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TWO NEW PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM HERAKLEIA SALBAKE

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TWO NEW PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM HERAKLEIA SALBAKE

The two inscriptions presented here were photographed by a student of archaeology, Bülent Tatoğlan, a resident of Kızılcabölük, about 15 years ago¹. We made the readings from his photographs as it has not been possible for us to meet him in order to work on the stones themselves. The present location of the stones is unknown.



1. Marble altar moulded above, broken below, seen at Kızılcabölük, half an hour east of the site of Herakleia Salbake². No measurements available.

Date: 161–169 A.D.

‘Ηρακλεῖ κτίστῃ
καὶ Διονύσῳ προ-
καθηγεμόνι καὶ
4 Αὐτοκράτορι Καί-
σαρι Λουκίῳ Αὐρη-
λίῳ Οὐήρῳ Σεβαστῷ
[?]

“To Herakles the founder and Dionysos the leader and to Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus [?].”

1 For the cult of Herakles in Herakleia Salbake cf. the second inscription in this article mentioning τὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄγών, the inscription no. 67 in J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, II. *Le Plateau de Tabai et ses environs*, 174–175 (τὸ σεβαστὸν Ἡράκλειον) and their commentary on this deity, considered by them as an indigenous god identified as Greek Herakles (220, 226–227).

2–3 Dionysos is given the title προκαθηγεμών in an inscription from Teos (Le Bas–Waddington, 90 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, 28). In Herakleia Salbake the same epithet habitually accompanies Herakles' name [J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 190, no. 94 (*MAMA* VI, 105]): Τὸ μνημεῖον Μ. Στ. Τρύφωνος, ἵερέως [δ]ιὰ βίου τοῦ προκαθηγεμόνος ‘Ηρακλέ[ο]υς while in Attouda Herakles (?) features as προκαθηγεμών and Dionysos as καθηγεμών³. On the epithets (προ)καθηγεμών, προκαθηγέτης and προκαθηγέτις cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, 23–27 and J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.* 226, note 12. Dionysos features in one more inscription from Herakleia Salbake (J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.* 207, no. 138) and on civic coins (*ibid.* 226–227 and note 12). The importance of his cult is underlined by the appearance of his priest among the official delegates sent by the city to the oracle of Klaros (*ibid.* 207, no.

¹ The authors would like to express their thanks to B. Tatoğlan for the photographs printed here.

² On the site cf. *MAMA* VI, 55 note 153 and pl. 26; L. Robert, *Hellenica* III, 5–31; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 159–161 and pl. XXIV–XXIX.

³ A. R. R. Sheppard, *AS* 31, 1981, 25–26 no. 6 (= *SEG* 31, 1102).

138). Herakles and Dionysos are also coupled on the obverse and reverse of a civic coin (*ibid.* 227, note 12).

4–6 It is possible that the broken part of the altar carried the titles Ἀρμενιακός, Παρθικός and Μηδικός assumed by the Emperor for his victories in the Parthian war. In that case, this altar would have been erected between 163 and 165 A.D.

Half an hour east of the village of Kızılcabölük, on a low hill, still *in situ*, stand six bulky blocks sculpted with scenes from mythology, together with miscellaneous architectural elements, fragments of a colossal statue and the foundations of an edifice, almost certainly vestiges of an ancient sanctuary. The newly discovered altar at one time almost certainly stood at this sanctuary.

2. Marble block broken on the left side, found in a field at Karahisar Köyü (Vakıf), the site of Herakleia Salbake. Height 0.75; width 2.50 m.

Date: second century A.D.?



[] καὶ προγόνων ἔν τε ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλο-

τειμίαις πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι παρεσχημένων
καὶ διὰ Ἰάσονα τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ζῶντα

4 βίον ἐπεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, κοσμούντα τε τοῖς
ἡθεσι καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπι-
στήμης ποιούμενον τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-
μέλειαν, ἐφηβεύσαντά τε τὸν Παπίαν καὶ τειμη-

8 θέντα ύπὸ τοῦ ἐφηβάρχου καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον
παναρέτως ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄγωνι στάδι-
ον ἐστεφανώσθαι καὶ τετειμῆσθαι εἰκόνι γρα-
πτῇ, δι' ἣ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τετει-

12 μῆσθαι τὸν Παπίαν τοῖς προγεγραμμέναις
καλλίστ[αις] τειμαῖς.

Ligatures: 3 ζῶντα 4 βίον ἔξπεικῆ καὶ μέτριον κοσμοῦντα 6 ποιούμενον τὴν 6–8 ἐπι/ μέλειαν ἐφηβεύσαντα, τὸν Παπίαν καὶ τειμηθέντα 9–10 ἐν τῷ, Ἡρακλέους, στάδιον ἐστεφανώσθαι 10–1 γραπτῇ

“[] and ancestors, during their terms in office and liturgies/liberalities, have provided much from their own means to the homeland, and through his brother Jason as well, living a fine and unassuming life, honouring by his moral qualities his kin as well, and through the medical profession providing care for the people; when Papias was undergoing ephebic instruction he was honoured by the ephebarch and when he contended for a prize in the stadium-race at the contest in Herakles' name as a model of all virtue, he was crowned and honoured with a painted image of himself; on account of all this, it was resolved by the council and the people to honour Papias with the above-mentioned most admirable honours.”

The new decree of the council and the people of Herakleia Salbake honours a doctor named Papias, the (younger?) brother of another individual named Jason. Following the flattering references to his ancestors, their offices and personal expenditures, come a short mention of his brother Jason and a praise of Papias' own character and achievements. The honorand was a morally upright and modest person, a pride of his family and a doctor devoted to serving his fellow-citizens; already as an ephebe, he was deemed worthy to be honoured by the ephebarch, and later on he won the stadium race at the local games in Herakles' name and was awarded a painted portrait of himself. Judging by this short biography, Papias was a young man when the council and the people of his native city decided to honour him with the κάλλισται τιμοῖ.

From the wording of the three first lines we learn that Jason and Papias belonged to a prominent local family whose members, over several generations, assumed executive offices in Herakleia Salbake and accepted costly liturgies entailing personal expenditures. If we turn to the epigraphy of Herakleia Salbake for supplementary information on the same family, we come to the following results: An ἀρχιάτρος named Papias is commemorated on a funerary monument of one of his descendants (a son?), copied at the site of the ancient city⁴: - - Παπίου ἀρχιάτρου, ἀπόγονον ἀρχιάτρων - - / [- - α]ύτὸς ὁ Παππίας· ἐνταφή[σεται δὲ καὶ] / - - ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ - - / - -ιν, ἐνθάψαι εἰς τὸ μνη[μεῖον - -] / [τῷ κ]υνριακῷ φίσκῳ * ε' - -/- ΟΨΙΣ ὀντ(ίγ)ραφον ἀπε[τέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα - -]. Moreover, a Παπίας β' (identical to the owner of the above-mentioned monument?) appears in the list of boys-*hymnodoi* from Herakleia Salbake dispatched by the city to Klaros sometime between 180 and 187 A.D. to chant hymns to Apollo.⁵ Disregarding other homonymous individuals who almost certainly have no connection with the doctor Papias from the new inscription⁶, one needs to take into consideration one more list

⁴ CIG, 3953h (= J. and L. Robert, *La Carie II*, 197 no. 115 = E. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur le naissance d'un corps médical*, École pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, no. 3. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain, no. 31, Genève 2003, 369 no. 252 [henceforward Samama]), cf. V. Nutton, *Papers of the British School at Rome* (henceforward PBSR) 45, 1977, 221 no. 43).

⁵ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 204 no. 133.

⁶ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 187 no. 89B = R. Merkelbach – J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I: Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*, Leipzig 1998, 275 no. 02/13/04 (2nd–3rd century A.D.): Παπίας who died at the age of eight and his parents Παπίας and Τάτη; *ibid.*, 205 no. 135 (185/6 A.D.): "Αδραστος δ' τοῦ Παπίου, his father "Αδραστος γ' τοῦ Παπίου, and Παπίας Εὐτύχους; *ibid.*, 206–207 no. 137 (ca. 120–140 A.D.): "Αδραστος Παπίου τοῦ Ἀρχείμον; *ibid.*, 207 no. 138 (ca. 120–140 A.D.): Παπίας Ἐρμίππον; *ibid.*, 209 no. 143 (142/3 A.D.): 'Αρτεμᾶς 'Αδράστου Παπίου; *ibid.*, 209 no. 145 (145/6 A.D.): Παπίας Ἀττάλου; *ibid.*, 210 no. 146 (155/6 A.D.): Τρύφων Τροφίμου Παπίου Γλύκωνος; *ibid.*, 382 no. 196 (177/8 A.D.): Παπίας Μηνοδότου.

of Herakleans attested at Klaros⁷, recording the following names: 'Ιάσων Χαρμίδου, Χαρμίδης καὶ Παπια[νὸς] οἱ Ἱάσ[ονος] and Πα[πία]ς β' (the connection of Papias with Jason and his sons is not stated). Members of the same or related family could be commemorated in the following inscription from the city⁸: [Χ]αρμίδην πρύτανι / καὶ στεφανηφόρον, / νιὸν Μ. Αὐρ. Χαρμίδου / πρυτάνεως καὶ στεφανηφόρου καὶ ἀρχι/άτρου. We cannot be completely confident of any of the suggested identifications (except perhaps in the identity of Papias *archiatros* and the homonymous doctor honoured by the new text), but the above adduced inscriptions seem to indicate the existence a local family or two marriage-related families of doctors with names Papias, Jason, Charmides recurring in different generations.

1–2 The missing part of the text contained reference to other members of Papias' family, most likely his father. The preserved part begins with a short tribute to his ancestors for executive offices they held and for liturgies they accepted⁹. In Greek honorary inscriptions from the Imperial period, regardless of their origin, one typically couples ἀρχαί with λειτουργίαι¹⁰ or φιλοτιμίαι (or φιλοτιμέω, φιλότιμος)¹¹, while at times we find all the three elements grouped together¹². We think that the word φιλοτειμίαι in this instance, because it is preceded by the preposition ἐν with a temporal meaning *during*, has a more concrete significance *liturgies, occasions for munificence* (such as, e.g., *stephanephoriai*, priesthoods, gymnasiariches, *agonothesiai*, *sitodosiai*, etc.), not the general *love of honour*¹³. A particularly good analogy is found in two honorary inscriptions for Trajan's freedman L. Iulius Agrippas from Syrian Apameia. The first¹⁴ says (ll. 8–9): καὶ ἐκτελέσας πᾶσαν φιλοτειμίαν αὐθαίρετως, and the second¹⁵ (ll. 5–6): [ἀρχ]ὰς δὲ καὶ λιτουργίας καὶ φιλοτειμίας τῇ πατρίδι ἐκτελέσαντα.

A close parallel to the general meaning of the first two lines is found in *IvIasos*, 111: πατρὸς κ[αὶ προγόνων] ὑπ[άρχον]τα [ἀγα]λ[θ]ῶν καὶ ἐν[δόξων] καὶ πολλὰ τῇ π[α]τρίδι παρε[σχημέ]νων.

4–5 For some parallels to the praise of βίος ἐπεικής cf. *MAMA* VI, 114 ii (= J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 177 no. 70B; ζῶντα καλῶς καὶ ἐπεικῶς); *IG* V 2, 268 (ἐπείκεια τῶν τρόπων); *IG* IX 2, 1104; *IG Bulg* III 2, 1690; *IG* XII 7, 53, 402, 408; *TAM* V 2, 1016; *TAM* II, 284, 831, 834, 838; *CIG*, 2795 (Aphrodisias: ἐπείκεια βίου). – For the expression κοσμοῦντά τε τοῖς ἥθεσι

⁷ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 207–208 no. 139 (137/8 A.D.).

⁸ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 170 no. 57; cf. V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 221 no. 44 (2nd–3rd century A.D.).

⁹ Honorary inscriptions from Caria often commence in this manner: cf. *JHS* 20, 1900, 73–74 no. 1; *MAMA* VIII, 484, 514; Le Bas–Waddington, 1609a; *CIG*, 2774, 2795; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 170 no. 58; *IvMylasa*, 151; *IvStratonikeia*, 164, 296a.

¹⁰ On the “language of responsibilities” and on the interchangeability of the words ἀρχαί and λειτουργίαι and their cognates in Imperial Asia Minor cf. S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2005, 109–139, and 116 with note 41 for attestations in inscriptions.

¹¹ *IG* V 1, 1114: ἐπαι[νέ]σαι ἐπί τε τῶι ἀρχαῖ καὶ φιλοτιμίαι; *TAM* II, 905: ['Ρο]διαπολειτῶν δὲ τῇ πόλει με(τ)ὰ π[άσ]αν ἀρχὴν καὶ φιλοτειμίαν; *TAM* III, 136: ἄρξαντα καλῶς τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ φιλοτειμησάμενον εἰς κατασκευὴν ἀγάλματος πομπικοῦ ἀργυρέου θεᾶς Ἐλευθέρας.

¹² *IG* V 1, 497: ἐ[πὶ τῇ] ἀνυπερβλήτῳ π[ερὶ τὴν] ἀρχὴν καὶ λιτουργίας [ίαν φι]λοτειμίᾳ; *IG* XII 7, 240: καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ λειτουργίας ἐκτελέσας φιλοτειμῶς; *IvTralleis und Nysa* I, 81: διὰ τὴν περ[ισσὴν] ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίασις εὖνοιαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν.

¹³ Cf. Plu. *Nic.* 3; *SEG* 28, 218A: φιλοτιμία κηρυκείας; *IScM* I 57; *TAM* V 2, 976; *TAM* V 3, 1420.

¹⁴ J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 23, 1973, 39–40 no. 1 = *AE* 1976, 677; *SEG* 52, 1552.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41–46 no. 2 = *AE* 1976, 678; *SEG* 52, 1553.

καὶ τὸ γένος cf. E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, Ankara 1967, 325, no. 263 (τὸν κόσμον τοῦ γένους); *IvAssos*, 28 (κοσμῶν τὸ ἔαυτοῦ γένος) and *MAMA* VIII 408 (Aphrodisias: κοσμήσας τὴν τοῦ γένους ⟨δόξαν⟩), cf. also L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 223 and W. Günther, *Ist. Mitt.* 25, 1975, 353.

5–7 διὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης ποιούμενον τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν: On different formulas indicating care for the people through the medical profession see L. Robert, *BCH* 1954, 72 with notes 3–5. The phrase ἰατρικὴ ἐπιστήμη is on record in *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4, 108 (honorary decree for the doctor Metrophanes from Sardis) and in two inscriptions from Pisidian Adada (*IGR* III, 374, 376). In the Hellenistic period, one seems to have preferred the phrase ἰατρικὴ τέχνη¹⁶. As J. and L. Robert put it, “il n'est peut-être pas de ville où l'on connaisse, proportionnellement, plus de médecins qu'à Heraclée”¹⁷. If Papias from the new inscription is identical to Papias *archiatros* mentioned above, we can presently identify seven other doctors from the city, all from the Imperial period: 1) Diogenianos¹⁸; 2) Archelaos, son of Apol[lonios ?], adopted son of Eunikos¹⁹; 3) the most famous doctor of the city, Titus Statilius Criton, Trajan's doctor and *archiatros*²⁰; 4) from the same family, Statilius Artemidoros, *archiatros* (great-uncle of the following individual)²¹; 5) Statilius Attalus, *archiatros*²²; 6) M. Aur. Charmides, *archiatros*²³; 7) Apollonides, who died at the age of eighteen²⁴.

9 For the epithet *πανάρετος*, comparatively rare in inscriptions, cf. the following examples: *IG* V 1, 1192, 1490; M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Rome 1993, EV 114; *IvPrusiasHypium*, 7; *TAM* II, 584, 588, 766; *MAMA* VIII, 231, 234 (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 38); *MAMA* I, 188; *IvSelge*, 2, 17, 31; *IvSmyrna*, 550 and II.2, p. 374; *IvKeramos*, 14; *SEG* 17, 750 and 26, 1475; *CIG*, 4150 = Chr. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, Tübingen 1993, Anhang 5, «Katalog der Inschriften von Amastris», no. 13 (ζήσασαν παναρέτως); *SEG* 33, 1109 = *ibid.*, Anhang 6, «Katalog der Inschriften von Kaisareia/Hadrianopolis», no. 33; G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Österr. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., *Denkschr.* 102 (ETAM 3), Wien 1970, 30, no. 12b (ἀρχιερασάμενος τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς παναρέτως); *SEG* 43, 950–953; 17, 750; 41, 1117; *CIG*, 4413; *IGLSyr* 1, 167; *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* 1, 330–331; 12, 11088 and *IGUR* II, 1042.

¹⁶ *IG* XI 4, 633, 693, 775; W. R. Paton – E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891, no. 5; *SEG* 41, 680; *SEG* 47, 1280; *IG* XII Suppl., 249; *IG* XII 7, 231; 231 [1]; A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde IV*, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien* 1915, Bd. 179, 6, 53–56; VI, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien* 1921, Bd. 183, 3, 43–44 = *IvPerge* I, 12; *TAM* II, 595, but cf. *MAMA* VI, 114ii = J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 177, no. 70B (ca. 50 A.D. ?); L. Robert, *BCH* 1954, 72, note 2 and *IvMagnesia*, 113 and p. 296 (1st century A.D.).

¹⁷ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 225.

¹⁸ Suidas, s.v. Διογενειανός (= J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 153 and 225, note 5).

¹⁹ *MAMA* VI, 114ii = J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 177, no. 70B (= Samama, 363, no. 245).

²⁰ *MAMA* VI, 91 = J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 167, no. 49 (= Samama, 364–5, no. 246); 177, no. 70B; 178–179, no. 75; 200–201, no. 126; *IvEphesos*, 719, cf. *RE* (7); V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 221, no. 40.

²¹ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 178, no. 72; *MAMA* VI, 117 = J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 179, no. 77; 179, no. 77 (= Samama, 366, no. 247); cf. V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 221 no. 42 (1st–2nd century A.D.).

²² J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 156–157; 179, no. 76 (= Samama, 366, no. 248); 187, no. 88; 220 (coins); cf. *RE* 18 and 24–25; V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 221, no. 41 (138–180 A.D.).

²³ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 170, nos. 57 (= Samama, 367, no. 249) and 58 (= Samama, 367, no. 250); cf. V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 221 no. 44 (2nd century A.D.).

²⁴ J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 187, no. 88 = R. Merkelbach – J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* I, 273, no. 02/13/01 ([= Samama, 368, no. 251] 1st–2nd century A.D.).

13 κάλλισται (at times coupled with ὄξιαι, ἐνδοξόταται, κορυφαιόταται, μέγισται, πρέπουσαι, πρώται) τιμαί was an honour decreed by many cities of Asia Minor (above all Carian) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to outstanding foreigners, including kings, and living or deceased fellow-citizens²⁵. The preserved honorific decrees stipulate that painted portraits and/or statues of the honorand, accompanied by an inscription and frequently paid for by the honorand himself or his relatives, will be set up in sacred or public places of the city in question.

Özet

Makalede, bir arkeoloji öğrencisi tarafından biri Kızılcabölük'te, digeri Karahisar (Vakıf) köyünde görülerek fotoğrafları H. Malay'a gönderilen iki adet yazıt incelenmektedir. Bunlardan ilki İ.S. 161-169 yılları arasına tarihlenmesi gereken bir adak olup, şu ifadeyi taşımaktadır: “(*Kentin*) kurucusu (*tanrı*) Herakles'e ve önde gelen (*tanrı*) Dionysos'a ve İmparator Caesar Lucius Verus Augustus'a ...”.

Üst kısmı kırık bir blok üzerinde yazılı olan ve İ.S. II. (?) yüzyyla tarihlenen ikinci yazıt ise Herakleia halkı ve meclisinin, Papias adındaki bir hekimi onurlandırma kararı yer almaktadır. Bu metinden anlaşıldığına göre Papias, Herakleia Salbake'nin önde gelen ailelerinden birine mensuptu ve bu ailinin bireyleri uzun yıllar kentin üst düzey görevlerini üstlenmişlerdi. Kesin olmamakla birlikte, burada onurlandırılan Papias'ın, aynı yörede bulunan bir mezar yazıtında adı geçen *Başhekim Papias*'la aynı kişi olasma olasılığı vardır. Yazıtın şevirisi şu şekildedir:

“... ve kendi görev yıllarında ataları ve hatta kardeşi Iason vatanlarına birçok katkılarda bulunmuşlardır. Ayrıca o, ahlaki değerleri ile soyunu yücelten hoş ve mütevazi bir yaşam sürdürmiş ve hekim olarak halka ihtimam göstermiştir. Ayrıca Papias daha bir öğrenci (*ephebos*) iken, gymnasium yöneticisi (*ephebarkhos*) tarafından onurlandırılmış ve sonra lari gymnasium'da Herakles adına düzenlenen yarışa kazanması üzerine taçlandırılmış ve kendi portresi ile ödüllendirilmiştir. Tüm bunlardan dolayı Halk ve Meclis Papias'ı yukarıda belirtilen en yüksek onurlarla onurlandırmaya karar verdi”.

Belgrade
İzmir

Marijana Ricl
Hasan Malay

²⁵ *IPergamon* I, 224, fr. A; J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie, I. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*, 1983, no. 61 and *La Carie* II, 163–164 no. 40; 177 no. 70B and 197 no. 115 (Herakleia Salbake); cf. V. Nutton, *PBSR* 45, 1977, 279 no. 157 (Apollonia Salbake) and 351–352 (Antiocheia on the Maiandros); M. Clerc, *BCH* 11, 1887, 348 no. 4 (Attouda); J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17, 1897, 400 no. 7 (Attouda); *IvIasos* 88, 99, 248; *IvStratonikeia*, 705 (Lagina); J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 110 no. 13 (Tabai); *CIG*, 2766; 2770; Le Bas-Waddington 1601A; *MAMA* VIII, 408, 412b–c, 421, 468, 474, 477, 478, 480, 484, 490, 492c, 499a, 503, 515, 528; P. Paris – M. Holleaux, *BCH* 9, 1885, 74 no. 4; *REG* 19, 1906, 97–98 no. 12 and 100–102 no. 14; Th. Reinach, *REG* 19, 1906, nos. 62, 95–96, 97 and 99; J. M. R. Cormack, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 59, 1964, 29 no. 43; *SEG* 30, 1244 (Aphrodisias); *IMilet* I 3, 139C; G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, 1970, 38 no. 18 (Side).