 10.1.1128).

As for Zeus Akreinenos, only a few votive inscriptions are known for the cult (İkizafer: *RECAM* 2.75; Mihaliççık, now in the Eskişehir Archaeological Museum: Riehl 1994: 157–74, nos 6–7). Inscriptions 4–8 presented here provide more information about the cult of Zeus Akreinenos. Just like the dedications made to Zeus Sarnendenos, the votive offerings to Zeus Akreinenos bear ox heads, which, again, signify the request that the gods protect the cattle of the dedicators.

The locations of Nara and Sarnenda and the sanctuaries of Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Narenos

Zeus Sarnendenos, Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Narenos are all cults that originated in the survey area (Zeus Narenos in Beylikova: *RECAM* 2.11–12; Yarıkcı: *RECAM* 2.70; Yukarı Dudaş: *RECAM* 2.42; Güce: *RECAM* 2.53; Mihaliççık: *RECAM* 2.67; Güreş: *RECAM* 2.86). The epithets Akreinenos, Sarnendenos and Narenos are based on the toponyms of Akreina, Sarnenda and Nara. The location of the first of these only can be suggested with any confidence.

As the inscription to Zeus Sarnendeos was found in situ at the sanctuary site at Kızıltepe, Sarnenda would presumably have been located close to the nearby village of Gürleyik. There is no further evidence to support a suggestion for the location of Sarnenda.

Dedications to Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Sarnendenos were found as spolia in the village of İkizafer by John Anderson in the late 19th century (*RECAM* 2.75–76). He

identified İkizafer as the location of Akreina based on the traces of an ancient settlement he observed near the village (Anderson 1899: 73–74; Belke 1984: 175–76). However, there is no epigraphic evidence to support this claim. In the course of the current survey, five inscriptions to Zeus Akreinenos have been discovered as spolia in the village of Kozlu, which is 2km from İkizafer. Locals told me that these votive inscriptions came from an area called Öreniçi, which is located 750m to the south and southwest of the village. Architectural blocks, pottery and tile fragments are still present there. Thus, it is possible that the sanctuary of Zeus Akreinenos was located in Öreniçi near Kozlu (see fig. 2).

As for Nara and the sanctuary of Zeus Narenos, the identification of their locations is more challenging. There are, however, some clues that allow general suggestions to be made. The inscriptions to Zeus Narenos have so far been found mostly in the vicinity of the county of Beylikova (Beylikova: *RECAM* 2.11–12; Yarıkcı: *RECAM* 2.70; Yukarı Dudaş: *RECAM* 2.42; Güce: *RECAM* 2.53; Mihaliççık: *RECAM* 2.67; Güreş: *RECAM* 2.86). Two more votive inscriptions to Zeus Narenos have been located in Bozan, a town about 30km from the other findspots centred on Beylikova; these were unearthed during illegal excavations (Akyürek-Şahin, Uzunoğlu forthcoming). The find area was recorded as a Roman and Byzantine settlement by the Eskişehir Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage in 2012 (<http://www.eskisehir.kulturenvanteri.gov.tr/sitdetay.aspx?ID=100>). Votive offerings to Zeus Narenos were found together with panels from a church as well as pottery. There is one Phrygian grave stele which was reused in the church. Perhaps the dedications to Zeus Narenos were also reused here. Without a detailed examination of the site, it is difficult to reach a firm conclusion. Nonetheless, these new discoveries indicate that the sanctuary of Zeus Narenos may have been located in the vicinity of Bozan. Therefore, the settlement of Nara might also be located in this area. It is hoped that future surveys, which are planned to focus around Bozan, will produce new evidence and help shed light on this issue.

The cults of Zeus Sarnendenos, Akreinenos and Narenos beyond Asia Minor

The cult of Zeus Sarnendenos is attested far from Asia Minor, in the mining areas of Alburnus Maior and Apulum, a garrison town, in Dacia (*CIL* 3.7762; Russu et al. 1984: 391 no. 400; Ruscu 2003: 14–15 no. 5, 22–23 no. 16; Nemeti 2008: 179–80; Avram 2016: 74–78; Piso 2018: 50, 52). The most prominent gold mines of the region were located at Ampelum (Zlatna) and the administrative centres of the territory were Alburnus Maior (Roşi Montana) and Brucla (Aiud) (Găzdac 2010: 60–61). Moreover, the cults of Zeus Narenos and Heptakomeitōn,

which originated from the area of our survey, are also attested in the same Dacian mining area (*RECAM* 2.11; Russu et al. 1984: 400 no. 409, 390–91 nos 398–99; Russu 1988: 44, no. 41; see the discussions in Daicoviciu 1937–1940: 201–303, nos 2, 4; Petolescu 1978: 213–18; Piso 2018: 50, 52; Stephen Mitchell emends the reading Zeus Sittakomikos to Zeus Heptakomeitôn in a votive inscription found in Dacia: Mitchell 2017: 15–21).

As noted above, the survey undertaken in 2014 revealed a previously unknown quarryman/stonemason community recorded in the Çalçak Roman necropolis located near a limestone quarry in the Choria Considiana and three other marble quarries (Güney 2016a; 2018c). The funerary monuments also indicate the existence of a particular type of stele produced by a local workshop. Those who made dedications to the same god in the quarry areas of Dacia were probably from similar quarryman/stonemason communities.

Dacian votive inscriptions to Zeus Sarnendenos and Zeus Narenos record that offerings were made by a *collegium* of Galatians (Noeske 1977; Russu et al. 1984: 390 no. 398, 391 no. 400). In contrast to the examples found in Asia Minor, however, the Dacian offerings do not bear ox heads. This is understandable, though, considering that the dedicators' occupations were not related to agriculture and animal husbandry, as was the case in Galatia and Phrygia.

It is striking that the cults of Zeus Narenos, Sarnendenos and Heptakomeitôn are found in Dacia but no dedication to Zeus Akreinenos is so far attested beyond Asia Minor. The individuals who worshipped Zeus Sarnendenos, Narenos and Heptakomeitôn, and who originated from the Choria Considiana, seem to have shown a common interest in working in Dacia. This suggests that the sanctuary of Zeus Narenos might be located in the territory of the Choria Considiana rather than on the Plancian estate.

Mitchell notes another cult of Zeus Erusenos/Jupiter Erusenus which originated in Galatia and is also attested in Dacia (Mitchell 2017: 15–21). He concludes that the people who performed a vow to Jupiter Erusenus in Dacia were part of a community that migrated from Galatia under Trajan (Mitchell 2017: 15–21). This clearly points to Galatian communities working in the mines of Dacia. The rich natural resources, including gold and marble, of this new territory could only be exploited by a labour force skilled in stone and marble working. The migration probably took place as a consequence of the conquest of this territory under Trajan (Schäfer 2004: 179–80). The complete destruction of the Dacian Wars made the construction of Roman structures on indigenous foundations impossible (Piso 2018: 37). However, such structures were essential for the supply of a large army and the

efficient organisation of the province. Thus the Romans brought in people from other areas of the Empire in order to colonise Dacia. Eutropius notes that 'after he [Trajan] had subdued Dacia, he transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus' (Eutropius 8.6.2). Many colonists came to Dacia during the early years of the province as well as during the first half of the third century (Piso 2018: 37).

Thus, the economic relationship between the two areas will have been motivated by (1) the rich natural resources of Dacia (gold, salt and marble) and (2) the desire for Roman urbanisation of the newly conquered land, a process which, to a certain extent, depended on these natural resources. It is possible that emigrant settlers from our survey area, especially from the Choria Considiana, and Galatia, exported their cults to Dacia. Not very far from the survey area (about 140km), a votive inscription to Zeus Bronton found in the territory of Dorylaion reveals an individual from Phrygia who lived in Dacia and Alexandria before returning to his home town (Riel 1994: 161–62 no. 8; Avram 2016: 77). During the colonisation of Dacia, there were two groups of colonists who came by means of private or official initiative (Byros 2011: 6–10). Epigraphic evidence indicates that Galatians came to Dacia under a private initiative. The currently available evidence indicates that these immigrants formed a group identity and network in which they spoke the same language and shared the same cultural values (Schäfer 2004: 188). To strengthen group solidarity, the immigrants organised under a *collegium* and made regular sacrifices to their patron deity (Rives 2001: 132).

Ioan Piso has recently presented 66 attestations, including cults and names, found in Dacia and related to Asia Minor (Piso 2018: 50–55). It seems that, along with the cults of Zeus Sarnendenos and Narenos, other cults of Zeus too, with epithets such as Tavianos, Bussurigiuis and Bussumarios, also originating from Galatia, had a wide range of dissemination beyond Asia Minor (Iuppiter Cernenus found in Alburnus Maior was perhaps associated with the cult of Zeus Sarnendenos in Latin form: Piso 2018: 42–43). They were also found in the same mining areas of Apulum and Alburnus Maior in Dacia (Piso 2001: nos 39, 113, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 227, 228; also 2018: 50–55). There was a *collegium aurariorum* that made a dedication to Zeus Tavianos in Apulum (*CIL* 3.1088). These people were involved in the gold business (Noeske 1977). This is not a surprising occupation for them, considering the existence of metalworking in Tavium (bronze statue of Zeus in Tavium: Strabo 12.5). According to the law, the procurator at the mine demanded from the tenants half of the mined ore and purchased the remaining half

(Piso 2018: 47). Therefore the miners had a certain amount of gold to sell, which apparently attracted people from Asia Minor to Alburnus Maior (Piso 2018: 47). It should be noted that many Illyrians came to Dacia from the Dalmatian-Pannonian area and worked as miners (91 Illyrians out of 177 in Alburnus Maior: Piso 2004: 273). Another Latin inscription found in Napoca (Dacia, in modern-day Transylvania, Romania) is a dedication to Zeus Tavianos and shows the existence of a group called *Galatae consistentes* (CIL 3.860). Latin inscriptions found in Germisara (Dacia, in today's Hunedoara region of Romania) evidence other Galatian communities who were organised under a *collegium* and made dedications to Jupiter and Hercules Invictus (CIL 3.1394; Russu et al. 1984: 232–33, nos 234–35). Galatians are also attested in Nerezi in the region of Kumanovo in Macedonia (Dragojevic-Josifovska 1982: 154 no. 187). Therefore, it can be suggested that some migrants from our survey area worked as miners in gold mines along with the *collegium aurariorum* who performed a vow to Zeus Tavianos.

Dacia was also very rich in salt mines and stone and marble quarries. The largest of the latter used in the Roman period is the quarry at Bucova, a kilometre from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and a major marble supplier for this city (Găzdac 2010: 60–61). This quarry is not particularly far from Apulum and Alburnus Maior, where votive inscriptions to Zeus have been found. Besides those that originated from our survey area, other cults attested in Alburnus Maior and Apulum (Petolescu 1978: 216 nos 16, 19, 218 no. 37; Ruscu 2003: no. 12) are Zeus Kimistenes, originating from Kimistene in the territory of Hadrianopolis (Laflı et al. 2012: 16–19), and Zeus Syrgastes, possibly originally located in the territory of Tium in Paphlagonia (Avram 2016: 73). Moreover, ancient quarries have been discovered in the territory of Hadrianopolis, also in Paphlagonia (Laflı et al. 2012: 1, 16, 19). Thus the existence of a *collegium Ponto-Bithynorum* in Apulum whose members built a temple entrance with a door is significant (CIL 3.1217). Another source of income in the region encompassing Tium and Hadrianopolis, and also Amastris, was woodworking, thanks to the existence of wooded areas with a range of tree species (Pliny the Elder 6.2.6; Robert 1980: 24; Hannestad 2007: 86; Johnson 2010). Among the attestations, a *collegium dendrofororum* in Apulum is remarkable (Petolescu 1978: 214). This *collegium* consisted of worshippers of Cybele (Piso 2018: 39). Finally, *hoi pristai*, who were stone or wood cutters in Apulum made a dedication to Athena (CIL 3.7766 a).

All this evidence indicates connections between migrants and their occupations in Apulum. However, more direct evidence is needed to prove the aforementioned connection between migrants from Paphlagonia and Galatia.

It is worth asking whether there is archaeological evidence indicating that the ancient quarries of Dacia were exploited by quarrymen/stonemasons from Galatia, Phrygia and Paphlagonia. According to archaeometric research conducted in Dacia, exploitation of the Bucova quarry started shortly after the foundation of the province under Trajan. Based on the evidence of the pedestal bases from the forum at Sarmizegetusa and the statue of the emperor Septimius Severus, it does indeed seem to be the case that artisans and sculptors from Asia Minor were recruited for this quarry (Müller et al. 1999: 131–40). Along with skilled workers, marble from Marmara, Uşak and Afyon has also been found in Dacia (Müller et al. 1999: 139). In Apulum, four sculptural works imported from Docimeum (Iscehisar in Afyonkarahisar) have been discovered (Müller et al. 2013: 40, tab. 9, 209–14). More importantly, Carmen Ciongradi's examination of the funerary monuments of Dacia shows a change in the decoration of profiled stelae with triangular pediments during the second century (Ciongradi 2004: 171). Decoration with tympanum and acroteria replaces that of creeping grapevines, acanthus leaves, rosettes and circular ornaments. Since the same type of stelae is found in Asia Minor, Ciongradi interprets this as an example of serial production from a local workshop run by an artisan possibly from Asia Minor (Ciongradi 2004: 171; 2007). Similar stelae can be found in Galatia and Paphlagonia (Laflı et al. 2012: 20–21, 66; Güney 2016a). Stylistic and chronological analyses are required to confirm Ciongradi's hypothesis; this will be the topic of a future article.

A contribution to stonemasonry is very evident in the case of Nicomedia and the Bithynians. Among many other Bithynians (CIL 3.1324; Petolescu 1978: 214), the presence of Nicomedian marble workers, sculptors and traders, who are attested in funerary inscriptions in Dacia, demonstrates an ongoing relationship between Dacia and Asia Minor (sculptors at Nicopolis ad Istrum: *IGBulg* 674; at Tirguşor near Constanza: *CIMRM* 2306–07; shipowners at Tomi: *CIL* 7532; traders at Tomi: Robert 1978: 424). As noted by J.B. Ward-Perkins, not only the Asiatic style but also marble from Asia Minor is attested in the Balkan provinces, and at this period Nicomedia was the main source of supply for marble (Ward-Perkins 1992: 27, 40–41). According to Maria Alexandrescu-Vianu's stylistic analysis, the resemblance of funerary styles from Odessos, Bithynia, Messambria and Tomis, of a flourishing period, demonstrates both a *koiné* of Bithynian-Moesian funerary art and the strong influence of Bithynian craftsmen (Alexandrescu-Vianu 2008–2009: 73). Furthermore, Alexander Minchev presents several unfinished Roman-period marble artefacts from Odessos and Marcianopolis that had been imported from Proconnesus, where an association of Bithynian marble workers was active (Minchev 2012: 49–60).

Conclusion

This article presents new evidence for the sanctuary of Zeus Sarnendenos and the cults of Zeus Akreinenos and Zeus Narenos in the province of Galatia.

Furthermore, it can be noted that, *naoi*, which were relatively rare constructions in rural areas, reveal instances of patronage or interest of city dwellers or men of substance, such as the freedmen who administered imperial and private estates (Mitchell 1993: 2.16, nn. 46–47). According to inscriptions found during the course of the survey and in Beylikova, there were *naoi*, normally a built temple not an open sanctuary, in the Choria Considiana where some wealthy individuals were involved in running this extensive imperial estate. The ‘temple’ of Zeus Sarnendenos, however, actually appears to have been a monumental altar with temenos. It contradicts the usual structure of a *naos*, as it has been understood. Nevertheless, excavation is required to reveal the full plan of the structure.

Second, the Choria Considiana estate was run by an imperial slave *oikonomos* (Mitchell 1993: 1.158, 162–64); there were other imperial estates in Phrygia whose arable land was farmed by *coloni Caesaris* who were non-slave, rent-paying tenant farmers. For example, Tymion and Simoe were such settlements located on an imperial estate (Tabbernee, Lampe: 2008, 68). The *oikonomos* who is mentioned in the inscription found at Yukarı İğde Ağaç apparently took the initiative to boost the local reputation and identity on behalf of the community (*RECAM* 2.34). Building a *naos*, as it is referred to in the inscriptions, reflected the wealth and prestige of the community within the Choria Considiana.

Finally, the increasing number of studies over the course of the last two decades have shown that people from Asia Minor moved to the Balkans for two main reasons: military and economic. This movement is evident in coin circulation as well as the epigraphic record, as presented in this study (Găzduc 2010; Güney 2016b; Vojvoda-Branković 2016). This article contributes to our knowledge of migration from Galatia to Dacia and of the emigrant communities, whose reasons for moving were linked to economic activities. The foundation of new provinces in the Balkans under the Principate facilitated economic connections between previously established

neighbouring provinces with Greek infrastructure in Asia Minor and the Balkans. The economic relationship between the two areas was motivated by (1) rich natural resources and (2) the desire for Roman urbanisation of newly conquered lands, a process which, to a certain extent, depended on these natural resources. The records of the movement of people via official or private initiative are especially marked by the attestation of Galatians, Paphlagonians and Bithynians in the Balkan provinces. These people, as traders, quarrymen, stonemasons, sculptors, architects and soldiers, served and contributed to the development of the provinces in the Balkans.

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Abbreviations

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