ESENGÜL AKINCI ÖZTÜRK – CUMHUR TANRIVER

NEW KATAGRAPHAI AND DEDICATIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLON LAIRBENOS


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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). 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 finds. 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 Lairbenos.

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 [                                            ]
2 ΦΛΔΒΟΣ ’Αχιλλεύς ’Ιεραπαλεί[φ της κα]ταγράφω vac.
3 Ἡλία Ἀπόλλωνι Δερμηνῷ κατά ἐπιταγήν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλον μου ὁ[ν]όματι Νείκωνα ώς ἔτ.
4 ἰερός τοῦ θεοῦ μηδὲνος ἔχοντος εξοσειαν ἐνκαλέσει· εἴ δὲ τις ἐπε[ν]καλέσει, δῆσε εἰς τὸν θέον προστείμου świadczenie ἐκτός, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερότ(ο)τον ταμημὸν ἄλλαξε ἐκτός, leaf vac.

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

Some abbreviations used in this article are:


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.


Perhaps Φλάβιος (= Φλάβιος) ? If so, he may have been the same person as Τίτος Φλάβιος 'Αχιλλεύς appearing infra no. 13.

3 ἙΣΤΟΙΩ lapis.

4 ἐπικαλέσεις for ἐκκαλέσεις. The verb ἐπικαλέσειν in the interdictory formula, instead of the standard ἐπενεκαλέσειν, appears first in this context.

5 ἙΠΡΩΤΩΝ lapis.

"I, ... Achilles, of Hierapolis, assign to Helios Apollon Lermenos, by the god's order, my slave named Neikon, about 30 years old, whom I purchased from Antiochos, son of Antiochos, of Motel(?)a, on the condition that from today on he is a hieros of the god, and nobody has the right to initiate legal proceedings (against him). If anyone objects, he will pay to the god a fine of 2500 denarii and to the most sacred treasury another 2500 denarii."

The condition ἐφ' ὧν ἡμερον ἐστὶ θεοὶ ἑρώτις τοῦ θεοῦ laid down by the dedicant for immediate effect of the katagraphe is interesting and apparently unparalleled. It must be taken as evidence pointing to the existence of a contract between the dedicant and the temple during the conveyance of Neikon.

2 Katagraphe

Below no. 1. Letter-height varying between 1.4 and 2.2 cm.

Date: 297 Sulla = 212/3 A.D.

"... Ετούς σας', μη(νός) α', ζη', Ἡλίαν Ἀπόλλωνι Λαυμηνῷ Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνο[ς]ρίτου καταγράφω.

2 φ[ω] Ζήγωνα τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τεθρομμένον εἰ δὲ τις ἐπενεκαλέσσι, θήσει εἰς τὸν θεὸν προσ-

3 [τείμου κ. β]ψ[ρ] καταγράφ(ά)ψω δὲ τῷ Ζήγωνι ἐργαστήριον κε τὸ διστάγον κὲ ἄρμεν[α] -]ά σὺν εἰσόδοις κὲ εξόδοις

3 ΚΑΤΑΓΡΡΦΩ lapis.

"In the year 296, on the 17th day of the first month, I, Apollonios son of Menokritos, assign my own nursling Zenon to Helios Apollon Lair-menos. If anyone objects, he will pay a fine of 2500 denarii to the god. I also convey to Zenon a workshop and a two-storied house and tools [for ...] together with (their) incomes and outgoings (?) ...”.

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6 For a conditional conveyance with similar terms see Ricl 1995, no. 9 (= Ritti et alii, K9): καταγράφων κὲ ἀλλην θρεπτὴν Ἀμβλαη(α), ἐφ' ὧν ἔχει τοῦ καταλειφ(θ)ήναι μὲ ὑποδύτῳ μηδεμι[ν] ἐπιβαίνων. M. Ricl (2001, 158, note 131) translates the text as “under the condition that she is not submitted to any attack/pressure that I left behind (= that she leaves me behind)”. 
Apollonios assigns to Zenon a workshop (ἐργαστήριον) and a two-storied house (δίστεγος) together with their “ἐξοδοί and ἐξοδοί” 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 ἀρμενά. In another katagraphe likewise recording a workshop being conveyed to Apollon Lairbenos, the word following ἐργαστήριον has been restored as γ[ερδιακόν] by M. Ricl who adduced some papyrologic attestations of the term and underlined the widespread wool production in the region. In our instance too it is very attractive read ἀρμενα γ[ερδιακόα] (tools for weaving) which would fit the lacuna. However, in another katagraphe (infra no. 7) with similar wording the preserved ἀρμενα π[ ca. 9–10]γικά leads us to think of some alternative supplements including, for instance, λιθομη- 
γικά (mason’s tools), ξυλομηγικά (carpenter’s tools), ἐρμομηγικά (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 possible.

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 = Ricl 2001, p. 159) seems to point to an atelier in connection with a residence. Furthermore, if we are right in understanding that the terms ἐξοδοί and ἐξοδοί 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: ἐξοδον ἐσω [- -]).

3 Katagraphe

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 Γλύξ[ov?]
[ ]καταγράφω (συν) τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς γυν.-

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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, 134. For ἐργαστήρια δίστεγα see MAMA VIII, 498 (Aphrodisias).
9 Ritti et alii 2000, K43.
10 Ricl 2001, p. 159.
11 For commercial activities in connection with sanctuaries in Anatolia see P. Debord, op. cit., 11ff.
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. ἑγγόνος) of Aurelios Glykon, the dedicant, or his nursling (θερπτός 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 ἀρχείον 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.

"Ετος ονομισέν, μην ιβερον η τού "Απόλλωνος "Ηλίῳ Απόλλωνος Λαίρβηνος

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

13 See Dignas 2003, 87–8.
New Katagraphai and Dedications from the Sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos

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.

“Ετὸς τῆς, μη(.νὸς) γ′, η′· Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰαίης Γλύκας Διορθεῶν Ἑιεραπολεῖτις
4 καὶ Αὐ. ἡ γυνὴ μου Τατὰ Ἀπολλανίου Ἀτυχοχρίτης καταγράφομεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τεθραμμένην Ἐκεμενίκην εἰεράν κατὰ ἐπίτα-
8 γὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. Εἴ δὲ τὶς ἐπεκαλέσει, θῆσει ἐν τὸν θεὸν ἢ ,βφ’ καὶ ἐν τὸν φίσκον ἢ ,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 Ἀτυχοχρήτης 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.

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


16 On village of Atyochorion see Ritti et alii, D5 with bibliography.
'Hlîf 'Apôllâw[vni]-
ētôus τ'· Pôl|-]
ΔΟΣ 'Atuochô[rit- κα]-
4 tâgrâôfô Z[- ]
tôn emôn t[êbrâmêm]-
on, ei de t[îs épênka]-
leșe, thêse[i îc tôn thê]-
8 ôn X .a' kai îc t[ôn fîskov]
álâa X .a'.

1 There is no space for 'Lairbhn'.
2–3 A short name like Pôl[a to be followed by something like 'Hrîdôs, Papeîdôs etc.
3 Either 'Atuochô[ritès or 'Atuochô[ritîs (for a mention of 'Atuochôrion 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.

"Etôus tâ· ῦ(νὸς) - 'Hlîf]
'Apôllâwv Le[ôv]nôv 'Aga]-
ômêrôs 'Agâ[ômêròu kai]
4 hîvûn mûv H-[ ethnic ]-
oî kâtagrâô[vâmen tûn]
êkavûn tet[râmmênon ]
TOEIHVN eierô[v' kâtagrâ]-
8 fôw de âvûv t[û (.ergastî)-
riov kai tî dîs[têgon kai tî]-
În êisodov êsâ?[ ]
kai tû ârmena ã[ánta? ]-
12 givâ eî de tîs ép[ênaklêstei],
thêsi eîc tûn thê[îc ã X number]
kai eîc tûn fîskov[îc ã X number]

2–3 The name 'ômômêrôs appears in a confession from the same sanctuary: Petzl, Beichtinschriften, 117.
4 LH[ as the name of the wife reminds one of ÏHN (acusative) occurring in another kata-
graphe (Ricl 1995, no. 31 and Ritti et alii 2000, K30). Ricl (loc. cit.) identifies it with Ïh (fem.)
of L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen § 810, while it has been registered as Îh in the
index of SEG 45, 1995. There are of course other alternatives for the name: e.g. Ïhi, Ïh, Ïtoîs, etc.
4–5 An ethnic, e.g. Μοτελληνίοι?
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 -δή.\textsuperscript{17}
8 ὀντὸς refers to the nursling assigned to the god.

“In the year 303, (on the ...\textsuperscript{16} day of the) month ..., I, Agathemeros, and my wife Le- assign our own foster-son -τοείδης 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 (διστέγω) together with the income (εἰσόδος) and the tools (ἐρμέα) 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 ἐσω (= ἐσω “within”) seems to indicate that what the dedicants ceded to the god were perhaps the incomes of a certain amount of time\textsuperscript{18} and not the immovables and tools themselves (cf. supra no. 2 with the record of assignment of a workshop σὺν εἰσόδοσ κέ 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. λιθωργικά, ξυλωργικά, ἐρωποργικά 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.

"Ετοις τβή’, μη(νός) εζ’, δ’, Ἦλ[ίφ ’Απόλλωνι]
Λαμφομηρεγ̣ος: Α. Εὔξ[ες] patronym ]
Εἰεραπολείπης. οἰκ[ῶν ἐν το]n toponym ]
4 καταγράφο τὴν θέρετ[ὴν μου ]-
τάν εἰρεάνε ἐτὶ τὲς ἐπ[ενκαλώσει. θή]-
σεῖ ἐις τὸν θεὸν [�数 number]
καὶ ἐις τὸν φίσκον [�数 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 Laimenos as hieras. If anyone will object, he will pay to the god ... denarii and to the fiscus (another) ... denarii.”

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

\textsuperscript{18} The adverb with this meaning is frequent in papyrological sources, cf. e.g. εἰσω (δος) μηγάν ἁρθμο(υ)μένων ἀπὸ σήμερον (PCair, Mas 2, 67162, r, 20); ἐσω πεσόμενον ἐτῶν ἁρθμομένων ἀπὸ το(ῦ) μηγάς Φαρμοῦθ (PLond, II, 483, 56).
9 Katagraphe

On the left side. Letter-height 2.2 cm.
Date: Roman imperial period.

["’Εποὺς ..., μη(νός)] ε’, ε’: Ηλίω
[’Απόλλωνι Λεμήνο
[name καὶ Ἡτεία ή γυν-
4 [ή μου καταγράφω]
[μεν -]ον τόν θερ-
[πτόν ήμων]· εἰ δὲ τις ἐπ-
[ενκαλέσει, εἰς τόν θεόν πο-
8 [στίμον Χ number κ]αι εἰς τόν φίσ-
[kαν Χ 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

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

10 Katagraphe

Below no. 9. Letter-height 2.1 cm.
Date: 305 Sulla = 220/1 A.D.

[”Εποὺς] τε’, μηνός
[Εὐφρόσυνος
[καταγράφῳ
4 [name τό]ν θερπτόν
[μου Ἡλίω ’Απόλλωνι Λεμ-
[μηνός]· εἰ τις] δ’ ἐπενκαλέ-
[σει, θής(ε)ι προ]στήμου
8 [εἰς τόν θεό]ν Χ .σφ’
[καὶ εἰς τό]γν φίςκον Χ .σφ’.

“In the year 305, on the 6th 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.”
Below no. 10. Letter-height 2.2 cm.

Date: Roman imperial period.


3 A patronym like Σκόνβου, Βόνβου etc.

“(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.

[ ... ?άπο] τοῦ ’Υργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου εὔ- ξεμνος ἄνεθηκε τὴν Κυνα- γὸν “Ἀρτεμιν καὶ τὴν ἔλαφον σὺν τῇ 4 ύποβάσει ’Απόλλωνι Δαιρμηνῷ 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 Demostratos 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. Demostratos from the plain of Hyrgaleis\(^{19}\), one of the dedicants of the statues, seems to have been identical with the father of Demetri(os) appearing as the author of the *katagraphe infra* no. 14 where he refers to the altar as βιομός 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 Katagraphe

On the front side of the same altar, below no. 12. Its first 6 lines are engraved on a rasura extending to the left. During the second usage the left half of the surface is left uninscribed. At the uninscribed field on left some letters of an another *katagraphe* 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)

\[ "\text{Έτος} \text{τη} \quad \text{Títos Flávbis 'Archi-} \]
\[ \text{λευς καταγράφω} \quad \text{tón ἕμαυτοῦ δούλων} \]
\[ \text{ΔΘ} \quad \text{όνόματι 'Επίκτης-} \]
\[ \text{έπενκα} \quad \text{τόν Ἡλίῳ Λαρμη-} \]
\[ \text{φρ' κε εἰς Τ} \quad \text{νυ ὁν κε ἐπύ-} \]
\[ \text{σα ἔλευθερον} \quad \text{διὰ τῶν ἐν Μο-} \]
\[ \text{τελλοῖς ἄρχειο(ν)-} \quad \text{πιοῦσα (sic') εἰ τις δὲ ἐ-} \]
\[ \text{πενκαλέσειν, θη(ο)σι} \quad \text{προστείμου ἵκ τό-} \]
\[ \text{θεών ἄργυριον κ' βφ'} \quad \text{kε ἰκ τό ταμεῖον κ' βφ'.} \]

9 _ARXIOY lapis_
10–11 ἀπούση instead of ἀπεύση [this leads one also to open the abbreviation in Ritti et alii 2000, K37 (= Ricl 1995, 39) as ἀπ(ωση)].
12 _ΘΗΟΙ 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 (Ὑργαλέων πεδίον or Υργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου), which is identified with Çal Ovas, and their assembly (κοινόν) see Ricl 1995 with bibliography.
It is interesting to note that Achilleus, 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 Achilleus by paramone.

14 Katagraphe

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

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

"Ετους συζ', μη(νος) γ', γ'- Δημήτρις Δημοστάτου μετὰ Τατίας τῆς γυναίκος μου καταγράφομεν Ζώσιμον Πουσίωνα τὸν θερπόν ἠμῶν Ἡλίω Ἀπόλλωνοι Λαμηνηνός ἵς τὸν βομίον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀναθήματος πατρικοῦ μου· εἶ τις δὲ ἐπενεκλάσει τοῦ Ζωσίμου ὡς εἰς δουλᾶν ἀνθρώπου, θήσει εἰς τὸν Λαμηνηνόν Χ'. βρ' καὶ ἵς τὸν φίσκον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἡ λαμηνός οἱ εἴναι 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 ἵππευς Κέλτας).

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

7 The ἄνάθημα πατρικὸν 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, Demetrior(os), son of Demostratos, together with my wife Tatia, we register Zosimos Pousion, our nursing, to Helios Apollon Laimenos 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 Laimenos 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.”

Demetrior(os) and Tatia who assign their threptos to the god, register him on an altar (καταγράφομεν Ζώσιμον ... ἵς τὸν βομίον). This has been taken as an indication that in donations of

\[\text{Cf. J. Reynolds, } \text{Aphrodisias and Rome, no. 32: άνάθημα προγονικόν.}\]
slaves and children to Apollon Lairbenos the verb καταγράφειν\textsuperscript{21} 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 ἐχωρεῖν (“give up, cede, convey etc.”) and παραχωρεῖν (“deliver, hand over, surrender etc.”) have obviously been used to designate the steps preceding the final act καταγράφειν\textsuperscript{22}. M. Ricl, 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 he had him registered under the God’s name\textsuperscript{23}. In fact, our inscription is a nice confirmation of Ricl’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 cession”.

The prescription for protecting Zosimos from being the slave of a human being (εἰ τὶς δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει τοῦ Ζωσίμου ὡς εἰς δούλιαν ἀνθρώπου κτλ.) is comparable with that of Ritti et alii 2000, K31 (= Ricl 1995, 32): μὴ δὲν ἔχοντος ἔξωσις, ἀντιπερὶ τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ, ἢ ἐφάγαφηθαι ὡς δούλης κτλ. It is also notable that the fosterers of Zosimos unusually needed to add a stipulation (καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσων ἔτεσι τῷ Ζωσίμῳ ἢ ἐναι αὐτὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐλευθερον) 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 paid\textsuperscript{24}.

15 Katagraphe


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

"Ετους σπζ', ση(νος) ε', β': 'Ηλιω Ἀπό-λλωνι Λαιρμηνίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωσίμου εἰρός κῇ γυνή

4 μου Πανθεία εἰρή καταγρά-φομεν τὴν ἑαυτῶ(ν) τεθρ-εμένην Πανθείαν εἰερ-ράν ώς ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός·

8 εἰ δὲ τὶς ἐπενκαλέσει, θήσι εἰς τὸν θεὸν κ.,βφ' κῇ εἰ-ς τὸν φίσκον κ.,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 Laimenos 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."


\textsuperscript{22} Ritti et alii 2000, K44 (ἐξεχώρησε ... παρεχώρησε καὶ κατέγραψεν) and K46 (ἐξεχώρησε καὶ παρε-χώρησεν καὶ κατέγραψεν), cf. also K52 (ἐχωρίσαμεν καὶ κατέγραψα).\textsuperscript{23} Ricl 2001, 155–6.

\textsuperscript{24} G. Petzl, Ἰθυμύρνα, 253 (funerary insc.), 7ff.: καὶ οὐδὲν ἦτον ἔτσι ἡ δοκοῦσα ἀπαλλοτρίωσις 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 ἐθέλασε ὁ θεός, equivalent to κατ’ ἐπιταγήν τοῦ θεοῦ or κατὰ (θείον) ὄνειρον, first appears in Phrygian consecrations.

16 Katagraphe

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

Date: Roman imperial period.

[insert image]

17 Katagraphe

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

Date: Roman imperial period.

[insert image]

18 Katagraphe

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

Date: Roman imperial period.

[insert image]

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

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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.

"Ετος ραχ’ μηνὸς Περιτίος δ’ Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου Μο[τέλλ’]οκηπείτις ναυ. εὐδόμενος Ἀπόλλωνι Δαιμονίῳ ἀνέστησα διάστυλλον ἐκ [θεμελίων] σὺν στυλοβατῇ καὶ σπείρῃ, κίονι, κεφαλῇ, ἐπιστυλλῳ 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[τέλλ’]οκηπείτις must be the same as the one which has been attested in Ricl 1995, 35 (= Ritti et alii 2000, D11): [...οκηπείτις. If we combine what is preserved on the two stones, we can safely restore the ethnic as Μο[τέλλ’]οκηπείτις 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, 60–1 and Ritti et alii 2000, D1 (κεραμείδας δέκα καὶ εἰς τὴν χρύσωσιν τοῦ πολυμερικοῦ X β’).
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 διαστύλλον 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, σπείρα, κίον, κεφαλή, ἐπιστύλλιον ζωφόρον, γείσος (or γείσα)\(^{30}\) is comparable with διάστυλα which were constructed by Jason 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.

"I, Aphphia, daughter of Alex(a)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.

“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 γείσα of our inscription is either an error for γείση(σα) (from γείσος, -ους, τό) or for γείση (from γείσα, ἡ). For the term see M.-Ch. Hellmann, op. cit., 80–1.
22 Fragment of a Dedication

Piece of a marble stele (?) with the figure of the god Apollon Larbenos (?) riding horse. It is now in the Pamukkale Museum. Height 20; width 9.8; thickness 5; letter-height 1 cm.
Date: Roman imperial period.

\[
\text{JO} \; \text{C (} \Lambda \alpha \rho \beta \eta [\nu \omega]
\]

"... -os dedicated (this) to Larbenos."

It is not clear whether the sign ( preceding the name of the god is an error or a punctuation mark.

For other dedications bearing the representation of Apollon Larbenos see Ritti et alii 200, D13 and 14 with pictures on Pl. 1.

23 Fragment of a Confession (?)

Right upper piece of a marble stele with triangular pediment and acroteria of which only the one on the right is preserved. The inscription is engraved in a rectangular, recessed field. It is now in the Pamukkale Museum. Height 20; width 15.5; thickness 5; letter-height 1.8 cm.
Date: Roman imperial period.

\[
[\ldots] -\omega \, \text{Motell-} \\
[\lambda \lambda \eta \nu \zeta] -\mu \omega \, \text{TP,} \Gamma \Omega \Upsilon \Ypsilon
ty\text{kolias} \text{to} \\
[\ldots] -\omega \, \text{Helios Apoll-} \\
[\nu \zeta \lambda \alpha \iota \beta \eta \nu \rho \sigma \iota]
\]

2 It is not clear whether the small circle after Rho and the short vertical stroke after Tau are later insertions or traces on the surface. Whatever they are, a name like Τριτός or Τριπτός or Τρόπτος would have been intended.

"... -os, of Motella ... -mos, son of Tritos? ... after having been punished by the god Helios Apollon Larbenos? ...".

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33 For an attestation of this name in Lydia see BCH 34 (1910), 243 no. 11: (Τρόπτον Λόδδα).
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.

"Ε[τους - μη(νος) - ἐπιφα]-
νεστάτῳ [θεῷ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπό]-
[λ]ωνι Ά[λβηνφ]     
4  [κ]ε Ἀ[λέξε][ανδρ]-
δίου Π[- ὁκατο]-
γραφ[-]    
. . ᪐[  ]

"In the year ... in the month ... and Alexandros/-a, son/ daughter of -dios ... to the most manifest god Helios Apollo 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[-]  
ἀνέθηκα[-]  

Özet

Hierapolis’in kuzeýindeki 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 yazıtlardır. Katagraphe’ler ise, kişilerin kendi istekleri ya da tanrıların emirleri uyarınca çocuklarından veya evlathıklarından 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.
Makalede, Denizli Müzesi tarafından Apollon Lairbenos Tapınağı'nda yapılan kurtarma kazıları sırasında bulunan bazı yeni katagraphe'ler ve diğer bazı 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 yayınlanan yazıtların çevrileri 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) olarak ve hiçbir kısmenin 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 yılın (= I.S. 212-3) birincı ayların 17. gününe: Ben, Menokritos oğlu Apollonios, üvey oğlum Zenon’u Helios Apollon Lermenos’un hizmetine tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ödeyecektir. Ayrıca Zenon’a, gelirleri ve giderleri ile birlikte biri biri bırakılarak ve iki kath bir ev ve ... aleleri ile tahsis ediyorum ...”.

3- “... Ben Aurelios Glykon, karım Tatas’in da onaylı ile, Apollonios oğlu ... Epiketos’u Apollon Lermenos’un hizmetine ... tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ödeyecektir. Ayrıca Zenon’a, gelirleri ve giderleri ile birlikte iki kath bir dukkan ve iki kath bir ev ve ... aleleri ile tahsis ediyorum ...

4- “256 yılın (= I.S. 171/2) Daisios ayların 12. gününe: Diodoros’un oglu ve Apollonios’un torunu olan ve Mossyna da ikamet eden Hierapolis’li Diodoros, karısı ve çocukları ile birlikte, bu haykeli ’duaları işıtılan Tanrı’ Helios Apollon Lermenos’a bir sıkıran ifadesi olarak kendi paraşı ile dikildi”.

5- “308 yılın (= I.S. 308) yılının 3. ayının 18. gününe: Ben, Dorotheos oğlu Hierapolis’lı Aurelios Glykon ve karım, Atiyokhorion’lu Apollonios’un kızı Aurelia Tata, üvey kızımı Stratone’yi Tanrı’nın emri uyarınca bir kutsal hizmetli (hieros) olarak Helios Apollon Lermenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 2500 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

6- “300 yılın (= I.S. 215/6): Ben, Pol-oğlu/kızı Atiyokhorion’lu ...as, evləşmişı Z...’yi Helios Apollon’a tahsis ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya 1000 dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

7- “303 yılın (= I.S. 218/9) ... ayının ...nci gününe: Ben Agathemeros ve karım Le..., üvey oğlumuz ...toides’i kutsal bir hizmetli olarak (hieros) Apollon Lermenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Ayrıca ona atelyeyi ve (...) süresince elde edilecek gelirleri ile ve tüm aleleri bırakıram. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve imparatorluk hazine-sine de ayrıca ... dinar ödeyecektir”.

8- “312 yılın (= I.S. 227/8) 6. ayların 4. gününe: Ben, Hierapolis’lı ...’nun ...’de ikamet eden oğlu Aurelios Euksenos, evləşmişı ...ta’a’yi Helios Apollon Lermenos’a kutsal bir hizmetli olarak (hieros) tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, (ceza olarak) Tanrı’ya ... dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca ... dinar ödeyecektir”.

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

10- “305 yılın (= I.S. 220/1) ... ayının ...nci gününe: 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”.

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11- “... yılın 4. ayların 8. günü: Ben, onbos oğlu Aurelios Ap... ve karm ve çocuklarımı (ve torunlarını ?), üvey kızımı ...'yı Helios Apollon Lairbenos’a kutsal bir hizmetçi 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, Demostratos ve Bassos ile birlikte gerekli tanrı Apollon Lairmenos’a adak olarak Artemis Kynagos ve geyik heykellerini kaidesyle birlikte diktirdi”.

13- “Ben Titus Flavius Akhilleus, Motella’dağı (resmi) arşiv aracılığı ile azat ettiğim köle Epiktetos’un 314 yılın (I.S. 229/30) 8. ayında Helios Larbenos’a ihafl ediyorum. Eğer biri itiraz ederse, ceza olarak Tanrı’ya 2500 gümüş dinar ve hazineye de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir”.

14- “257 yılın (= I.S. 172/3) 3. ayların 3. günü: Ben, Demostratos oğlu Demetrios ve karm ve çocuklarımı Zomsimos Pousion’un, (adını, bir zamanlar) babamın adak olarak sunduğu Artemis heykeline media üzerine yazarak Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a tahsis ediyoruz. Eğer biri Zomsimos’un bir kölesi olarak zorunlu yapmak üzere itiraza bulunursa, (ceza olarak) Lairmenos’a 2500 dinar ve efendimiz Caesar’ın hazinesine de ayrıca 2500 dinar ödeyecektir. (Bu ceza ödense bile), Zomsimos yine de kesinlikle bir hieros ve özgür kişi olarak kalacaktır”.

15- “286 yılın (= I.S. 201/2) 5. ayların 2. günü: Bir tanrı hizmetlisi (hieros) olan ben, Zomsimos oğlu Aleksandros ve (yine) bir tanrı hizmetlisi (hieros) olan karm Panthia, üvey kızımı Panthia’yı Tanrı’nın emri üzerine Helios Apollon Lairmenos’a kutsal bir hizmetçi (hieros) 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 yılın (= I.S. 108/9) Peritios ayların 4. gününde: Apollonios oğlu, Motellokepos’lu Menandros, bu iki sütun arasını (diastylon = intercolurnium), temelinden itibaren, kaide, sütun, başlık, frizli arşitavr, korniş ... ile birlikte Apollon Lairmenos için adak olarak inşa etti”.

20- “Ben, Aleksandros kızı Motella’lt Aleka(n)dra, ... olduktan sonra bu adaya H(elios) Lermenos’a, tüm dualarına kulak verdiğini için sundum”.

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

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

23- “… Motella’lt ...os ... Tritos (?) oğlu ...mos, ... Apollon (Lairbenos) tarafından cezalandırılduktan sonra ...”.

24- “… yılın ... aylarda ...dios oğlu/kızı Aleksandros’-a ... pek gerekli (Helios ?) Apollon Lairbenos’a ...”.

25- “… sundu(m)”.

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New Kataphorai and Dedications from the Sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos

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