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## NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM PISIDIA. PART II

By G. E. BEAN

I PASS NOW to the eastern side of the central mountain range, to the ancient sites lying east and west of the main Burdur–Antalya road.

In the little plain of Çineovası, 13 km. from Burdur, about 300 yards east of the main road, just opposite the 110th kilometre-stone from Antalya, is a rocky hill some 40 m. high carrying a small fortified site that seems hitherto to have escaped observation. The top of the hill has been levelled to form an area some 25 by 15 m., surrounded on all four sides by a wall of excellent coursed polygonal masonry 1.20 m. thick (Pl. Va). On the west this wall merely supplements the precipitous rock-face; on the other sides it still stands to a height of some 5 m., and was originally much higher, as beds for polygonal blocks can be seen in several places in the rock-surface on the summit, and great quantities of these blocks are lying on the slopes below. In the interior are traces of four or five walls up to 1 m. thick, now flush with the ground, and a large rock-cut cistern some 5 by 4 m. and over 2 m. deep. At the south-east corner are the collapsed ruins of an ornamented building, the blocks carefully cut, with mouldings and clamp-holes; one of these blocks forms a shallow anta. Two architectural blocks apparently belonging to this building are lying in the cistern. At the highest point on the west is the curious arrangement shown in Pl. Vb: two shallow rock-cut steps lead up to a boulder whose inner face is cut so as to overhang; its upper surface is roughly smoothed. The appearance presented is at first sight somewhat reminiscent of the Phrygian rock-altars of the Midas City; but I should hesitate to assert that it is in fact an altar. The surface sherds are of the types usual in this region and none appear to be earlier than Roman; but the fortification must surely be older than this. The "coursed polygonal" style of masonry is characteristic of the early Hellenistic period,<sup>1</sup> and the site seems likely to be a Sagalassian fort of the late 4th or 3rd century; the cistern is indicative of a permanent garrison. The building in the south-east corner, however, appears hardly to be of military type and under the pax Romana the place may perhaps have been put to other uses.

In the village of Arvallı<sup>2</sup> are the following inscriptions Nos. 89 and 90. They are stated to come from the *yayla* of Demirli, about an hour and a half above Arvallı on the west. I visited this spot in 1958; it is a pleasant grassy hillside with abundant water, occupied in summer by half a dozen shepherds' tents. There are three or four piles of stones including cut blocks and a few fluted column-drums, marking the positions of ancient buildings of some kind, but nothing suggestive of a city or town site. The place appears to have been merely a summer residence, similar for example to that at Girdev Gölü, on the territory of Oenoanda,<sup>3</sup> but on a smaller scale.

<sup>1</sup> Scranton *Greek Walls* 52, 69, 165; cf. *JHS*. LXVII (1947), 130, and LXXIII (1953), 26, n. 82.

<sup>2</sup> This, rather than Arvalı, is apparently the true form of the name.

<sup>3</sup> *BSA*. LI (1956), 143.

89. Arvalli, in the main street of the village, from Demirli, a Doric-fluted column more than 0·97 h., 0·55 in diameter ; on top, one square and two round holes. Rough letters 4 to 6 cm. high.

Νέων Ἀττάλο[υ]  
Πονασατους  
ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ  
τοῖς τέκνοις  
ἀνέθηκεν

The name Ponasates appears to be new.

90. Arvalli, beside No. 89, also from Demirli, a similar fluted column more than 1·53 h., 0·53 in diameter. The inscription is written across the fluting ; the upper part of it has been chiselled away to make deeper flutes. Letters of moderate quality 35-40 mm. high ; *nu* is written backwards.

-----  
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτ-  
οῦ Ὀλυμπιάς Ἀτ-  
τάλου *vacat*  
καὶ Μένανδρος  
Μάνου καὶ Ῥό-  
δων Νέωνος  
Κερναπολῖος  
κατὰ διαθήκην

The name Kernapolis is also new. I need hardly call attention again to the custom in this region of omitting τοῦ before the grandfather's name.

91. From Demirli my guide pointed out to me across the valley to the north the position of certain ruins, including an inscription. I was not able to visit the spot, but my guide subsequently did so and sent me a copy of the text. It is on a block 2 m. long and 0·90 m. high, and reads (divested of the eccentricities of the copy) :—

† εὐξάμενος Ζώσιμος ὁ εὐλαβ(έστατος) διάκ(ονος) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ πεδίου  
μου Ζοείλου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐποίησα τὴν εἰσοδον

The ruins in question are presumably those of a church.

#### KUŞBABA

For the lake of Kestel see Part I, p. 68. Near its north-west corner is the village of Kuşbaba, a long straggling affair of some 250 houses, extending from a little above the plain to a little below the summit of the hill to the north. On this summit is the acropolis of an ancient city ; the site is now called Gâvur İni. The summit itself is rocky and bare ; a few building stones are lying about and a fair quantity of sherds of the familiar Roman types. Along the east side for over 100 m. runs a fine wall of ancient appearance, 1·70 m. thick (Pl. Vc) ; it has an inner and an outer face, the space between being filled with rubble and frequent cross-blocks, or headers, almost as long as the wall is wide. The style is polygonal, with an approach to coursing in a few places only ; the blocks are of average

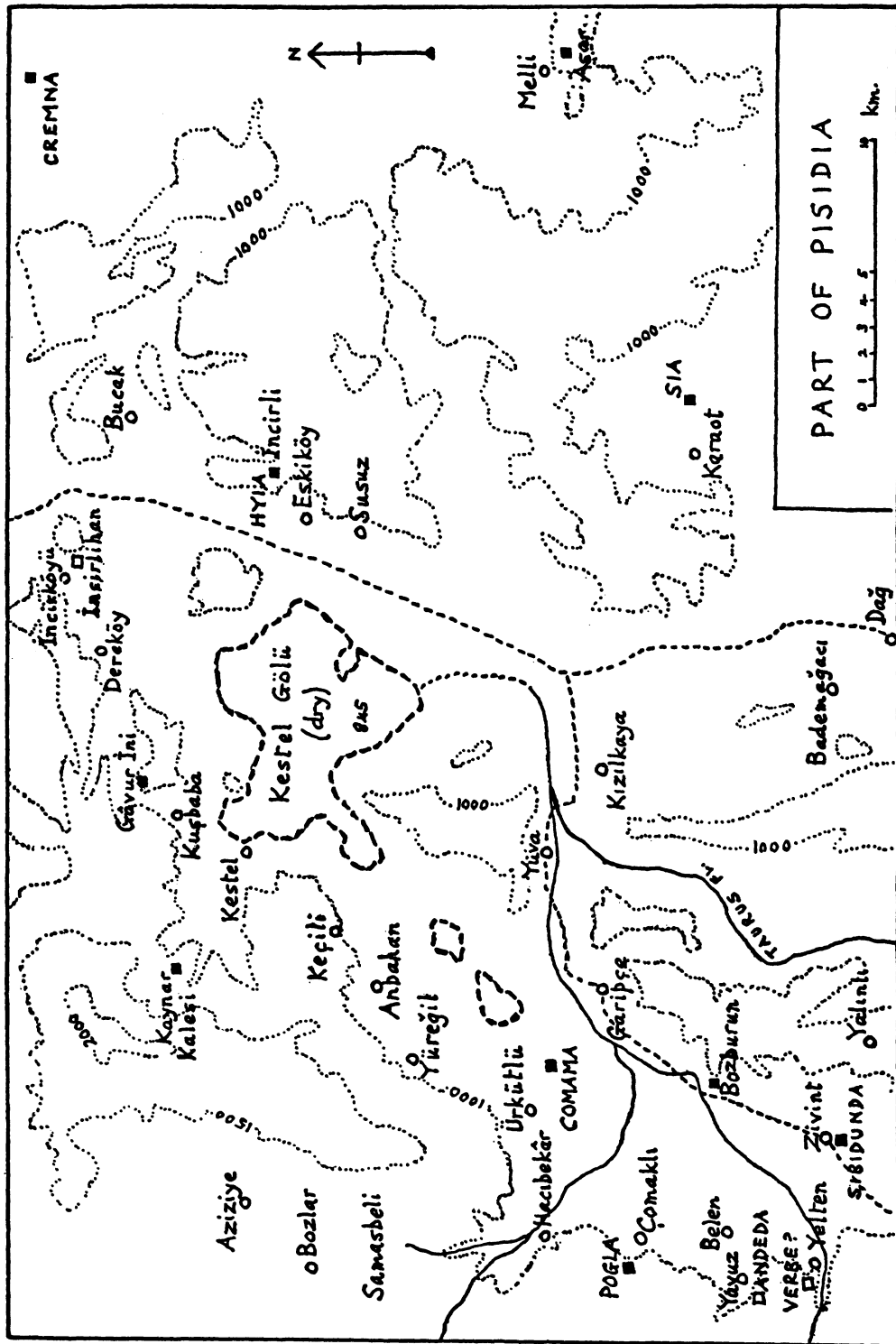


FIG. 1.

■ Ancient sites.  
○ Modern towns and villages.

□ Ancient sites, precise location uncertain.  
--- 500 metre contours.



size, or perhaps a little larger. I have not seen similar masonry elsewhere in the region ; it is not easy to date, but from its general appearance I should judge it to be pre-Hellenistic.

Just below the summit, on the west side, is the " Infidels' Cave ", which gives its name to the site. This is a handsome rock-tomb (Pl. Vd), with a porch 3·80 m. wide and 2·80 m. deep ; at the back of this is the grave-chamber, 2·18 m. high, 1·65 m. wide, 1·07 m. deep, with arched roof. Above is a sort of pediment, consisting merely of double oblique lines incised on the rock, meeting at an obtuse angle, with a rectangular niche at the apex. The porch is not roofed, but is partially overhung by the rock. 2 m. to the right of the porch and 1 m. above the ground is a niche in the rock 0·90 m. high, 0·70 m. wide, 0·95 m. deep, and in the rock-wall just to the right of this is a small altar in relief, 0·20 m. high, quite plain apart from a moulding at top and bottom.

On a lower summit to the south are two rock-cut sarcophagi, and lying close by is a funeral altar with a badly weathered relief showing two human busts ; no sign of any inscription.

The village of Kuşbaba evidently occupies approximately the site of the ancient city. Water is abundant all up the hillside and remains of antiquity, both stones and sherds, are frequent in all parts of the village and on and around the acropolis. At a spot called Çalca Mahalle, in the upper part of the village, a building of squared blocks with fluted columns has lately been brought to light by digging ; numerous inscribed stones are said to have been dug out, but these are now broken up or lost. At a fountain further up are two uninscribed altars or bases, and higher up still, at another fountain, a sarcophagus lid and a built tomb measuring 6 by 5 m.

92. Kuşbaba, Çalca Mahalle, in a wall beside the road, bottom right-hand corner of a slab with a raised rectangular panel in which is the inscription. Monument and script are both of poor quality.

----- ΛΟΥ  
 ---- \NO  
 -- ' ΤΡΟΚΟ  
 ---- ΠΟC *vac.*

In line 3 we evidently have the name Trokondas.

93. Kuşbaba, *ibidem*, in the same wall, fragment of the lintel of a built tomb 0·40 h., 0·73 w., thickness not ascertainable. Letters 4 cm. high, carefully written.

---- ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΚΡΙΠΤΕΙΝΑ ----  
 --- Γ'ΑΔΙΚΑΙΤΟΓΑΜΒΡΩ ^' ---  
 ----- ΪCOPΩΕΝΗΚΙ -----

Apparently something like : --- Νουμερία Κριπτείνα [συνεχώρησεν τῇ --- αὐτῆς Διονυ]σιᾶδι καὶ το γαμβρῶ αὐ[τῆς τῶ δεῖνι ἐνταφῆναι ἐν τ]ῇ σορῶ, ἐν ἣ κη[δευσθήσεται καὶ αὐτή].

This city at Gâvur İni is clearly the one whose Council and People are mentioned in an inscription seen by Ramsay in a cemetery 4 miles N.N.E.

of Kestel.<sup>4</sup> No real evidence for its ancient name has yet come to light ; it was identified by Ramsay at various times with Codrula, Colbasa and Cormasa, and Kiepert accepts Colbasa with a query. There were never any valid grounds for these identifications and the uncertainty is increased by the discovery of the neighbouring site at Kaynar Kalesi (see below).

The village of Kestel contains a few stones belonging presumably to this same city, but does not itself occupy an ancient site. There are also some traces of antiquity in the area just outside the village on the north-west, notably a rock-cut sarcophagus at Beşiktaş Mevkii and some rock-cuttings in the Deliktaş Deresi ; one of the latter has a female figure incised on the rock-face.

94. Kestel, in the old cemetery beside the school, a block 0·62 h., 0·98 w., more than 0·40 th., broken on the right, with very badly damaged reliefs : from left to right, (1) a bunch of grapes, (2) a human figure, (3) destroyed, (4) another human figure. Inscription above in letters 4·5 cm. high, almost effaced.

ΤΤ/ΙΙΡ    Λ    ΚΑΙΠΟ

The block appears to have belonged to a monument of some size.

95. Kestel, at the school, said to have been found locally, upper part of a small limestone altar (libanotris) 0·17 h., 0·085 w., 0·08 th., with plain moulding at the top ; saucer-shaped hollow in the upper surface. Inscribed on three sides in letters 9-13 mm. high.

(a) In the middle :

Ἡρακλῆ-  
πηκόω  
θεῶ εὖ-  
χὴν Ζω-  
σιμίω[ν]  
Αὐρήλις  
Σεκούν-  
δης

(b) On the right side :

Οὐαρί-  
ας ἀνέσ-  
τησεν

(c) On the left side :

τὴν λι-  
βανω-  
τρίδα  
εἰρεῦ-  
ς διὰ βί-  
[ο]υ

The altar is of exactly similar type to those at Burdur (Part I, No. 3), and similarly dedicated by a priest. The names are in unnatural order ; we should expect Αὐρήλις Ζωσιμίω[ν] Οὐαρίας Σεκούνδης. The latter name is apparently a metronymic, a rare phenomenon in this region.

#### KAYNAR KALESİ

In the mountain range to the west of Kestel, the best part of three hours' stiff climb from the shore of the lake, are the ruins of a considerable city not hitherto recorded. The site, now known as Kaynar Kalesi, was visited in 1955 by Miss Barbara Levick, who kindly informed me of its existence, and I paid it a visit in 1957. The ruins occupy a pine-clad hilltop a little below the crest of the range on the east side ; they are lying more or less undisturbed by modern depredations, apart from a number of holes dug by the

<sup>4</sup> *AJA*. IV (1888), 271, No. 2 = *IGR*. III, 397. I have not visited this cemetery ; but *IGR*. III, 398, is now at the school in Kestel, much damaged and with the left part missing. It was recently taken from a bridge half-way on the road from Kestel to Kuşbaba.

villagers of Kestel in search of treasure.<sup>5</sup> The summit is enclosed by a rubble wall 1·60 m. thick, surrounding an area perhaps 150 m. long and 80 m. wide ; from this a very solid wall of ashlar masonry runs down the western slope to end at a rocky knoll. In this latter wall blocks measuring 1·60 by 0·55 m., 1·30 by 0·70 m., and similar dimensions, are frequent. Below the summit, on the west, are the ruins of a built tomb, including a pediment block with triglyphs and metopes, and where the present path crosses the line of the wall are numerous rectangular ostothecae, mostly decorated with a door on the short end ; one has a Macedonian shield. All over the upper part of the hill are vast quantities of uncut building stones and some foundations of buildings of squared blocks, but virtually nothing is standing apart from the walls.

On the south-east slope is what appears to have been a sanctuary of Pluto and Core. In a vertical rock-face is a niche 0·75 h., 0·32 w., 0·27 deep, with two dowel-holes in its floor. A little lower down, to the left, a flat-bottomed round hole has been hollowed out of the rock. On the rock-face by the niche are cut the following two inscriptions ; they were seen by Miss Levick, who was good enough to send me her copies of them. I publish them here, with her permission, from my own copies and squeezes. Both are, as usual, of Roman date, no doubt 2nd century.

96. At the left side of the niche ; letters 25–30 mm. high. Squeeze (lower part only), Pl. VIa.

Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη θε-  
οῖς ἐπηκόοις Πόπλι-  
ος Αἴλιος Μινουκιανὸ[ς]  
καὶ Πετρωνία Αἰμιλία  
5 Μάρκου θυγάτηρ ἡ σύνβι-  
ος αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο  
κατὰ εὐχὴν κοράσιον ὀνό-  
ματι Ἱεροδουλίδᾳ, ἣν καὶ  
ἐποίησαν ἱεροδούλην, ὥσ-  
10 τε ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτὴν τοῖς  
θεοῖς · καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξέσ-  
τω ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι αὐ-  
τὴν μηδὲ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
τέκνα

97. Below the niche ; letters 17–20 mm. high. Squeeze, Pl. VIb.

Κλωδία Μάνου Ψεκάδος  
ἱερόδουλος Πλούτωνος καὶ  
Κόρης τὸ χαλκέον ἄγαλμα  
ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Κόρῃ ἐκ τῶν ἰ-

<sup>5</sup> The belief that writing and other marks on ancient stones indicate the position of buried treasure is still widespread in Anatolia, but more deeply rooted at Kestel than anywhere else in my experience. Time and again I was entreated to point out the right places to dig, and was offered a share of the treasure when it was found. In particular, dowel-holes with lead-channel are supposed to point in the direction of the hidden gold.

5 δίων καὶ Ἰαν τὴν θυγατέ-  
ρα ἐποίησε καὶ τὰ τέκνα  
αὐτῆς

One or two cracks in the rock have been avoided by the lapicide. He has committed several errors in the engraving : in line 2 the *upsilon* of Πλούτωνος was omitted and later inserted small ; in line 5 he went astray in the middle and seems to have written IATA, subsequently correcting to IAN without erasing the TA ; and the predicate to ἐποίησε, presumably ἱερόδουλον, has been omitted altogether. The bronze statue stood, no doubt, in the niche immediately above the inscription.

ἱερόδουλος is the normal feminine form ; ἱεροδούλη, as in No. 96, line 9, is not recognised by the dictionaries, but occurs in Heberdey-Kalinka *Bericht* 54, No. 79. Ψεκάς is known as a female name ; like the names formed from δρόσος, it suggests softness and gentleness : see Bechtel *HP.* 599. If it is female here also it must be a “mammonymic” ; in this connexion see No. 135 below.

The two girls here dedicated to the service of the gods are both slaves : the mother of one is already a hierodule, and the servile status of the other is clear from her name Hierodulis<sup>6</sup> : she was apparently destined from birth to this service. The dedication of free-born persons as ἱερόδουλοι was in fact very unusual. The girls’ attachment to the sanctuary is to be permanent and even extends to the next generation, alienation being prohibited ; similarly in the great Nemrud Dağı inscription, *OGI.* 383, the king provides (lines 171 sqq.) : μηθεὶ δὲ ὅσιον ἔστω . . . τοὺτους ἱεροδούλους . . . μηδὲ μὴν παίδας ἐγγόνους τε ἐκείνων, οἵτινες ἂν ἐν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τοῦτο γένος διαδέχωνται, μήτε αὐτῶι καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εἰς ἕτερον ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τρόπῳι μηδενί. In the inscription from Oenoanda mentioned above (Heberdey-Kalinka No. 79) it is laid down : καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω μηθεὶ ἀντιποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ καθ’ οὐδένα τρόπον, under pain of a curse and a fine of 500 drachmae.<sup>7</sup>

A cult of Pluto and Core in this region was already known from an ex-voto dedication at Gâvur Ören (Ramsay *CB.* I, 339, No. 188) : Μένανδρος Τρωίλου Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. Ramsay’s interpretation, that this is the dedication of an heroon, is now (to say the least) unnecessary : a tomb is surely a strange form of votive offering.<sup>8</sup>

One would wish to know what form the sanctuary took : was it just an open enclosure on the steep hillside in front of the inscribed rock-face ? On this point I could form no satisfactory opinion, as the whole of the ground below the niche had been cleared down to the solid rock by the villagers since Miss Levick’s visit ; if there was such an enclosure, it can only have been very small. But immediately above the rock-face are the jumbled ruins of a large building constructed of squared blocks with

<sup>6</sup> The term κοράσιον is also commonly, though not invariably, used of a slave-girl.

<sup>7</sup> In this inscription the editors understand that a free man dedicated his two daughters, τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παίδας (*sic*), as hierodules of Meter Oreia ; but it is surely more probable that παῖς here means “slave”.

<sup>8</sup> A dedication at Kağlıcık to Ζεὺς Πλούτων (Smith *JHS.* VIII, 249, No. 27 = Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 110) has evidently no connexion with our sanctuary.

ornamented epistyle fragments ; it seems not unlikely that this is a temple of Pluto and Core.

Below the city on the south is a small plain called Kaynar Alanı, with a spring of water. Here, on an outcrop of rock, is a well-executed relief of the Dioscuri and "Helen"; with pediment above containing (apparently) an eagle. On another face of the same rock is a relief of a single horseman with cloak flowing from his shoulders. From here a path leads down to Kestel ; in at least one place it is supported by terracing and it is likely that the ancient road passed this way.

The city's territory lay probably on the higher ground to the west, where there is said to be extensive flat land ; the low ground by Lake Kestel is dominated by the city at Kuşbaba. To the ancient name of the city at Kaynar I found no clue whatever. Coins seem to be scarce ; at least none were shown to me. The principal cities which appear to have lain in this region and which still remain unidentified are Colbasa, Cretopolis and Codrula. Of these Cretopolis is improbable, or even excluded (see below, p. 52) ; that the sites at Kaynar and Kuşbaba comprise between them Colbasa and Codrula is possible, but quite unproved.<sup>9</sup>

98. Somewhere in the hills between here and Burdur, carved high up on a rock, is the talisman against the evil eye shown in Pl. XIIc.<sup>10</sup> The representation is of familiar type, and shows the eye attacked by a variety of hostile agencies : at the bottom a dagger, then a snake, a crab, a spear and a scorpion. The half-effaced object at the bottom right I do not recognise. Above is the inscription :—

βάσκαγε,  
καὶ σὺ ΠΑ  
Χ

For the formula καὶ σὺ in connexion with a similar apotropaic representation of the evil eye see *IGLS*. III, 874-5, with the commentary and references there given ; for an illustration, see F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales* 172, Pl. XV, 1. The following letters ΠΑ Χ are obscure to me.

Between Kestel and Ürkütlü (Comama) no ancient site is known, but the cemetery at Keçili contains numerous ancient blocks ; they include epistyle blocks, a "theatre-seat" with lions' paws<sup>11</sup> and a number of tombstones. These last carry the familiar reliefs—human figures, ear of corn, wreath, bucranium, bunch of grapes—but nearly all are badly weathered. One bears an inscription almost obliterated ; I could read only NHMOY, apparently [γυ]νή μου. Another cemetery 40 minutes from Keçili, on the road to Anbahan, contains ancient stones, but none of any consequence. At Anbahan I found nothing. Yüreğil is a larger village, pleasantly situated on the lowest slopes looking eastwards over the valley.

<sup>9</sup> I was shown a bronze of Codrula at Zivint (below, p. 69, n. 57). For another possibility concerning Codrula see below, p. 79-80.

<sup>10</sup> The photograph was given to me by my friend Ibrahim Şadi Balaban ; his informant was not willing to reveal the exact location of the relief.

<sup>11</sup> No doubt in reality the base of a tomb or other monument : cf. Part I, p. 92.

99. Yüreğil, in the staircase of the house of Ahmet Ayan, altar with plain mouldings only, 0·94 h., 0·36 w., about 0·36 th. Letters 3 cm. high.

Αὐρηλῖς  
Ἐπείκτητο[ς]  
καὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ  
Εἰρήνῃ Νίκῃ  
5    θυγατρὶ μνή-  
          μης χάρις (*sic*)  
          κὲ αἰαυτοῖς

100. Yüreğil, in the wall of the cemetery, a plain block 0·65 h., 0·90 w., thickness not ascertainable. The writing, in careful script with numerous ligatures, 28–30 mm. high, covers the entire face of the block. Photograph, Pl. VI*d*.

-----  
[. . .] ἄρξαντα τὴν τε πρώτην δυανδρ[ί]-  
αν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπώνυμον πενταετηρι-  
[κ]ήν δυανδρίαν, ἀρχιερασά[μ]ενον τῶν Σεβα[σ]-  
τῶν ἐνδόξως καὶ φιλοτίμως, εἰρηναρχήσαν-  
5    τα, καὶ πάσας τὰς πρεπούσας τῷ ἀξιώματι αὐτοῦ  
ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐκτελέσαντα μεγαλοπρε-  
πῶς, ἔτι καὶ ἐπιδόντα καὶ εἰς αἰωνίαν νέμεισ[ιν]  
τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου δηναρίῳ[ν]  
μυριάδας τρεῖς, ἔτι τε εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ σκούτλω-  
10    σιν τοῦ ἐν Κρητωπόλει βαλαγείου δηναρία τετρα-  
κισχέιλια, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἰς νέμεισιν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ π[α]-  
[τρίδι ----- ]

The writer has been at pains to vary the monotony of the normal repeated καὶ by the use of ἀλλὰ καί, ἔτι καί, ἔτι τε, and even ἀλλὰ μὴν καί.

Line 8. κεφαλαίου (objective genitive after νέμεισιν), not κεφάλαιον.

From the mention of the duumvirate in lines 1–3 it is evident that this inscription belongs to the Roman colony of Comama rather more than an hour distant to the south ; dating by the quinquennial duumvirs is familiar (e.g. Dessau 4902, 6580). For the πρώτη δυανδρία cf. *Ilvir primus col(oniae)* at Iconium (Dessau 9414). The meaning of the expression is not clear ; at Iconium it might perhaps denote the first holder of the office of duumvir (so Dessau) ; but it is evident from the style of the script that this cannot be the meaning in the present case.<sup>12</sup>

Line 7. νέμεισις (cf. διανέμεισις in No. 105 below) is less familiar than διανομή in the sense of a cash distribution to the citizens, or to certain classes of them. For the wording of the text, cf. *TAM.* III, 109, ἐπιδόντα δὲ καὶ εἰς αἰώνιον νέμεισιν ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου (δηναρίων) μυριάδας δεκάξ.<sup>13</sup> The “ sum ”

<sup>12</sup> The colony was founded about 25 B.C., but our inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century. It looks as if πρώτη and *primus* may denote precedence in rank rather than in time.

<sup>13</sup> The difference between the sums, three and sixteen myriads of denaria, might well correspond to the difference in size between Comama and Termessus, each being calculated to provide one denarius per annum to each citizen. But this cannot, of course, be relied upon.

(κεφάλαιον) might be either the amount of the interest which accrues for distribution, or the amount distributed to each recipient ; there seems no evidence that κεφάλαιον could bear the meaning " capitation grant ", even though that is, of course, intended here.

The inscription is interesting for its mention in line 10 of the city of Cretopolis, of which this is the first epigraphical occurrence. This city is recorded by Ptolemy, but not by Hierocles, nor are any coins known, and the site is still undetermined. From its mention here it is a reasonable inference that it was not unduly far from Comama,<sup>14</sup> and this agrees well with such other information as we have. In Diodorus XVIII, 44 (319 B.C.), Antigonos, marching from Cappadocia to Pisidia against Alcetas, arrives at Cretopolis, as he does again later (ch. 47) when returning from Termessus to Phrygia. In Polybius V, 72, Garsyeris, sent by Achaeus to relieve Pednelissus, marches into the Milyas (from the north) and camps near Cretopolis. From these passages it appears that from north, east and south one arrived naturally at Cretopolis, which accordingly cannot have been far removed from the main highway. Secluded sites, such as those at Kaynar Kalesi (above, p. 47) or Melli (below, p. 76), are not to be considered for Cretopolis. The plain of Bucak is the meeting-point not only of the roads from Phrygia in the north and Pamphylia in the south (the modern Burdur-Antalya highroad), but also of the easy and important route from Lycia by Isinda and of the more difficult road from Cremna, Adada and the east. Of the sites at present known but lacking a name, therefore, by far the most suitable would appear to be that at Incirlihan, which has, in fact, been identified with Cretopolis by Kiepert and others. Incirlihan lies actually on the line of the old highroad which preceded the present chaussée. I visited it in 1958 and again in 1959, but was not able to locate any precise site which seemed to be that of an ancient city. The evidence for it, so far as I can discover, is as follows. General Koehler, early in the 19th century, saw by a *han* north of Kestel Lake (evidently the Incirlihan) the ruins of a large ancient building.<sup>15</sup> A century later Rott visited Incirlihan and observed that " ringsum zerstreute Trümmerstücke weisen deutlich auf eine antike Stätte hin " ; and in a hypocaust recently excavated by the villagers a stone had been found bearing an ex-voto dedication to Demeter.<sup>16</sup> My own impression was that the fountain and other structures now visible belong in all probability to the *han*. If Koehler's large building is to be identified with the handsome wall of squared blocks some 20 m. from the entrance to the *han*, I doubt very much whether it is truly ancient and not rather a terrace-wall supporting a level space before the doorway of the *han* ; its blocks are similar to those of the *han* itself. The site is a very poor one, down in the valley, and I could learn

<sup>14</sup> The honorand repaired the baths at Cretopolis and this is thought worthy of record in an inscription of Comama. That Cretopolis was, in fact, his " second fatherland " (line 11), Comama being the first, is an evident possibility.

<sup>15</sup> Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX, 706, adding that Leake took this to be the site of Lysinoe. But in the passage quoted (*Asia Minor* 151) Leake conjectures, rightly as it now turns out, that Lysinoe (Lysinia) was on the Lake of Burdur.

<sup>16</sup> Rott *Kleinas. Denkmäler* 21, and 360, No. 51.

of no ruins on the hills above ; and in particular, no one seems to have seen the sherds which normally mark an ancient city-site. That there was something here in antiquity is hardly doubtful, but there is room for uncertainty whether it was really a city.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the site is no worse than those of Andeda and Verbe, or even Cormasa ; unwallled cities are common enough in these parts ; and as for the sherds, I may simply have overlooked them. If there was, in fact, a city here, I should suppose it highly likely that it is Cretopolis ; more may have been visible fifty or a hundred years ago, but on the spot I must confess that I was unconvinced.<sup>18</sup> If the identity of Cretopolis with the city of the Ceraitae be accepted, a site near Cremna is appropriate, since a coin is known on which Κρημνέων καὶ Κεραιεῖτῶν are coupled together.<sup>19</sup>

The name of the city is given by Polybius and Diodorus as Κρητῶν πόλις, by Ptolemy as Κρητόπολις. Our present inscription gives a form half-way between these two, but it seems doubtful whether it can be correct.<sup>20</sup>

Ptolemy locates Cretopolis in a position W.N.W. of Termessus, corresponding approximately to the actual position of Olbasa ; Olbasa, on the other hand, he places in the region west of Cremna—in the neighbourhood, that is, of Incirlihan. This is presumably no more than a coincidence ; but if Olbasa and Cretopolis could be transposed, Ptolemy's map would gain greatly in general accuracy. As a matter of interest, I append in Fig. 2 a diagram showing Ptolemy's locations in this part of Pisidia as compared with the true positions.<sup>21</sup> It will be seen that, in spite of several bad misplacements, the overall picture bears a very recognisable resemblance to the truth.<sup>22</sup> The impression received is that Ptolemy's placements cannot be altogether disregarded.

#### COMAMA

The site of Comama by the fountain of Şerefönü, between Ürkütlü and Garipçe, is well established by inscriptions found on the spot. The colony, in striking contrast to those of Cremna and Olbasa, lay on and around a low hill, hardly more than a mound, and was totally devoid of any fortification. Rather than a military colony designed to hold the unruly Pisidian mountaineers in subjection, we seem to have (as Miss Levick expressed it to me) a market town spreading Roman influence by peaceful means along the important routes which converge in the neighbourhood.

<sup>17</sup> Rott also speaks only of a " Stätte ", not a " Stadt ".

<sup>18</sup> In any case, Incirlihan is to be carefully distinguished from Incirli, the site of Hyia south of Bucak : see below, p. 80.

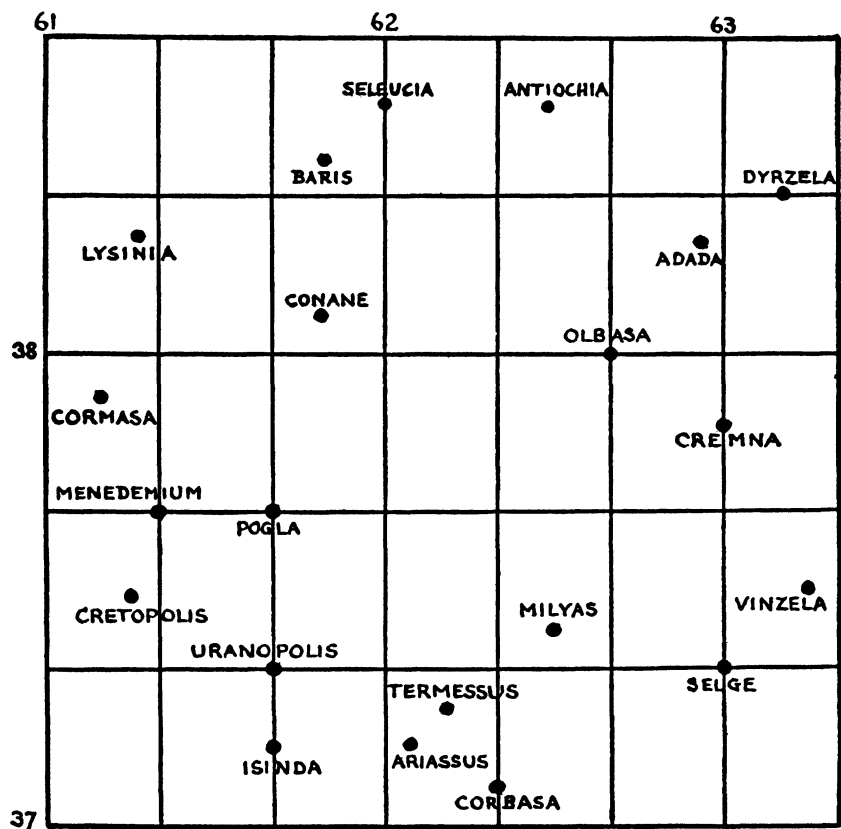
<sup>19</sup> On this question see *BMC Lycia* xcix, Jones *CERP.* 126.

<sup>20</sup> If, on the other hand, it is an error, it is the only one on the stone.

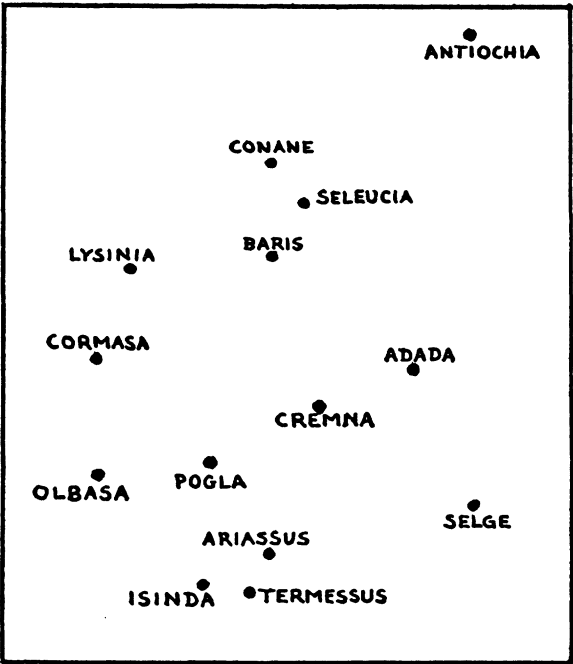
<sup>21</sup> The grid in Fig. 2 may not be entirely accurate, but the general picture is not, I think, seriously distorted.

<sup>22</sup> An extraordinary feature is the total omission of Sagalassus. Ptolemy has a Sagalassus in Lycia, close to Corydalla and Rhodiapolis ; but this, as was pointed out by Jones *CERP.* 406, n. 19, is surely an error for Acalissus. Some of Ptolemy's towns, notably Uranopolis, Milyas and Corbasa, are otherwise totally unknown.





(a) Ptolemy's locations in Pisidia.



(b) Actual positions, certain or highly probable.

FIG. 2.

101. Ürkütlü, in a street in the village, a block 0·80 h., 0·80 w., 0·18 th., with decorated border, broken on the left. Inscription in a panel ; letters 32–35 mm. high.

Λ. Ἰούλιος Μαγνια-  
νὸς Θάλλος (*leaf*)  
οἰκονόμος  
ζῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸ  
5 ἀγγεῖον κατεσκεύ-  
ασεν καὶ τοῖς τέκνο  
αὐτοῦ μνήμης  
[κ]αὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ  
χάριν

Line 3 and the last two letters of line 6 have been inserted small between the lines. Line 8 was added later on the sloping edge of the frame. For other οἰκονόμοι see Part I, Nos. 52 and 63.

102. Şerefönü, lying on the hillside, a damaged base 1·11 h., 0·53 w., at least 0·57 th. ; upper surface buried. Letters 27–30 mm. high. Faultily published by Ramsay *AJA*. IV, 263, No. 4 = *IGR*. III, 402.

[τ]ῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν]  
[-----]  
[---]τὸ ἀγα(λ)μα τῆς  
[βο]υ[λ]ῆς καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἀπηρ-  
5 [τί]σθη ἐξ ὑπαρχόν-  
[τ]ων Ἀττικοῦ Δείου  
κατὰ διαθήκην

Line 1 is the beginning of the inscription ; there is no erasure above.

Line 3. ΑΓΑΜΑ lapis. [αὶ σ]τοαὶ ἅμα τῆς | [π]ύλης Ramsay.

The erection of a statue of the city Council (as also of the Roman Senate) is, of course, familiar ; at Side the Council and People severally honour each other with statues erected by the Gerusia (1947 *Önrapor* Nos. 10 and 11). The Council is also frequently represented in human form on coins.

For another inscription of Comama see Part I, No. 5.

#### POGLA

The site of Pogla at Çomaklı has long been fixed beyond reasonable doubt, though not actually proved hitherto by any inscription found on the spot. The old name of the village, Fiğla or Fuğla, evidently preserves the ancient name.<sup>23</sup> The city is recorded by Ptolemy and placed with very tolerable accuracy (see Fig. 2) ; Hierocles also has it, in the corrupt form δήμου Σώκλα.<sup>23a</sup> This latter entry shows, as Jones pointed out (*CERP*. 144), that its status had fallen at that period. Otherwise Pogla has no history apart

<sup>23</sup> It is not, however, unique on the map of Turkey ; there is a Fuğla Tepe in the Troad.

<sup>23a</sup> For the rather unexpected corruption of Π to Σ compare (almost certainly) Σάσανδα for Πάσανδα in *Diod. Sic.* XIV 79 ; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* 504, n 2, *ATL*. I, 532, n.3.

from what has been inferred from an inscription found there (republished below, No. 104).

For so obscure a city the extant remains, and particularly the inscriptions, are surprisingly abundant. The acropolis hill, perhaps 120 m. high, is immediately above the village on the west. The line of a ring-wall is traceable, in a rough polygonal masonry, 1·8 to 2 m. thick ; but no more than a single course is anywhere visible.<sup>24</sup> The space enclosed is about 150 m. long and barely 100 m. wide ; the summit has been much dug over by the villagers and numerous bases, columns and architectural fragments have been removed to the village. On the south side, a little below the wall, are four irregular rows of rock-cut seats or steps of uncertain purpose.<sup>25</sup> Sherds of the familiar Roman types are abundant on the hill, both inside and outside the wall. Near the foot of the east slope, towards the village, are the ruins of a built tomb approached by a flight of four rock-cut steps ; across the dip from here, in the highest part of the village, is a similar tomb with steps.

In the middle of the village stands an angle of a massive building, of solid but not very elegant masonry of the Roman period, still 7–8 m. high in parts (Pl. VIIa). At the end, entered by an arched doorway, is a long rectangular chamber with corbelled roof, now underground ; it contains water, but this has been introduced in recent times to form a cistern. The building might be a market-hall or something similar. On the slope across the road from the school is the lower part of a solid and handsome mausoleum, measuring 6·80 by 5·30 m., raised on three steps (Pl. VIIb). Others similar stand at intervals in the plain, apparently marking the line of a road from Pogla to Comama.

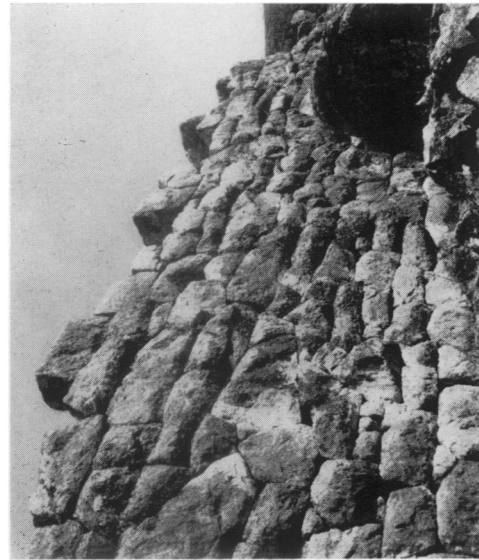
The village is full of sculptured and inscribed stones ; a considerable number have been described by previous travellers. A few have been collected at the school ; these include : (i) a relief of a horseman deity (Pl. VIIIa) 0·20 h., 0·18 w., 0·05 th., of Kakasbos type but not apparently Kakasbos himself<sup>26</sup> : (ii) a relief 0·21 h., 0·17 w., 0·08 th., of Cybele seated facing on a throne, with a lion at each side on which her hands rest (Pl. VIIIb). At the house of Ali Türker is the lower half of a female statue of excellent marble, rather over life-size, apparently of Roman date ; the oval base is hollowed underneath. I saw also several uninscribed tombstones with reliefs of normal types, divided horizontally in some cases into two or more panels (cf. No. 109 below).

103. Çomaklı (Fuğla), at house no. 189, damaged limestone stele 0·76 h., 0·44 w., 0·11 th., lacking the top right and bottom left corners ; the stone has been

<sup>24</sup> Unlike the cities of the Lysis valley (except Olbasa : see Part I, p. 78), those on the east side of the central mountain-range are mostly fortified in the usual way ; see above Kuşbaba and Kaynar Kalesi, and below Melli, Karaot (Sia) and Incirli (Hyia). On the other hand, Comama, Andeda and Sibidunda seem not to have been defended by any fortification-wall.

<sup>25</sup> My guide said he had seen one or two words of writing on these steps, but we could not find them. Possibly casual marks on the rock had been mistaken for writing, as often happens.

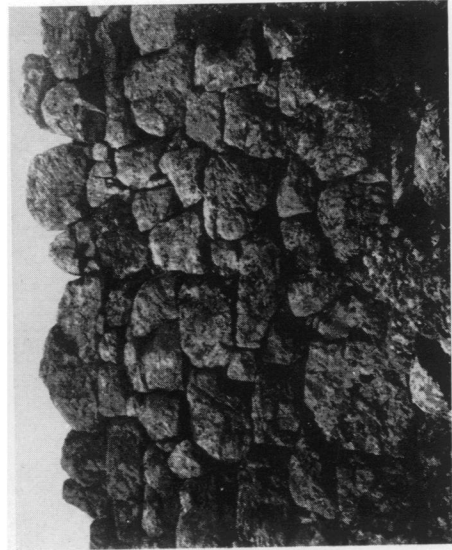
<sup>26</sup> Though Kakasbos occurs at Pogla ; see No. 107 below.



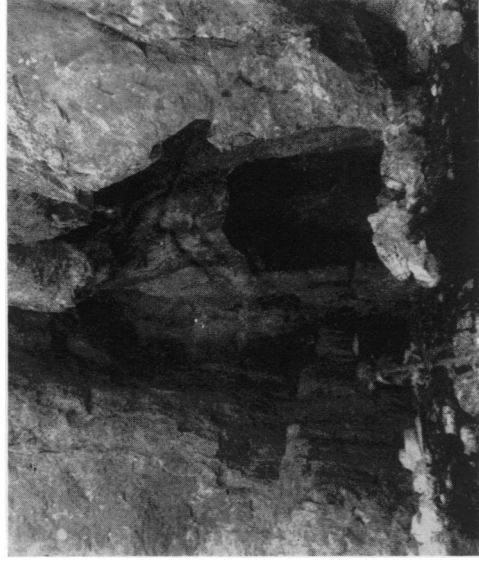
(a) Çineova : Fortification wall.



(b) Çineova : Altar (?).



(c) Kuşbaba : Fortification wall.



(d) Kuşbaba : Gavar İni.



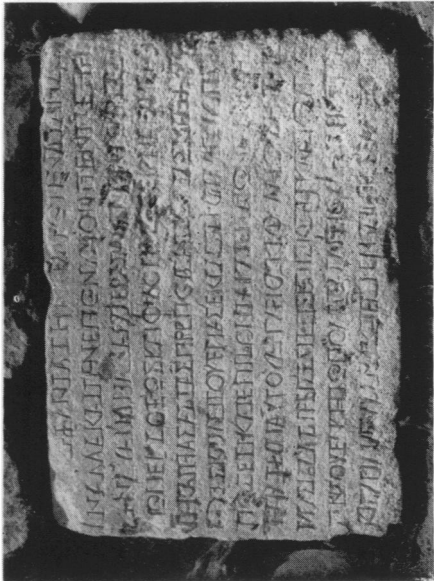
(a) Kaynar Kalesi : inscription no. 96.



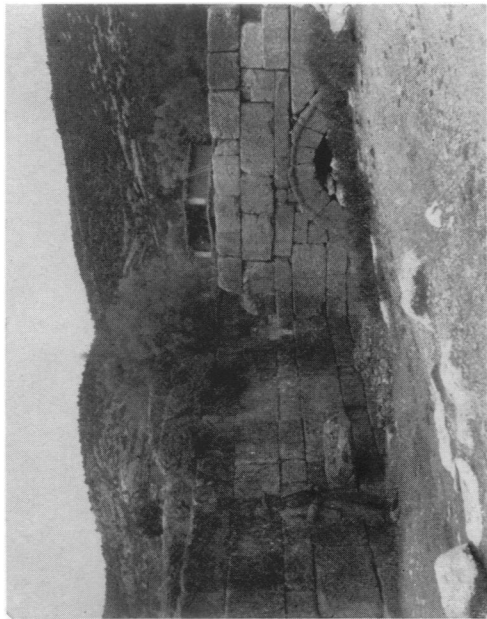
(b) Kaynar Kalesi : inscription no. 97.



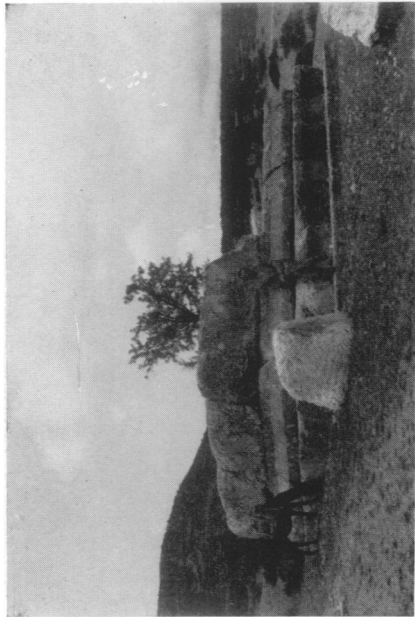
(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 124.



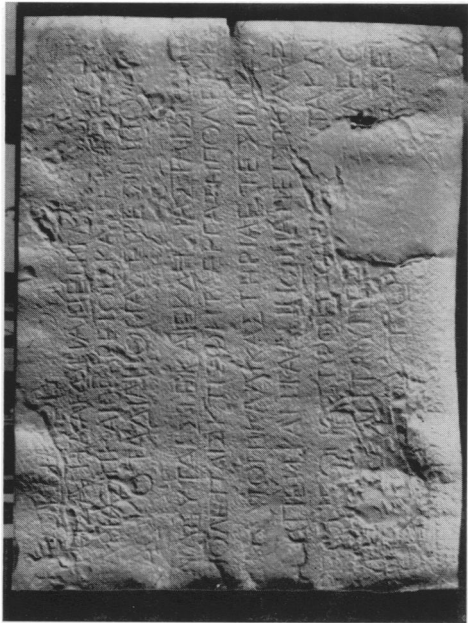
(d) Yüreğil : inscription no. 100.



(a) Pogla : large building.



(b) Pogla : mausoleum.



(c) Pogla : inscription no. 104.



(d) Pogla : inscription no. 103.



(a) Pogla : figure of horseman deity.



(b) Pogla : figure of Cybele.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 120.



(d) Pogla : inscription no. 108.



(e) Pogla : inscription no. 113.





(a) Pogla : inscription no. 109.



(b) Pogla : inscription no. 114.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 122.



(d) Hyia : inscription no. 134.

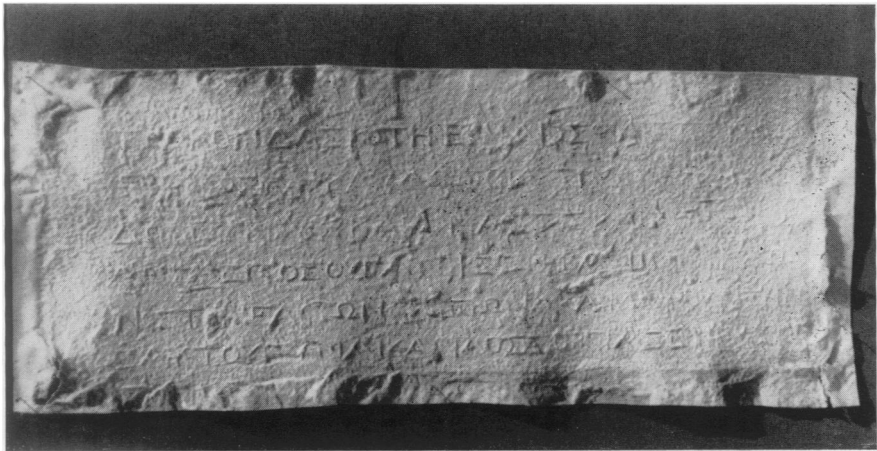




(a) Andeda : Boundary stone.



(b) Melli : Ring-wall.



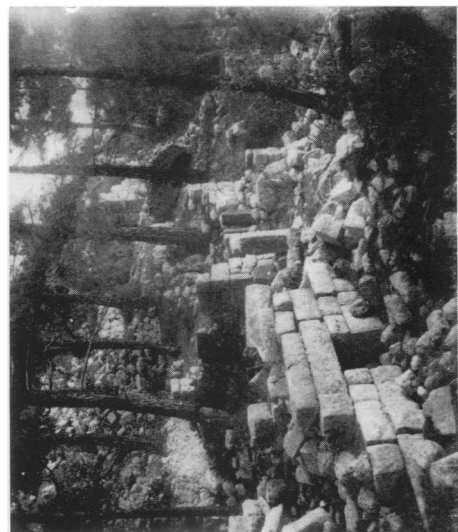
(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 125.



(d) Melli : inscription no. 130.



(e) Hyia : inscription no. 133.



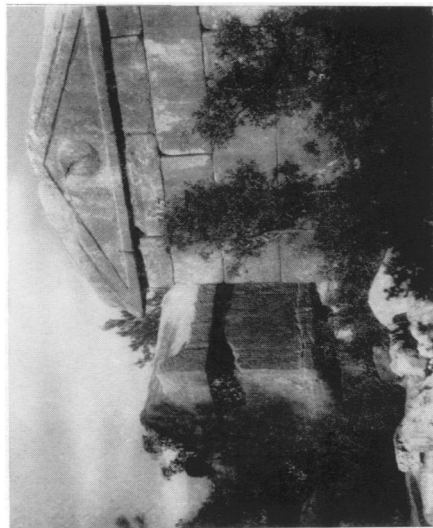
(a) Sia : Ruins of the city.



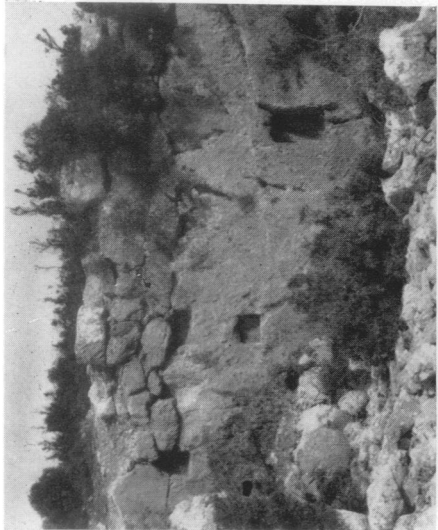
(b) Sia : Council-house (?).



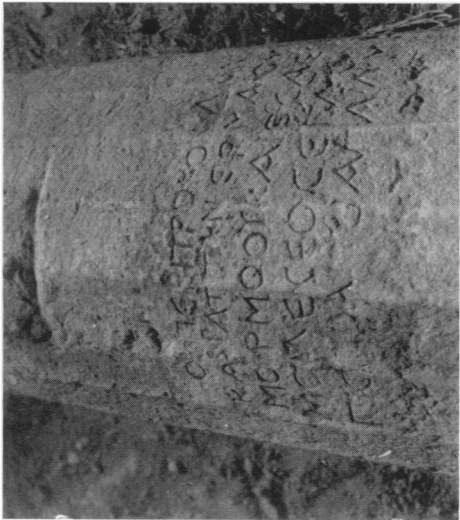
(c) Melli : Building below the Theatre.



(d) Sia : Built tomb.



(b) Hyia : Rock-wall with niches.



(d) Sibidunda : inscription no. 121.



(a) Hyia : Ring-wall.



(c) No. 98 : Representation of the Evil Eye.

in use as a washing-board and a great part of the writing is totally effaced and the rest much worn. Hellenistic script, 13-18 mm. high. Squeeze (lower part only), Pl. VII*d*.

ΩΝ -----  
 . ΛΛΛΓ -----  
 ΤΩΝ -----  
 ΤΩΡ -----  
 5 ΜΕ -----  
 ΑΡΕΤ -----  
 ΝΟΜΩ -----  
 ΝΩΝ -----  
 ΠΡΑΓΟΥΣ -----  
 10 ΥΠΕΡΤ -----  
 ΜΕΝΠ -----  
 ΚΑΤΩ -----  
 ΓΙΛΛΑΤ -----  
 ΤΩΝ ----- ΤΑΛΩ . . .  
 15 ΠΡΟΣ ----- ήγουμ[έ]-  
 νων Ε . . Σ ----- περι [τόν ?]  
 Φιλωνίδ[ην ----- ]ΜΗΚΑΣ . . .  
 ΖΗΝΟ . Ε . Τ ----- ΙΟΥΚΑΤΑΞΙ . .  
 ΤΨΕΝΟΝΤΑ ----- διδόναι  
 20 τοῖς Τ --- Λ ----- Α προε[λο]-  
 μένοις ----- ΟΥ πρὸς  
 καὶ ΤΟ . ΣΛ . . . ΙΟ . Σ ----- οὖντας  
 εἰς τὸ εὐχ[ά]ριστον τοῦ δήμου  
 ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι·  
 25 δεδόχθαι τῇ[ι πόλει κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄρ-  
 χουσιν ἀναστῆσαι αὐτῶι στήλη[ν]  
 [έ]ν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ καὶ  
 [ἀναγ]ράψαι τόδε τὸ ψή[φ]ισμα, ὅτι ὁ  
 [δῆμος] ὁ Πρωγλέων ἐτείμησεν ΙΑΣ  
 30 [-----]ντος κεκινδυν[ευκό]-  
 [τα ἐν στρατ]εῖαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου·  
 [ἐπιμεληθῆν]αι δὲ καὶ τ[ὸ]ν γρα[μ]-  
 [ματέα τοῦ δ]ήμου ὅπως κα[ὶ]  
 [ἀντίγραφον] ἐσφραγισμέ-  
 35 [νον ἀποσταλῆι ? -----]

Line 19. The first letter is apparently *tau* ; the second is partly damaged, but its angular shape is clear. *phi* would be possible, but *phi* has elsewhere its normal rounded form. Line 22. Perhaps καὶ το[ῖς] λ[οι]πο[ῖς] or καὶ το[ῦ]ς λ[οι]πο[ῦ]ς. Line 23. Apparently εὐχάριστον rather than εὐχρηστον, though the latter is hardly excluded. Line 29. Of the letters ΟΠΟ only the upper halves are preserved, but all three are in my opinion certain ; *omega* having the form ω, Πρωγλέων is not a possible reading. Line 31. [στρατ]εῖαι was suggested to me by A. M. Woodward. In lines 32-4 the letters are more widely spaced.

This is the only Hellenistic city-decree yet discovered in the Milyas.<sup>27</sup> It accordingly throws a fresh light on the political condition of this region in the pre-Roman period. It has been generally accepted that until perhaps the 2nd century A.D. city-status was unknown; Artemidorus' list of Pisidian cities (Part I, p. 67, n. 2) includes none from the Milyas. In this connexion see further below, No. 104.

It would be highly desirable to determine the date of the present inscription. That it is Hellenistic is obvious; but in view of the almost total loss of the narrative portion, we are reduced for a more exact dating to the dangerous criterion of the style of the script. In this respect the most striking feature is perhaps the cursive *omega*, frequently very widely spread. Lunate letters are unusual in the Hellenistic period, especially in formal state documents<sup>28</sup>: but how far this peculiarity may serve as a dating factor seems very uncertain. The form of *nu* varies a good deal; the right-hand upright is sometimes shorter than the other and tends to diverge to the right. *Pi* has uprights of equal length; *theta* has a complete cross-stroke; *mu* has nearly vertical uprights; *alpha* has the broken crossbar; *sigma* has top and bottom strokes horizontal.<sup>29</sup> I should suppose that the 3rd century may safely be excluded, but would not venture to say more.<sup>29a</sup>

Of lines 1–22 I can make very little. Lines 18–24 seem to contain the normal clause expressing a desire to encourage others, by the award of due honours, to emulate the services of the honorand, but I cannot restore the passage. Before this the text is almost hopeless. The name Philonides is nearly certain in line 17, but the person in question seems unidentifiable. Otherwise only line 14 may be significant. If the letters ΤΑΛΩ, which are reasonably certain, form part of the name Ἀττάλωι (and this is surely the most obvious interpretation) it would be tempting to suppose that the honorand served in the Attalid army, possibly in the campaign of Attalus II against Selge soon after 159 B.C. If I understand line 34 correctly, provision is made in the concluding clause for sending a copy of the decree, authenticated by the city's seal, to notify the honorand's city of the honours

<sup>27</sup> Apart from one or two at Termessus. Without entering into the question of what territory was properly included in the Milyas (on which see most recently Magie *Roman Rule* 761–2), I use the term in the sense defined by Strabo 631, that is approximately the area covered by the present article. See Part I, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> L. Robert *RÉG.* LXIX (1956), 159, *Bull. Epigr.* No. 244, notes that “l'épigraphie funéraire de Myrina montre des formes lunaires dès l'époque Hellénistique”. None are cited by Welles *Roy. Corr.* li. I add some other early examples which I have noted. In iv B.C.: *Inscr. Lindos* No. 41 (C), with Blinkenberg's note; and see *IOSPE*. I<sup>1</sup>, p. 40. In ii B.C.: *Sardis* VII, Nos. 21 (E, C), 106 (C, ω, if correctly dated), and in northern Asia Minor, *Stud. Pont.* III, p. 118. In i B.C.: *I.v. Priene* 142 (ω), *Sardis* VII, Nos. 125–7 (E, C, ω). It seems that C made its appearance in Asia rather earlier than E and ω.

<sup>29</sup> I am at a loss what to make of the peculiar second letter in line 19. In Pamphylian ψ is some kind of sibilant, but whether it may be so here also I do not know, as I cannot recognise the word to which it belongs.

<sup>29a</sup> The absence of any texts of similar date from the neighbourhood makes a decision on these grounds highly precarious. I may recall the case of the Araxa inscription that I published in *JHS.* LXVIII (1948), 46, No. 11, in which the general quality of the script is not unlike the present. Opinions as to its date have varied considerably, but have tended on the whole to favour the early 2nd century.

conferred on him.<sup>30</sup> In this case the honorand is not a citizen of Pogle ; he may perhaps have joined a contingent from Pogle serving under Attalus, since the Milyas was at that time part of the Attalid kingdom. But I should not wish to press this suggestion ; the letters ΤΑΛΩ may be capable of some quite different explanation.<sup>31</sup>

The name of the honorand in lines 29–30 is mostly lost,<sup>32</sup> but consists evidently of a name and a patronymic ; there is no question of a Roman name. The spelling Πογλέων in line 29 seems beyond doubt ; in the Roman period it is regularly spelt with an *omega*. The variation no doubt represents some uncertainty in the representation of an Anatolian vowel-sound.

104. Çomaklı, at a house in the village near the coffee-houses, in the wall of a low basement now used as a fowl-run, is the inscription published by Rostowzew in *ÖJh.* IV (1901), Beibl. 38–46. The stone is awkwardly situated, the place being dark, dirty and wretchedly cramped, and my squeeze may have missed a few letters which are still legible at the edges. I reprint the text from my own squeeze, including a few changes from the published version ; the letters underlined are given by the editor as being visible on the stone. Squeeze, Pl. VIIc.

[Πόπλι]ο[ν ?] Καίλ[ι]ον (?) Λουκα[νόν ? ἀγω]-  
 [νοθε]τήσαντα ἀγῶνα πεντα[ετηρικόν ἐ]-  
 [πί ἀ]νδριᾶσιν καὶ βραβείοις καὶ τειμή[μα]σ[ιν, ἐ]-  
 [πιδ]εδωκότα διανομὰς ἔτεσιν πολ[ε]ιτείας]  
 5 [β]ουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἐκλησιασταῖς κ[αὶ] πᾶ-  
 [σι] πολεῖταις, κτίζοντα ἔργα τῇ πόλει, κρε[ῖ]-  
 [ν]οντα τοπικὰ δικαστήρια ἔτεσιν κ[ο]ινῶ-  
 [νί]ας, πέμψαντα ἄννωναν εἰς τὸ Ἀλε[ξ]αν-  
 [δ]ρέων ἔθνος, προηγορήσ[αν]τα καὶ  
 10 [σ]υν[δικήσ]αντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[ε]ως,  
 γέν[ους] τοῦ πρῶ[του]ντος ἐν  
 τῇ πατρίδι

Line 1. All three names appear to me to be dubious. For the cognomen R. prefers Λουκιανόν.

Lines 2–3. [σύν τε] ἀνδριᾶσιν R. I restore [ἐπὶ] ἀνδριᾶσιν on the strength of No. 105 below. Line 3 fin. καὶ τειμη[θέντα β' ?] R., but in this inscription the participles are not coupled by καί. Of the *sigma* the upper horizontal stroke remains. I am not aware of any other case of τίμημα used in a similar context ; I presume it means that the agonothete defrayed the general expenses of the games, in addition to providing special prizes.

<sup>30</sup> For this normal practice, c.f. *IG.* XII, 5, 840 (Tenos) : ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἱερα[πύτνιοι] εἰδῶσιν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα Ἀμφερωνίδεα, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς ἱεραπύτναν τότε τὸ ψήφισμα σφραγισμένους τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι ; *ib.* 653 (*Syros*) : οἱ πρυτάνεις ἐπιμελὲς ποιησάσθωσαν ἀντιγραφάμενοι ὅπως ἐξαποστεῖλωσιν τότε τὸ ψήφισμα πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Σιφνίων, σφραγισάμενοι τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.

<sup>31</sup> They might, for example, be part of the word ἀποσταλῶσιν. But the possibilities are hardly numerous.

<sup>32</sup> Ἰάσ[ονα] would be possible, but not more than a possibility.

Line 10. [πρεσβεύσα]ντα R., but the letters YN are clear. The new reading removes any doubt about the restoration ὑπέ[ρ τῆς πό]λεως: the fragmentary upright stroke before -λεως (suggesting βασιλέως) is evidently illusory.

Line 11 init. The restoration hardly fills the available space, but the phrase is a standard one and the reading is scarcely doubtful.

The particular interest of the inscription centres around the expressions ἔτεσιν πολειτείας and ἔτεσιν κοινωνίας. These were taken by Rostowzew to refer to the political status of Pogla: κοινωνία will then denote its earlier condition as a member of a κοινόν,<sup>33</sup> and πολειτεία its later rank as a *polis*. The transition, marking the first appearance of these Milyadic towns as cities, would then be dated approximately by the inscription, which is likely to be of the 2nd century A.D. This view is accepted by A. H. M. Jones in *CERP*. 143-4. A different explanation was, however, suggested by A. Wilhelm in *Glotta* XIV, 81-2, namely that πολειτεία refers not to the status of the city but to the honorand's occupation of public office: "in the years when he held office." Wilhelm then places a comma after δικαστήρια and takes ἔτεσιν κοινωνίας with what follows, κοινωνία denoting "Kollekte als Zeichen der Teilnahme", as in the *Epistle to the Romans* 15, 26; the meaning then is, as I understand it, that the honorand joined with others in sending relief to Alexandria during a famine of corn, lasting apparently over several years. Magie, *Roman Rule* 1317, seems disposed to favour this interpretation.

The situation is now altered by the new inscription No. 103 above, from which it appears that in the 1st century B.C. at the latest Pogla was issuing decrees of the type normally passed by a Greek city.<sup>33a</sup> It seems no longer possible to suppose that city-status was first acquired only in the 2nd century A.D.<sup>34</sup> If the contrast between the "years of the city-constitution" and the "years of the league" is to be maintained, the change must have been from the former to the latter—a somewhat startling conception. On the new evidence therefore Wilhelm's interpretation is apparently to be preferred.<sup>35</sup>

That Pogla should appear in the Hellenistic period as a city is interesting, but not in itself surprising. Strabo 570 quotes from Artemidorus a list of thirteen Pisidian *poleis*, many of them small and obscure places. It had, however, seemed hitherto that the towns of the Milyas had not the standing of cities, partly because Artemidorus' list touches only the fringes

<sup>33</sup> Possibly the *commune* *Milyadum* mentioned by Cicero *Verr.* I, 95; see Jones *CERP*. 143-4.

<sup>33a</sup> It is issued by "the people of Pogla" in line 29, by the "city and magistrates" in line 25.

<sup>34</sup> Prof. A. H. M. Jones, when I first showed him the text of No. 103, suggested to me that δῆμος may here denote a community of lower grade than a city; Hierocles, at a much later date, records a number of δῆμοι in these parts, including Pogla itself (δῆμον Σώκλα). The *commune* *Milyadum* would then be a κοινόν of these δῆμοι, and the old view could be maintained. But I feel sure that this cannot be right: in line 25 the *eta* is clear, necessitating τῇ[ι πόλει], and city-status must be admitted.

<sup>35</sup> The possibility of reading merely ἔτεσιν πολ[λοῖς] in No. 104, line 4, does not seem to have been considered.

of this region, and partly because of the *commune Milyadum* mentioned by Cicero about 80 B.C. This latter was surely not a league of *cities* ; but there is no reason why it should be incompatible with the existence of cities here and there ; we need not suppose they were at all numerous.

For the constitution and general character of these Pisidian *poleis* in Hellenistic times a certain amount of evidence was already available.<sup>36</sup> The letter of Attalus to Amlada about 160 B.C. is addressed 'Ἀμλοδέων τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς γεραιοῖς, suggesting a primitive form of Greek city-constitution in which the government is still in the hands of a council of elders. The alliance between Termessus and Adada, on the other hand, dated some time in the 2nd century, has all the form of a treaty between Greek cities, contracted by the respective *demoi*, and provides (lines 11 sqq.) ἂν δέ τις . . . καταλύῃ τοὺς νόμους ἢ τὰς προσόδο[υς ἢ τὴν καθεστῶσαν] δημοκρατείαν ἐν ἑκατέραις τῶν πόλεων. There is accordingly nothing astonishing in a democracy at Pogla ; Pogla was in fact far more exposed to Greek influence than Adada ; it lies nearer to the Greek cities of Lycia and Pamphylia and is on the easy and important route from Lycia by Isinda to the north. It is also marked out by its site as likely to be a cut above the other towns surrounding this plain<sup>37</sup> ; it is, for example, the only one that has a fortified acropolis.

105. Çomaklı, outside the house of Şefika Sapmaz, a tall base broken into two parts, each part in use as a *dibektaş*. Combined height 1·44 m. (but the two parts do not join), width 0·50 m., thickness 0·50 m. The inscribed surface is broken away on the left. Regular letters 28–35 mm. high.

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]  
[Αὐρ.] Ἀρχελαιανόν  
[Ἀλέ]ξανδρον, κτίστην,  
[ἀγ]ωνοθέτην τὸ πρῶ-  
5 [τον] δι' αἰῶνος ἐκ τῶν  
[ιδίω]ν ἀγῶνος πεντα-  
[ετη]ρικοῦ Σεραπείου  
[Ἀλε]ξανδρείου ν. ἐπὶ  
[ἀνδρ]ιᾶσιν τρισίν ν.  
10 [καὶ βω]μείσιν καὶ βρα-  
[βείοις] καὶ θέμασιν,  
[καταλε]ῖψαντα πρὸς  
[ἐπίδοσιν ?] καὶ διανέμ[η]-  
[σιν - - - - -]  
15 [- - - - - τὸν δὲ ἀν]-  
[δριάντα ἀνέ]στησαν  
[Αὐρρ. ? - - -]να καὶ Ἀλέ-  
[ξανδρο]ς οἱ ἐγγονοὶ  
[αὐτοῦ,] ἐπιμελησαμέ-

<sup>36</sup> TAM. III, 2 ; OGI. 751 = Welles *Roy. Corr.* No. 54 ; see Jones *CERP.* 131, *Greek City* 46, *Magie Roman Rule* 264.

<sup>37</sup> Comama, Andeda, Verbe and Sibidunda ; see the descriptions of these above and below.



20 [νου Ἀλ]εξανδριανοῦ  
 [- - - -]νου τῶν ἀνδριάν-  
 [των κα]ὶ τῶν βωμείδων

In line 4 the final *omega* has the form  $\omega$ , for which cf. Part I, No. 4.

L. 3. κτίστην. The honorand was evidently in fact the founder of the games, which bear his name and of which he was the “perpetual” agonothete (see on No. 130 below); but it is unlikely that κτίστην actually means this. More probably it has its familiar meaning, a benefactor who as it were sets the city on its feet again, a second founder. In line 13 [ἐπίδοσιν] is doubtful, but for the collocation cf. *TAM.* II, 905, II B, διαδόσεσι καὶ ἐπι[δόσεσι] χρημάτων. For διανέμησις see No. 100 above.

A considerable number of agonistic inscriptions have been found at Poglā and in the neighbourhood, naming various festivals, but the Serapeia Alexandria appear to be new. For βωμείς (βωμῖς) see L. Robert *REG.* LXIII (1950), *Bull. Épig.* no. 204; the coupling in the present inscription of statue and *bomis* in lines 9–10 and 21–22 confirms Robert’s opinion that the word denotes some kind of base or substructure, here apparently a statue-base. This is, indeed, the meaning of βωμός as early as *Od.* 7, 100. βωμῖς is beginning to appear as characteristic of this part of Asia Minor.

106. Çomaklı, built into a fountain beside the mosque in the Mescitönü Mahallesi, a marble block 0.93 h., 0.47 w., reported to be about 0.65 th., the upper part inscribed in regular letters 32–34 mm. high.

-----  
 Ἑρμαῖον Ἀττα  
 Ἀρτείου Ἀττα  
 Γλύκωνος τὸν  
 ἀπὸ προγόνων  
 φιλόπατριν

Apparently an honorific inscription which began on a block above. The mention of five generations is somewhat unusual; four are common enough, e.g. Nos. 112 and 114 below.

107. Çomaklı, in a wall of house No. 63, Kakasbos relief of normal type, 0.40 h., 0.50 w., thickness not ascertainable. Inscription below, a good deal damaged.

. . . . . ΕΓΗΕ Ἡρακλῖ εὐχῇ[ν]  
 ἀνέστησα . κ . . . ο - -

Line 1. Perhaps [ὁ δεῖνα κ]ε [ἦς - - - ἀνέστησα[ν]]. Or possibly, e.g. [? Αὐρη. Μ]έχης - - - ἀνέστησα [ἐ]κ [τῶν ιδίω]. For these Kakasbos reliefs see Part I, No. 53.

108. Çomaklı, in the open space in front of the coffee-houses, an eagle with spread wings, handsomely carved, but the head and the tips of the wings are missing. Inscription on the base. Photograph, Pl. VIII*d*.

[Ἑ]ρμαῖος Δημητ - - -

There is no room for more on the base (which is complete on the right) and the inscription must have continued on an adjoining stone. The eagle is not, therefore, a complete monument in itself, but must have formed part of a group. The whole monument may have been funerary.<sup>38</sup>

109. Çomaklı, together with No. 108, tombstone with relief in three parts : above, in the pediment, two birds facing each other (cocks ?) ; in the middle, a man and a woman ; below, a horse and rider. Inscription below, mostly illegible. Photograph, Pl. IXa. On each of the right and left sides is a female figure seated facing in an aedicule with pediment containing a round object, apparently a rosette.

ΟΙΠΕΜΙΟΝΜΙ . ΛΚ

---- Μ . Ο . . . .

Possibly [τ]ὸ <μ>εῖον. For *epsilon* in place of *eta*, cf. Ἔρας in BSA. XVI, 122, No. 16 (at Andeda).

110. Çomaklı, at the school, thick block forming a quarter of a circle, with a male bust in relief ; inscription below, broken away after one line. The corresponding quarter-circle, with a bust of a woman, which originally adjoined this on the right, is in a wall of the house of Abdi Günay, but its inscription is lost.

Νέων Τροκό[νδου καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός]

111. Çomaklı, at the house of the smith Ibrahim Çelik, a stele 0·63 h., 0·42 w., about 0·18 th., but the back is rounded and tapers upwards. Pediment with acroteria containing a disc : the whole of the rest of the stone is occupied by the inscription in a panel. Letters 19–23 mm. high.

Ἀφροδείσιος Διογέν<sup>ου</sup>

Ἑλλάδι γυναικὶ ἰδίᾳ

φιλοστοργίης ἕνεκ | εν.

Ἑλλάδος οὔνομ' ἔχω,

5 Γαλατῶν δέ με γαῖ' ἀνέθ | ρε-

ψεν· Ἱταλίην δ' εἶδον, πο | λ-

⟨λ⟩ήν δ' ἐπε⟨λ⟩ήλυθα γαῖα | ν.

νήμασι δέ Μοιρῶν ὥδε

θανοῦσ' ἐτάφην. ἀνδρὸς

10 δ' εὐσεβίην ἐδάτην, καὶ μ' ἐ-

κτερεῖξεν · σῆμα δέ μο | ι

τεῦξεν μάλ' ἀριφραδὲς

οὔνεκα καὐτὸς εὖρο | ι

εὐσεβίης δῶρον ὑπέχ

15 θεόφιν

Line 7. Δ bis lapis. In lines 3, 5, 6, 7, 11 and 13 the writing strays on to the rim of the panel. The “epic” dialect (Ἱταλίην, εὐσεβίην) extends

<sup>38</sup> For the eagle on funeral monuments, cf. Sterrett *WE.* 26, Λούκιος ἀνέστησε Τήλεφον . . . [καὶ] ἑαυτὸν αἰτὸν καὶ . . . τὸν π[ατέρα] αἰτὸν τειμῆς χάριν, discussed by L. Robert, *Et. Anat.* 394. Ramsay *Studies in the Eastern Provinces* 278 understood αἰτὸς here to mean “pediment”, but Robert is surely right in taking it to mean “eagle”. The eagle is common on funerary reliefs ; sculpture in the round, as in the present case, is more exceptional. For a spread-eagle on a tomb at Cormasa (Eğnes) see Part I, p. 92.

even to the prose portion in line 3 (though not to ἰδ(ε) in line 2). The metrical scheme—two hexameters followed by a pentameter—is common enough ; for an exact parallel see Kaibel No. 823. Metrical inscriptions are not common in this region.

112. Çomaklı, in the street outside house No. 61, upper part of an altar with plain moulding and acroteria ; inscription on and below the moulding in letters 30–35 mm. high. Below, five figures standing, in descending height from left to right, almost totally effaced.

Ἄττα<sup>Ἄττα</sup> δὲ<sup>δὲ</sup> Ἀρτείου<sup>Ἄρτε-  
μου</sup> Ἄρτε-  
μει τῇ γυνεὶ καὶ  
[τέ]κνοις μνήμη

Nothing more was cut on the stone. For the names, cf. No. 106 above.

113. Çomaklı, in the house of Hasan Cengiz, upper part of an altar 0·35 h., 0·39 w., about 0·40 th. Pediment containing a disc ; below, two busts in relief, female on the left, male on the right ; inscription on the upper rim and between the heads. Photograph, Pl. VIII*ε*.

[Ἄρ]τεμεις Μεννέου Ὀσσει  
Ἀλεξάν-  
δρου

Ὀσσει is no doubt dative : “ Artemeis daughter of Menneas to Osacis son of Alexandros.” This is the commonest epitaphic formula at Poglā.

114. Çomaklı, at the house of Ahmet Bayındır, a funeral altar 0·85 h., 0·29 w., 0·23 th., with reliefs and inscription on three sides. Photograph, Pl. IX*β*.

(a) On the front, two standing figures on a ledge, male on the right, female on the left.

Τροκόνδας δὲ<sup>δὲ</sup> Μο-  
λέους Λογεινοῦ [sic] καὶ  
Οὔσουα Μνησιθέου  
Μάνου Μ. αἰκουδεως

(b) On the right side, two figures exactly similar to those on the front.

ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ  
ζῶντες καὶ τοῦ[ς]  
γονεῖς αὐτοῦ  
μνήμης χάριν

(c) On the left side, a human figure on a base, badly defaced.

καὶ Ἀρτείμαν  
τὸν υἱὸν αὐ-  
τῶν στρατευ-  
όμενον

In the last word of (a) 4 the stone is damaged between M and A ; if a letter stood there, it can only have been *iota*, but possibly the damage is ancient and the stonecutter avoided it. In either case the name seems to be quite unknown ; I take it to be the name of Manes' father, not a toponymic. In (b) 2 the grammar breaks down, or else *ἐαυτούς* has been omitted before *καί*. The construction, with a nominative and an accusative and no verb, is abnormal in an epitaph, at least in this region. In (c) either the son Arteimas, away on service with the Roman army, is added as an afterthought, or more likely *μνήμης χάριν* in (b) 4 relates only to the parents, all the other persons being still alive. The reliefs on each side evidently show the persons named on that side ; no attempt is made at realism in portraying the difference in age, the two pairs in (a) and (b) being identically represented.

### ANDEDA

The site of Andeda is securely located at, or at least near, the village of Andya (now Yavuz) ; inscriptions mentioning Andeda have been found there,<sup>39</sup> and the ancient name has evidently survived with little change. The city is not mentioned by any ancient writer,<sup>40</sup> but Ramsay (*AM*. X, 335, 339) recognised it in the *Notitiae* in the form Sandida ([εἰ]ς Ἀνδηδα), occurring in association with Verbe, and an Imperial coinage has long been known.<sup>41</sup> No ruins of an actual city have been found near Andya and the exact site remains undetermined ; it must apparently have been of the unwallled type (above, p. 56, n. 24).

115. Belen, fifteen minutes from Yavuz (Andya), supporting a post of the mosque, a small round altar without decoration ; the greater part was buried when I saw it and the lower part of the inscription is given from a copy made by a villager.

Κοῖντος  
 Νουμέρι-  
 ος ἱερεὺς  
 Μηνὸς Ο[ύ]-  
 5 ρανίου κα-  
 τὰ χρημα-  
 τισμὸν ἀνέ-  
 θηκε Θεῶ  
 Ὑψίστῳ

For χρηματισμός in the sense of χρησμός see LSJ. s.v. I, 5.

<sup>39</sup> Ramsay *AM* X (1885), 337, Ἀνδηδέων [τῇ β]ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ; Woodward *BSA*. XVI (1909-10), 123, No. 18, citizens of Andeda victors in the *diaulos*.

<sup>40</sup> Jones *CERP*. 417, n. 37, observes that Hierocles' ΣΙΝΔΑΥΝΔΑ ΜΥΟΔΙΑ "perhaps represent Sibidunda and Andeda ; the first seems to be a conflation of the two names" ; but it appears rather to represent Σιβιδουνδα alone. Μυοδία is obscure and can hardly conceal Andeda.

<sup>41</sup> I was shown at Zivint in 1958 a handsome specimen of the type *BMC Lycia* Pl. XXX, 12.

116. Yavuz (Andya), in a garden beside the road from Belen, plain sarcophagus 2.00 long, 0.90 wide, about 0.90 high ; inscription in a *tabula ansata*.

Γ. Ἀουίλλιος Οὐεί-  
βιανὸς Κρίσπος  
Πλ. Οὐικτορεί-  
νη μνήμης  
χάριν

Line 3. Πλ(ανκίφ) ? The abbreviation Pl. is not common. We have a M. Plancius Lelex <sup>42</sup> and a M. Plancius Cornelianus Gaius <sup>43</sup> in the neighbourhood ; these are likely to have taken their names from M. Plancius Varus, whose family, and especially his daughter Plancia Magna, has recently come into prominence at Perge.

117. Yavuz, at the house of Mehmet Avci, is a handsome marble font, on one side of which is a cross bearing the letters

Φ  
ω    C    Z

i.e. φῶς ζ(ωή) ; see *IGLS* II 304 commentary.

At the same house I saw numerous slabs of white stone (not marble), which may have come from the floor of the church, and close to the house several architectural fragments from a good-sized building, including pieces of a dentil frieze.

117a. The inscription published by Ramsay in *AM.* X, 338, recording the holding of a high priesthood here and in the "city of the Verbiani" by the same individual, is still in the cemetery where he saw it.

118. Rather less than 1 km. north-east of Belen village, about 100 m. from the crossroads, standing in the open fields, is a rectangular stone rising about 1 m. out of the ground, inscribed on all four sides in rather rough letters some 15 cm. high. Photograph, Pl. Xa.

On the S.W. face :	OP	ὄρος
	OC	
On the S.E. face :	AN	Ἀν(δῆδων)
On the N.W. face :	ΠΩ	Πώ(γλων)
On the N.E. face :	ΠΛ	ΠΛ(- - -)

The stone evidently marked the meeting-point of the territories of three cities. Whether it still stands in its original position must no doubt remain uncertain, but it seems very probable that it does. It has been there as long as anyone can now remember, and it serves no purpose in its present position, but is rather an impediment to agriculture. The north-west face looks directly towards Pogla, the south-west face directly towards Andya, but there is no room for a reasonable territory between the stone and the village and the Andedan territory must have extended to the south and east.

<sup>42</sup> *AJA.* IV, 14, No. 6, at Andeda, and *JHS.* VIII, 254, Nos. 35 and 36, at Zivint.

<sup>43</sup> *AM.* X, 338, at Andeda.

The inscription on the north-east side, ΠΛ, is in the present state of our knowledge enigmatic.<sup>44</sup> That these are the initial letters of a third city is hardly doubtful, but no city with a name beginning in this way is known to have existed in these parts, nor have any remains of a city lying in this direction been hitherto discovered. There is, however, a small site, which I visited in 1958, about 4 km. distant to the east-north-east across the plain.<sup>45</sup> Directly above the main Korkuteli road, about half-way between Zivint and Garipçe,<sup>46</sup> is a low rocky spur whose conspicuous reddish colour gives it its name of Bozburun. Nothing whatever is standing on the hill, no wall, no foundations, no squared blocks, not even any rock-cuttings; but the hill is thickly strewn with sherds and on the south slope is a considerable underground chamber untidily excavated by the local residents, in which statues (or possibly reliefs) are said to have been found and taken to Zivint and Çomaklı. The site can never have been a large one, but the sherds are conclusive proof of habitation<sup>47</sup>; provisionally at least, there seems a good probability that this is the place whose name began with ΠΙ- and whose territory bordered that of Pogla and Andeda. So inconsiderable a town might well leave no trace in our authorities; some chance find may some day give us the full name.<sup>48</sup>

#### VERBE

A city of Verbe (termination uncertain) is well attested in this neighbourhood. Imperial coins inscribed Οὐερβιανῶν are not particularly rare; Hierocles has Βέρβη between Σίνδα (i.e. Isinda) and Σίνδανδα (i.e. Sibidunda); the *Notitiae* have Berbe or Barbe; and Ramsay found at Andya the inscription, No. 117a above, mentioning the city of the Verbiani. This last proves that Verbe was a fairly close neighbour of Andeda, since the same man served as high priest in both cities, and this is confirmed by the order of mention in Hierocles. But the exact site has not been conclusively determined. In 1910 Woodward and Ormerod visited Yelten (Yerten) and found, either there or in the vicinity, nine inscriptions (several agonistic and several mentioning Boule and Demos) published in *BSA*. XVI, 115-121, Nos. 7-15.<sup>49</sup> Woodward accordingly suggested that Verbe may have been at Yelten and Ramsay (*Klio* 23, 1930, 248) expressed approval of this. Since the site at Zivint is otherwise appropriated (see below), this suggestion seems highly probable; no actual city-site has been

<sup>44</sup> I examined the stone carefully and was satisfied that it has ΠΛ, not ΠΑ.

<sup>45</sup> I could learn of no site on the plain itself; it appears that the ancient towns, like the modern villages, were ranged along its edges at the foot of the bordering hills—a very natural arrangement.

<sup>46</sup> Inscriptions have been found at Garipçe, but it does not seem to have been an ancient site.

<sup>47</sup> They are of the usual Roman types ubiquitous in this region.

<sup>48</sup> It may be thought surprising that the territory of the little town at Bozburun should extend all across the plain to Belen. The boundary-stone may, of course, not be *in situ*; but wherever it stood, it is clear from the relative positions of the names on the stone that ΠΙ—lay somewhere in the direction of Bozburun.

<sup>49</sup> To these another was added in *BSA*. XVII, 209, No. 6.

discovered in or near the village, but the same is true of Andeda, whose identity is not doubtful.

I visited Yelten in 1958. I saw only two of Woodward's inscriptions (his Nos. 10 and 13) and both of them had been moved since his visit; I saw no new ones. There are, however, numerous ancient stones in the village, including uninscribed bases and a block about 2 m. high, standing at the gate of a cemetery, with a relief of a shield crossed by a sheathed sword. It seemed to me that the remains may fairly indicate the site of a small city such as Verbe.<sup>50</sup>

119. Cemetery half-way between Yelten and Zivint,<sup>51</sup> a base broken at the bottom, 0·82 h., 0·47 w., 0·50 th., with four round holes on top. Letters 3 to 4 cm. high, but smaller in line 1.

ἀγῶνα θέμιδος τετρα-  
 ετηρικὸν ἀχθέντα  
 τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ ἰδί-  
 ας αὐτοῦ ὑποσχέσε-  
 5 ὡς ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Σε-  
 πτιμίου Ἀπτιανοῦ  
 [Μ]άρκου ἀγωνοθέτου  
 [δ]ιὰ βίου καὶ διὰ γένους  
 [Α]ὐρ. Τιβεριανὸς Μαρ-  
 -----

Line 7. For Marcus used as a cognomen, cf. Woodward *BSA*. XVII, 209, No. 6, at Andya, Αὐρ. Κορτίου Ἀν[τ]ρονιανοῦ Μάρκου and *IGR*. IV, 718, Γάιον Μοῦμμιον Μάρκου υἱὸν Μάρκον. Similarly with Caius, above, p. 66, n. 43, Μάρκος Πλάνκιος Κορνηλιανὸς Γάιος.

Agonistic inscriptions are particularly common in this region. Whether this one belongs to Sibidunda, at Zivint, or to the city at Yelten there seems no means of determining. τετραετηρικός in the sense of the usual πενταετηρικός is rare: see *LSJ*. s.v. The normal πενταετηρικός is used elsewhere in this region, e.g. Ramsay *AJA*. IV, 12, No. 9, at Pogle. An ἀγών ἐνεαετηρικός at Yelten, Woodward *BSA*. XVI, 117, No. 10.

#### SIBIDUNDA

Sibidunda was for a long time known only<sup>52</sup> from its coins, of Imperial date, and was supposed to be a Phrygian city.<sup>53</sup> It was noted, however, that

<sup>50</sup> The sceptic will note, however, that Woodward's inscriptions were mostly in cemeteries—three of them forty minutes distant—and that no new ones seem to have come to light in the forty-eight years since his visit. Alternatively, of course, I may have failed to find them.

<sup>51</sup> This sounds like the "cemetery 40 minutes east of Yerten" in which Woodward found his No. 7; but the present stone appeared to have been there a long time, and I saw no sign of his stone.

<sup>52</sup> Apart from corrupted forms in Hierocles and the *Notitiae* which might represent it: see Ramsay *CB*. II, 753–4, and above, p. 65, n. 40.

<sup>53</sup> It is included in the Phrygian volume of *BMC*.; cf. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* 289, and Ramsay loc. cit., followed by Ruge in *RE*. s.v. (1921).

the coins had Pisidian associations <sup>54</sup> and Ramsay later proposed to locate the city at Zivint.<sup>55</sup> The name Zivint looks, indeed, like a survival of Sibidunda and the situation of "Sindaunda" in Hierocles is in agreement. This identification has found some favour <sup>56</sup> and the inscription No. 120 below, which I discovered there in 1958, may fairly be regarded as clinching it.<sup>57</sup>

The ancient city was on the same spot now occupied by the village ; the site has been thought unsuitable for a city, but the evidence is conclusive. Zivint is on a low flat hill ; the summit is occupied by fields, in which foundations are constantly being uncovered ; at the time of my visit several excellently squared blocks and a threshold-stone were exposed to view. And sherds of Roman date are abundant all over the hill. Nothing is standing and I saw no sign of a city-wall ; Sibidunda is yet another of the unfortified towns which are so common in this region. Inscribed stones are found in the village and at several cemeteries in the neighbourhood, notably the Deniz Muvarı Mezarlığı, some 3 km. to the south, and the Dağ Mezarlığı, about the same distance to the north-east.

At a spot called Ömer Hasan Hüyüğü (Kocainaltı Mevkii), 20 minutes to the east of Zivint, is a handsome built tomb constructed of excellently cut blocks, now (and no doubt always) underground. Length and breadth both measure 2·15 m. ; the height is uncertain, the bottom being filled with stones and earth. The roof is formed by a block on each side projecting obliquely inwards, leaving a gap at the top 1·10 m. wide to be bridged by a capstone, now missing.<sup>58</sup> The top course at the back also slopes inwards and is cut away to receive the sloping blocks of the two sides. Of the door in front only one side remains. A large slab of different stone lying close by seemed, as far as I could judge, not to have belonged to this building.

120. Zivint, at the house of İzzet Sivri, an architrave block 0·48 h., 1·21 long, 0·49 th., complete on the left, broken on the right. Monumental letters of Imperial date 7·5 to 12 cm. high. Squeeze, Pl. VIII*d*.

[ἡ Σιβιδουνδέων πόλις]

Other cases than the nominative are of course possible. We have evidently part of the dedication of a building.

121. Zivint, from Dağ Mezarlığı, now lying in the open in the village, a shallow-fluted column 1·22 h., 0·47 in diameter ; dowel-hole and lead-channel in the upper

<sup>54</sup> Head *BMC. Phrygia* xciv ; Jones *CERP* 417, n. 37 ; Robert *Hellenica* III, 68, n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Klio* XXIII, 248. He says, indeed, that Zivint is "proved" to be Sibidunda, but in what the proof consists is not clear.

<sup>56</sup> e.g. with Jones loc. cit. and Robert loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup> At Zivint also I was shown a bronze of Sibidunda with reverse type similar to *BMC. Phrygia* No. 9 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* 289, No. 1, but of Caracalla. This may be added to the total of evidence, though in itself, of course, it proves nothing (except that Sibidunda was probably somewhere in this region) ; I was shown at the same time bronzes of Attaleia, Isinda, Andeda and Codrula.

<sup>58</sup> This stone is said to be a single block now re-used in a fountain in Zivint village ; it was pointed out to me later, but only a small part of it is visible.



surface, dowel-hole in the bottom. Rather rough letters 20–25 mm. high, written across the fluting. Photograph, Pl. XII*d*.

οἱ περὶ Τροκόνδαν Ἀττα  
καὶ Ἀτταν Ἑρμαίου  
Μορμοου καὶ Ὅσασιν  
Μολεσεος ἐγλο-  
5 γισταὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα  
[θε]οῦ Διονύσ[ου]

ἐκλογισταί, generally spelt ἐγλογισταί, are familiar as annually appointed Treasury officials.<sup>59</sup> They seem in the present case to have been a fairly numerous body, since three of them are mentioned as directors. Alternatively it is, I suppose, possible that the officials of three different years combined to make the dedication.

Line 6 appears to have been intentionally erased, for whatever reason, but I felt little or no doubt about the reading. The name Mormoas is apparently new, but similar names occur, e.g. Μορμίας, Μουρμης, Μωρμης, and the village of Mormonda, near Smyrna.<sup>60</sup>

122. Zivint, in the garden of the Post Office, a rectangular base 1.00 h., 0.36 w., 0.30 th. ; square superstructure with square hole on top. Letters about 3 cm. high, rather irregular ; E and Ε, O and Ο, C and Γ, ω and Ω. Photograph, Pl. IX*c*.

Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ  
Ἀγείᾳ Καταφυγῇ  
Ἀρτίμας υἱὸς Ἀρ-  
τίμου Μομμίου  
5 καὶ [Μ]αρκίας ὁ αὐ-  
τὸς κτίστης ἄ-  
νέστησεν καὶ  
τὸν θυμιατισ-  
τηρον καὶ κέον  
10 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

For Ἀγία Καταφυγή as the designation of a deity I know no parallel. The conception is no doubt the same as in *Exodus* XVII, 15, where Moses built an altar καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, Κύριός μου καταφυγή. But for the identity of the deity in question I can offer no suggestion.

Lines 8–9. τὸν θυμιατιστηρον seems to be a mixture of τὸ θυμιατιστήριον and τὸν θυμιατιστήρα. The lexicons quote neither word, but only θυμιατήριον. κέον is presumably for κείονα. I do not understand what is intended by the addition of ὁ αὐτός in line 5.

123. Zivint, together with No. 122, a small altar standing upside down with the top buried, at least 0.67 h., 0.20 w., 0.20 th. ; plain mouldings, no other decoration. Letters variable, very large in line 6.

<sup>59</sup> For the “Baufinanzkommission” under this name at Didyma see now *Didyma* II (1958), p. 62.

<sup>60</sup> For Mormonda, see most recently Bean *Anadolu Araştırmaları* I (= *Jahrb. Kleinas. Forsch.* III), p. 51.

θεῶ Ἀσκλη-  
 πιῶ ἐπηκό-  
 ω Πόπλιος  
 Μ. Οὐαλερι-  
 5 ανός (*leaf*)  
 εὐχήν

123a. Also in the garden of the Post Office is the inscription in honour of Julia Chlide, wife of M. Plancius Lelex, published by A. H. Smith in *JHS*. VIII (1887), 254, No. 36. The last line reads σώφρονα ἐνάρετον, not σώφρονα καὶ ἐνάρετον.

124. Zivint, Yukarı Mahalle, over a fountain, said to have been dug up in the neighbourhood, a marble block 0·52 h., 0·51 w., 0·25 th., broken at top and bottom; a square hole in the inscribed face has destroyed the middle parts of lines 1-3. Right and left edges both preserved, but the left edge has been cut away obliquely. Regular letters 17-22 mm. high, with ligatures, crowded at the ends of the lines in several cases. Photograph, Pl. VIc.

[- - - - - πατήρ]  
 [π]ατρίδος [ἀνθύ]πατος λέγ[ει].  
 [κ]αὶ ἐν ἅλ[λοις] πολλοῖς  
 [ἔ]θνεσιν [διατ]εταγμένο[ν]  
 [ἔ]σ[τιν] πᾶντα τὰ συμβό-  
 5 [λ]αία διὰ τῶν δημοσίων  
 [γ]ραμματοφυλακείων  
 [ἀ]ναγράφεσθαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ  
 [π]υνθάνομαι καὶ ἄλλων  
 [μ]ᾶλλον τοιούτου τρό-  
 10 [π]ου δεῖσθαι συναλλα-  
 [γ]μάτων διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολάζειν  
 πολλὰς παραποιήσεις ἐν τῷ  
 ἔθνει, καὶ διατετάχθαι δὲ ἡ[δη]  
 [π]ολλάκις ὑφ' ἡγεμόνων τῷ  
 15 πρᾶγμα, καὶ μηδὲν ὄφελος  
 [τ]ῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γενέσ-  
 [θ]αι διὰ τοὺς οὐ πειθομένου[s].  
 [ν]ῦν δὲ ἐγὼ κελεύω ΠΑ . 1"

Line 1. For the restoration I am indebted to Prof. A. H. M. Jones. Trajan seems to have been the first Emperor to use the title *proconsul*; from the style of the lettering our document no doubt emanates from one of the 2nd-century Emperors.

Lines 2 sq. " . . . In many other provinces also it is prescribed that all contracts be registered in the public record-office. But in your case I learn that you desire rather to have more transactions of this kind, owing to the prevalence of forgeries in the province, and that the matter has on many previous occasions been the subject of pronouncements by the governors, and that their decisions were unavailing by reason of non-compliance. So now I ordain . . ."

We have evidently part of an Imperial rescript, addressed no doubt to the provincial authorities, not merely to the city of Sibidunda. The matter in question, the prevalence of forgeries in business contracts, is one which is dealt with by Justinian in Section 73 of the *Novellae*. He there remarks that many instances of such dishonesty have come under his own observation and that certain Emperors had in the past attempted to find a means of prevention<sup>61</sup>: our present document is evidence of these attempts. The actual instructions which were issued on this occasion are unfortunately lost; according to Justinian, the earlier Emperors had concentrated especially on the comparison of handwriting as a means of detection.<sup>62</sup> He himself, however, had found this to be in practice unreliable; a man writes differently in his youth and old age, or in sickness; a different pen and ink destroys the similarity of script; and he quotes a case where the handwriting of a contract had appeared suspect, but was in fact confirmed by the evidence of the attesting witnesses. He therefore prefers to rely rather on the testimony of the witnesses. It appears from our present document that a third method had been tried in some provinces, namely to require all contracts to be officially registered in the public archives; this, one would imagine, ought to be effective against forgery, but troublesome for the parties concerned—and for this reason probably it had been neglected.

συνάλλαγμα is frequently used (as e.g. by Justinian in the passage quoted) as a synonym of συμβόλαιον “a business contract”. In the present case, however, since it is already decreed that all συμβόλαια must be registered, συναλλάγματα has evidently its wider sense of “dealings, transactions” of all kinds; the provincials have asked that compulsory registration be applied not only to contracts, but rather (μᾶλλον) to other documents as well, such as title-deeds, bequests and so forth. I am not sure whether it may fairly be inferred from καί in line 2 that registration of συμβόλαια was already required in Pamphylia; if so, the provincials had no doubt asked also that stricter measures be taken to ensure that it should be carried out. The Emperor’s reply (which perhaps began with some form of the word πᾶς) presumably complied with their wishes.

125. Zivint, built into the house of Mevlut Aydın, a block 0·36 h., 0·50 w., 0·16 th., broken at the top; inscription at the bottom, above it part of a sunken panel. Hellenistic letters 11–13 mm. high, much worn in places. Squeeze, Pl. Xc.

Τροκόνδας Κοτη, Ἑρμαῖος Φιλίππου, *vac.* ?

Ἑρμ[αῖ]ος κα[ι] Κανδων οἱ Ἀρτίμου, [- - 6-7 - -]

ΔΩ . . . ΜΑ . . . καὶ Ἀρμαστ[ι]ς (?) καὶ . . . . .

αἱ Ὅσαειτος θυγατέρες, . ΚΚΑ . II . . ΙΝΔΩ

5 ΝΟΣ τ[ὸ]ν ἑαυτῶν π[ά]τρωνα καὶ Μα . . . . τήν

ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν

<sup>61</sup> ὅτι τινες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐπιτολασάσης ἤδη τῆς κακίας τοῖς νοθεύουσι τὰ συμβόλαια, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκώλουν. . . . ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χρόνοις μυρίας εὗρομεν παραποιήσεις ἐν δίκαις πολλαῖς ὧν ἠκροασάμεθα κτλ.

<sup>62</sup> *loc. cit.*: ἐν ἐκείνῳ σπούδασμα τοῖς παραποιοῦσιν εἶναι πιστεύοντες, τὸ πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐγγυμνάξιν, διότι μηδὲν ἑτερόν ἐστι παραποίησις εἰ μὴ τῶν ἀληθῶν μίμησις.

For the name Kotes see Part I, No. 16. Kandon does not appear to occur elsewhere, but the stem Κανδ- is not uncommon. Ἀρμαστis in line 3 is very uncertain. The honorand's patronymic seems to end in -ινδωνος : Κανδωνος is not possible. Line 6 : τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα for τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.<sup>63</sup>

The inscription is interesting for its date, which from the style of the script cannot be later than the 1st century B.C. and might well be earlier. The genitive of Ὅσαιοις (a very common name) is normally Ὅσαι: for Ὅσαιτος cf. on No. 135 below.

The stone is not a statue-base, for which it is much too narrow. Presumably the sunken panel above the inscription contained a relief depicting the honorand and his wife ; only an inch or two of the panel is preserved.

126. Zivint, at the house of Ibrahim Okutan, dug up in a tomb in the village about fifteen years ago, an epistyle block broken on right and left, with three fasciae, 0.30 h., 0.90 w., 0.36 th. Letters 35 mm. high in line 1, decreasing to 27 mm. in line 5. Line 1 on upper moulding, 2-3 on upper fascia, 4 on middle fascia, 5 on bottom fascia.

[Μᾶ]ρκος Καλπούρνιος [- - 5-6 - -]ς  
[καὶ Ἀρ]τεμους Ὅσαι ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ [ῶν]τες ἑαυ[τοῖς]  
[κατε]σκεύασαν τό τε ἡρώιον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ [σω]-  
[ματ]ιοθήκην καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ γεγο-  
[νό]τος αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ Μάρκου (*leaf*)

The stone belonged evidently to a built tomb of some size. A M. Calpurnius Longus is known as the proprietor of estates in the neighbourhood of Tefenni<sup>63a</sup> ; it is not unlikely that a member of his family was the owner of this tomb.

127. Zivint, in the village, a broken block 0.37 h., 0.31 w., 0.08 th. On one side is a moulding with inscription below in letters 27 mm. high.

[- - -]ς υἱὸς Φρο[- - -]  
[- - -]ος τὸ ἀν[γείον - -]  
[- - κ]ατέστη[σεν - - -]  
[- - -] \ΕΛ [- - - - -]

On the other side, set at right-angles to the above, is a relief showing a springing animal with fronds growing out of its back and belly ; part of another animal is visible above.

127a. At the poor village of Yalınli, forty-five minutes east of Zivint, is the

<sup>63</sup> The confusion of αὐτόν and ἑαυτόν is quite common, especially in the Roman period. In *JHS*. LXVIII (1948), 42, No. 2, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναίκα . . . φιλοστοργίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑατὴν (Arsada i B.C.), I supposed an error of gender ; I now believe rather that ἑατὴν = αὐτήν. Similarly in *TAM*. II, 148, Μηνοδώρα . . . τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρα . . . φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν, where Kalinka writes ἑαυτ[ή]ν. See also Meisterhans-Schwyzler *Grammatik* p. 154 and No. 128 below.

<sup>63a</sup> *IGR*. IV, 894-5 ; see Jones *CERP*. 396, n. 77. For the same family at Attaleia see *Bellefen* XXII (1958), Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

rock-cut grave reported in *BSA*. XVII, 212, No. 11, with the name ΓΑΙΟΥ written retrograde in three places on the rocks close by.

SIA ("OSIA")

To the east of the main Burdur–Antalya road are two ancient sites discovered by V. Bérard and published in *BCH*. XVI (1892), 434 sqq. They do not appear to have been visited by anyone else.

The first of these lies about half an hour east of the village of Karaot. The country is wild and rocky, thickly covered with pinewoods,<sup>64</sup> but within a mile to the north-west is a small flat plain and there is another similar plain at Karaot; both of these are now under cultivation. The ruins are thickly clustered on the west slope and at the west foot of a pine-clad hill of modest height<sup>65</sup>; they are unusually well preserved for this region, owing no doubt to the paucity of habitation in modern times. At the top of the hill, on the east side, is a fine stretch of city-wall, in striking polygonal masonry, containing a small gate; this wall does not appear to have continued round the west side. The east slope of the hill is steep and there are no buildings on this side. On the west slope, towards the bottom, is a broad flight of rock-cut steps, as if leading up to an entrance; but no gate is actually preserved here. A little higher up is a building (Pl. XI*b*) somewhat resembling a tiny theatre; there are eight or nine rows of seats about 20 m. long, but straight, not curved, and at the foot of these a level space with some remains of a paving of irregular slabs. This may have been a council-house; I calculated that it would seat some 350 persons. Higher up again is a small building with an apse at the east end and remains of numerous other buildings are standing among the pine-trees (Pl. XI*a*). The whole site is very picturesque. The necropolis is at the west foot of the hill and is not clearly separated from the city; there are many built tombs of considerable size and in a good state of preservation; one is quite complete, even to the roof (Pl. XI*d*). Most of them are uninscribed, but one has the following inscription over the door.

128. Karaot, on the lintel of a large built tomb to the right of the path which approaches from the north. Difficult to read.

Νάννη Κάπρου τὸ ἡρώει[ον], κ[ατασκ]εῦά-  
 σασα δὲ τὰ παν[τ]ὸς κόσμου καὶ τοῦ τε κλε[ι]-  
 σίου καὶ στέγης καὶ γλυφῆς καὶ στήρωσεως,  
 αὐτῇ τε κα<ι> τῷ γενομένῳ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ Λεω-  
 5 νίδῃ Τροκόνδου καὶ θυγατρὶ Εἰφ μνήμης  
 χάριν. τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώειον ἀκολουθήσει Ἰ[ρο]-  
 κόνδῳ καὶ Κρατέρῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς ἑα[υ]τῆς καὶ τοῖς  
 ἑξ αὐτῶν ΚΑΙ ΑΙ . ΝΑΙ ΕΝΟΙΩ Νέ[ω]νι καὶ Οἰ . .  
 ΑΔΙ ἐπὶ διατάξῃ θάψαι. ὁ δὲ περιβόλος καὶ  
 10 οἱ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τόποι εἰσὶν τῶν υἱῶν μο[υ]

<sup>64</sup> A road, just passable for a jeep, leads from Dağ Nahiyesi to Karaot.

<sup>65</sup> Bérard speaks strangely of the site as on a summit of the range with a wide view as far as Aspendus. He calls it Duchemé, i.e. Döşeme, but this name is not now used; Döşemealtı is away to the south, beyond the Çubuk Boğazi pass.

Line 2. κλεισίου, a rare word of somewhat doubtful meaning. It occurs in an uncertain, but evidently funerary, context in *BCH*. XXXIII (1909), 72, No. 58, where Grégoire suggests it may be a small building belonging to the tomb but at some distance from it, where funerary rites were carried out. "Shrine or chapel," LSJ. s.v.

Line 4. ΚΑΤΩ lapis. τῷ γενομένῳ ἀνδρί "her late, or former, husband". This is the regular meaning of this expression; cf. No. 130 below.

Line 7. For ἐαυτῆς = αὐτῆς see above, No. 125.

Line 8. After ἐξ αὐτῶν we have apparently a participle, which I cannot recover. καταχ[ι]ναμένοις would fit the traces and the form is paralleled; but the meaning is dubious. "Born, or descended, from them" is not a recognised meaning of καταγιγνομαι.

Line 9. ἐπὶ διατάξει θάψαι "with the right to bury by testamentary disposition". The expression is not familiar and the reading is not guaranteed, though it suits the traces on the squeeze. Such testamentary permission given to more distant relatives and others is, of course, perfectly normal. The grammar of the inscription, here and in lines 1-3, leaves something to be desired.

The inscriptions found by Bérard which give the name of this small city are in the wall of a building just at the foot of the hill. They are high up, apparently in the upper storey, side by side, and face the interior of the building; this is certainly not their original position and they have clearly been reused. They are in honour of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, and each ends with the words ΟΔΗΜΟCΟCΙΗΝΩΝ. This was transcribed by Bérard as ὁ δῆμος Ὀσινηῶν, and the city has passed under the name of Osia. This is of course possible, but it is certainly more normal for the article to be repeated, and the natural presumption is that we should read ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σινηῶν. The point would perhaps hardly be worth making, if it were not that the name appears to be actually recorded in this form. In Hierocles' list of Pamphylian cities, after Codrula and before Pednelissus and Selge, is an entry Δεμουσία. Following Bérard's discovery, Ramsay quickly perceived (*REG*. VI (1893), 253) that this represents the city at Karaot, δῆμον Ὀσια.<sup>66</sup> But δῆμον Σια is still nearer to Hierocles' text; and these two considerations together justify us in preferring Sia. For the form of the name it is doubtful if we should compare ἀγρὸν Σιοῦντα on a stone at Antalya,<sup>67</sup> as this is evidently a Greek name; Sia is no doubt Anatolian, like most of the place-names of the region.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Ramsay had previously regarded it (*HG* 416) as a corruption of δῆμον Ἰσβα. In his posthumous *Social Basis* 69 it is surprisingly explained as "the property of Mousis". As we learn from Anderson's Foreword that this part of the book was left by Ramsay "complete in paged proof", it appears that having found the true interpretation he subsequently abandoned it. Or perhaps he had forgotten it. In *REG* loc. cit. he says that Osia is well known from the Byzantine lists, of which the texts are unfortunately not available to me here.

<sup>67</sup> Published by me in *Bulletin* XXII (1958), 39, No. 39.

<sup>68</sup> Ptolemy V, 12, 10, records a place Σία in Armenia. While speaking of Hierocles, I may perhaps take the opportunity here to put forward a suggestion which occurred to me too late for inclusion in my article on the Cibyratis and Caralitis in *BSA*. LI, 136 sqq. Hierocles' list of Lycian cities ends, after Balbura, with the enigmatic entry Κομιστάραος.

## MILYAS (?)

Bérard's other site is at Melli,<sup>69</sup> but his description of it is meagre in the extreme. The neighbourhood is now very poor and thinly populated ; there is a small plain, but it is not very fertile. The ancient city, however, is more considerable than that at Karaot, though less picturesque. It is on a hill of moderate height a mile or so to the south-east of the *nahiye* and is called, as so often, Asar. The walled area at the summit is perhaps 200 m. long by a bare 100 m. wide ; the wall (Pl. Xb) is polygonal, varying almost to ashlar in many places, 1.90 m. thick. This type of masonry is in general early Hellenistic. A little below the summit, on the north-east, is a theatre of fair size but comparatively small capacity ; the cavea is backed by a rock-wall up to 30 ft. high and some of the seats are cut in this ; parts of ten rows are visible and not more than a very few can be buried. The cavea is barely more than a semicircle ; the stage-building is now reduced to a heap of small stones, but the front wall is discernible, in line with the angles of the analemmata. Behind the stage is a long, narrow, rectangular building (Pl. XIc) of handsome cushioned ashlar, still standing up to 6 m. high ; in its outer face are seven doors, six of which are rectangular, of varying heights and widths, while the second from the west is arched. Sherds are abundant all over the hill, but they are less distinctive than usual.<sup>70</sup>

Below the theatre the north slope is covered with a mass of ruins, overthrown no doubt, as Bérard observed, by an earthquake, so that little can

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Ramsay's interpretation of this as κώμη Μάστουρα found some favour for a time ; then Meritt, in *AJP.* 1937, 385 sqq., proposed to read it as Κοιλιστράτος and to recognise this town in the Athenian assessment list for 425 B.C. [Κοιλιστράτος (ἐν Λυκίᾳ)]. This view was attacked by Robert in *Ét. Ép. et Phil.* 245 sqq. and was withdrawn in *ATL.* II, 86. Surely the solution is supplied by the inscription I published in *BSA.* loc. cit., No. 59. The stone is at Kozagacı and reveals the name of that interesting site as Toriaion or something similar (Τοριαίων ἢ πεντακώμη). Should we not read in Hierocles κώμης Τοριάου or the like? The place is named immediately after Balbura and Kozagacı is known to have belonged to that city (*BSA.* loc. cit.) ; and its status as a κώμη is confirmed by the term πεντακώμη. In connexion with this same inscription, I should like also to refer to a suggestion recently made by L. Robert, before the weight of his reputation should mislead scholars into supposing it probable. The stone has the words (lines 8-9) Τοριαίων ἢ πεντακώμη, with the letters πεντ and κωμ in an erasure ; I suggested that the original text was ἡ κολωμία (see my commentary ad loc.). Robert, in a critique of my article (*REG.* LXXII (1959), *Bull. Epigr.* No. 415), expresses the opinion that the photograph of my squeeze shows an erasure in line 8 only, and suggests that the stone had originally τετρακώμη. By what right does he prefer his impression concerning the squeeze to my observations made in front of the stone? The facts concerning the erasure are as I stated them, and M. Robert was not justified in questioning them. But his proposed τετρακώμη is quite unacceptable for another reason. The words following Τοριαίων ἢ as far as the end of the inscription are written in a different script, rougher and more widely spaced, with different letter-forms. If M. Robert had not observed this in his examination of the photograph, he might still have known it from the mention in my commentary. Now the letters κωμία in line 9 are in this inferior script, with *alpha*, *mu* and *omega* quite unlike those of the main text ; they belong therefore to the addition, not to the original inscription. The suggestion τετρακώμη is irresponsible and wrong, and ought not to have been made.

<sup>69</sup> Called by earlier travellers Milli or Milli Başköy. It now forms a tiny *nahiye* attached to Bucak.

<sup>70</sup> Probably owing to the peculiarly hard and gritty soil, almost like decomposed flint.

now be made out ; they include, however, solid buildings of squared blocks and many architectural fragments. The slope is steep and many of the blocks have slipped a long way down it. In this neighbourhood, apparently, Bérard found six statue-bases of Roman emperors <sup>71</sup> ; of these I saw only one.<sup>72</sup> I found, however, several other inscriptions not seen by him and it is likely that more remain to be discovered among the mass of fallen blocks.

129. On the north slope, re-used in a late wall running down the hillside, a plain block of pale grey limestone 1·16 h., 0·58 w., 0·55 th. ; dowel-hole and lead-channel in the upper surface ; 15 cm. has been cut away from the right side of the inscribed surface ; top right corner broken away. The inscription begins close under the top edge, indifferently written in letters 38 mm. high in line 1, decreasing to 28–30 mm. below.

[ἀγωνοθετούσης τῆς]  
 ἀξιολ[ογωτάτης]  
 Αὐρη[λίας]  
 Πολυηρ[- - - - -]  
 Ἄρτεμεισίας  
 5 ἀγῶνα πενταετη[ρικόν]  
 Ἄρτεμεισιον  
 ἀχθέντα τὸ α'  
 Αὐρήλιον Περικλε[ίδην ?]  
 βουλευτήν  
 10 νεικήσαντα ἀνδ[ρῶν]  
 πανκράτιν

Immediately below, in a crudely incised wreath :

Ἡρά-  
 κλεις

The inscription must have begun on a block above.

Line 7. τὸ is written as a τ with a tiny *omicron* above it.

Line 8. Περικλε[ίδην] or the like, rather than Περικλέ[α], for the sake of symmetry.

The name in line 3, which recurs in No. 130, might be Πολυηρ[άτης], a known name, but ought perhaps rather to be restored as a feminine form of her brother's name Πολυηρωτα-. This name looks vaguely Greek, but gives no meaning ; in fact, Πολυ- may well be Anatolian ; cf. Polyetta in Part I, p. 97, and Polyara in Caria.

The invocation in lines 12–13 is presumably to Heracles in his character as god of the gymnasium.

130. Lying further down the slope among a mass of fallen debris, a plain limestone block 1·34 h., 0·51 w., 0·61 th. ; the right side of the inscribed surface is cut

<sup>71</sup> *BCH.* XVI (1892), 436 sqq., Nos. 70–5.

<sup>72</sup> His No. 73 (= *IGR.* III, 388). The first line of this was wrongly copied by him : in place of [Κ]όμ[υδο]ν, Σερυήρ[ον] is certain. I saw also two of the three fragments comprising his No. 76 (= *IGR.* III, 385) and found that this, too, is wrongly copied : the stone has not -ΗΛΙΩ, but -ΑΝΩ ; the building was dedicated to Antoninus Pius. Bérard's texts in general are none too reliable ; cf. *Belleſten* XVIII (1954), 482, No. 14.



away for 5 cm. Letters 23–30 mm. high, *omicron* mostly written very small. Line 1 broken away on the right. Photograph, Pl. Xd.

Αὐρηλία Πολυη[ρ - - -]  
 Ἄρτεμεισία  
 ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη, ἀγων[οθέτις]  
 δι' αἰῶνος,  
 5 τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστ[ησεν]  
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 τοῦ γενομένου αὐτῇ[ς]  
 ἀδελφοῦ  
 τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμ[ης]  
 10 Αὐρήλιον Πολυηρωτα[-]  
 Λάγον

Line 3. The restoration is too long for the available space. The word may have been abbreviated ; cf. Part I, No. 28. Lines 10–11. Accusative, where the genitive would be expected, by a sort of apposition to ἀνδριάντα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Aur. Artemisia, having founded the games called after her ἀγῶν Ἄρτεμεισιος, bears the honorary title of ἀγωνοθέτις δι' αἰῶνος “perpetual agonothete” (cf. No. 105 above). δι' αἰῶνος “for all time”, rather than “for her lifetime” (= διὰ βίου) : see *Magie Roman Rule* 1520, Jones *Greek City* 175.

The expression ὁ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης is rare before the third century, to which the inscription evidently belongs. τοῦ γενομένου ἀδελφοῦ “her late brother” : see above, No. 128, line 4.

The main necropolis is on the north-west slope just below the city. It contains the ruins of many built tombs ; and at one point an outcrop of rock has been levelled at the top for a small sarcophagus and the face of the rock smoothed to receive a relief showing a human bust arched over, with a ledge below.

131. Main necropolis, among the ruins of a mausoleum well built of squared blocks with coffered ceiling, three joining fragments of a lintel-block, complete on the right, 0·42 h., 0·43 th., combined length 1·25. Three fasciae ; monumental lettering on the upper two, 7 cm. high in line 1, 5·5 cm. in line 2.

[- -]α Νανηρις [τῷ πατρὶ ?] Αἰλι-  
 [- -]νῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ *vacat*

The female name Naneris is known : see *Annuario* III (1916–20), 150, at the site near Kozan which is perhaps Pednelissus ; and cf. Νανηριανός at Ariassus (*BCH.* XVI, 433).

132. Among the ruins of another mausoleum a little higher up to the west, two blocks each 0·58 h., 0·36 th., apparently belonging to a single inscription ; (a) is 0·64 long, broken on right and left, (b) is 0·96 long, broken on the left. Letters 6·5 cm. high, but in (b) 4·7·5 cm. It is not clear whether the two fragments join and I could not move them to try.

(a)	(b)
[- - - Φ]ιλίππιαν	ὅς <i>vacat</i>
[- - -] <i>vac.</i> Μηνοδωρ	<i>vacat</i>
[- - -] τῇ γυναικί	<i>vacat</i>
[- - -] μωνω	[- - - τ]ῇ θυγατρὶ

It is not clear why the words τῇ θυγατρὶ were written larger than the rest.

On the adjoining hill, between the main site and the *nahiye*, facing east, is a handsome rock-cut tomb of almost Phrygian type. At the foot are two high steps, above which, on the smoothed rock-face, is a relief in a panel surmounted by a pediment, with a pilaster on each side; the whole monument is about 10 m. high. The relief apparently depicts a standing female figure, but it has been deliberately defaced. There seems to have been originally a gable cornice above, but the blocks composing it have fallen. There is no inscription.<sup>73</sup>

This site was identified by Bérard with the city of Milyas recorded by Ptolemy, and this has been fairly generally accepted.<sup>74</sup> It rests almost solely on the similarity of name<sup>75</sup>: no city of Milyas is mentioned in any other source, nor is any trace of it known from inscriptions or coins.<sup>76</sup> I do not know if I am alone in doubting its authenticity. Ptolemy is unsatisfactory on Milyas. In his section on Lycia he has a subsection Milyas, which comprises the four towns Podalia, Nisa, Choma and Candyba. Of these Podalia and perhaps Choma were in the region of the plain of Elmalı and might rank as Milyadic, but Nisa and Candyba are beyond any reasonable limits of the Milyas.<sup>77</sup> The city of Milyas comes in his chapter on Pamphylia, in the subsection "Carbalia"; this, and the subsection "Phrygian Pisidia", include the cities of Strabo's Milyas. I note, as a curious circumstance which may be thought significant, that on Ptolemy's map the name Milyas is not, as the names of cities regularly are, enclosed in a frame of red ink.<sup>78</sup> Further evidence may settle the question any day; but until then I cannot help feeling that it would be wise to regard with suspicion the identification of Melli with Milyas. If stress may be laid on the order of mention in Hierocles, where Δεμουσία immediately follows Κόδρουλα, it would be

<sup>73</sup> My photograph of this tomb was unfortunately damaged in the printing; such as it is, I shall be pleased to send it to anyone who is interested.

<sup>74</sup> e.g. by Kiepert (who had, indeed, previously proposed the identification on the strength of the name Milli: *FOA*. IX, text p. 6, n. 82). Recent writers have been somewhat taciturn; e.g. Jones and Magie, in their accounts of the region Milyas, make no mention of the city. Similarly *RE*. s.v. "Milye".

<sup>75</sup> Melli has no meaning in Turkish and Milli no probable meaning; *millî* means "national". It may be added that Ptolemy's location (see Fig. 2) agrees quite well with the position of Melli.

<sup>76</sup> No exception need be made of the inscription published in *Mon. Linc.* XXIX (1933), 679, and mentioned by Jones *CERP.* 556 (fine payable τῷ Μι(λύ)ων - - -). It comes from the region of Phaselis, which is far removed from Melli.

<sup>77</sup> See the discussion in Magie *Roman Rule* 761.

<sup>78</sup> Such unenclosed names are mostly those of rivers and tribes; Milyas is the only such name in this part of the world. Yet its position on Ptolemy's map agrees well with his figures for the city of Milyas and very poorly with his region of Milyas.

attractive to suggest that Melli is Codrula ; Sia, near Karaot, lies about 8 miles west-south-west across the hills. But it is safer to leave it without a name.

### HYIA

At a spot called Incirli, some two hours south of Bucak and half an hour's climb north-east from the village of Eskiköy, is an ancient city-site which was visited, apparently for the first time, by Miss Barbara Levick in 1955. She kindly informed me of its existence and I paid it a visit in October 1959. The name of the city is revealed by the inscription No. 133 below.<sup>79</sup> It is in a fine position, immediately above the pass on the road from Susuz and Eskiköy to Bucak, on a rocky scrub-covered hill, whose south and east slopes are occupied by the ruins. These are not unimpressive, though much less is actually standing than at Melli or Karaot. The whole hillside and the pass below are thickly strewn with sherds of the usual types, red and orange sigillata ware being again prominent. The ring-wall is best preserved on the south-east side, where it still stands 4 m. high ; the style is polygonal, but with a strong tendency to coursing, approaching ashlar in some places (Pl. XIIa). Its thickness is 1·30 m. On the south slope are many squared blocks and architectural fragments and the outlines of two or three buildings can be made out ; at one point a rock-cut stairway leads up for several yards. Also on the south slope is a smoothed perpendicular rock-face some 4 m. high, with a number of niches of varying sizes and at various heights (Pl. XIIb) ; this forms one side of a rectangular enclosure some 10 by 6 m., whose other sides are of masonry. The niches do not appear to be made to receive beam-ends and the structure is not, I think, a house ; it may perhaps be rather a small sanctuary, somewhat reminiscent of that at Kaynar Kalesi (above, p. 48). Low down on the east slope is a modern fountain constructed of blocks taken from an ancient building a few yards away to the north ; this building is now utterly destroyed. In the pass itself, close beside the path, is another building of good squared blocks. There is no village of Incirli, the place being now merely a summer pasturage, with a good supply of water.

133. Incirli, built into the wall of a large building of late date on the south slope, a base 1·60 h., 0·61 w., 0·61 th. The upper surface is damaged, but shows remains of two round holes near the edge. Letters 4-4·5 cm. high. The inscription was on the underside as the block lay and, in turning it over, the stone being soft and already cracked, the inscribed face split away in two pieces. Photograph, Pl. Xe.

ὁ δῆμος  
ὁ Υἱνῶν κατὰ  
ψήφισμα ἐτείμη-  
σεν Αὐρήλιον Ῥό-

<sup>79</sup> Miss Levick saw this stone, but owing to its awkward position was unable to read the name.

5    ν. δωνα Τροκόνδο[ν].  
       τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα  
       αὐτὸς ἀνέστησε ν.  
       ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

Line 2. Between O and Y are traces on the stone resembling a very small *lambda*, but these are (in my opinion) certainly not a letter inserted afterwards, but merely accidental marks. The name of the city is accordingly Hyia (termination uncertain). It appears to be totally unknown hitherto.<sup>80</sup> Yet the ruins are by no means insignificant ; though less impressive than Pogle or the city at Melli, Hyia is well up to the average of the cities discussed in the present article.

Line 5. There is space for one or two letters at the beginning, but probably nothing was written here ; the surface is damaged, but enough remains to show traces of letters if any had been written. The first letter could be *delta* or *lambda* ; 'Ρόδωνα seems the only likely name and is, in fact, a common one in this region. I take it then that the damage to the stone is ancient and was avoided by the lapicide. As noted above, the stone is soft and breaks easily.

Line 7. Not ἀνέστησε[ν].

134. A few feet away from No. 133, still standing *in situ* on an outcrop of rock prepared to receive it, a tall base 1·80 h., 0·72 w., 0·72 th. In the upper surface is a large ring-shaped sinking with a small hole at one point and in the centre a large dowel-hole. Letters 6–7 cm. high. Photograph, Pl. IXd, by Miss Levick, showing the stone as it appeared in 1955 ; since then a piece has been broken off the top left-hand corner by treasure-seeking villagers.

[κ]ατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ  
       δήμου  
       Λ. Ἀτείλιος Αὐρηλια-  
       νὸς Βάσ σος Λ.  
 5    Ἀτείλιον Μητρω-  
       νιανόν Ἀσκλη-  
       πιόδωρον τὸν  
       υἱόν

The inhabitants of Bucak declared that there were " many " inscribed stones at Incirli, but only these two were forthcoming.

The ancient monuments of the region I have described have a distinct character of their own. They are recognisably different from those of Lycia, Pamphylia and the Cibyratis ; such affinities as they have seem to be rather with Phrygia to the north. In three places at least, Çineovasi, Gâvur İni and Melli, I was immediately reminded of the old Phrygian sites. I should certainly hesitate to ascribe any high antiquity to any of these

<sup>80</sup> It is not, I suppose, excluded that the name should be Via (ὁ δῆμος Οὐτηνῶν, equally unknown), but this is much less likely ; see above, p. 75, in connexion with ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σιτηνῶν.

monuments, but something of the early Phrygian tradition may well have lingered on. A further feature reminiscent of Phrygia is the frequent representation of a door on tombstones. For purposes of excavation most of this country would, I imagine, apart from its *hüyüks*, be scarcely rewarding.

#### POSTSCRIPT

In passing through Burdur in October 1959 I noticed that the museum has recently acquired a number of stones which were not there when I wrote Part I of this article. These include the headless statue from Gâvur Ören mentioned in Part I, p. 109, the curious block from Bereket, *ibid.* p. 111 and Pl. XXc, eight small reliefs of horsemen deities (mostly Kakasbos, but all uninscribed) from the neighbourhood of Korkuteli, and the following stone from Bereket which I did not see there in 1955.

135. Tall base with plain mouldings and no other decoration, 1·60 h., 0·47 w., 0·47 th. Letters 3-4·5 cm. high, indifferently cut.

Ἄρτέμιδι  
ἐπηκόω  
Ῥόδων Ἀρτεμει  
Εἰάδος ἱε-  
5 ρόδουλος  
ἀνέθηκεν  
εὐχὴν

In the Lysis region, where the cult of Apollo is so frequently attested, there is surprisingly little mention of Artemis.<sup>81</sup> Leto occurs at Büğdüz (Part I, No. 21) and as μητρί Ἀπόλλωνος at Kağlıcık (Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 100).

Ἀρτεμει in line 3 is apparently a metronymic, being the genitive of Ἀρτεμεις, as Ὅσσει of Ὅσσεις (though the latter name is masculine). At Termessus, where the name is especially common, the genitive is Ἀρτεμειτος (*TAM.* III, 407, 690, 723, 817); the dative is normally Ἀρτεμει, occasionally Ἀρτεμειτι. Ὅσσειτος occurs in No. 125 above. Εἰάδος is then either a second name of Artemeis or more likely the name of her mother. A "mammonymic" is, of course, abnormal, but in the particular case of a hierodule is hardly unnatural and seems, in fact, to occur in No. 97 above, q.v. Neither Psekas nor Ias could very well be a male name. For Ias as a slave-name, see Bechtel *HP.* 545.

<sup>81</sup> A mutilated inscription at Kağlıcık (Sterrett *EJ.* 82 = Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 119) appears to be an ex-voto to Artemis: [Ἄρτ]έμιδι [εὐχὴν].