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ESENGÜL AKINCI ÖZTÜRK – CUMHUR TANRIVER

NEW KATAGRAFI AND DEDICATIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF
APOLLON LAIRBENOS

aus: Epigraphica Anatolica 41 (2008) 91–111

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NEW KATAGRAPHAI AND DEDICATIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLON LAIRBENOS¹

The sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos, located NE of Hierapolis in Phrygia has yielded two interesting series of dedications known as *confessions* and *katagraphai*. All the confession-inscriptions discovered around this sanctuary have been made available by G. Petzl in *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (EA 22, 1994)². Likewise the 42 *katagraphai*, published before 2000, have been collected and rediscussed in detail by T. Ritti – C. Şimşek – H. Yıldız in EA 32, 2000, 1–88 (with detailed indices), where they also publish 16 new finds³. In this article we present new *katagraphai* and dedications discovered during the recent excavations carried out at Asartepe, the site of the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos⁴.

1 Katagraphe

Two joining pieces of a marble architectural element recording two *katagraphai*. Height 40; total width 213; thickness 78; letter-height varying between 2.2 and 3.2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

- 1 [ΦΛΛΒΘΣ Ἰεραπολεί[της κα]ταγράφω vac.
2 Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λερμηνῶ κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλόν μου ὀ[νό]ματι Νείκωνα ὡς
ἐτ-
3 ὦν τρειάκοντα, ὄν ὠνησάμην παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντιόχου β' Μοτελῆνοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπὸ
[σ]ήμερον ἔστ[θ]ω
4 ἱερὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἐγκαλέσει· εἰ δέ τις ἐπε[ν]καλέσει, θήσει εἰς
τὸν θεὸν προστεῖμου ✕, βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερώτ(α)τον ταμίον ἄλλα ✕, βφ'. leaf vac.

¹ We wish to thank Hasan Hüseyin Baysal, the Director of the Denizli Museum, and the archaeologist Haşim Yıldız for their kind permission to work on these inscriptions. It is a pleasure also to thank H. Malay, G. Petzl and M. Riel for their kind help during the preparation of the article.

Some abbreviations used in this article are:

Miller 1985: K. V. Miller, Apollo Lairbenos, *Numen* XXXII, 1985, 46–70.

Riel 1995: M. Riel, Les *καταγραφαί* du sanctuaire d'Apollon Lairbenos, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* III, 1995, 167–195.

Riel 2001: M. Riel, Donations of Slaves and Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration, *Tyche* 16, 2001, 127–160.

Ritti *et alii* 2000: T. Ritti – C. Şimşek – H. Yıldız, Dedications e *καταγραφαί* dal santuario frigio di Apollo Lairbenos, EA 32, 2000, 1–88.

Dignas 2003: B. Dignas, Urban Centres, Rural Centres, Religious Centres in the Greek East, Worlds Apart?, *Religion und Region. Götter und Kulte aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum, Asia Minor Studien* 45 (2003), 77–91.

² There are of course more confessions that came to light in other regions after Petzl's publication, see e.g. P. Herrmann – H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia*, Wien 2007, nos. 46–7, 54–7, 66 and 83–5.

³ Cf. SEG 50 (2000), 1254–1285 and Riel 2001, 154–160.

⁴ On the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos in the territory of the village Bahadınlar see notably MAMA IV, pp. XIV–XV (with two plans on pp. 98–90 which have been reproduced by Ritti *et alii* 2000, 87–8); L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², 127ff. and 356–7; Riel 1995, 167–8; Dignas 2003, 86 (cf. also *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002, 238–42). For a preliminary report on these excavations see H. Baysal, 21. *Yüzyıla Girerken Geçmişten Günümüze Çal Yöresi (01–03 Eylül 2006, Çal Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Denizli 2007, 712–716 and E. Akıncı – H. Yıldız, *Uluslararası Denizli ve Çevresi Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu* (6–8 Eylül 2006), *Bildiriler II*, Denizli 2007, 98–105.

Apollonios assigns to Zenon a workshop (ἐργαστήριον) and a two-storied house (δίστεγος)⁷ and tools (ἄρμενα)⁸ together with their “εἴσοδοι and ἔξοδοι” which would mean “incomes and outgoings” rather than “entrances and exists (of the buildings)”. Zenon, who was probably an expert of the trade carried out in the workshop, was responsible to run the business so that he was obliged to render account to the sanctuary. The kind of the production in this workshop must have been defined by an adjective following ἄρμενα. In another *katagraphē* likewise recording a workshop being conveyed to Apollon Lairbenos⁹, the word following ἐργαστήριον has been restored as γ[ερδιακόν] by M. Riel who adduced some papyrologic attestations of the term and underlined the widespread wool production in the region¹⁰. In our instance too it is very attractive read ἄρμεν[α γερδιακ]ά (*tools for weaving*) which would fit the lacuna. However, in another *katagraphē* (*infra* no. 7) with similar wording the preserved ἄρμενα π[- ca. 9–10 -]γικά leads us to think of some alternative supplements including, for instance, λιθουργικά (*mason’s tools*), ξυλουργικά (*carpenter’s tools*), ἐριουργικά (*wool-weaver’s tools*) etc. As there must have been different kinds of commercial activities in the workshops that existed around the sanctuary, the supplements offered above would equally be possible¹¹.

It is difficult to know where these *workshops* were located. Regarding the remains of many buildings around the temple, one would think that at least some of them might have functioned as workshops for production and sale in the name of the temple. But the conveyance of a δίστεγον (“two-storied house”) in our inscription (cf. also ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐργαστήριον in Ritti *et alii* 2000, K43 = Riel 2001, p. 159) seems to point to an atelier in connection with a residence. Furthermore, if we are right in understanding that the terms εἴσοδοι and ἔξοδοι are here used to mean “incomes” and “outgoings”, this would have to be regarded as a conditional conveyance, which would mean that Apollonios had granted only the incomes of the workshop so that the immovables and the tools should remain in his possession. If so, the amount of time for the assignment should have been recorded in the missing lines below the stone (cf. also *infra* no. 7: εἴσοδον ἔσω[-]).

3 Katagraphē

Marble base with mouldings at top and bottom. Both upper corners are broken off. It contains nine inscriptions distributed over three sides: nos. 3–5 on the front; nos. 6–8 on the right and nos. 9–11 on the left. As the entire surface of the back side is damaged, it is not possible to know whether also this surface was inscribed. Height 155; width 50; thickness 27; letter-height varying between 1.1 and 2.5 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

[
[-]ΔΙ Αὐρήλιος Γλύκ[ων?]
[]καταγράφω (σὺν) τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς γυ]-

⁷ The term οἰκία δίστεγος (“two-storied house”) is frequent in papyri. On the term δίστεγος see M.-Ch. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l’architecture grecque, d’après les inscriptions de Délos*, 1992, 423–6, cf. also *Topoi* 4, 1994, 136. For ἐργαστήρια δίστεγα see *MAMA* VIII, 498 (Aphrodisias).

⁸ On ἄρμενα see M.-Ch. Hellmann, *Topoi* 4 (1994), 135: “instruments de travail”.

⁹ Ritti *et alii* 2000, K43.

¹⁰ Riel 2001, p. 159.

¹¹ For commercial activities in connection with sanctuaries in Anatolia see P. Debord, *op. cit.*, 11ff.

- [ναϊκός] μου Ταταδος τὸν []
 4 [Ἐ]πίκτητον Ἀπολλωνίου[υ]
 [-]ν Ἀπόλλωνι Λερμηνῶ· {N}[εἴ τις]
 [ἔπε]νκαλέσει, θήσι εἰς τὸν τα[μεῖ]-
 [ον] × ,βφ' κὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν × ,βφ'
 8 κὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μοτεληνῶν × ,βφ'.

1 The letters ΔΙ would have belonged to a date at the beginning, e.g. εἰκά]δι, τριακά]δι.

2 NCY lapis.

3 Probably τὸν [ἡμῶν θρεπτόν] or τὸν τεθραμμένον or τὸν ἕγγονον (see the commentary).

4–5 Probably [ἱερὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον] or [ἱερὸν κατ' ὄνειρον] or [ἱερὸν κατ' ἐπιταγήν] ?

“[Date] I, Aurelios Glykon, with the agreement of my wife Tatas, assign ... Epiktetos, son of Apollonios, to Apollon Lermenos ... If anyone will object, he will pay to the treasure 2500 denarii and to the god (another) 2500 denarii and to the city of Motellenoi (another) 2500 denarii.”

The mention of Epiktetos by his biological father (Apollonios) makes it clear that he was of free status. He could have been a relative (e.g. ἕγγονος) of Aurelios Glykon, the dedicant, or his nursling (θρεπτός or τεθραμμένος)¹².

The appearance of the city of Motella (Medele), the nearest city to the sanctuary, as one of the recipients of the fine is a further confirmation of the assumption that the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos was under the control of this city (for a mention of the ἀρχεῖα of Motella see below no. 13; for Motellokepos, probably a village or a district around Motella, see below no. 19)¹³.

4 Dedication of a statue

Below no. 3. Letter-height 3.2 cm.

Date: 256 Sulla = 171/2 A.D.

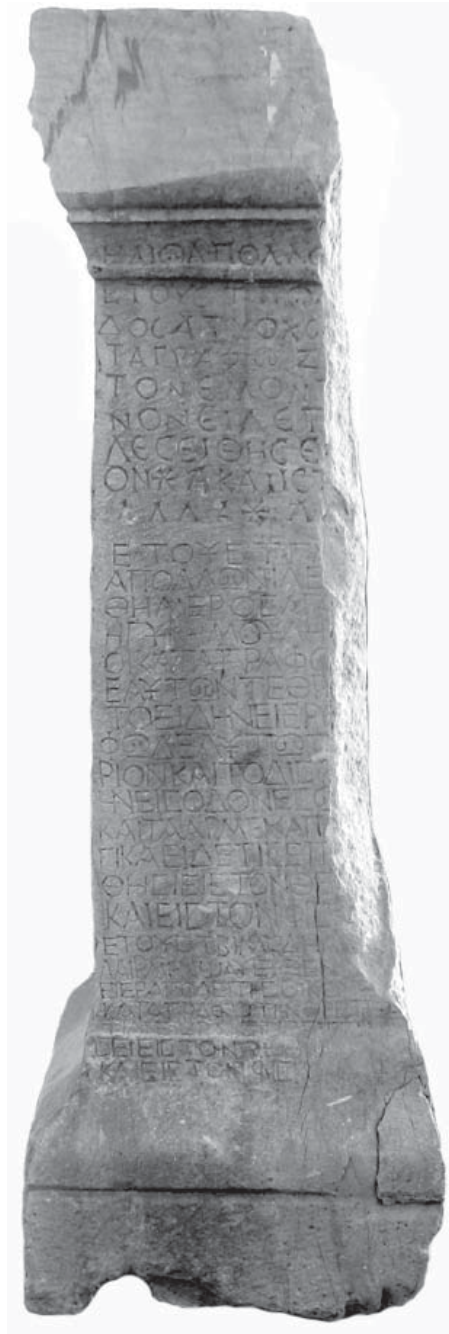
- Ἔτους σνς', μη(νός) Δαισί-
 ου ιβ' Διόδωρος β' τοῦ
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱεραπο-
 4 λείτης κατοικῶν ἐν
 Μοσσύνοις Ἡλίῳ Ἀ-
 πόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῶ
 ἐπηκόῳ θεῶ μετὰ τῆς
 8 γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέ-
 κνων τὸν ἀνδριάντα
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε
 εὐχαριστήριον. leaf

¹² For the legal and social status of foster-children see M. Riel, *Recueil de travaux de la Faculté de philosophie, série A: Les sciences historiques XX (Sobria Ebrietas: Mélanges offerts à Miron Flašar)*, Belgrade 2006, 277–304.

¹³ See Dignas 2003, 87–8.



Nos. 3-5



Nos. 6-8

“In the year 256, on the twelfth day of the month Daisios, together with his wife and children, Didoros son of Diodoros, grandson of Apollonios, of Hierapolis, living in Mossyna, set up this statue from his own resources to Helios Apollon Lairmenos, hearing god¹⁴, in thanksgiving”.

The name of the village Mossyna, located N of Hierapolis, first appears as one of the source of visitors of the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos (for the origin of worshippers of this sanctuary see Ritti *et alii* 2000, p. 51f. and 82 and Dignas 2003, 87)¹⁵.

Of the nine texts on this base, this must have been the original one which was engraved on the occasion of the erection of the statue. The absence of any indication about whose statue was dedicated may be taken as an indication that it was an image of Apollon Lairbenos. For other dedications of statues to Apollon Lairbenos see Ritti *et alii* 2000, p. 6ff. and Miller 1985, 50f., cf. also our no. 14.

5 Katagraphe

Below no. 4. Letter-height 2.2 cm.

Date: 308 Sulla = 223/4 A.D.

Ἔτους τη', μη(νός) γ', ηι'· Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι Λαιρμηνῶ Ἀὐ. Γλύκων
Δωροθέου Εἰεραπολείτης
4 καὶ Ἀὐ. ἡ γυνή μου Τατα Ἀπολλων-
ίου Ἀτυοχωρίτις καταγράφο-
μεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τεθραμένην
Στρατονείκην εἰεράν κατὰ ἐπιτα-
8 γὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. Εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκαλέ-
σει, θήσει εἰς τὸν θεὸν × ,βφ'
καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκον × ,βφ'.

“In the year 308, on the 18th day of the third month, I, Au(relios) Glykon, son of Dorotheos, of Hierapolis, and my wife Au(relia) Tata, daughter of Apollonios, of Atyochorion, assign our nursling Stratonike as a hiera to Helios Apollon Lairmenos according to the command of the god. If anyone will object, he will pay to the god 2500 denarii and to the fiscus (another) 2500 denarii”.

The ethnic Ἀτυοχωρίτης also appears on a dedication to *Meter* Leto and Apollon Lairbenos¹⁶. For another dedicant from the same village see the following *lemma*.

6 Katagraphe

On the right side of the same base. Letter-height 2.1 cm.

Date: 300 Sulla = 215/6 A.D.

¹⁴ This is the first attestation of the qualification of Apollon Lairbenos as ἐπήκοος.

¹⁵ On the location of the village Mossyna at Sazak see L. Robert, *JSav.* 1983, 53–55, cf. also A. Ceylan – T. Ritti, *EA* 28, 1997, 57.

¹⁶ On village of Atyochorion see Ritti *et alii*, D5 with bibliography.

Ἡλίφ Ἀπόλλω[νι]·
 ἔτους τ' Πωλ[-]-
 ΔΟΣ Ἀτυοχω[ριτ- κα]-
 4 ταγράφω Ζ[-]
 τὸν ἐμὸν τ[εθραμμέν]-
 ον, εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκα]-
 λέσει, θήσει[ι ἰς τὸν θε]-
 8 ὄν ✕ ,α' καὶ ἰς τ[ὸν φύσκον]
 ἄλλα ✕ ,α'.

1 There is no space for Λαιρβηνῶ.

2–3 A short name like Πῶλ[α to be followed by something like Ἡρᾶ]δος, Παπα]δος etc.

3 Either Ἀτυοχω[ρίτης or Ἀτυοχω[ρίτις (for a mention of Ἀτυοχώριον see the preceding *lemma*).

“To Helios Apollon. In the year 300, I, Pol-, daughter/son of -as, of Atyochorion, assign my foster son Z-. If anyone will object, he will pay to the God 1000 denarii and to the fiscus another 1000 denarii”.

7 Katagraphe

Below no. 6. Letter-height 2.3 cm.

Date: 303 Sulla = 218/9 A.D.

Ἔτους τγ', μ[η(νός) -· Ἡλίφ]
 Ἀπόλλωνι Λε[ρβηνῶ Ἀγα]-
 θήμερος Ἀγα[θημέρου καὶ]
 4 ἡ γυνή μου Λη[- ethnic]-
 οὶ καταγράφο[μεν τὸν]
 ἑαυτῶν τετρ[αμμένον]
 ΤΟΕΙΔΗΝ εἰερό[ν· καταγρά]-
 8 φω δὲ αὐτῶ τ[ὸ ἐργαστή]-
 ριον καὶ τὸ δίσ[τεγον καὶ τ]-
 ἦν εἴσοδον ἔσω?[]
 καὶ τὰ ἄρμεγα π[άντα?]-
 12 γικά· εἰ δέ τις ἐπ[ενκαλέσει],
 θήσι εἰς τὸν θε[ὸν ✕ number]
 καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκ[ον ✕ number]

2–3 The name Ἀγαθήμερος appears in a confession from the same sanctuary: Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 117.

4 ΛΗ[as the name of the wife reminds one of ΛΗΝ (acusative) occurring in another *katagraphe* (Ricl 1995, no. 31 and Ritti *et alii* 2000, K30). Ricl (*loc. cit.*) identifies it with Λης (fem.) of L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* § 810, while it has been registered as Λη in the index of *SEG* 45, 1995. There are of course other alternatives for the name: e.g. Ληνίς, Ληνοίς, Λητωίς etc.

4–5 An ethnic, e.g. Μοτελλην|οί ?

6–7 -]ΤΟΕΙΔΗΝ should be the end of the accusative of the name of the foster-son. It could have been a name built up with -τοειδής though its regular accusative would end in -δη¹⁷.

8 ἀντῶ refers to the nursling assigned to the god.

“In the year 303, (on the ...th day of the) month ..., I, Agathemeros, and my wife Le- assign our own foster-son -toeides to Apollon Lairbenos as hieros. I also convey to him the workshop and the incomes (obtained within ?) ... and the implements for ... If anyone will object, he will pay to the god a fine of ... denarii and to the imperial treasury (another) ... denarii.”

As in the case of above no. 2, the authors of the *katagraphe* assign a workshop (ἐργαστήριον), a two-storied house (δίστεγος) together with the income (εἶσοδος) and the tools (ἄρμενα) to their foster-son whom they assigned to the god. Therefore he must have been skilled in the business performed in the workshop. On the other hand, the adverb ἔσω (= εἴσω “within”) seems to indicate that what the dedicants ceded to the god were perhaps the incomes of a certain amount of time¹⁸ and not the immovables and tools themselves (cf. *supra* no. 2 with the record of assignment of a workshop σὺν εἰσόδοις κὲ ἐξόδοις).

As it is already discussed in the commentary on no. 2, the kind of the business carried out in the workshop seems to be hidden behind the adjective ending in -γικά (e.g. λιθουργικά, ξυλουργικά, ἐριουργικά etc. which might have been preceded by π[άντα]).

8 Katagraphe

On the right side of the same base, below no. 7. Letter-height varying between 1.4 and 2 cm.

Date: 312 Sulla = 227/8 A.D.

Ἔτους τβί', μη(νός) ς', δ'· Ἡλ[ίω] Ἀπόλλωνι
 Λαιρμηνῶ· Αὐ. Εὐξ[ενος] patronym]
 Εἰεραπολείτης, οἰκ[ῶν ἐν] toponym]
 4 καταγράφω τὴν θρεπτ[ήν μου]-
 τίαν εἰεράν· εἴ τις ἐπ[ενκαλέσει, θή]-
 σει εἰς τὸν θεὸν [× number]
 καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκον [× number].

“In the year 312, on the fourth day of the sixth month, I, Au. Euxenos, son of ..., of Hierapolis, living in ..., assign (my) nursling ...tia to Helios Apollon Lairmenos as hiera. If anyone will object, he will pay to the god ... denarii and to the fiscus (another) ... denarii.”

¹⁷ For adjectives ending in -τοειδής see P. Kretschmer – E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, 1944, 230–1.

¹⁸ The adverb with this meaning is frequent in papyrological sources, cf. e.g. εἴσω (δύο) μηνῶν ἀριθμο(υ)μένων ἀπὸ σήμερον (PCair, Mas 2, 67162, r, 20); εἴσω τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἀριθμουμένων ἀπὸ το(ῦ) μηνὸς Φαρμουθι (PLond, II, 483, 56).



Nos. 9–11

9 Katagrapha

On the left side. Letter-height 2.2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

- [Ἔτους ..., μηνός] ε', ζ' Ἡλίου
 [Ἀπόλλωνι Λειμηνῶ
 [name καὶ ?Τ]ατία ἡ γυν-
 4 [ἡ μου κ]αταγράφο-
 [μεν -]ον τὸν θρε-
 [πτὸν ἡμῶν]: εἰ δέ τις ἐπ-
 [ενκαλέσει, εἰς τὸν θεὸν πο-
 8 [στήμου ✕ number κ]αὶ εἰς τὸν φύσ-
 [κον ✕ number].

7 There seems to be no room for θήσ(ε)ι (for its omission cf. Ritti *et alii* 2000, K2).

7–8 For the spelling ποστήμου instead of προστήμου cf. Ritti *et alii* 2000, K3, K8, K45 and K51 (for this phenomenon see Cl. Brixhe, *Essai sur le Grec anatolien au début de notre ère*, 1984, 113/4).

“In the year ..., on the 6th day of the 5th month, (I, ..., and) my wife Tatia (?) we assign (our) nursling -os to Helios Apollon Leimenos. If anyone will object, (he will pay) to the god a fine of ... (denarii) and to the fiscus (another) ... (denarii).”

10 Katagrapha

Below no. 9. Letter-height 2.1 cm.

Date: 305 Sulla = 220/1 A.D.

- [Ἔτους] τε', μηνός
 [Εὐφρόσυνος
 [] καταγράφω
 4 [name τὸν θρεπτὸν
 [μου Ἡλίου Ἀπό]λλωνι Λερ-
 [μηνῶ· εἴ τις] δ' ἐπενκαλέ-
 [σει, θήσ(ε)ι προ]στήμου
 8 [εἰς τὸν θεὸν ✕ ,αφ'
 [καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκον ✕ ,αφ'.

“In the year 305, on the -th day of the month ..., I, Euphrosynos, (son of ...), assign ... (my) foster-son to (Helios) Apollon Lermenos. If anyone will object, (he will pay) a fine of 1500 denarii to the god and (another) 1500 denarii to the fiscus.”

11 Katagraphe

Below no. 10. Letter-height 2.2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

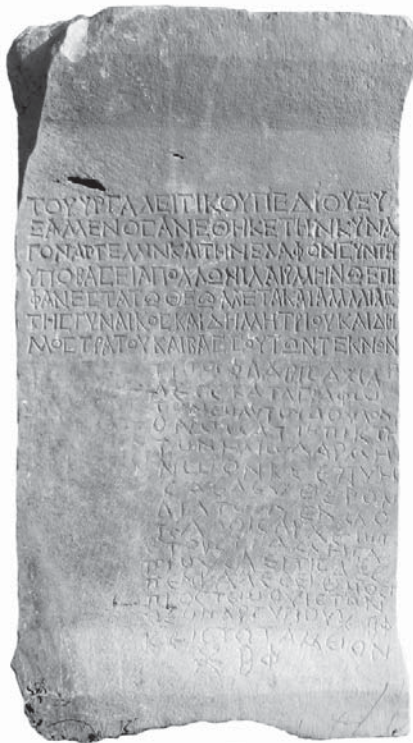
- [Ἔτους ..., μηνός]δ', η' Ἡλίου Ἀπόλ-
 [λωνι Λαιρβην]ῶ Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπ-
 []-]ονβου καὶ ἡ γυ-
 4 [νή μου κ]αὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμ-
 [ῶν καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα ?] καταγράφο-
 [μεν τὴν ἑαυτῶ]ν τεθραμέ-
 [νην name ἱ]εράν· ἐ δέ τις ἐπ-
 8 [ενκαλέσει, θήσει] εἰς τὸν θεὸν πο-
 [στίμου × number κα]ὶ εἰς τὸν φύσ-
 [κον × number].

3 A patronym like Σκό]νβου, Βό]νβου etc.

7 ἐ for εἰ (cf. Riel 1995, 6 = Ritti *et alii* 2000, K6 and Brixhe, *op. cit.*, 54).

“(In the year ...), on the 8th day of the 4th month, I, Aurelios Ap-, son of -onbos, and my wife and our children (and the grandchildren?) we consecrate our nursling ... to Apollon Lairbenos as hiera. If anyone (will object, he will pay) a fine of (... denarii) to the god and (another ... denarii) to the fiscus.”

12 Dedication of statues



Quadrangular altar of marble with mouldings at top and bottom. Front (nos. 12–13) and left surfaces (nos. 14–15) are inscribed. Height 98; width 46.5; thickness 52.5; letter-height 2.1 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

- [] ἄπο]
 τοῦ Ἵργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου εὐ-
 ξάμενος ἀνέθηκε τὴν Κυνα-
 γὸν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὴν ἔλαφον σὺν τῇ
 4 ὑποβάσει Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῶ ἐπι-
 φανεστάτῳ θεῷ μετὰ καὶ Ἀμμίας
 τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Δη-
 μοστράτου καὶ Βάσσου τῶν τέκνων.

“... (name) from the plain of the Hyrgaleis set up the statue of Artemis Kynagos and the deer with the base-ment to Apollon Lairmenos, the most manifest god, together with his wife Ammia and his children Demetrios and Demonstratos and Bassos, after having made the vow.”

This altar, which also records the *katagraphai* nos. 13, 14 and 15, must have been placed somewhere near the images of Artemis Kynagos and of the deer. Demonstratos from the plain of Hyrgaleis¹⁹, one of the dedicants of the statues, seems to have been identical with the father of Demetri(o)s appearing as the author of the *katagraphē infra* no. 14 where he refers to the altar as βωμὸς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀναθήματος πατρικοῦ μου.

The absence of the introductory lines on the stone is puzzling. The text must have started somewhere on the base of the sculptural work mentioned in lines 2–4.

13 Katagraphē

On the front side of the same altar, below no. 12. Its first 6 lines are engraved on a rasure extending to the left. During the second usage the left half of the surface is left unscribed. At the unscribed field on left some letters of an another *katagraphē* of 6 lines are visible. Letter-height varying between 1.9 and 3.5 cm.

Date: 308 Sulla = 223/4 A.D. (the erased text)

314 Sulla = 229/30 A.D. (the new text)

Ἔτους τη'		Τίτος Φλάβιος Ἀχιλ-
ΟΛω		λεὺς καταγράφω
Ο Λ ω Λ Η		τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ δοῦλον
ΑΤ	4	ὀνόματι Ἐπίκτη-
ἐπενκα		τον Ἡλίου Λαρμη-
✕ ,βφ' κὲ εἰς Τ		νῶ ὃν κὲ ἐπύη-
		σα ἐλεύθερον
	8	διὰ τῶν ἐν Μο-
		τελλοῖς ἀρχείω(ν)
		ἔτους τιδ', μη(νός) η', ζ' ἀ-
		πιούσα (sic)· εἴ τις δὲ ἐ-
	12	πενκαλέσει, θή(ο)σι
		προστείμου ἰς τὸν
		θεὸν ἀργυρίου ✕ ,βφ'
		κὲ ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ✕ ,βφ'.

9 APXEIΩΟΥ *lapis*

10–11 ἀπιούσα instead of ἀπιούση [this leads one also to open the abbreviation in Ritti *et alii* 2000, K37 (= Ricl 1995, 39) as ἀπ(ιούση)].

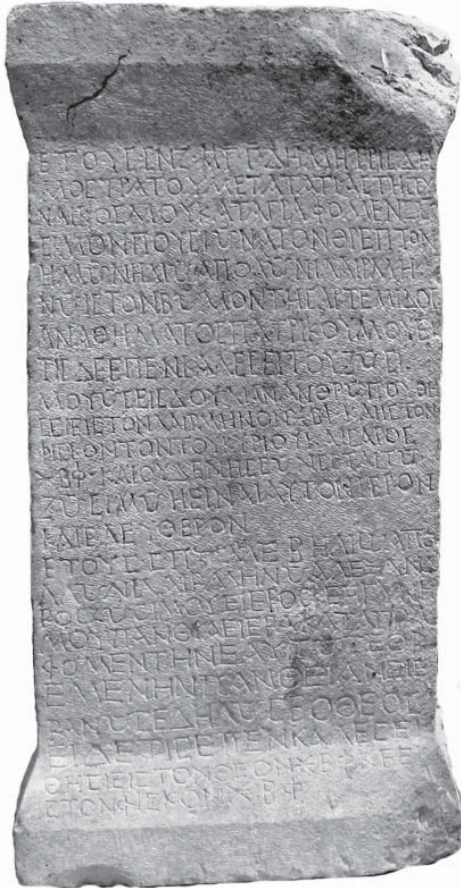
12 ΘΗΟCΙ *lapis*

“I, Titus Flavi(u)s Achilleus, assign to Helios Larmenos my slave named Epiktetos whom I also made free through the archives in Motella, in the year 314, on the 6th day from the end of the 8th month. If anyone will object, he will pay a fine of 2500 silver denarii to the god and (another) 2500 denarii to the treasury.”

¹⁹ A worshipper from the tribe of Hyrgaleis appears first in the material from the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos. For the plain of Hyrgaleis (Ἵργαλέων πεδῖον or Ἵργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου), which is identified with Çal Ovası, and their assembly (κοινόν) see Ricl 1995 with bibliography.

It is interesting to note that Achilles, who first freed the slave officially, submitting the papers of manumission in the city archives, and then assigned him to the god, still refers to Epiktetos as “my slave”. Possibly, Epiktetos was bound to Achilles by paramone.

14 Katagraphe



On the left side of the same altar. Letter-height 1.9 cm.

Date: 257 Sulla = 172/3 A.D.

- Ἔτους σνζ', μη(νὸς) γ', γ': Δημήτρις Δη-
μοστράτου μετὰ Τατίας τῆς γυ-
αϊκός μου καταγράφομεν Ζώ-
σιμον Πουσίωνα τὸν θρεπτὸν
4 ἡμῶν Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμη-
νῶ ἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
ἀναθήματος πατρικοῦ μου· εἴ
8 τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει τοῦ Ζωσί-
μου ὡς εἰς δουλίαν ἀνθρώπου, θή-
σει εἰς τὸν Λαιρμηγὸν * ,βφ' καὶ ἰς τὸν
φίσκον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος
12 * ,βφ' καὶ οὐδὲν ἤσσω ἔσται τῷ
Ζωσίμῳ ἢ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερὸν
καὶ ἐλεύθερον.

3–4 For the Celtic name Πουσίων see Pape–Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v. referring to Dio Cass., 56, 11 (Πουσίων ἱππεὺς Κελτός).

5 The second *Lambda* of Ἀπόλλωνι is later added above the line.

7 The ἀνάθημα πατρικόν²⁰ is probably the statues of Artemis and of a deer which are mentioned in the dedicatory text *supra* no. 12.

“In the year 257, on the third day of the third month, I, Demetri(o)s, son of Demonstratos, together with my wife Tatia, we register Zosimos Pousion, our nursling, to Helios Apollon Lairmenos on the altar of the statue of Artemis, the dedication of my father. If someone brings a charge about Zosimos in order to get him into slavery of a man (i.e. to make Zosimos the slave of a human being), he will pay to Lairmenos 2500 denarii and to the treasury of the lord Caesar (another) 2500 denarii and nonetheless it will be valid for Zosimos that he surely is a hieros and free.”

Demetri(o)s and Tatia who assign their *threptos* to the god, register him on an altar (καταγράφομεν Ζώσιμον ... ἰς τὸν βωμὸν). This has been taken as an indication that in donations of

²⁰ Cf. J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, no. 32: ἀνάθημα προγονικόν.

slaves and children to Apollon Lairbenos the verb καταγράφειν²¹ must have been used to mean “register”, i.e. to engrave the name of a conveyed slave or child somewhere in the sanctuary. This has already been supported by two other texts where the verbs ἐκχωρεῖν (“give up, cede, convey etc.”) and παραχωρεῖν (“deliver, hand over, surrender etc.”) have obviously been used to designate the steps preceding the final act καταγράφειν²². M. Riel, in discussing the meanings of these technical verbs, makes an excellent description of the whole procedure of donation of slaves or children to the god: “the master had first relinquished all his rights over the slave, then handed him over to the god and finally had him registered under the God’s name”²³. In fact, our inscription is a nice confirmation of Riel’s consideration that “in the majority of cases where only the verb καταγράφω is used, we should now understand it as referring just to the final step of a lengthy legal procedure of *cessio*”.

The prescription for protecting Zosimos from being the slave of a human being (εἴ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει τοῦ Ζωσίμου ὡς εἰς δουλίαν ἀνθρώπου κτλ.) is comparable with that of Ritti *et alii* 2000, K31 (= Riel 1995, 32): μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἀντιπεῖν τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ, ἢ ἐφάσασθαι ὡς δούλης κτλ. It is also notable that the fosterers of Zosimos unusually needed to add a stipulation (καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἔσται τῷ Ζωσίμῳ ἢ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον) to the end of the text that an attempt to make him a man’s slave cannot have any effect on his status of a free *hieros*, even if the fine for the attempt has been paid²⁴.

15 Katagraphe

Below no. 14. Letter-height 2.2 cm.

Date: 286 Sulla = 201/2 A.D.

Ἔτους σπς', μη(νὸς) ε', β': Ἡλίῳ Ἀπό-
 λλωνι Λαιρμηνῷ Ἀλέξανδ-
 ρος Ζωσίμου εἰερὸς κὲ ἡ γυνή
 4 μου Πανθία εἰερά καταγρά-
 φομεν τὴν ἑαυτῶ(ν) τεθρ-
 εμένην Πανθείαν εἰε-
 ρὰν ὡς ἐδήλωσε ὁ θεός·
 8 εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκαλέσει,
 θήσι εἰς τὸν θεὸν × ,βφ' κὲ εἰ-
 ς τὸν φύσκον × ,βφ'.

“In the year 286, on the 2nd day of the 5th month, I, Alexandros, son of Zosimos, a hieros, and my wife Panthia, a hiera, we assign to Helios Apollon Lairmenos our nursling Pantheia as hiera, as the god revealed. If anyone will object, he will pay to the god 2500 denarii and to the fiscus (another) 2500 denarii.”

²¹ On the meaning of καταγράφειν and καταγραφή in different contexts see notably Riel 1995, 187ff. and M. Mirković, *Katagraphē and Consecration of Children*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'épigraphie offerts à F. Pappazoglou*, 1997, 1–33, 7ff., cf. also Ritti *et alii* 2000, 56–7 and Dignas 2003, 84–5.

²² Ritti *et alii* 2000, K44 (ἐξεχώρησε ... παρηχώρησε καὶ κατέγραψεν) and K46 (ἐξε[χώρ]ησα καὶ παρεχώρησεν [καὶ κατέ]γραψεν), cf. also K52 (ἐχαρισάμην καὶ κατέγραψα).

²³ Riel 2001, 155–6.

²⁴ G. Petzl, *IvSmyrna*, 253 (funerary insc.), 7ff.: καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔστω ἡ δοκοῦσα ἀπαλλοτριώσις ἄκυρος.

Note that the authors Zosimos and Panthia were both *hieroi* who were requested by the god to consecrate their foster-girl as *hiera* (for other *katagraphai* performed by some *hieroi* see Ritti *et alii* 2000, K8, K11, K43). The phrase ὡς ἐδήλωσε ὁ θεός²⁵, equivalent to κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ or κατὰ (θεῖον) ὄνειρον²⁶ first appears in Phrygian consecrations.

16 Katagraphe

Three joining marble architectural blocks found *in situ*. They record the last lines of three *katagraphai*. Height 19; total width 258, thickness 61; letter-height 2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.



[
εἰς τὸν θεὸν ✕ ,βφ',
ἄλλα εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ✕ ,βφ'.

17 Katagraphe

On right of no. 16. Letter-height varying between 1.7 and 2.2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

[
προστίμου εἰς τὸν θεὸν ✕ ,βφ',
ἄλλα εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ✕ ,βφ'.

18 Katagraphe

On the right of no. 17. Letter-height 2.4 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

[
εἴ τις δ' ἂν ἐπενκαλέσει, θήσι προστίμου
εἰς τὸν θεὸν ✕ ,βφ', ἄλλα εἰς τὸν (sic) ταμεῖ-
ον ✕ ,βφ'.

The mistake τὸν ταμεῖον (probably a confusion between φίσκον and ταμεῖον) is committed also in Ramsay, Phrygia, 147, no. 38 (cf. JHS 4, 1883, 380, no. 3; Miller 1985, p. 58 and Ricci 1995, 11), while in Ritti *et alii* 2000, K11 it has been typed as τὸ ταμεῖον).

²⁵ Cf. Petzl, *Beichtinschr.*, 38: καθὼς ἐδηλώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ Μηνὸς Πετραεῖτου Ἀξετηνοῦ κτλ. (from the Katakekaumene).

²⁶ See Ritti *et alii* 2000, p. 83 (index), *passim*.

19 Dedication of an intercolumnium

Left piece of a marble architrave with freeze which is decorated with garlands and egg-and-dart crown moulding. The garlands are supported by two rectangular mouldings. Height 84; total width 178; thickness 43; letter-height 2.3 cm.

Date: 193 Sulla = 108/9 A.D.



Ἔτους ργγ', μηνὸς Περιτίου δ'· Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου Μο[τελλ]οκηπέτις vac.
εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῶ ἀνέστησα διάστυλλον ἐκ [θεμελί]ων σὺν στυ-
λοβάτη καὶ σπείρη, κίονι, κεφαλῇ, ἐπιστυλλίῳ ζωφόρῳ, γείσι, ΤΟ[]

“In the year 193, on the 4th day of the month Peritios, Menandros, son of Apollonios, from Motellokepos, constructed the intercolumnium from its foundations together with the base and torus, the column, the capital, the architrave bearing a frieze, the cornice ... to Apollon Lairmenos after having made the vow.”

The ethnic Μο[]οκηπέτις must be the same as the one which has been attested in Riel 1995, 35 (= Ritti et alii 2000, D11): [...]λλοκηπέτις. If we combine what is preserved on the two stones, we can safely restore the ethnic as Μο[τελλ]οκηπέτις which perfectly fits both the lacunae and the context. Μοτελλόκηπος would have been village or a district around Motella, the patron city of the temple of Apollon Lairbenos (see also *supra* no. 3).

The record of an *intercolumnium* with precise information about its elements, which was built up in 108/9 A.D., is an additional evidence about the constructions that once stood in the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos, while two already-published dedications likewise supply information about a coffered and tiled roof²⁷ and a stoa²⁸. The *intercolumnium* (διάστυλλον)²⁹ dedi-

²⁷ See MAMA IV, 293; Miller 1985, 50–1 and Ritti et alii 2000, D1 (κεραμεῖδας δέκα καὶ εἰς τὴν χρύσωσιν τοῦ παθνωματικοῦ × ιβ').

²⁸ See W. M. Ramsay, *JHS* 4, 1883, 383, no. 5 (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 146, no. 129); Miller 1985, 53 and Ritti et alii 2000, D5.

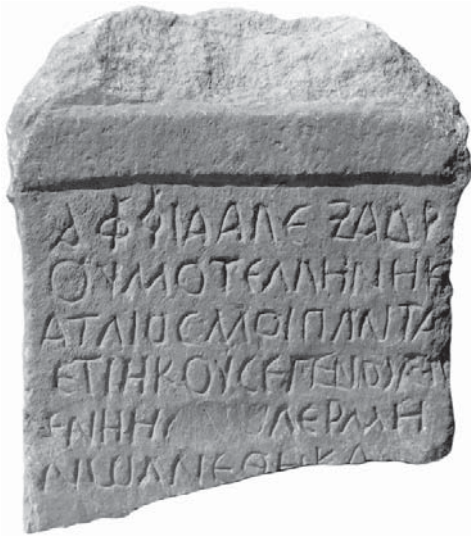
²⁹ On διάστυλλον or διαστύλιον see M.-Ch. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque, d'après les inscriptions de Délos* (1992), 216 and 262.

cated to Apollon Lairbenos with *στυλοβάτης, σπεῖρα, κίων, κεφαλή, ἐπιστύλλιον ζωφόρον*³⁰, *γείσος* (or *γείσα*)³¹ is comparable with *διάστουλα* which were constructed by Iason Prabreus who was honoured by the Council and People of Aphrodisias (see *MAMA VIII*, 498).

20 Dedication

Upper portion of a marble stele. It is now in the Pamukkale Museum. Height 30; width 27; thickness 9.5, letter-height 1.8 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.



Ἀφφία Ἀλεξάδρου
 Μοτελληνῆ κ-
 ατ(ᾶ) ὡς μοι π(ᾶ)ντα
 4 ἐ(π)ήκουσε γενομ-
 ἐνη Ἡ[λ(ί)ω] Λερμη-
 νῶ ἀνέθηκα.

1–2 For the spelling Ἀλεξάδρου see G. Petzl, *IvSmyrna* 86, 3 and 287, 7.

2–3 ΚΙΑΤΑΙUC (for κατὰ ὡς) *lapis*

3 ΠΑΝΤΑ *lapis*

4 ΕΤΗΚΟΥCE *lapis*

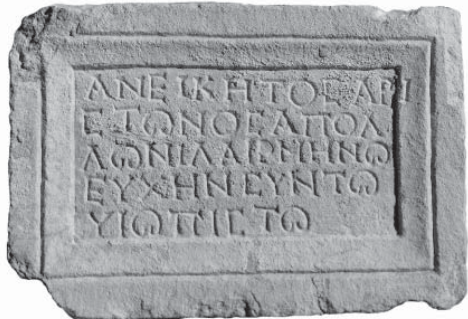
4–5 The last three letters of γενομένη seem to be squeezed at the end of the line and are repeated in the following line.

5 Perhaps the mason had forgotten to write what Aphphia had become (healthy, pregnant or something else) and to squeeze that in, he had deleted Ἡλίω, and painted a word (?).

“I, Aphphia, daughter of Alexa(n)dros, from Motella, after having become ... set this up for H[elios] Lermenos as he listened to all my prayers.”

21 Dedication

Marble *tabula*. It is now in the Pamukkale Museum. Height 22.5; width 33; thickness 16.5, letter-height 1.8 cm. – Date: Roman imperial period.



Ἀνεΐκτητος Ἀρί-
 στωνος Ἀπόλ-
 λωνι Λαιρμηνῶ
 4 εὐχὴν σὺν τῷ
 υἱῷ Πίστῳ.

“Aneiketos, son of Ariston, together with his son Pistos, made a vow to Apollon Lairmenos.”

³⁰ For the term ζωφόρος see M.-Ch. Hellmann, *op. cit.*, 120.

³¹ The dative γείσει of our inscription is either an error for γείσ(εσ)ι (from γείσος, -ους, τό) or for γείση (from γείσα, ἦ). For the term see M.-Ch. Hellmann, *op. cit.*, 80–1.

24 Fragment of a Dedication



Left upper piece of a marble stele with triangular pediment. Height 20; width 12; thickness 4.5; letter-height 1.5 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.

Ἔ[τους -, μη(νός) - ἐπιφα]-
 νεστάτω [θεῶ Ἡλίω Ἀπό]-
 [λωνι Λα[ιβηνῶ]
 4 [κ]ἔ Ἀλεξ[ανδρ-]-
 δίου Π[- ?κατα]-
 γραφ[-]
 .. Ο[]

“In the year ... in the month ... and Alexandros/-a, son/daughter of -dios ... to the most manifest god Helios Apollon Lairbenos ...”.

25 Fragment of a Dedication

Right lower piece of a *tabula* (?). It is now in the Pamukkale Museum. Height 13; width 19; thickness 3.5; letter-height 2.8 cm.



Date: Roman imperial period.

[]
 ΑΝΠ[-]
 ἀνέθη[κ-]

Özet

Hierapolis'in kuzeyindeki Bahadınlar köyü sınırları içinde yer alan (Helios) Apollon Lairbenos (veya Lairmenos, Lermenos vs.) tapınağı *confessio* ve *katagraphe* adı verilen iki yazıt grubu ile tanınmaktadır. *Confessio*'lar, bazı günahlar işledikleri için tanrı(lar) tarafından cezalandırılan kimselerin günahlarını itiraf etmek üzere sundukları adak yazıtlarıdır. *Katagraphe*'ler ise, kişilerin kendi istekleri ya da tanrıların emirleri uyarınca çocuklarından veya evlatlıklarından ya da kölelerinden bir veya daha fazlasını birer *hieros* ya da *hiera*, yani “kutsal (personel)” olarak Tanrı Apollon'un hizmetine tahsis etmelerine ilişkin yazıtlardır. Ancak bu konuda ele geçen yazılı belge hayli yetersiz olduğundan, Apollon Lairbenos tapınağına insan bağışlama (*katagraphein*) şeklindeki bu ibadet üzerindeki tartışmalar sürmektedir.

Makale’de, Denizli Müzesi tarafından Apollon Lairbenos Tapınağı’nda yapılan kurtarma kazıları sırasında bulunan bazı yeni *katagraphe*’ler ve diğer bazı adak yazıtları tanıtılmaktadır. Burada sunulan *katagraphe*’lerden no. 2 ve 7, bazı dindar kişilerin kendilerine ait ev ve atelye gibi bazı taşınmazların gelirlerini Apollon Lairbenos’a sunduklarını ifade etmeleri bakımından son derece önemlidir.

Makalede yayımlanan yazıtların çevirileri şöyledir:

1- “Ben, Hierapolis’li ... Akhilleus, Motella’lı Antiokhos’dan satın aldığım yaklaşık 30 yaşındaki kölem Nikon’u Tanrı’nın emri uyarınca Helios Apollon Lermenos’un hizmetine tahsis ediyorum. Şu şartla ki, kendisi bugünden itibaren Tanrı’nın kutsal bir hizmetlisi (hieros) olacak ve hiçbir kimsenin ona karşı dava hakkı olmayacaktır. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve pek kutsal hazineye de 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

2- “296 yılının (= İ.S. 212-3) birinci ayının 17. gününde: Ben, Menokritos oğlu Apollonios, üvey oğlum Zenon’u Helios Apollon Lairmenos’un hizmetine tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ödeyecektir. Ayrıca Zenon’a, gelirleri ve giderleri ile birlikte bir dükkân ve iki katlı bir ev ve ... aletlerini de tahsis ediyorum ...”.

3- “... Ben Aurelios Glykon, karım Tatas’ın da onayı ile, Apollonios oğlu ... Epiktetos’u Apollon Lermenos’un hizmetine ... tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) hazineye 2500 dinar ve Tanrı’ya ayrıca 2500 dinar ve Motella şehrine de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

4- “256 yılının (= İ.S. 171/2) Daisios ayının 12. gününde: Diodoros’un oğlu ve Apollonios’un torunu olan ve Mossyna’da ikamet eden Hierapolis’li Diodoros, karısı ve çocukları ile birlikte, bu heykeli ‘duaları işiten Tanrı’ Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a bir şükran ifadesi olarak kendi parası ile diktirdi”.

5- “308 yılının (= İ.S. 308) yılının 3. ayının 18. gününde: Ben, Dorotheos oğlu Hierapolis’li Aurelios Glykon ve karım, Atyokhorion’lu Apollonios’un kızı Aurelia Tata, üvey kızımız Stratonike’yi Tanrı’nın emri uyarınca bir kutsal hizmetli (hiera) olarak Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

6- “300 yılında (İ.S. 215/6): Ben, Pol- oğlu/kızı Atyokhorion’lu ...as, evlatlığım Z...’yi Helios Apollon’a tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 1000 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 1000 dinar ödeyecektir”.

7- “303 yılının (İ.S. 218/9) ... ayının ...’uncü gününde: Ben Agathemeros ve karım Le..., üvey oğlumuz ...toeides’i kutsal bir hizmetli olarak (hieros) Apollon Lermenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Ayrıca ona atelyeyi ve (... süresince elde edilecek) gelirleri ve ... tüm aletleri bırakıyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve imparatorluk hazinesine de ayrıca ... dinar ödeyecektir”.

8- “312 yılının (İ.S. 227/8) 6. ayının 4. gününde: Ben, Hierapolis’li ...’nın ...’de ikamet eden oğlu Aurelios Euxenos, evlatlığım ...tia’yı Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a kutsal bir hizmetli olarak (hieros) tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca ... dinar ödeyecektir”.

9- “... yılının 6. ayının 5. gününde: (ben ... ve) karım Tatia beslememiz ...os’u Helios Apollon Leimenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca ... dinar ödeyecektir”.

10- “305 yılının (İ.S. 220/1) ... ayının ...’uncü gününde: Ben, ... oğlu Euphrosynos, üvey oğlum ...’yi (Helios) Apollon Lermenos’a tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 1500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 1500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

11- “... yılının 4. ayının 8. gününde: Ben, ... onbos oğlu Aurelios Ap... ve karım ve çocuklarım (ve torunlarım ?), üvey kızımız ...’yı Helios Apollon Lairbenos’a kutsal bir hizmetli olarak (hieros) tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca ... ödeyecektir”.

12- “... Hyrgaleis ovasında yaşayan ..., karısı Ammias ve oğulları Demetrios, Demonstratos ve Bassos ile birlikte görkemli tanrı Apollon Lairmenos’a adak olarak Artemis Kynagos ve geyik heykellerini kaidesiyle birlikte diktirdi”.

13- “Ben Titus Flavius Akhilleus, Motella’daki (resmi) arşiv aracılığı ile azat ettiğim kölem Epiktetos’u 314 yılının (İ.S. 229/30) 8. ayının sondan 6. gününde Helios Larmenos’a ithaf ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 gümüş dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

14- “257 yılının (= İ.S. 172/3) 3. ayının 3. gününde: Ben, Demonstratos oğlu Demetrios ve karım Tatia, üvey oğlumuz Zosimos Pousion’u, (adını, bir zamanlar) babamın adak olarak sunduğu Artemis heykelinin sunağı üzerine yazarak Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri Zosimos’u bir kimsenin kölesi yapmak üzere itirazda bulunursa, (ceza olarak) Lairmenos’a 2500 dinar ve efendimiz Caesar’ın hazinesine de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir. (Bu ceza ödense bile), Zosimos yine de kesinlikle bir hieros ve özgür kişi olarak kalacaktır”.

15- “286 yılının (= İ.S. 201/2) 5. ayının 2. gününde: Bir tanrı hizmetlisi (hieros) olan ben, Zosimos oğlu Aleksandros ve (yine) bir tanrı hizmetlisi (hiera) olan karım Panthia, üvey kızımız Panthia’yı Tanrı’nun emri üzerine Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a kutsal bir hizmetli (hiera) olarak tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

16- “... (Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar (ödeyecektir)”.

17- “... (Eğer biri itiraz ederse), ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar (ödeyecektir)”.

18- “... Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

19- “193 yılının (= İ.S. 108/9) Peritios ayının 4. gününde: Apollonios oğlu, Motellokepos’lu Menandros, bu iki sütun arasını (diastylon = intercolumnium), temelinden itibaren, kaide, sütun, başlık, frizli arşitrav, korniş ... ile birlikte Apollon Lairmenos için adak olarak inşa ettirdi”.

20- “Ben, Aleksandros kızı Motella’lı Aleksa(n)dra, ... olduktan sonra bu adağı H(elios) Larmenos’a, tüm dualarıma kulak verdiği için sundum”.

21- “Ariston oğlu Aniketos, oğlu Pistos ile birlikte, bu adağı Apollon Lairmenos’a (sundu)”.

22- “...os (bunu) Larbenos’a (adak olarak sundu)”.

23- “... Motella’lı ...os ... Tritos (?) oğlu ...mos, ... Apollon (Lairbenos) tarafından cezalandırıldıktan sonra ...”.

24- “... yılının ... ayındadios oğlu/kızı Aleksandros/-a ... pek görkemli (Helios ?) Apollon Lairbenos’a ...”.

25- “... sundu(m)”.

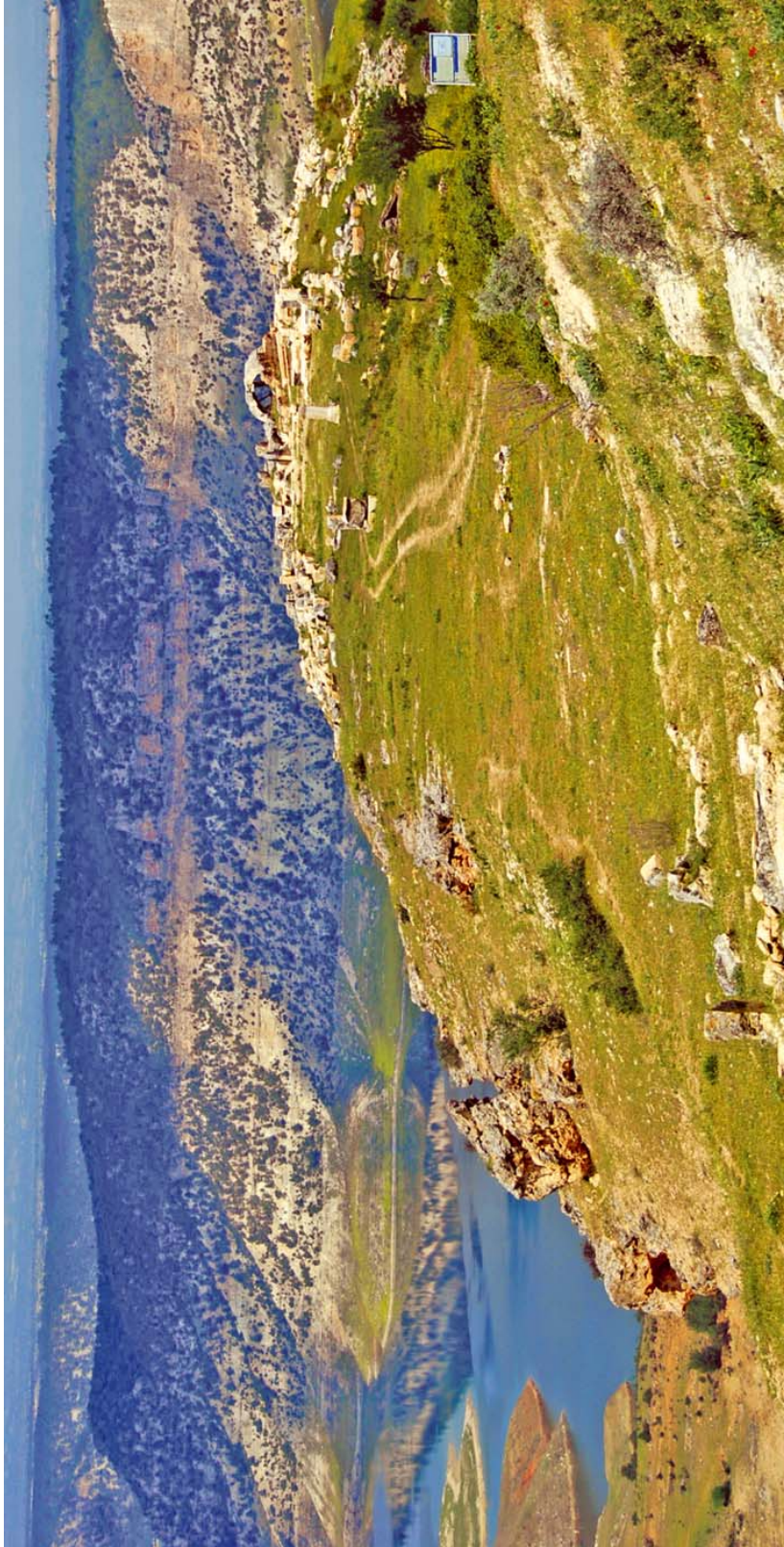


Fig. 1: The Temple of Apollon Lairbenos on a Hill (Asartepe) Overlooking the River Maeander