

# Local Cults in Graeco-Roman Phrygia

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**D**URING my travels in Phrygia since 1968 for the preparation of the corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions of that region, undertaken at the advice of Professor and Mme L. Robert,<sup>1</sup> I have recorded numerous dedications to a great variety of divinities, which form one of the principal features of interest of the epigraphy of Phrygia. In advance of the corpus volumes I shall make known a few of these here.<sup>2</sup>

## AKMONIA

1. In the museum at Afyonkarahisar is a small altar (inv. no.4195) found, according to the inventory, at the village of Yenice Köy, located at the foot of the mountain Ahır Dağ which bounds the Doiantos Pedion<sup>3</sup> (Banaz Ovası) to the east. The altar has projecting mouldings at top and bottom, with two acroteria flanking a cylindrical upper portion decorated by a tendril with three leaves above three

<sup>1</sup> See the announcements of this corpus by L. Robert in his *Discours d'introduction* at the VI Int. Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 22–23, and in *JSav* 1975, 160 n.31. It is a pleasure to thank Mr Hikmet Gürçay, Director General of Museums and Antiquities, as well as the Directors of the Museums of Afyonkarahisar, Akşehir, Kütahya, Seyitgazi and Uşak for their respective authorizations and aid.

<sup>2</sup> For other inscriptions from Phrygia see “Three Senatus Consulta concerning the Province of Asia,” *Historia* 21 (1972) 75–87: during a visit to the village of Arızlı I was able to find and photograph the document discussed in this article, which had escaped the editors of *MAMA*, and also to record fragments of letters of Eumenes II; the site may be identified with one of the villages known from the lists of the Xenoï Tekmoreioi (on the documents of this association v. *infra* n.62); “A Fourth-Century Latin Soldier’s Epitaph at Nakoleia,” *HSCP* 81 (1977): I publish elsewhere a series of votive inscriptions from the territory of that city to divinities other than Zeus Bronton (the latter, an abundant series in itself, will appear separately together with the numerous epitaphs); “Kaiser-, Militär- und Steinbruch-inschriften aus Phrygien” (with W. Eck), *Chiron* 6 (1976) 289–318, where further publications are announced; “The Epitaph of Thomas: A Middle-Byzantine Verse Inscription from Afyonkarahisar” (with C. Foss), *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 74–85: I have prepared for publication a series of Christian and Byzantine inscriptions from Phrygia which will appear together with photographs of architectural remains from this era.

<sup>3</sup> See for this region the map of Philippson conveniently reproduced by L. Robert, “Nonnos et les monnaies d’Akmonia de Phrygie,” *JSav* 1975, fig.5; on the Doiantos Pedion see pp.182–85.

spirals; the inscription begins on the upper moulding and continues on the shaft. H. 0.375, w. 0.165, th. 0.16. PLATE 7 figure 1.

Ἐβίκτητος  
ἐπήγε-  
3 ν Θεῶ  
Ἐψίστω  
εὐχὴν

On the Theos Hypsistos<sup>4</sup> at Akmonia see the discussion by L. Robert<sup>5</sup> of a Jewish epitaph of that city with this threat derived from the *Septuagint* against any violator of the grave: [ἔς]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Ἐψίστον καὶ τὸ ἄρας δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ὕκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσέλθοι-το καὶ μηδένα ἐγκαταλείψαιτο]. The Jewish community at Akmonia was large and influential,<sup>6</sup> but the imprecise epithet Hypsistos suited also pagan divinities and does not necessarily imply Jewish influence.<sup>7</sup> The indubitably Jewish epitaph cited here, however, was found by W. M. Ramsay<sup>8</sup> in 1883 at the same village of Yenice from which also comes the present dedication; it is thus probable that there existed a Jewish community in this portion of the territory of Akmonia and that our Epiktetos had relations with it.

2. In the village of Çorum, north of the site of Akmonia at Ahat Köy,<sup>9</sup> is a rectangular block built into the foundations of an outhouse. H. 0.58, w. 0.28, th. 0.24, letters 0.02. PLATE 7 figure 2.

<sup>4</sup> For this divinity see notably the article by F. Cumont in *RE* 9 (1914) 447ff s.v. Ἐψίστος; the list of attestations (together with those of Zeus Hypsistos) in A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II.2 (Cambridge 1925) 876–87; A. D. Nock, *HThR* 29 (1936) 55ff=Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I (Oxford 1972) 416–43; L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 112–18=Opera Minora Selecta I (Amsterdam 1969) 411–17 and *CRAI* 1968, 594–98.

<sup>5</sup> *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris 1960) 399–400.

<sup>6</sup> See L. Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 158–60.

<sup>7</sup> A. Thomas Kraabel, “Ἐψίστος and the Synagogue at Sardis,” *GRBS* 10 (1969) 81–93, denied altogether Jewish influence on dedications in Lydia and Phrygia with this epithet. One of the principal texts in Kraabel’s argumentation is precisely the Jewish epitaph from Akmonia cited *supra*, for which he did not know the discussion by L. Robert, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.5); the dedication to the Theos Hypsistos at Nakoleia cited by Kraabel on p.89 from *JHS* 5 (1884) and *IGRR* IV was republished with a photograph as *MAMA* V (Manchester 1937) 211, in a quasi-corpus with an index; etc. Cf. the severe judgement of J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigra* 1970, 153, who promise *alibi plura*.

<sup>8</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* II (Oxford 1897) 652 no.563.

<sup>9</sup> The site of Akmonia has been fixed exactly at Ahat Köy since 1840 (demonstration by J. Franz); the history of the identification, with bibliography, is now set forth by L. Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 153 n.1.

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 'Αγαθῆ Τύχ[η]. | ω Ὀνησίμω Θε-   |
| Ἀὐρ. Τατις Ὀ-  | ῶ Ὑψίστω ἐκ τ-  |
| νησίμου χαλ-   | 8 ὦν ἰδίων ἀνέ- |
| 4 κέος κύνβιος | [θ]ησαν         |
| σὺν τῷ κυμβί-  |                 |

In line 3 the bottom of the left stroke of *lambda* is preserved. Note the spellings *κύνβιος* and *κυμβίω* in two successive lines.

The village of Çorum (Jorumlar on the map mentioned *supra* n.3) north of Yenice formed part of the territory of Akmonia and not of Alia.<sup>10</sup> The feminine names *Τατις* and *Τατεις* are common in Phrygia and elsewhere in Asia Minor.<sup>11</sup> This dedication to the Theos Hypsistos by a blacksmith and his wife<sup>12</sup> provides another instance of the interest manifested even by the humbler people of Phrygia in quasi-philosophical, abstract notions of divinity (*cf.* the dedication to Hosios and Dikaios published *infra*). Naturally my visits to each of the villages in the territory of Akmonia also furnished new dedications to many other less impersonal divinities, such as Demeter Karpophoros and Koros, Hekate, the Meter Turaxene, Zeus Alsenos, Zeus Agathos, Zeus Orkamaneites etc., which I shall publish elsewhere.

3. A resident of Banaz showed to me his copies of five inscriptions which he said were found together with several others during the construction of a forest road near Hacibahri Damları immediately northwest of Banaz at a place called Eksik or Çam Su Deresi; nothing was visible there at the time of my visit in 1968 except an empty niche cut into the surface of a projecting rock near the stream bed. I publish here these copies and my transcriptions in the hope that these dedications may thus be identified and their provenience fixed in the case that the stones appear in a museum or a private collection.

|                          |                |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| ΑΥΞΑΝΩΝΚ                 | Ἀύξανων Κ-     |
| ΟΛΝΤΟ <del>Λ</del> ΒΥΝΣ. | οἴντου ὑπέ-    |
| ΡΣΩ·ΤΗΡΡΙΑΣΩ             | ρ σωτηρίας Σώ- |
| ZONTIEYXHN               | 4 ζοντι εὐχὴν  |

<sup>10</sup> For the historical geography of this district (the northern portion of the territory of Akmonia), and for an inscription which I recorded at the village of Kozviran to the north of Çorum, see L. Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 175.

<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* the attestations collected by L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 496–97.

<sup>12</sup> At Ahat Köy I photographed the tombstone of a blacksmith on which are depicted his tools: tongs, hammer and anvil.

Dedications to Sozon are relatively rare.<sup>13</sup> For another *v. infra* no.19. The divinity is represented notably as a radiate rider-god brandishing a spear or double axe or an indistinct object in the region of the Ormeleis at Tefenni and Karamanlı and on a dedication at Antalya.<sup>14</sup> Apollo, however, can bear the epithet Sozon (as in *SEG VI 392* from Sizma in Lycaonia); in view of nos.4–6 below, it cannot be excluded that this is a dedication to Apollo Sozon, for whom *cf. JRS 14* (1924) 28.

4. Four other inscriptions from the same source are dedications to Apollo. One of these was dedicated by an entire village:

|             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| ΚΤΑΗΝWVKΩΜ  | Κταηνῶν κώμ-    |
| ΗΚΑΤΕΤΤLΤΟΥ | η κατ' ἐπιταγή- |
| NATTOMΩNI   | ν Ἀπόλλωνι      |
| ΛΛΟΗΝΩ      | 4 Ἀλσηνῶ        |

The name of this village was not previously attested; it is natural to conclude that the *Κταηνοί* lived in the region of Akmonia. This is also the first attestation of Apollo Alsenos in Phrygia;<sup>15</sup> I shall publish elsewhere a metrical dedication to [Ἀ]λσηνῶ πατρίῳ<sup>16</sup> *μεγάλῳ Δίῳ* by a *συμβίωσις* of Akmonia.

5. In two others Apollo bears no epithet:

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| ΑΠΕΛΛΑCΟ   | Ἀπελλᾶς Ὀ-    |
| ΝΗCΙΜΟΥΑΠΟ | νησίμου Ἀπό-  |
| ΛΛΩΝΙΕΥΧΗΝ | 3 λλωνι εὐχὴν |

<sup>13</sup> On this divinity see O. Weinreich in *RE 3A* (1927) 1248–56 *s.v.* = Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften II* (Amsterdam 1973) 221–32, and the important corrections by L. Robert, *Hellenica III* (1946) 69–71.

<sup>14</sup> On the provenience of the latter see Robert, *Hellenica XI–XII* (1960) 247–48. Naturally this divinity was also worshipped elsewhere: thus *Κύριος Σώζων* is invoked on the wall of a temple at Soura in Lycia (see the commentary in *BullÉpigri* 1963, 253).

<sup>15</sup> For Zeus Alsenos in the region of the Emir Dağ see *MAMA I* (Manchester 1928) nos.435 and 435a, *MAMA VI* (Manchester 1939) no.387 and *BullÉpigri* 1968, 526 (I shall publish elsewhere a dedication to Zeus Alsenos in the territory of Nakoleia). For the epithet applied to Apollo see H. Schwabl in *RE 10A* (1972) 269 *s.v.*

<sup>16</sup> An inscription at Rome (*IG XIV 958*; L. Moretti, *IG Urbis Romae I* [Rome 1968] 135) is dedicated to ΠΑΤΡΙΩC-CAΛΗΝΩ; Kaibel suggested *πατρίῳ (θεῶ) Ἀλ<c>ηνῶ*, and Moretti believes that the only god to bear the epithet Alsenos is Apollo (this text is registered *s.v.* Ἀπόλλων Ἀλσηνός on p.480 of his index); the article by L. Tuğrul, *BullÉpigri* 1968, 526, containing dedications to Zeus Alsenos from the region of the Emir Dağ, is cited by Moretti as a collection of inscriptions concerning Apollo.

6.

|           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| ΕΛΔΙΝΟCCY | 'Ελαϊνός εὐ- |
| ΧΗΝΑΠΟΛ   | χὴν 'Απόλ-   |
| ΛΩΝΙ      | 3 λωνι       |

7. In another the name of the god is not mentioned:

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| ΑΡΤΕΜΙΛΟΡΟC | 'Αρτεμίδωρος |
| ΠΑΙCΑΥΤΟV   | παρ' ἑαυτοῦ  |
| ΤΑΥΚΩΝΟF    | Γλύκωνος     |
| ΑΝΕΟΗΚCΝ    | 4 ἀνέθηκεν   |

Clearly these are small votive steles of the type found by the hundred at the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos in the region of the Emir Dağ; a short excavation at the site indicated *supra*, before it is entirely plundered like the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos by clandestine diggers, would surely yield important results at very slight expense.

## NAKOLEIA OR ΚΟΤΙΑΕΙΟΝ

8. Among the inscriptions from the upland plain of Makas Alan between the cities of Kotiaeion (Kütahya) and Nakoleia (Seyitgazi) in the western portion of the highlands of Phrygia published by C. H. E. Haspels<sup>17</sup> is a dedication containing two new demotics which was found at the village of Söğüt Yaylası and is now in the museum at Kütahya: 'Αγαθῆ Τύχη· 'Ασκληπίδης Μηνοφῶνος ἱερεὺς Τρονβολιανός καὶ Εἰοκωμῆτ(α)ι Δεὶ Συρεανῶ εὐχὴν. In the same museum is another dedication to Zeus Syreanos by the villagers of Εἰοκώμη:

Altar with projecting mouldings at top (occupied by the inscription) and bottom, decorated on the shaft by a bust of Zeus with beard and wavy hair, holding his right hand across his chest; the bust is delimited at both sides and bottom by the folds of his mantle. On the right side of the shaft is a roughly carved chalice and on the left side two ox-heads; on the back is a wreath. H. 1.02; w. (top) 0.415, (shaft) 0.35, (bottom) 0.43; th. (top) 0.37, (shaft) 0.33, (bottom) 0.42; letters (between setting-lines) 0.025. PLATE 7 figure 3.

|              |
|--------------|
| 'Αγαθῆ Τύχη· |
| Εἰοκωμῆται   |
| Δεὶ Συρεανῶ  |
| 4 εὐχὴν      |

Line 2: only the vertical and upper horizontal strokes of *epsilon* remain.

<sup>17</sup> *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton 1971) 340 no.109 and pl. 629 (*BullÉpigri* 1972, 467).

The positions of hand and mantle in the relief depicting Zeus are identical with those on the altar published by Haspels; thus both relief and inscription render it certain that the two altars once stood in the same sanctuary in the area of Söğüt Yaylası. Haspels states (p.194) that Zeus Syreanos “resembles Zeus Sereanos, known on the NE side of the Türkmen Dağ”: in fact the dedications referred to (MAMA V 175–77) attest the demotic Σερεανός at Kuyucak<sup>18</sup> on the other side of this mountain from Söğüt Yaylası in the territory of Nakoleia, but there is no Zeus Sereanos since the epithets of Zeus preserved on these inscriptions are Ktesios and Bronton.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately the problem of how the territory of the uplands was apportioned among the various cities of this region is not thoroughly treated by Haspels,<sup>20</sup> who nowhere raises the question: which city controlled the plateau of Makas Alan and its sanctuary of Zeus Syreanos? On p.164 Haspels observed that “this part of the mountain provides a route across the highlands from west to east” and on p.193 she remarked that “geographically the Makas Alan stood open to the west.” Villages cited in her discussion of this region as forming part of the upland plain of Makas Alan, however, lie both east and west of the chain of small summits extending south of the Türkmen Dağ proper. The villages of Söğüt Yaylası and Makas Alan are both situated just to the east of this line of summits. Topography seems to indicate that the frontier between Kotiaëion and Nakoleia passed (close to these villages) along the chain of the crests, and that the territory to the east belonged to the latter city; but certainty is not attainable since the exact provenience of these dedications is not known.

#### APPRIA

9. In the museum at KütaHYa (inv. no.1118) is a stele with projecting moulding at top decorated with three stylized palmettes in relief, connected by stylized tendrils and leaves, above a triangular pediment in which is a radiate head above the inscription; on the shaft, between pilasters decorated by stylized leaves, is the bearded head of

<sup>18</sup> In MAMA V the inscriptions of Kuyucak are simply assigned to a section “Villages between Dorylaeum and Nacolea” (cf. the discussion *op.cit.* xxii); I shall republish, together with other dedications from the territory of Nakoleia, Haspels’ no.130, which I photographed here in 1973.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H. Schwabl in *RE* 10A (1972) 359 s.v. ZEUS.

<sup>20</sup> Note the complaint of J. Strubbe, *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 242 n.52.

Zeus with right hand spread across chest above a garland suspended from ox-heads at each shoulder of the god. At the bottom of the shaft is a projecting moulding with tenon. H. (including tenon) 1.32; w. (top) 0.52, (shaft) 0.46, (bottom) 0.55; th. *ca* 0.16; letters 0.014. PLATE 7 figure 4.

[Ἐπι]τύνχανος λατύπος ὑπὲρ τῆς  
[κώμ]ης σωτηρίας Διὸς Ἀνδρέα εὐχὴν  
τὴν εἰςτήλην

The prothetic *iota* in line 3 (here spelled *ει* by *iotacism*) is a frequent phenomenon (*cf.* for example the discussion and references in *BullÉpigra* 1973, 82 p.75).

The prominently displayed hand may be compared with the *χειρ θεοῦ* on a votive relief of Zeus Thallos now at Beyrouth, attributed by J. and L. Robert, who transcribed the inscription and drew attention to this feature, to the region of Kotiaieion.<sup>21</sup> This is the first attestation both of the sculptor Epitynchanos and of Zeus Andreas, but I have found another votive stele carved by Epitynchanos and another dedication which renders it possible to locate the sanctuary of this divinity.

**10.** In the course of my repeated visits to each of the villages in the district of Altıntaş south of Kütahya I recorded *ca* 2 km. north of Akça Köy in a fountain called Yeni Çeşme a stele fixed by cement above the waterpipe: a triangular pediment is flanked at left by an acroterion decorated with a stylized palmette (the acroterion at right and, possibly, another at top are broken off); within the pediment is depicted in relief an eagle with wings folded standing right. On the shaft, between pilasters with capitals decorated by stylized leaves, is the bust of Zeus in relief with beard and long hair, the right hand emerging from the garment and spread across the chest, above a garland suspended from ox-heads at each shoulder of the god. The inscription is engraved on the bottom of the pediment and the top of the shaft. Visible h. 0.75, w. 0.495, th. 0.13, letters 0.02. PLATE 8 figure 1.

Ἀππῆς Τεῖμωνος εὐχὴν  
Δεῖ Ἀνδρέα εὐχὴν

The name *Ἀππῆς* is attested at Kotiaieion; *cf.* Zgusta, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) 74. For the nominative *εὐχὴν* *cf.* most recently *BullÉpigra* 1973, 297, with references to further examples and discussions.

Akça Köy is located in the plain to the west of Altıntaş (formerly

<sup>21</sup> N. Thierry, *CahArch* 20 (1970) 74 fig.36, explained in *BullÉpigra* 1971, 659.

Kürd Köy), the present administrative center of the district, and northeast of Abia or Abiye Köy (renamed Pınarcık), which conserved the name of the ancient city Appia, to the territory of which these villages belong.<sup>22</sup> Both relief and inscription leave no doubt that this stele once stood in the same sanctuary as the dedication carved by Epitynchanos. Inhabitants of Akça Köy informed me that the stele in the fountain was unearthed at a place called Erikli on the slopes of the mountain to the west of the fountain beyond the nearby low hill, and that four others were found at the same time, approximately in 1960, and sold in Kütahya; the dedication now in the museum is therefore one of the latter group. Here again it has proved possible to locate the site of a Phrygian sanctuary at which rescue excavations, if carried out promptly before the site is destroyed by clandestine diggers, would produce interesting material in quantity and at minimal expense.

11. In the courtyard of a house of Akça Köy is another votive stele likewise said to have been found at Erikli: broken at top, the stele preserves an inscription on the shaft between two pilasters with bases decorated by mouldings; at the bottom is a tenon. H. (including tenon) 1.27; w. (shaft) 0.535, (base) 0.625; th. (shaft) 0.15, (base) 0.19; letters (between setting lines) 0.022. PLATE 8 figure 3.

[— —]ης ὑπὲ[ρ] ἐαυτ]-  
 ὠν καὶ τέκνων καὶ συν-  
 βίου καὶ Πριάμου καὶ  
 4 συνβίου αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 Μοσσυνέων Διὶ Βεν-  
 νίῳ εὐχὴν  
 Ζηλαῆς καὶ Ἐπιτύν-  
 8 χανος λατύποι

Line 1: only the lowest portion of the dotted letters is preserved.

The family relationships indicated may be explained by supposing a husband and wife with children, one of whom was married, and perhaps an adopted child (*θρεπτός*) named Priam. The family apparently had connections with the town of Mossyna,<sup>23</sup> which was

<sup>22</sup> For two milestones found at Akça Köy see Drew-Bear and Eck, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 296–300 nos.6 and 8.

<sup>23</sup> For Mossyna see the bibliography cited by W. Ruge in *RE* 16 (1933) 376–77 *s.v.* and in *RE* 20 (1941) 845, *s.v.* PHRYGIA and *cf.* Schwabl, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.19) *s.v.* Zeus *Μοσσυνεύς*.



located north of Hierapolis near the great bend of the Maeander in the general region of Dionysoupolis (*v. infra* no.16). Three dedications to Zeus Bennios are already known from the region of Appia.<sup>24</sup> As we have seen, Epitynchanos carved also a dedication to Zeus Andreas at the same sanctuary: the cult at a single sanctuary of a god with several different epithets is attested likewise for Zeus in the region of the Emir Dağ (*v. supra* n.15). The 'signature' of this stele connects Epitynchanos with the sculptor Zelas, of whose work there have survived three tombstones with reliefs at Kotiaieion.<sup>25</sup>

12. A dedication to Zeus Bennios, copied by W. M. Ramsay<sup>26</sup> and J. R. S. Sterrett "at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altyntash," has survived and is now in the museum at Kütahya. Ramsay gave only the following description: "on a marble cippus . . . above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiate head of the sun-god." The photograph on PLATE 8 figure 2 shows a round altar with a smaller cylinder at top above a projecting moulding decorated with rows of dentils, eggs and darts, and beads and reels. The inscription is carved within a *tabula ansata* and (the last line) on a projecting moulding at the base: above the text is not "a bunch of grapes" but rather a garland composed of leaves and two sizes of round fruit (perhaps apples and grapes) around which winds a band; the garland supports an eagle with wings folded standing right and is suspended from ox-heads surmounted by fillets which bind the garland visible on the photograph to similar garlands at each side and which descend to left and right of the inscription. Only the right half of the garland at left (with grapes and a vine-leaf in center) is preserved, for the altar is broken at back; at right are the remains of a similar garland, above which is a radiate head. H. 1.15, diam. not ascertainable, letters 0.02. PLATE 8 figure 2.

<sup>24</sup> Attestations and bibliography are cited by Schwabl, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.19) 288: in this region dedications were recorded at Kütahya (*v. infra*), Yalnız Saray and Altıntaş village.

<sup>25</sup> E. Loewy, *Inschriften gr. Bildhauer* (Leipzig 1885) nos.386–87, the first republished with a photograph by W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and C. W. M. Cox in *JRS* 15 (1925) 156ff no.144, and Loewy no.389, republished *op.cit.* 173–74 no.167. In *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) is an entry *s.v.* ZELAS by W. H. Gross.

<sup>26</sup> *JHS* 5 (1884) 259–60 no.11; the text is reproduced in A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II.2 (Cambridge 1925) 883.

Διὶ · Βεννίῳ  
 Διογένησ ὑπὲρ  
 Διογένουσ πάππου  
 4 καὶ Κλ. Χρυσιού  
 μάμμησ καὶ τῶν  
 κατοικούντων  
 ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω-  
 8            σει  
                   Ἀπολλώνιοσ Ἰσγερεανόσ ἐποίει

Line 7: ligature *eta kappa*; at the end of the line *epsilon rho* are now damaged. Line 9: *epsilon* and *sigma* are round here but square in the rest of the text, and *omega* is ‘uncial’ here but round elsewhere—Apollonios adopted for his ‘signature’ a style different from that of the dedication itself.

Ramsay wrote that this inscription is in fact an epitaph “placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents . . . the grave is a shrine of Zeus.”<sup>27</sup> On the contrary the language of the text itself leaves no doubt that this is simply a dedication on behalf of Diogenes and his wife Claudia Chryision and also on behalf of the inhabitants of Iskome, the latter being as much alive as the former. The eagle with folded wings standing right, the garland suspended from two ox-heads and the radiate bust all recall similar features of the two dedications to Zeus Andreas. On the meaning of the epithet Bennios much fantasy has been expended by Ramsay and others, but new documents will render it possible to advance the question.<sup>28</sup>

The village of Karağaç Ören, from which this stone was said by Ramsay’s Armenian to have been taken to Kütahya, is located north-east of Appia and of Altıntaş across the Tembris River (Porsuk Su). Certain scholars<sup>29</sup> drew the conclusion that Iskome must have been located at Karağaç Ören, but even if the provenience given to Ramsay was exact, this conclusion does not necessarily follow, for this altar

<sup>27</sup> This is repeated by Cook, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.26); J. Fraser in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Aberdeen 1906) 144, refers to this text as “an epitaph.”

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *BullÉpigra* 1970, 305 with the parallels there cited, mentioning the verb *βενναρχέω* in an unpublished inscription of Phrygia (in the museum at Afyonkarahisar is a dedication by a *βεννάρχησ*); among the numerous dedications to Zeus Bronton from the region of Nakoleia, which I shall publish elsewhere, is one which states that two dedicants *ἐτεφάνωσαν τὸ βέννοσ Διοσ Βροντῶντοσ*.

<sup>29</sup> Thus J. G. C. Anderson, in *op.cit.* (*supra* n.27) 188, and W. Ruge in *RE* 9 (1916) 2133 s.v. ISKOME; but in *RE* 20 (1941) s.v. PHRYGIA Ruge assigned to Iskome the figure 4, indicating that localization was “noch gar nicht gelungen.”

could well have been dedicated to Zeus at a sanctuary (such as the one at Erikli) at some distance from the village on behalf of which the dedication was made (cf. the case of Mossyna, which appears on one of the dedications to Zeus Andreas). On a semi-metrical epitaph copied by Ramsay at Akça Köy there appears the demotic *Ἴσκομαινοί*.<sup>30</sup> In fact it is possible to conclude only that Iskome, like the village of Apollonios the stone-carver,<sup>31</sup> was located in the region of Appia.

#### AMORION

13. In the museum at Afyonkarahisar is the headless statue of a naked male figure, the god Asklepios, holding a patera above a coiled serpent and standing on an inscribed base. H. 0.82, w. 0.37, th. 0.17, letters 0.02. Photograph of the inscription: PLATE 9 figure 1.

*Ἀὐρ. Οὐαναξος Μανου  
ἐποίησε τὸν ναὸν σὺν  
τοῖς ἀγάλμασι*

In 1911 W. M. Calder copied another dedication to Asklepios at Afyonkarahisar.<sup>32</sup> That in the museum was said to come from the area of the villages Demircili, Karacalar and Türkmen Köy, which are located ESE of the town of Emirdağ and hence in the territory of Amorion. L. Robert<sup>33</sup> remarked that the name *Μανης* “convient très bien à la région de l’Emirdağ.” Also interesting is the name of this man who dedicated the statuette after A.D. 212 in a shrine of his own construction. Attestations of the names *Οὐαναξος*, *Οὐαναξων* and *Οὐαναξιων* were collected by L. Zgusta, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) p.390, and assigned to the regions “Phrygia” and “Eastern Phrygia—Pisidia,” in fact a rather vast territory.<sup>34</sup> But precise examination of the proveniences will produce a different picture.

<sup>30</sup> Published by J. Fraser, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.27), who connected this demotic with the village named on the dedication to Zeus Bennisos: *κλαῦσε δέ με κέ Φλώρος πενθερός κέ Αμμιας πενθερά Ἴσκομαινοί*.

<sup>31</sup> The conjecture of J. Zingerle concerning this demotic, registered in *SEG* VI 149, does not merit discussion.

<sup>32</sup> *JRS* 2 (1912) 258 no.17, of unknown provenience: *Πάτρων Ἀσκκληπιῶ θεῶ εὐχὴν*. This dedication, now in the Istanbul museum, was republished by L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955) 94–95 and pl.xi.1.

<sup>33</sup> *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* I (Paris 1963) 123; cf. also the discussion and the attestations collected by Zgusta, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) 287–90.

<sup>34</sup> Such vague indications of provenience constitute the major defect in Zgusta’s indispensable work: cf. for instance *BullÉpigr* 1968, 164, and 1969, 567.

The first text cited by Zgusta is an epitaph erected by *Ουαναξος* and *Τατεις* for their daughter *Αμμια*, first published by J. G. C. Anderson,<sup>35</sup> who had found it in the village Gözören (Kozviran, southeast of Amorion), which he identified, on the basis of other inscriptions, as the site of the ancient village of the *Σελμεηνοί* in the territory of Amorion.<sup>36</sup> Zgusta's second text is a metrical epitaph likewise published by Anderson which concludes with the 'signature' *Ουαναξος καὶ Μάρκος τε[χ]νεῖται*, found at the village "Kurdushan" to the north of the *Σελμεηνοί* in the territory of Amorion.<sup>37</sup> For *Ουαναξων* Zgusta cites another epitaph erected by a man of that name to his parents *Αύρ. Μενεκράτης* and *Κυρίλλη Διονυκίου*, copied first by Anderson southeast of the village of the *Σελμεηνοί* at Turgut, a site identified by Anderson as Miskamos and by Calder as Klaneos,<sup>38</sup> and as second attestation an epitaph mentioning [*Ο*]υαναξων brother of *Κυ[ρί]ων* and son of *Αύρ. Κυρίων Έρμοδόρου* and *Διδώ Μαμμ[α?]* at the village of Upper Ağız Açık between Amorion and the *Σελμεηνοί* next to Kurduşak.<sup>39</sup> Finally *Ουαναξιων* occurs on an epitaph found at the village of Piribeyli, which is adjacent to Upper Ağız Açık.<sup>40</sup> It is thus apparent that all of the documents cited here were found in the region of Amorion.

Only two of the inscriptions cited by Zgusta (under the rubric "Eastern Phrygia—Pisidia") attest this name elsewhere: one of these was copied at Akşehir by W. J. Hamilton<sup>41</sup> and the other found by D. M. Robinson<sup>42</sup> at Hayret (Ayritepe) Köy west of Kozviran and northeast of Akşehir, the site of Philomelion, which bordered upon

<sup>35</sup> "Exploration in Galatia cis Halym," *JHS* 19 (1899) 300 no.223; MAMA VII (Manchester 1956) 251.

<sup>36</sup> For the *Σελμηνοί* or *Σελμεηνοί* cf. W. M. Calder, MAMA VII xx, and for their attribution to Amorion cf. Anderson, *op. cit.* (*supra* n.35) 298.

<sup>37</sup> *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.35) 304 no.239. For the location of this village see the map on pl. iv annexed to the article of Anderson, vastly superior to the sketch in MAMA VII xlv, where Kurduşak may be found immediately to the east of Piribeyli, which was identified by Ramsay as the site of Pissia (cf. MAMA VII xx-xxi).

<sup>38</sup> Anderson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.35) 293-94 no.207; Calder, MAMA VII xx and no.213.

<sup>39</sup> MAMA VII no.257.

<sup>40</sup> MAMA VII no.278 (for Piribeyli v. *supra* n.37).

<sup>41</sup> *Researches in Asia Minor* II (London 1842) no.377 (CIG 3983): *Ουαναξος Δαμάς τέκνω άώ[ρω] Δαμάδι μνήμης χάριν και έαντῶ ζῶν· Αφφιας και Αμμιας πατρι Ουαναξῶ μνήμης χάριν·* Boeckh corrected *Δαμά[λ]ι*, but there is no reason not to accept Hamilton's copy, which attests a son homonymous with his father.

<sup>42</sup> TAPA 57 (1926) 218 no.38 and pl.22, an epitaph erected by *Αύρ. Ουαναξος* for his son *Μάρκος*.

Amorion to the south.<sup>43</sup> All the presently known attestations of this group of names are thus concentrated in quite a small area between Amorion and Philomelion; this will be a more useful geographical precision than Zgusta's indications "Phrygia" and "Phrygia—Pisidia."

#### METROPOLIS

14. The dedications found at the sanctuary of Agdistis near the 'Midas Monument' at Yazılı Kaya in the eastern part of the highlands of Phrygia have been published in full by C. H. E. Haspels;<sup>44</sup> among the votive monuments from this site now at the museum of Afyonkarahisar she omitted however an altar, of tuff stone like the others from this sanctuary, with projecting mouldings at top (decorated with acroteria in relief) and bottom except at the back, which was left rough: on the shaft is at front a serpent in relief, at right a two-handled amphora, and at left a defaced object. On the left side the sloping surface which joins the top projecting moulding to the shaft bears a roughly carved inscription, so worn as to be nearly illegible. H. 1.52; w. (top) 0.515, (shaft) 0.40, (bottom) 0.57; th. (top) 0.525, (shaft) 0.45, (bottom) 0.56; letters 0.05. PLATE 9 figure 2 (front) and figure 3 (right).

*Ανγδιαι*  
*εὐχῆν*

L. Robert has pointed out that the shrine at Yazılı Kaya was the chief sanctuary of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia (in the valley of Kümbet), a small city which was not a 'metropolis' but rather derived its name from that of the Mother of the Gods.<sup>45</sup> For the serpent<sup>46</sup> on this altar cf. the stylized snakes (both fully coiled, whereas ours is extended) on Haspels' nos. 6 (pl.607) and 9 (pl.608), and for the amphora cf. the vessels on Haspels' nos. 1 and 2 (pl.605), 6, 8 (pl.608), 12

<sup>43</sup> Philomelion was located at Akşehir by F. V. J. Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor I* (London 1834) 279–82; the first inscription to bear the name of the city was discovered by me in 1971 (*BullÉpigr* 1972, 456). I shall publish elsewhere the inscriptions in the museum at Akşehir, together with others from that region (notably a bilingual text of Dindia M.f., wife of L. Timinius L.f.).

<sup>44</sup> *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.17) 295–302 nos.1–17 (cf. 188 n.122).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. notably *BullÉpigr* 1972, 463. I have visited the site and the region of the other, southern, Metropolis of Phrygia at Tatarlı and shall publish elsewhere a series of new texts, notably a letter mentioning the proconsul Stertinius Quartus.

<sup>46</sup> On the religious (especially chthonic) connotations of the serpent see E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst und Religion (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 13, Giessen 1913) 85–120.*

(pl. 610); for the spelling of the goddess' name cf. the variations listed by Haspels on p.200.

## EUMENEIA

15. In the small museum of antiquities created at a school in the town of Çivril by my friend B. Galip Yavuz<sup>47</sup> is the lower portion of a votive stele with tenon at bottom, from the village of Koçak northeast of Çivril in the plain west of the site of Eumeneia at Işıklı. The inscription is engraved on either side of and below a double-axe in relief. H. 0.21, w. 0.185, th. 0.09, letters 0.015. PLATE 9 figure 4.

|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| [᾿Απόλλω]-   | [χ]ανος κολα- |
| [νι Προ]-    | ζόμενος       |
| [πυ]λαίω     | 7 [᾿]νέθηκεν  |
| 4 [᾿Επ]ιτύν- |               |

Lines 3, 5: the horizontal bar of *alpha* is not now visible.

The essential commentary on Apollo Propylaios at Eumeneia is to be found in a discussion by J. and L. Robert<sup>48</sup> of the inscriptions discovered in an excavation of Byzantine remains at Istanbul. A text found between the churches of St Irene and St Sophia reads: Γάϊος Σκύμνου ᾿Απόλλωνι Προπυλαίω εὐχὴν, for which the Roberts compared a dedication copied in 1887 by Ramsay<sup>49</sup> precisely at the village of Koçak, from which our stone was brought to Çivril: Πριμιγένης ᾿Απόλλωνι Προπυλαίω εὐχὴν; another dedication found by A. J. B. Wace<sup>50</sup> at Işıklı in 1903: ᾿Απόλλωνι Προπυλαίω ᾿Αχιλεὺς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν; and another copied at Emircik (SE of Koçak and SW of Işıklı) by Calder<sup>51</sup> in 1924: [᾿Αλέξ]ανδρος [Σω]σιπάτρου [θε]ῶ ᾿Απόλ[λ]ωνι Προπυλέω εὐχὴν· εὐχαρ[ι]τῶ σοι ὅτι τῆ[ς] πλε<υ>ρᾶς ᾿πον[όν] με ἐτήρησε[ς?]. All of these dedications, like ours, bear in relief a double-

<sup>47</sup> It is a pleasure to thank here Mr Yavuz, who invited me to publish the texts which he had collected and in whose company I visited the region of Çivril and Işıklı (cf. Drew-Bear and Eck, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.2] 309–12 no.15, a Latin epitaph of the fourth century from Işıklı, and 294–96 no.5, a Latin milestone of the road from Apameia to Eumeneia).

<sup>48</sup> *BullÉpigr* 1953, 129, where it is stated that “L. Robert revient ailleurs sur ce culte”; cf. also *BullÉpigr* 1964, 277.

<sup>49</sup> *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) I.374 no.195, with aberrant commentary.

<sup>50</sup> Published (together with the other texts copied by Wace) by M. N. Tod, *BSA* 11 (1904/5) 28–29 no.1.

<sup>51</sup> *JRS* 16 (1926) 66 no.187 and pl.11; cf. W. M. Calder, *Bull. John Rylands Library* 13 (1929) 257 (*SEG* VI 213).

axe, the symbol of Apollo Propylaios (and naturally of other divinities as well).<sup>52</sup> The stone discovered at Istanbul was thus carried from the region of Eumeneia, for Apollo Propylaios was clearly a god of this city.<sup>53</sup> Our dedication is the first known to have been offered to this divinity because he chastised<sup>54</sup> one of his worshippers; as such it enters the series of confession inscriptions, of which the dedication to Hosios and Dikaios (*infra* no.17) provides another example.

#### DIONYSOUPOLIS?

16. In the course of my detailed survey of the district of Çal southwest of Eumeneia in the region of the upper Maeander I recorded in Bekilli<sup>55</sup> a small stele said to have been brought from the village of Üçkuyu and precisely from a place called Çağılası 1½ km. west of that village. The shaft (broken at its top right corner) bears an inscription below an ox-head in relief, surrounded by a border on each side which is repeated also at right, left and back of the stele. H. 0.28, w. 0.122, th. 0.125, letters 0.06. PLATE 9 figure 5.

Μανης  
 Ἀπολλω-  
 νίου Διὸς  
 4 Τρωσσου  
 ἀνάθε-  
 μα

For the name *Μανης* v. *supra* n.33. There exist from this region other

<sup>52</sup> For the double-axe borne by rider gods in Phrygia and Lydia see the lists of attestations cited by L. Robert, *Hellenica* III (1946) 61. This is the weapon of Apollo Tarsios in Lydia: Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* I (Paris 1964) 33 n.7; and of Apollo Lykios at Perinthos: *Bull'Épigra* 1972, 286; for attestations in Caria, see Robert, *Collection Froehner* (Paris 1936) 71 n.5; etc. Cf. *MAMA* IV xv and nos.273, 286.

<sup>53</sup> One of his priests, a Roman citizen, is mentioned in an inscription copied by Ramsay in 1887 at Işıklı: *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) I.374 no.196 (*IGRR* IV 742).

<sup>54</sup> On the verb *κολάζω* in this connexion see L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* I (Paris 1964) 24–27: the normal formulation is *κολαθεῖς*, and in none of the examples cited does the verb appear as a present participle, of which our text thus furnishes the first attestation.

<sup>55</sup> It is a pleasure to thank İbrahim Koçberber, Director of the Orta Okul at Bekilli, for showing me the present text and two blocks inscribed on three sides with manumission inscriptions from the temple of Apollo Larbenos, which I shall publish elsewhere and which confirm the results reached by L. Robert concerning the topography of this district (v. *infra*). I also recorded two honorific inscriptions erected by the Hyrgaleis and rediscovered the text *IGRR* IV 769, there attributed to "Lounda"; cf. *JRS* 65 (1975) 82.

dedications to this divinity, one now at Vienna<sup>56</sup> (below a relief depicting an ox): *Διὶ Τρωσσου Πρῶμος Μάρκου εὐχὴν*; one first copied by Ramsay<sup>57</sup> in 1888 at the village of Bahadınlar (below a relief depicting the divinity on horseback and holding a patera): *Ἡρακλίδης Παμφίλου Διειὶ Τρωσσου ε[ὐ]ξάμενος ἀνέθηκα*; and another found in 1930 at the neighboring village of Kuyucak<sup>58</sup> (below a relief depicting two legs, which explains the first participle: the dedication was made as the result of a cure): *Μελιτίνη Μηνογένουσι Διὶ Τυλιεσσου ἀναδεξαμένη εὐξαμένη ἀνέθη[κα]* (perhaps a misreading for *Τρωσσου*; the published photograph of a squeeze does not permit verification). The historical geography of this area has been elucidated by L. Robert.<sup>59</sup> Bekilli and Üçkuyu are in the territory of Dionysopolis on the right bank of the Maeander, whereas the villages of Bahadınlar and Kuyucak are situated south of the temple of Apollo Larbenos on the opposite bank of the river within the territory of Motella or of Hierapolis. Small votive offerings of this type travel easily, but we know at least the general area in which must have stood the sanctuary of *Ζεὺς Τρωσσου*. For a dedication to this divinity in Lydia see *BullÉpigr* 1970, 511.

#### UNCERTAIN PROVENIENCE

17. In the museum at Afyonkarahisar is an altar (inv. no.825) broken at bottom and worn at upper left corner, with a projecting moulding at top decorated by acroteria in relief. An inscription begins on the top moulding and continues on the shaft above two figures on a low pedestal, each with long hair and tunic extending to below the knees. The figure on the left holds a pair of scales and that on the right a measuring rod; each holds one arm across the chest with fingers spread. H. 0.69; w. (top) 0.325, (shaft) 0.28; th. (top) 0.29, (shaft) 0.24; letters 0.028. PLATE 10 figure 1.

[Τελ]έσφορος καὶ Ἐ[ρμ]-  
ογένης Σταλλα-  
ηνοὶ παρορκή-  
4 σαντες ἀνέθη-  
καν

<sup>56</sup> *BullÉpigr* 1951, 211 (important commentary).

<sup>57</sup> The bibliography is given by L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII (Paris 1949) 57 n.1 (the epithet had been read *Τρωσσου*: cf. n.56).

<sup>58</sup> MAMA IV 266.

<sup>59</sup> *Villes d'Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1962) ch. vii: "Dionysopolis de Phrygie et les Larbenoi," and, in the second edition, 356ff. For the places mentioned here see the map *op.cit.* pl. xvi.



*Epsilon* and *sigma*, square elsewhere, are lunate in the middle of line 4: apparently the mason cut the bottom portion of the vertical stroke of a square *epsilon* (still visible) and then abandoned it upon realizing that if continued the stroke would meet the horizontal bar of *tau*.

The provenience indicated by the museum inventory is the cemetery of Afyonkarahisar, *i.e.* not the modern cemetery on the outskirts of the city to the east but the old cemetery (now destroyed),<sup>60</sup> which was a fruitful source of ancient material reused as headstones.<sup>61</sup> Ancient inscriptions found at Afyonkarahisar were normally carried there from elsewhere, since the site first acquired importance when the fortress, which together with the local crop gave the city its name 'Black Castle of Opium', was constructed in Byzantine times atop one of the trachyte cliffs that overlook the Turkish city. Thus the original provenience of this altar, and hence the location of the village of the *Σταλλαηνοί*, remain uncertain.<sup>62</sup>

The inscription does not name the divinity to whom Telesphoros and Hermogenes dedicated this altar; however the reliefs permit a secure identification, for the two figures with balance and cubit rule can only be Hosios and Dikaïos (or Hosion and Dikaion).<sup>63</sup> Two figures with the same attributes on a votive stele from Dorylaion were identified by L. Robert<sup>64</sup> as *Ἅγιος καὶ Δίκαιος*; Robert compared an

<sup>60</sup> This cemetery is depicted as it appeared in 1826 by Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1828) pl. xxiv 52 opposite p.64. For the Armenian cemetery at Afyonkarahisar and its ancient marbles see also Henry J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little-known Parts of Asia Minor, with Illustrations of Biblical Literature and Researches in Archaeology II* (London 1870) 235–36.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the lemma of CIG 3879, an epitaph copied at Afyonkarahisar *extra urbem in coemeterio, ubi multi lapides sepulcrales marmoris candidi*; also *op.cit.* 3882c, etc. For an inscription of Dokimeion copied in a cemetery at Afyonkarahisar see L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta II* (Amsterdam 1969) 1167. For ancient tombstones reused in the Armenian cemetery at Kütahya see Buckler, Calder and Cox, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.25) 156, 159–60, 162, 164.

<sup>62</sup> Such cases are frequent: cf. Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.59) 360. Compare for the ending the demotics *Γανζαηνός, Λανκαηνός, Παπαηνός, Ταταηνός* attested on the lists of the Xenoi Tekmoreioi in the territory of Antioch "in Pisidia" (I have revised these lists against the originals in the village of Sağır and the museum of Yalvaç and have prepared a corpus of the documents related to these Tekmoreioi; also I have located the *Καρμηνοί* in the plain of Oinağan in the region of Synnada and the *Λανκαηνοί* in the region of Dumlupınar, *v. supra* n.10).

<sup>63</sup> In the museum at Afyonkarahisar is now also an uninscribed votive relief depicting a standing radiate male figure, photographed by W. M. Calder at the village of Başara between the "Midas City" and Amorion and identified by that scholar as the *θεός ὁσίος καὶ δίκαιος*, MAMA I no.398.

<sup>64</sup> *RevPhil* 1939, 205–06 with pl. i=Opera Minora Selecta II 1358–59 with pl.27.

altar at Dorylaion<sup>65</sup> dedicated to Ὀσίῳ Δικαίῳ and another altar from the region between İnönü (west of Dorylaion) and Kotiaieion<sup>66</sup> dedicated to Θεοῖς Ὀσίοις καὶ Δικαίοις, both of which possess reliefs representing, among other deities, a female divinity with a pair of scales and (on the second altar) a measuring-rod.<sup>67</sup> On Hosios and Dikaïos in general Robert has prepared a monograph.<sup>68</sup>

This inscription records a public confession of perjury on the part of the two dedicants, and as such it constitutes the first known confession inscription<sup>69</sup> dedicated to Hosios and Dikaïos. One group of confession inscriptions has been discovered in Phrygia, centered upon the worship of Apollo Larbenos at his sanctuary on a height above the Maeander near Motella (v. *supra* n.55). Some of these enter into more detail than our text concerning acts of perjury, notably a document<sup>70</sup> in which we read: ὁμολογῶ [περὶ] τῶ[ν] περιστερῶν ἐπιωρκηκέναι με καὶ παραβε[β]ῆχθαι καὶ πικεχειρηκέναι [ἐπὶ] τὸ χωρίον. Apparently the culprit raided the temple precinct and seized some of the pigeons which lived there; when questioned about the deed (naturally done in secret, for otherwise it would have been prevented) he perjured himself in denying his responsibility. Another text<sup>71</sup> confesses that the dedicant ἐπιορκήσας καὶ ἄναγνος ἰσῆλθα ἰς τὸ κύνβωμον: apparently he became impure by violation of his oath, which here again may have been connected with a religious matter.<sup>72</sup> Another group of confession

<sup>65</sup> MAMA V no.11; other dedications to this divinity are listed *op.cit.* 193, and I shall publish a new series from Nakoleia.

<sup>66</sup> G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures, Constantinople III* (Constantinople 1914) no.846.

<sup>67</sup> For the representation on our stele cf. *Hellenica X* (1955) 95–96, where Robert identifies this divinity on an uninscribed votive stele in the museum at Istanbul described by its editor as portraying “deux personnages debout de face, qui se tiennent par la main; les longs cheveux tombent sur les épaules; l’un porte une balance, l’autre un long bâton.”

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Hellenica III* (1946) 59 n.2 (on the bibliography); *Hellenica X* (1955) 106–07 (with the texts there cited); *Opera Minora Selecta I* 420; *Hellenica XI–XII* (1960) 438 (on the religious milieu); *Villes d’Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup> (1962) 387 n.2; *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (1964) 35. For three dedications to Hosios and to Hosios and Dikaïos from the highlands of Phrygia see *BullÉpigr* 1972, 468, and for three dedications to Hosios and Dikaïos from the region of Kula in Lydia see P. Herrmann and K. Z. Polatkan, *SBWien 265.1* (1969) 49–53 with the commentary. This divinity, whose cult is attested most abundantly in Phrygia, was worshipped as far away as Anchialos: see *BullÉpigr* 1972, 296.

<sup>69</sup> On the nature of such confessions see Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.54) 23–24.

<sup>70</sup> MAMA IV 279, discussed at great length by A. Cameron in *HThR* 32 (1939) 155–78; on the pigeons cf. Robert, *JSav* 1971, 95, for discussion and parallels.

<sup>71</sup> Ramsay, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) I 149 no.41; F. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht im Zusammenhang mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike* (Leipzig 1913) no.29: cf. the commentary of Steinleitner pp.89–90, and R. Pettazzoni, *La Confessione dei Peccati Parte Seconda, III* (Bologna 1936) 60–61.

<sup>72</sup> A third confession (MAMA IV no.280: cf. Pettazzoni, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.71] 137 n.52)

inscriptions comes from the region of Kula in Lydia, among which is a case of perjury concerning unjust retention of certain *πρόβατα*<sup>73</sup> and an even more detailed confession of perjury with regard to the theft of three pigs,<sup>74</sup> both of which were punished with the death of individuals by action of the offended divinities. Such severe punishment was clearly directed not against the actual offences, themselves relatively minor, but rather against the perjury in the name of the divinities which followed.<sup>75</sup> The altar of Telesphoros and Hermogenes thus forms part of a series of confessions of perjury, and the consequences recounted on the texts from Lydia—the documents from Phrygia, however, do not mention such drastic requitals—permit us to imagine their motives in making the dedication.

This is the first epigraphical attestation of the verb *παρορκέω*, which is far rarer than the compound of similar meaning *ἐπιορκέω*.<sup>76</sup> Compare an inscription found by Th. Wiegand<sup>77</sup> at Emet northwest of Aezani and published as follows:

Ἄρτεμιδώρα Σ·  
ΕΛΕΥΑΔΗΝΙΗ  
ὑπὲρ παρορκίας (παροικίας?) [ἀνός]-  
4           τησεν

The inscription at Afyonkarahisar confirms Wiegand's reading *παρορκίας* against his suggested correction (for which parallels were

states that Helios Apollo Larbenos *ἐκολάσέτο με καὶ διὰ ὄρκον καὶ συνίδην καὶ διὰ μόλυμον*. Other texts from this area mention oaths in contexts which are yet more obscure.

<sup>73</sup> L. Robert gives the bibliography in *Hellenica* X (1955) 36.

<sup>74</sup> Most recently in E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* I (Leiden 1971) 27 no.43 with the previous bibliography.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Pettazzoni, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.71) 72–73. Another case of death resulting from a false oath, this time concerning repayment of a debt, is described on a stele from the same region, Lane, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.74) 33–34 no.51; other documents present cases in which the existence of perjury is doubtful (but the text which Lane in *Berytus* 15 [1964] 15 no.5 considered as evidence for divine punishment of perjury, no.58 of his Corpus, is rather a case of drunken abuse).

<sup>76</sup> LSJ cites for the former two references (Appian and Philostratos), both derived from the *Thesaurus*, which registers also three passages in Christian authors; the normal opposition in all periods was *εὐορκέω*: *ἐπιορκέω* (only the forms in *ἐπι-* survive in modern Greek). An interesting illustration is furnished by the life of St John Chrysostom written by his contemporary Palladius, *Palladii Dialogus de Vita S. Johannis Chrysostomi* ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge 1928) 64 line 6, *ἀποθνήσκει εἰς τὰ Εὐαγγέλια παρορκήσας*: for here the *Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Georgius Alexandrinus, largely plagiarized from the work of Palladius (cf. Coleman-Norton, pp. xii–xiii and n.14), has *οὗτος ἐφάνη ἐπιορκήσας*.

<sup>77</sup> *AthMitt* 29 (1904) 331. The reading *παρορκίας* was defended by K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht* (1920, repr. Aalen 1964) 82–83.

not cited and would be difficult to adduce). It is interesting to observe that despite Wiegand's publication of 1904 the word *παρορκία* is missing from LSJ and still from its Supplement (1968), although it had been already registered by the *Thesaurus* and the *Lexicon* of Sophocles from Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus:<sup>78</sup> for these authors were excluded on principle from LSJ. The consequences of such procedure are here evident once again;<sup>79</sup> this word constitutes another example of a term, known in literature only from patristic sources, of which epigraphical documents prove the existence already under the pagan Empire.

18. In the museum at Afyonkarahisar is a votive relief broken at top depicting a goddess with head framed by veil reaching to shoulders seated on a sort of bench of which are visible the legs to left and right, all between two pilasters surmounted by capitals (the upper part of the stele has the form of a niche corresponding to the head of the goddess). The divinity wears a long mantle reaching to her feet and apparently clasps her hands at front. Below the relief is an inscription, in part difficult to decipher because of the flaking of the surface. H. 0.405, w. 0.28, th. 0.14, letters 0.015. PLATE 10 figure 2.

[ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ]  
 γυνὴ Μ.α.ια κυ-  
 ρία Δήμητρι

The text must have begun on the portion of the stele now broken away above the relief. According to the museum inventory this stele was bought in 1963 from a dealer in antiquities, and so there is no assurance even that it was found in Phrygia and not in one of the neighboring regions of Asia Minor. The epithet *κύριος* could be borne under the Empire by nearly any divinity.

19. In the same museum is an altar (inv. no.4191) said to have been bought from this dealer in antiquities at the same time; it has projecting mouldings at top and bottom, with two acroteria flanking a

<sup>78</sup> The same two references reappear in G. W. H. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961). In Greg.Naz. Ep.163 (Migne, PG 3 272A), *ἀπὸ γὰρ τὸ δικάσασθαι παρορκίας*, the *app.crit.* shows a variant *ἐπιορκίας*.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. the remarks of L. Robert notably in *Hellenica* XIII (1965) 178. For two hundred *addenda*, *corrigenda* and *delenda* to LSJ and its Supplement see Th. Drew-Bear, *Glotta* 50 (1972) 61–96 and 182–228; I have prepared further lists with several hundred more corrections.

cylindrical upper portion (broken at center and right). On the shaft at front is the bust on a pedestal of a radiate god whose shoulders are covered by a mantle held by a circular clasp at the center of his chest. An inscription begins on the top moulding, continues on the shaft at either side of the relief, and finishes on the bottom moulding. On the right side of the shaft is an uncertain object in relief, and on the left side a male bust in a tunic of which the surface resembles fish scales. H. 0.47, w. 0.235, th. 0.22, letters 0.02. PLATE 10 figure 3.

|   |               |      |
|---|---------------|------|
|   | [ - - - - - ] |      |
|   | κις εὐχ(ῆ)ν   |      |
|   | Σώ            | ζ-   |
| 4 | ον            | τι   |
|   | [ ᾠ ]ν        | έθη- |
|   | κεν           |      |

Line 2: the horizontal bar of *eta* was not cut. Line 6: only the bottom right stroke of *kappa* is preserved.

The first portion of the name of the dedicant was inscribed at top between the acroteria. Names terminating in *-κις* are not characteristic of Phrygia. On the god Sozon *v. supra* no.3: as stated there, he is usually represented on horseback, but another altar depicting only the bust of the god is known from the region of Burdur.<sup>80</sup> The formula *εὐχῆν . . . ἀνέθηκε* appears also in the dedication from Karamanlı (*supra* n.13; *cf. infra* no.20): *Οσακις Ἀττάλου ἰ(ε)ρακάμεν[οσ Σ]ώζοντι ἐπηκόω εὐχῆν ἀνέθηκεν*. Perhaps the present dedication was found in this area or elsewhere in the province of Burdur.

**20.** In the same museum is another altar (inv. no.4) of unknown provenience, with projecting moulding at top decorated by two acroteria flanking a cylindrical upper portion (surface at right broken away). On the shaft at front is a female bust, surrounded by an inscription, with head framed by veil reaching to shoulders and a mantle encircled by a cord tied at center below the breasts, above a projecting moulding at bottom with a rectangular recess. On the right side of the shaft is a

<sup>80</sup> H. Metzger, *Catalogue des monuments votifs du musée d'Adalia* (Paris 1952) 29–30 no.14 and pl.4; G. E. Bean, (Türk Tarih Kurumu) *Belleten* 22 (1958) 70 no.87 (on this altar the god is not radiate: *cf. Metzger*, pp.33–34). For another inscribed relief “from near Burdur” brought to Afyonkarahisar, see *MAMA VI* no.384; a relief depicting a goddess between the Dioskouroi from the region of Tefenni (*MAMA VI* 409) is now in the museum at Afyon. For another dedication to Sozon in Pisidia see G. E. Bean, *AnatSt* 9 (1959) 106 no.70.

sheaf of wheat and on the left side a tree. H. 0.515, w. 0.215, th. 0.225.

PLATE 10 figure 4.

|   |              |             |
|---|--------------|-------------|
|   | "Αττα-       | θεῶ         |
|   | λος          | 8 ἼΑπό-     |
|   | Νέωννος Του- | λωνι        |
| 4 | (α)ντος      | εὐχῆ-       |
|   | ἐπη-         | [ν] ἀνέθηκε |
|   | κόω          |             |

Line 4: the horizontal bar of *alpha* was not cut. Line 5: only the upper portion of *epsilon* is preserved. Line 8: *alpha* cut over *pi*. Line 11: only the top of *alpha* is preserved.

The first name begins at the top between the acroteria, and it seems that nothing was ever inscribed on the acroterion at right. The epithet ἐπήκοος is attested for numerous divinities.<sup>81</sup> For the genitive *Τουαντος*, apparently encountered here for the first time, cf. the genitive *Τουεντος* at Hamaxia in Rough Cilicia<sup>82</sup> of the name *Τουης*, abundantly attested on the southern coast of Asia Minor from Pamphylia to Rough Cilicia,<sup>83</sup> a fact which suggests a general provenience for this altar. The female figure depicted by the relief is doubtless a goddess, but she has no attributes which would permit identification. The question of her name, like that of the provenience of this altar, can be solved only by an eventual discovery of other dedications from the same sanctuary.

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (1948) 24 n.2, and O. Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* I (Amsterdam 1969) 131-95; for a recent attestation of Apollo ἐπήκοος discovered by J. and L. Robert in Commagene see *Bull'Épigr* 1968, 549.

<sup>82</sup> G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Denkschr Wien* 85 (1965) 8 no.3.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. L. Robert, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.33) 424 n.6, and *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Paris 1966) 87; Zgusta, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) 520.



Figure 1. No. 1, Akmonia

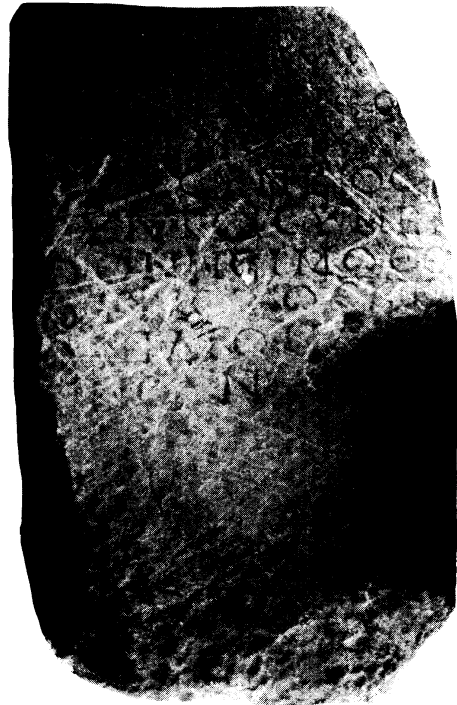


Figure 2. No. 2, Akmonia



Figure 3. No. 8, Nakoleia or Kotiaeion



Figure 4. No. 9, Appia

PLATE 8    DREW-BEAR



*Figure 1. No. 10, Appia*



*Figure 2. No. 12, Appia*



*Figure 3. No. 11, Appia*



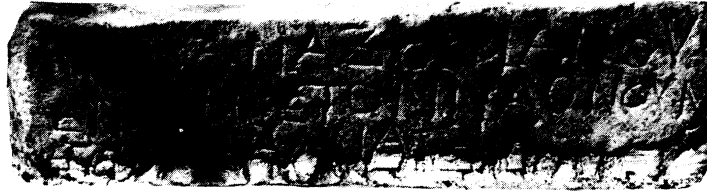


Figure 1. No. 13, Amorion, inscribed base of statue



Figure 2. No. 14, Metropolis, front of altar



Figure 3. No. 14, right side of altar



Figure 4. No. 15, Eumeneia



Figure 5. No. 16, Dionysoupolis?

PLATE 10 DREW-BEAR



Figure 1. No. 17, provenience uncertain



Figure 2. No. 18, provenience uncertain



Figure 3. No. 19, provenience uncertain



Figure 4. No. 20, provenience uncertain