Late Antique and Early Byzantine Era Inscriptions at Assos

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Located in the southern Troad, Assos was founded on a slope overlooking the island of Lesbos. As one of the most opulent ancient cities of Asia Minor, Assos attracted the attention of numerous western travelers and researchers from the late 18th century onwards.\(^1\) To Assos went the first expedition of the Archaeological Institute of America when J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon and R. Koldewey undertook an investigation of the site from 1881 to 1883.\(^2\) After the American excavations at Assos concluded, it would be a hundred years before archaeologists started work at this significant site again. In 1981, a new archaeological dig was initiated at Assos by a team led by Ü. Serdaroglu, who carried out excavations in various parts of the site, until he unexpectedly passed away in 2005. Assisted by a German team from 1989 to 1994 Serdaroglu mainly concentrated on the western necropolis. The third term of excavations at Assos began under the direction of N. Arslan in 2006 and is ongoing.\(^3\)

\(^1\) For western travelers who visited Assos, see Clarke, Bacon, Koldewey 1902, 3-4. For a brief excavation history of Assos, see Arslan, Böhlendorf-Arslan 2010, 50-53; Arslan 2010, 114-117.

\(^2\) All the epigraphic documentation of the city discovered during this three-year period was published in a paper titled *Inscriptions of Assos* by J. R. S. Sterrett in the first volume of Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1885. After the first publication, for practical reasons (*praktischen Gründen*) as stressed in the preface of his work, R. Merkelbach found it necessary to prepare a new epigraphic corpus of Assos, which was published in the fourth volume of the series *Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, L’Assos: Merkelbach, R. (ed.), Die Inschriften von Assos (IGSK 4)*, Bonn 1976. Mostly based on Sterrett’s edition, the corpus includes 74 inscriptions with the addition of a few unpublished inscriptions from the site.

I would like to thank Nurettin Arslan for giving me permission to publish these inscriptions. My thanks also go to two anonymous reviewers for their critical corrections and additions to the paper, as well as Elias Sverkos and Christina Kokkinia for their valuable comments on the manuscript of this paper.

\(^3\) In the third excavation phase, the investigations at Assos from 2010 to 2016 were carried out in cooperation with Turkish and German archaeologists. The results
this period of systematic excavations over more than thirty years, the archaeological fieldwork undertaken at several locations in the city have unearthed a series of new inscriptions along with other new finds. Some of these epigraphic finds appeared in the series *Asia Minor Studien*, including those from the excavations between 1989 and 1994.\(^4\) As a result of short-term surveys and excavations carried out in and around the site since 2006, several new inscriptions of various types (mostly funerary) dating from the Late Archaic period to the Early Byzantine period have been discovered.\(^5\) In addition, several published and unpublished inscriptions have been also identified in different parts of the city during surface investigations. This paper presents eleven of these inscriptions from the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods.

1. Acclamation of the Lord/Emmanouel
A rectangular architrave block bearing four *regulae* with *guttae* used as a window lintel in the 14th-century mosque on the acropolis of Assos.\(^6\) A six-pointed star (hexagram) divides the inscription into two parts.\(^7\) It is formed of two equilateral triangles enclosed in a circle. The hexagonal shape inside the star is subdivided by intersecting lines. Due to the texture of the stone and the angle of light illuminating it, the inscription is barely legible. The length of the block is 1.825 m, its height is 0.31 m and its depth is 0.33 m. The height of the letters varies between 0.06 m and 0.065 m. Date: Early Byzantine period (fig. 1).

were published in an edited book in the series of *Asia Minor Studien*, see Arslan, Mohr, Rheidt 2016.

4. Abmeier 1990 (*SEG* 40, 1112); Zelle 1990, 124 (*SEG* 40, 1113); Stupperich 1992, 8 and plate 6, 3; Stupperich 1993, 3, 18, 26 (*SEG* 43, 875); Kramer 1993 (*SEG* 43, 876); Kramer 2006 (*SEG* 56, 1361-1383). See also Cankardas-Şenol 2007 (*SEG* 57, 1252-1262) and Freydank 2010, 295-305, who also lists several inscriptions discovered at the western necropolis in Assos.

5. Recent papers which include epigraphic finds from Assos are as follows: Özhan 2011 (*SEG* 61, 1005-1006); Arslan, Özhan 2013 (*SEG* 63, 1010-1012); Özhan 2015 (*BE* 2016, 411); Özhan 2017.

6. Note that on the same face of the mosque there are other architectural elements of the Doric order, such as triglyphs and metopes, used as spolia in the construction of the mosque. Besides these, a fragment of a templon architrave made of white marble can also be seen in the wall.

7. On the hexagram symbol in Byzantine art, see Meinardus 1976.
Ἐμμα hexagram νουήλ

Translation: «Emmanouel»

This rectangular architrave block, which would originally have belonged to a building of the Doric order appears to have been repurposed as a door lintel in a building of the Early Byzantine period, after the inscription was carved and the hexagram was carved on it. It is not surprising to encounter the inscription Ἐμμανουήλ on a lintel, though it more commonly appears in phrase form, such as Ἐμμανουήλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, a quotation from Matthew 1.23, in which Jesus is called Emmanouel, meaning “God is with us”. The acclamation of the the Lord/Emmanouel on the lintel at Assos should have served as apotropaic, that is to say, it was used to ward off evil from the building. It is highly probable that this inscribed lintel had belonged to a private house in Assos.

Recent excavations at the lower agora inside the city unearthed the remnants of several buildings dated to the Early Byzantine period, to which this lintel may have belonged, such as the so-called “Episcopal presence-chamber” and the “Byzantine Building Complex”, where one of the door lintels bears an XP Christogram.

2. Chrysogonos

This inscription was found on the bedrock of the northeastern slope of the Acropolis, which was used as a quarry, as chisel traces on the bedrock indicate.

8. Cf. Feissel, Recueil 274, who lists other epigraphic attestations of the Emmanouel acclamation found on lintels from Asia Minor and Syria.

9. Cf. e.g. Ruggieri 2003, 298, 301; SEG 50, 1509; SEG 52, 1698-1703 (1703). For the function of this kind of inscriptions, including the names of God or Christ on lintels, doors or windows, see also Prentice 1906, 138. The apotropaic function of the inscription raises the question whether the hexagram accompanying the Emmanouel inscription is just a simple ornamentation or an apotropaion. Prentice (1906, 138-139) considers the possibility that some of the “disks” filled with five, six or eight-pointed stars on lintels from Syria, which appear with Christograms, the name of the God or Christ etc. may have had a protection power against evil. For the talismanic power of the hexagram symbol in the Jewish culture, see Meinardus 1976, 100, referring to E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World, I, 68 (non vidi).


11. On these structures in the lower agora, see Arslan, Böhler-Arslan, Bakan 2018, 394-395 with references to earlier excavation reports.
It is in two lines and the initial two letters are underlined. A long cross is engraved on the right-hand side of the inscription. The height of the letters varies from 0.07 m to 0.135 m. Date: 4th century AD or later (cross symbol) (fig. 2).

Χρυσόγονος

App. cr.: Chi and rho are underlined.

Translation: “Chrysogonos”

Taking into consideration the place where the inscription was carved, it is reasonable to assume that it may have been carved by a man named Chrysogonos, who worked at the stone quarry. In addition to the cross symbol, the underlined initial letters, chi and rho, a contraction of Χριστός, identify Chrysogonos as a Christian.12

3. Epitaph of the Gravediggers of the Great Church
A cubic block, measuring 0.425 m high, 0.425 m wide, and 0.395 m deep, was found in the western necropolis of Assos in the course of excavations in 2006. The height of the letters ranges from 0.03 m to 0.104 m. The text is roughly and irregularly carved. A cross is incised at the beginning of the first line. Date: 6th century AD (terminology: Orthodox) (fig. 3).

Τόπος διαφέρων δεκανοίς τῶν ὀρθοδώξων μεταγήσιας

App. cr.: 2 διαφέρον διαφέρουσα Εὐτυχίου 13 || 4-5 ὀρθοδώξων || 6-7 ἐκκλησίας for ἐκκλησίας.14

12. For the XP contraction, see Oikonomides 1974, 112. For Chrysogonos as a Christian name, see e.g. LGPN III.A, s.v. Χρυσόγονος (3) and LGPN III.B, s.v. Χρυσόγονος (6).
14. For the simplification of double kappa, see Gignac 1976, 160.
Translation: “Burial spot belonging to the gravediggers of the Great Church of the Orthodox Christians.”

The term *dekanos* in the third line means “gravedigger”, a low-ranking ecclesiastical official. The inscription demonstrates that this stone marks the burial spot of the gravediggers of the *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία* at Assos. It also suggests that the burial spot of the gravedigger may have belonged to a burial ground reserved for *dekanoi* in general. Accordingly, this brings to mind the possibility that the *dekanoi* of Assos may have formed an occupational association in the sixth century. Since the stone is a stray find, it is difficult to localize this burial ground. The adjective ὀρθόδοξος signifies the first major polarization in Christian unity. By the phrase *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία* at the end of the text, a local cathedral must have been intended, one which was located in the city or its immediate surroundings. Archaeological excavations at Assos have identified several churches located both inside and outside the city walls. Additionally, recent studies on the Ayazma Church showed the existence of an earlier church structure, probably dating to the sixth century AD, which was integrated into the later mid-Byzantine church. However, it is not

15. Hanton 1927-1928, 72-74; Lampe 1961, s.v. δεκανός. On the term δεκανός, see also DGE s.v. δεκανός, which gives several different meanings of the term. On church gravediggers, in general, see Hübner 2005, 34-37.

16. For the list of the inscriptions in Asia Minor recording the title *dekanos*, see Hübner 2005, 37.


18. Cf. Talbot 1991, 867-868: “The expression *megale ekklesia* or *megas naos* might also be applied to some larger provincial churches, such as Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike.” Ancient authors testify to the presence of local cathedrals called μεγάλη ἐκκλησία in various cities; for the list, see e.g. Downey 1959, 37 n. 2. Additionally, another church called *megale ekklesia* is also known in Aegina, see *Vita Theodorae Thessalonicai* 3. For the epigraphic attestations of local μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, see examples in *I.Perinthos* 235, ll. 5-9: “πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς μεγ[α]liaς ἐκκ[ησίας]...” and SEG 56, 1978 ll. 9-10: “[π]ρ(εσβυτέρου) μεγ[ά]λ(ης) ἐκκ[ησίας]...” (Arsinoe in Egypt).


20. On the Ayazma church, see n. 24 below.
possible to determine, at least for now, which church in Assos is meant by the phrase μεγάλη ἐκκλησία.

4. Sarcophagus of the Heirs of Daniel
Sarcophagus made of trachyte, preserving its lid, discovered during fieldwork at the western necropolis in 2006. The façade of the sarcophagus is decorated with two garlands, with pendants in the shape of a bunch of grapes. A square-shaped tabula ansata is placed between the garlands. Each semi-circular space above the garlands is decorated with a boss. The short sides are furnished with a garland and a bow-tie shaped boss decoration. The length of the façade measures 2.26 m. The inscription is roughly carved in the tabula ansata. The height of the letters varies from 0.07 m to 0.09 m. Date: Early Byzantine Period (?) (fig. 4 and fig. 4a, detail).

Δανιήλου

2 κληρονόμων

App. cr.: 1 A dash is inserted between the letters ny and iota. Another strange siglum also exists above iota. || 2 A horizontal stroke is placed above eta.

Translation: “Of Daniel’s heirs.”

Daniel reserved the sarcophagus for himself and his heirs, who inherited it with the rest of his estate. Before the discovery of this inscription, the Jewish name Daniel was unattested at Assos. This name also occurs at Korykos in Kilikia Tracheia, in Galatian Tavium, at Thyateira in Lydia, and at Kyzikos in Mysia. The majority of individuals bearing this name identified themselves as Christian by means of a cross symbol or a Christogram carved on the stones. Although there is no clear indication identifying Daniel as a Christian on the stone, it is likely that, in order to express his religious identity, the mason intended to form the contraction of Ι and Η in Ἰη(σοῦς) by marking the letters

21. Korykos: MAMA III 268 (with cross), 297 (with cross), 298 (the name on the stone is Δανίλος) (with cross) and 441b (without any indication), Tavium: RECAM II 428 (with Christogram), Thyateira: TAM V.2 1164 (with cross), Kyzikos: Laurent 1963, 348 (with cross). Cf. Chaniotis 2002, 224 n. 53.
iota and eta separately in the inscription. Alternatively, another explanation could be proposed regarding what these sigla refer to.

5. Sarcophagus of Theoktistos
Sarcophagus with a gabled lid, standing in the western necropolis. The façade of the sarcophagus bears a *tabula ansata* in the middle; on each side of the *tabula ansata* hangs a thin, flat garland with a pendant. Each semi-circular space above the garlands is decorated with a boss. Garlands with a pendant and a boss decoration above embellish the short left and right sides. The back of the sarcophagus is decorated in the same manner as the façade, except for the *tabula ansata* itself, which is square. The front side measures 2.975 m. The height of the letters varies between 0.085 m and 0.14 m. Date: 4th century AD or later (cross symbol) (*fig. 5* and *fig. 5a*, detail).

*Cross Θεοκτίστου*

ΔΙΜΑ

App. cr.: 1 Upsilon is carved to the lower right of omikron, where the *tabula ansata* joins the garland.

Translation: “Of Theoktistos.”

Theoktistos was a common Christian name that was previously unattested in Assos. The second line possibly bears a patronymic, which is open to debate. The first letter is uncertain; it may be a delta (see the detailed photo), in which case it can be read as Διμᾶ, an iotacism for Δημᾶ.

Sarcophagus Inscriptions from the Ayazma Church
The inscriptions presented below (nos. 6-10) come from the floor of Ayazma Church, dated to the mid-Byzantine period, which was built on the remnants...
of a sixth century church. It lies on the podium of two Hellenistic monumental 
tombs on the northwestern side of the city.\textsuperscript{24} The terms \textit{ἀνγεῖον} and \textit{ἄνγος} appearing in two inscriptions (nos. 6 and 7) clearly show that all the rectangular 
slabs paving the floor were produced by cutting out the long sides of the sар-
cophagi.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{6. Bas(s)os}

Height 0.592 m, width 2.045 m. The height of the letters varies between 0.05 m 
and 0.07 m. Date: 3rd or 4th century AD (?) (\textbf{fig. 6}).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{OYTON το \textit{ἀγ}}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
2 \textit{γεῖον} \textbf{Βάσσου}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

App. cr.: 1 Note that the left hand-side of the inscription is intact. The form of the 
upsilon is distinctively different from the upsilon at the end of the second line. Here, 
obviously, one expects \textit{τοῦτο} (nom. neut. sing.).\textsuperscript{26} Probably, \textit{οὗτο} is the vulgarized form 
for \textit{τοῦτο}. \| 2 \textbf{Βάσσου} for \textbf{Βάσσου}.

Translation: “\textit{(This is) the sarcophagus of Bas(s)os}.”

This is the first epigraphic attestation in Assos of the term \textit{ἀνγεῖον} (in other 
inscriptions from Asia Minor the term is spelled \textit{ἀγγεῖον}), meaning sarcophag-
us, which appears in various regions of Asia Minor and frequently in Lycia 
and Pamphylia.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{7. Eutychianos}

Height 0.61 m, width 1.916 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.05 m to 
0.105 m. Date: 3rd or 4th century AD (?) (\textbf{fig. 7}).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{τοῦτο \textbf{το \textit{ἄγος}}}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
2 \textbf{Εὐτυχιανοῦ}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 24. For recent archaeological research on the Ayazma Church and other churches 
at Assos, see Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013, 228-238; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2016.
\item 25. On the reuse by Christians of materials from funerary monuments as construc-
\item 26. Cf. inscription no. 7 in this paper.
\item 27. See Kubinska 1968, 40. See also Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 93, 99.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
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App. cr.: 1 Alpha and ny in ligature.
Translation: “This is the sarcophagus of Eutychianos.”

The term ἄνγος (ἄγγος), a variant of ἀγγεῖον, was previously attested once in a sarcophagus inscription from Assos. This term is also found in Lycian Olympos and Selge in southern Pisidia.

Eutychianos was a common name in Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period, but was unattested in Assos prior to the discovery of this inscription.

8. Onesimos
Height 0.572 m, width 2.177 m. The height of the letters measures 0.086 m and 0.187 m. A cross is carved at the beginning of the inscription. Date: 4th century AD or later (cross symbol) (fig. 8).

Ὄνησι(μου) Κ̣Ο̣Ρ̣ΥΛ

As frequently seen in sarcophagus inscriptions at Assos belonging to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period, recording the deceased’s name in the genitive case, it is highly probable that Ὀνήσι(μου) was the abbreviated form of the genitive case of Ὀνήσιμος, i.e. Ὀνησί(μου). The name following the deceased’s name should be a patronymic, but the name is problematic. The first three letters following the iota are doubtful because of the crack in the middle of the stone and the spoilt surface on that spot. The first dubious letter seems like a kappa with curved oblique strokes in the form of lunar sigma (C). The omikron following the kappa is uncertain; there may or may not be a minuscule O inserted between the strokes of the kappa. The third letter looks like a pi or an eta. The first possible reading seems to be ΚΟΠΥΛ, as given in the transcription, which would be the abbreviated form of Κοπρύλ(λου), a name that frequently

30. See LGPN V.A and V.B, s.v. Ἐὐτυχιανός. For names ending with -ιανος in Roman Asia Minor, see Corsten 2010. See also Sverkos 2010.
31. Cf. I.Assos 69, 72b and inscriptions nos. 4, 5, 9 and 10 in this paper. For the abbreviation Ὀνησί(μου), see Oikonomides 1974, 90.
appears in Macedonia.\textsuperscript{32} Otherwise, it should be read as ΚΗΡΥΛ, which is the abbreviated form of Κηρύλ(λου), an iotacism for Κυρίλ(λου).

Translation: “Of Onesimos, son of Kopryllos/Kyrillos.”

9. Anastasios
Height 0.47 m, width 1.985 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.067 m to 0.079 m. Date: Probably 5th-6th century AD (because of the ecclesiastical title presbyteros) (fig. 9).

\begin{equation*}
\text{Ἀ̣ναστασ̣ί̣ου}
\end{equation*}

\text{2 πρεβυτέρου}

App. cr.: πρεβυτέρου for πρεσβυτέρου.\textsuperscript{33}

Translation: “Of presbyteros Anastasios.”

In addition to presbyteros Anastasios, presbyteroi Helladios and Loukianos are also known from two funerary inscriptions at Assos dating to the fifth-sixth century AD.\textsuperscript{34}

10. Eugenios
Height 0.52 m, width 2.04 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.067 m to 0.106 m. Date: 4th century AD or later (based on -ιος suffix) (fig. 10).

\begin{equation*}
\text{Εὐγενίου}
\end{equation*}

Translation: “Of Eugenios.”

This is the first occurrence of the name Eugenios in Assos.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32} For this name in Macedonia, see Daux 1975, 168 n. 93. See also LGPN IV, s.v. Κόπρυλλος. For attestations of this name in the Byzantine period, see e.g. Feissel, Recueil, 122. For the name Κόπρυλλος and other related names, see Masson 1996, 147-150 = Masson 2000, 260-263. See also Pomeroy 1986.

\textsuperscript{33} For the omission of sigma before a labial, see Gignac 1976, 130.

\textsuperscript{34} I.Assos 35a and 72b. Cf. Destephen 2008, 436 and 625. For the name Anastasios, see Kajanto 1963, index s.v. Anastasius. In general, on presbyteroi in Asia Minor, see Hübner 2005, 56-59.

\textsuperscript{35} For occurrences of this name in Asia Minor, see LGPN V.A and V.B, s.v. Εὐγένιος.
11. **Fragment of a Sarcophagus Inscription**  
A fragmentary inscription on a fragment of a sarcophagus found in the western necropolis. Height: 0.49 m, width: 0.80 m, depth: 0.11 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.09 m to 0.14 m. Date: Early Byzantine period (?) (fig. 11).

\[- - - ]ΥΘΑΡΣΙΚΙ[ - - - ]

This fragment belongs to a sarcophagus inscription. It can be read as θάρσι, an expression of encouragement addressed to the dead, which may have been followed by the name of the deceased. However, this expression is very uncommon in the funerary inscriptions of Asia Minor and the only epigraphic attestation of the expression is found in a bilingual epitaph from Phrygian Apameia; otherwise, it is unattested in Asia Minor.\(^{36}\) It seems more probable to me that the surviving part bears the name Tharsikios, which possibly stands as a patronymic, i.e. Θαρσικί[ου].\(^{37}\) The missing left part should then bear the name of the owner of the sarcophagus in the genitive case, i.e. [ - - - ο]υ Θαρσικί[ου].\(^{38}\)

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Chaniotis 2002, 203. For the name Eugenios, see Kajanto 1963, 26, 70, 73, 74 and 83. For names ending with -ιος, see Kajanto 1982, 115-118.  
36. SEG 37, 1103.  
37. For the name Tharsikios, which possibly originated from the name Tharsus, see Kajanto 1963, 77 and 85. This name is also epigraphically attested in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, see Kaldellis, Efthymiadis 2010, 64.  
38. Cf. inscription no. 8 in this paper.
Summary

In this paper, eleven new inscriptions are presented, which were found between 1981 and 2017 at Assos in the southern Troad, Asia Minor. Funerary inscriptions that can be dated to the Late Antique and Byzantine periods constitute the majority of the inscriptions found during the period defined above. The first inscription, carved on a lintel, is an acclamation of the Lord/Emmanouel. The personal name Chrysogonos in the second inscription may have been the name of a stonecutter who worked in the quarry. The third inscription is the epitaph of the gravediggers of the Orthodox “Great Church”. By the phrase “Great Church” (μεγάλη ἐκκλησία), a cathedral must have been intended, located inside the city or its immediate surroundings. The fourth inscription presented here is the sarcophagus inscription of the heirs of an individual called Daniel. The fifth is the sarcophagus inscription of Theoktistos. The inscriptions nos. 6-10 from the floor of Ayazma Church include several sarcophagus inscriptions: No. 6 is of Bas(s)os, no. 7 is of Eutychianos, and no. 8 is of Onesimos, whose father’s name is uncertain due to a crack and damage on the surface of the stone. No. 9 is the sarcophagus of presbyter Anastasios, and no. 10 is the sarcophagus of Eugenios. The eleventh inscription is a fragmentary sarcophagus inscription.
Bibliography


Fig. 1. No. 1: Acclamation of the Lord/Emmanouel on architrave block (Photo by the author).

Fig. 2. No. 2: Inscription on the bedrock (Photo by the author).
Fig. 3. No. 3: Epitaph of the gravediggers of Great Church
(Photo by the author).
Fig. 4. No. 4: Sarcophagus of the heirs of Daniel (Photo by the author).

Fig. 4a. No. 4: Detail of the tabula ansata (Photo by the author).
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Fig. 5. No. 5: Sarcophagus of Theoktistos (Photo by the author).

Fig. 5a. No. 5: detail (Photo: S. Akçiçek).
Fig. 6. No. 6: Sarcophagus inscription of Bassos (Photo by the author).

Fig. 7. No. 7: Sarcophagus inscription of Eutychianos (Photo by the author).
Fig. 8. No. 8: Sarcophagus inscription of Onesimos (Photo by the author).

Fig. 9. No. 9: Sarcophagus inscription of Anastasios (Photo by the author).
Fig. 10. No. 10: Sarcophagus inscription of Eugenios (Photo by the author).

Fig. 11. No. 11: Fragment of Sarcophagus inscription (Photo by the author).