


Two New Inscriptions from Asarönü (Finike, Antalya)

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The castle and settlement of Asarönü, still unexplored, is in the northwest corner of the coastal plain of Finike on the right side of the valley of the Delice Dere, a western tributary of the Arykandos, already at about 200 m above sea level in the hills at the eastern foot of Gülmez Dağı. This southern extension of Masikytos extends to the south in the mountainous peninsula of Bonda Tepesi, which with its five large and several small settlements essentially belonged to the chora of Limyra. Its western border is probably marked by the altar of Kaklık, where the Claudian road to Myra begins its winding descent via the steep western slopes of Bonda Tepesi to the plain of Demre.¹ The northern approach to Bonda Tepesi was dominated by Asarönü, which, some 8 km from the central town and with the special status of a peripolion, was also a dependent settlement in the polis area of Limyra. How, when and under which regional concept of spatial planning this affiliation to Limyra, attested since Hellenistic times, began,² is considered in the second chapter of this publication.

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The new inscriptions were found in 2011 by the team (including Fatih Onur) surveying the ancient road network in Lycia led by the late Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. As part of his fellowship provided by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation between 2018 and 2021 (in Munich and Münster) and within the scope of the collaboration with the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy of the German Archaeological Institute in Munich, Fatih Onur, who from 2017 became the head of the same survey project, initiated this joint work with Prof. Dr. Michael Wörrle, who had already published a parallel inscription from Asarönü located in the territory of Limyra. This paper is the result of this collaboration. As indicated in the captions, some of the photos used in the paper are from M. Wörrle and some others from the archive of the same field survey under the Research Centre for Mediterranean Languages, Akdeniz University (ADKAM). We are grateful to Christof Schuler for his critical review of the manuscript, to an anonymous reader for his attention and to T. Michael P. Duggan for correcting our English.

¹ On the situation of Asarönü (the small place is also noted in Google Earth) see Wörrle 1999, 356-358; Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, II, 463; Şahin – Adak 2007, 110-111 (Şahin 2014, 257), on the large relief tomb at the bottom of the western slope of the Delice valley, which probably belongs to Late Classical Asarönü, see Borchhardt – Pekridou-Gorecki 2012b, 386 no. 28, on Bonda Tepesi as a densely populated and intensively cultivated component of the chora of Limyra, see Marksteiner 2004; Şahin 2014, 379-387, on the altar of Kaklık see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002 (SEG 52, 1438), on the western descent of the road into the coastal plain of Myra beginning there Şahin – Adak 2007, 263-265; Şahin 2014, 379-387.

² The state of research on the περιπόλια was summarised by Schuler in 2010b, with a list of evidence known at that time. Only subsequently did inscriptions found there make it possible to identify the ancient

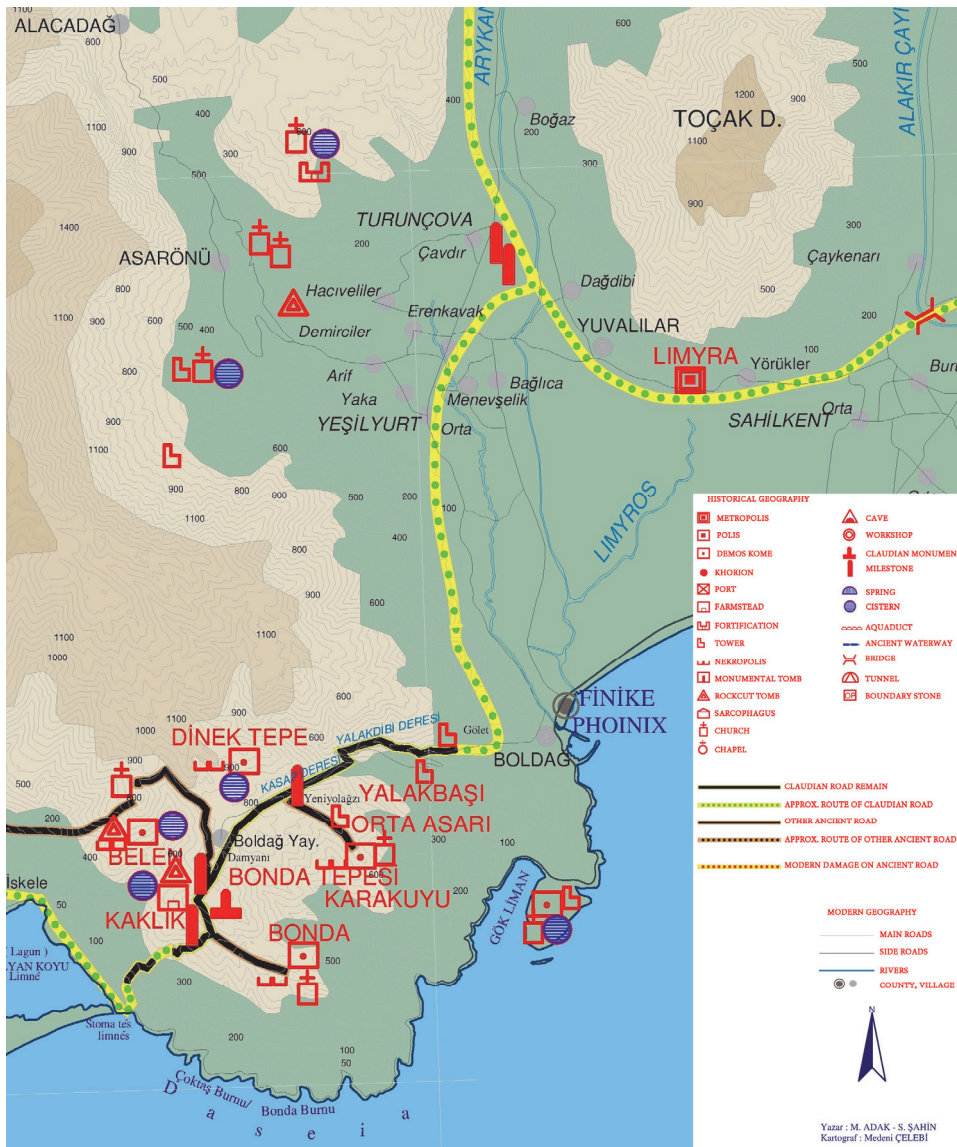


Fig. 1

(Base Map: Şahin 2014, part of back pocket map of Lycia; Akdeniz University -ADKAM archive)

Each of these rural settlements, which like Asarönü culminated in an acropolis, may have had its own internal social hierarchy. For their elite families, representative functions in the urban centre of Limyra nevertheless seem to have been particularly attractive tasks, ultimately fruitful again for local prestige, despite the long and arduous journeys to be made there from their actual residences and the commitment of lifetime and money involved. With monuments on the model of urban honorary monuments, the surviving dependants of such political leaders from the surrounding areas have ensured that their memory was not extinguished from the ‘small world’ from which they emerged. Such a monument has been found amidst the ruins of the village now called Bonda, like the whole hill country, on the base of a statue which Pteunase erected posthumously to her husband Ermandyberis at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century AD, giving it with the perhaps only

settlement of Muskar / Belören in the chora of Myra as the περιπόλιον of the Sybeneis: Schuler – Öztürk 2020; Schuler 2023.

incidental dedication to ‘the gods’ (θεοῖς) also some sort of consecration.³ In the inscription on the base, Pteunase draws the political profile of her husband with a selection of the most prominent among the public functions (ἄρχαι καὶ λειτουργίαι), with the assumption of which Ermandyberis had worked his way up to the top of the urban hierarchy of offices, the imperial priesthood in Limyra (ἱερατεύσας τῶν Σεβαστῶν).⁴



Fig. 2) Northwestern side of Asarönü Hill with the plain of Limyra and Cape Gelidonya in the background (1992; photo by M. Wörrle)



Fig. 3) Southwestern side of Asarönü Hill (1992; photo by M. Wörrle)



Fig. 4) Southwestern side of Asarönü Hill (2011; photo from ADKAM)

³ Wörrle 2004a (SEG 54, 1406).

⁴ On the primacy of the imperial priesthood among municipal offices Wörrle 1988, 101-105.

Similar ambitions seemed to be visible in Asarönü in 1991 in the fragment of a statue base (Fig. 6, text B below) which the brothers Demetrios and Hieratikos dedicated to their deceased mother there, assuring at the same time that they considered the polis of Limyra with its central institutions as a whole to be their πατρίς. They underlined the primacy of their family in the presumably not very numerous community of the small town, which we know only as Asarönü, its present name, by claiming for the mother, εὐγενεστάτη γυνή, most prominent origin⁵ and referring to the father as πρωτεύων ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ.⁶ The mother's name was lost in damage to the base when it was reused as a pressing weight for the production of wine or oil. The father's name was Hieratikos (I), like the younger son's, plus an indigenous second name, Trebemis. From the perspective of his wife, who had accompanied him in office, it was learned in her honorary inscription that, like Ermandyberis of Bonda, he had held the most prominent function that Limyra could bestow with the imperial priesthood for one year of office.⁷

*1. From Asarönü to Rome and to Britain - and back home:
Self-representation of an elite family from Severan Limyra*

During the later 2011 survey at Asarönü (see above), attention was drawn to another limestone statue base used as a terrace stone in a field about 300 m south of Asarönü Hill (Fig. 5), which had remained undiscovered in the 1990s (Text A below). It is a fragment about 90 cm high, 76 cm wide and 72 cm deep, chipped at the top and badly damaged especially on the left side, but also on the right side at the top. The circumferential, high and elaborate foot profile, secondarily removed from B, is essentially preserved. The letter forms of the inscription (Lh: 2-2.5 cm), the last three lines of which reach the foot profile, are identical to those of the monument to the mother of Demetrios and Hieratikos (II). The brothers known from that monument are found here again, and the dimensions of the two bases, the new one being slightly wider than the old one, match.

We have therefore decided to include in the publication of the new monument a re-examination of the one published earlier. One of the results will be that Demetrios and Hieratikos (II) erected to their parents one of the double monuments, so popular in imperial Lycia for persons closely connected by family.⁸ The concept of installation, which was perhaps modified by the sons only after the death of the father, may have provided for the newly found and somewhat broader monument to the father (A) to stand to the left (as seen from the viewer) next to the smaller one to the mother (B). In the dedication text for the father (A), the brothers did not fail to also - even, as we shall see, primarily - depict their own, indeed very considerable, political achievements. With the grandson, whom they also pointedly brought into play there at the end of the inscription, they let us observe an unusually successful Limyrean family over three generations in the Severan period:

⁵ Whether the maternal family was resident in Asarönü cannot be discerned, but for the paternal it is certain.

⁶ We do not know whether they were referring to social consensus or to a formal 'appointment' by the community.

⁷ The importance of the role played by the female partner in the imperial priesthood, usually the priest's wife, is repeatedly underlined in the inscriptions: Wörrle 1988, 101-105; Milner 1991, 56.

⁸ Cf. the compilation in Quatember – Leung – Wörrle 2020, 324-325.

In keeping with their intention of self-representation, the double monument they have set up is unusually rich and ‘dense’.



Fig. 5) *Inscription 1 A* (2011; Photo from ADKAM)

A

1 -----ΕΑ-----
 2 ----- πατέ[ρα (?) -----]
 3 -----Ν ἱερο(σ)ύνην -----
 4 [----- με]τὰ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ --
 5 -----ου Ἐπαφροδείτου --
 6 ----- τῆς (?) σειτωνίας καὶ συνδι[κ--]
 7 [----- ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρί]δος πρὸς τοὺς Αὐτοκ[ράτο]-
 8 [ρας----- βασι]λίδα Ῥώμην, ὃν καὶ ἐνείκησε
 9 -----Ιεων, τοῦ δὲ Ἱερατικοῦ ἱερέ[υ]-
 10 [σαμένου Λυκίω]ν θεᾶς Ῥώμης μετὰ γυναικ[ὸ]ς
 11 [αὐτοῦ -----]διου Ερμαφίλου ·β΄· Ερμενηνε-
 12 [ος ----- πρε]σβείαν πρὸς τοὺς Αὐτοκρά[το]-
 13 [ρας ----- ῥ]εῖ Ὀκεανὸς προῖκα, ἀγωνοθεσ[ί]-
 14 [----- προκαθ]εζομένου Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου συνηγ[ο]-
 15 [ρο----αί καταβ]ολαὶ κ[α]τεβλήθησαν κατὰ τὸν νό-
 16 [μον πρὸς τὸν] τῆς σειτωνί[α]ς ἐπιστατήσαντα πρὸ τοῦ
 17 -----ΡΕΟΥ. Τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀνάστα-
 18 σιν [ἐ]ποιήσαντο τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς οἱ
 19 προδιασαφούμενοι υἱοὶ φιλοστοργείας ἔνεκεν,
 20 -----σι τεμένους ναοῦ τοῦ προγ[ονι]-
 21 [κοῦ ἡμῶν] θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος οὗ νεο(κο)ρεῖ ὁ ἑγγονος αὐτοῦ
 22 [vac. Αὐρή]λ. Ἱερατικός.

3 The stone has ΙΕΡΟΕΥΝΗΝ with also a clear O according to space and remains, so that despite all methodological reservations against a conjecture in destroyed surroundings, there is probably no way around the proposed correction. 20 Alternatively ---ΟΔΙ (?) τεμένους. 22 Αὐρή]λ. only very uncertain traces of Λ in the photos, perhaps the cognomen stood alone.

«--- father of <Demetrios>, who --- <held> the priesthood --- together with his wife --- <daughter of> ---, son of Epaphroditos, --- of the public grain procurement and as a lawyer <of Limyra> --- <travelled> for the homeland to the emperors into the queen <of cities>, Rome, and was also successful ---, <father> also of Hieratikos, who was priest of the Lycians to the goddess Roma together with his wife --dion, daughter of Ermaphilos II, grandson of Ermenenis, who <undertook> a legation to the emperors <to where> the ocean flows at his own expense, who presided at agonothesias (?) of Zeus Olympios, who as a lawyer <achieved that> the contributions were paid according to law to the head of the public grain procurement before the ---. The erection of the statues procured, of father and mother, the aforementioned sons out of affection, <at> --- of the court of the temple of

the god of our ancestors, Apollo, whose management is in the hands of his grandson, Aurelius Hieratikos.»

B

-----Ι---ΛΕ . ΔΙ-----
 - 3 - Λιμυρίδα εὐγενεστάτ[ην]
 [γυν]αῖκα γεναμένην τοῦ πρω-
 4 [τε]ύοντος ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ Ἱερα-
 [τικ]οῦ Τρεβήμεος ζήσασαν
 [κοσ]μίως καὶ φιλόδρωσ ἱερα-
 [σα]μένην τῶν Σεβαστῶν μετὰ το[ῦ]
 8 [ἀνδρ]ὸς τειμηθεῖσαν καὶ αὐτὴν
 [διὰ ψ]ηφίσματος. Οἱ υἱοὶ Αὐρή[λ].
 [Δη]μήτριος καὶ Ἱερατικὸς οἱ Ἱε-
 [ρατ]ικοῦ Τρεβήμεος τῆς γλυκ[υ]-
 12 [τάτ]ης μητρὸς ἀνέστησαν
 [^{vac.}] τὴν χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ^{vac.}
 [τῆ]ς σεμνοτάτης βουλῆς καὶ δ[ή]-
 [μ]ου κρίσει τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν.

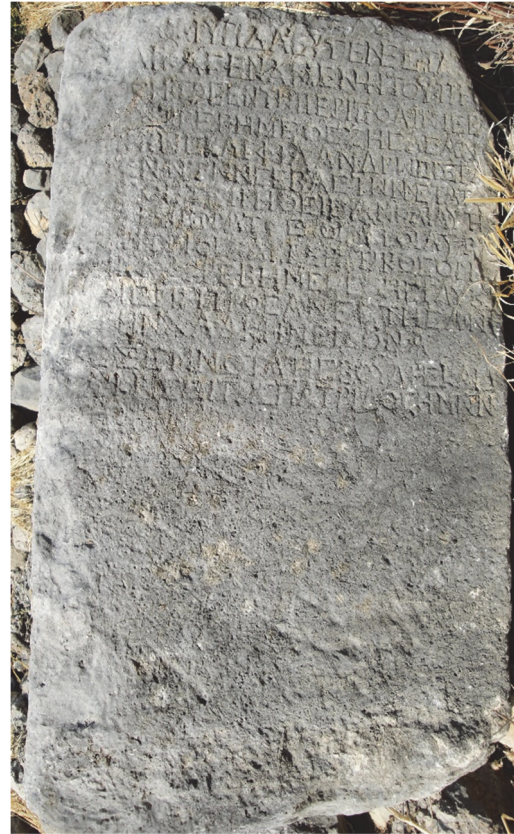


Fig. 6) Inscription 1 B (2011; Photo from ADKAM)

«---, citizen of Limyra from the best family, deceased wife of the first man in the peripolion, Hieratikos Trebemis, who lived in dignity and spousal love, was priestess of the emperors with her husband and was also honoured for herself by a decree. The sons, both Aurelii, Demetrios and Hieratikos, sons of Hieratikos Trebemis, have erected the bronze statue to the dearest mother with the approval of the venerable council and people of our homeland.»

Demetrios and Hieratikos (II), who had already revealed themselves as donors of the monument to their mother in B, ll. 7-13, appear in A, ll. 17-19 as initiators and financiers of two ἀνδριάντες of their parents, one of which may once more be the posthumous bronze statue of their mother, though this is called εἰκῶν on its own base, and may have been originally planned as a solitary monument, to which the weightier one of their father was added only later on the occasion of his death. In A, l. 19 the brothers refer back with οἱ προδιασαφούμενοι to the images,⁹ which they had

⁹ For the back reference they could actually have used διασαφούμενοι (of the language use of the inscriptions the PHI site gives an impression, for that of the papyri see Kießling 1944 s.v. διασαφέω) without προ-. Its additional emphasis was apparently rarely considered necessary (the few instances in LSJ can be enriched with e.g. SEG 33, 1039 [for Archippe of Κύμη], ll. 43-44: γινομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκάστων οἰκονομίας καὶ διοικήσεως καθότι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι προδιασεσάφηται, and SEG 26, 1817 [from Arsinoë/Taucheira, in the new edition of Laronde 1987, 472-479], ll. 26-28).

already drawn of themselves on the basis of the paternal statue. For an honorary inscription, their choice of words is unusual¹⁰ and leads one to expect that they had given unusual weight to their self-statements in what was, after all, actually an inscription dedicated to the glory of their father.¹¹

The chronological framework of the monuments and the events depicted in their inscriptions is the advanced imperial period, indicated by the style of writing, typical letters such as the ‘square’ Omega and Sigma, as well as the numerous ligatures, which, due to their inconsistency, hinder the decipherment of the inscription. More precisely, and in remarkable stylistic contrast to the only slightly earlier letter of Septimius Severus to the Lycian Koinon in Choma (AD 197),¹² it can be dated by the fact that Demetrios and Hieratikos (II) could only have introduced themselves so pointedly as Aurelii in the first years after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, whereas their father, not yet being Aurelius, must have been active in the period not too long before Caracalla. That this also applies to the earlier parts of the biographies of his sons will be shown by the analysis of what they had to say about their encounters with the emperors.

For the distribution of the merits compiled in text A between the father and his sons, the clear new beginning in A, l. 9 gives the decisive clue: here starts the review of the deeds of the younger son, Hieratikos (II), reaching up to A, l. 17, syntactically constructed with participles in the genitive case to fit Ἱερατικοῦ. The lines preceding A, l. 9 must have concerned someone else, probably Hieratikos’ elder brother, Demetrios, with a genitive construction similar in its basic structure and similarly loosened up by relative clauses. It is impossible to say how much text is lost at the beginning. With regard to the type of monument, one cannot expect very much, and in any case, the lost text included the name of the father, Hieratikos (I), his second name Trebemis (probably accompanied by at least one patronymic) and his ethnicon, Λιμυρεύς, all in the accusative of the statue dedication as in the case of his wife, in addition, parallel to her monument, the reference to the imperial priesthood in Limyra, of which perhaps in the two isolated letters ΕΑ of A, l. 1 a last remnant (ιερ]έα ?) is still preserved. Πατέ[ρα ---, again isolated and partially restored in A, l. 2, cannot be considered to be read with certainty, but something of the sort must have opened the transition from the father to the sons in about this area and triggered the genitive construction of the statements concerning them. The text does not return to the father, Hieratikos (I), in A, l. 16 with the participle ἐπιστατήσαντα in the accusative,¹³ but all that we still read, and thus the main

¹⁰ The more typical context of official pronouncements and business documents can be read e.g. in the gymnasiarchic law of Beroia, where the list of undesirables in the gymnasium is summarised in the following instruction about their treatment: ἐὰν δέ τινα ὁ γυμνασιάρχος εἰσὶν ἀλείφεισθαι τῶν διασαφουμένων κτλ. (Gauthier – Hatzopoulos 1993, B, 27-32). For Demetrios and Hieratikos it will have been familiar language from the juridical-administrative emphasis of their activity.

¹¹ When Affarous conceived the inscriptions of the double statue base for her father and herself in Limyra only a little earlier, she followed the same trend with the predominance she granted to her own person in the polis-internal framework accessible to her political ambitions (Quatember – Leung – Wörrle 2020, 321-326).

¹² Reger 2020.

¹³ The connection between καταβάλλειν, which is technical for cash payment (see for instance Bogaert 1968, 50-55; Bosnakis – Hallöf 2005, 253), and the payee could, instead of the dative, also be expressed with εἰς (SEG 26, 72 [Rhodes – Osborne 2003, 25], ll. 10-13: ἐς τὴν βολήν), ἐπί (IG XII 4, 306, ll. 15-16: ἐπὶ τὸς

mass also of the original total text, deals exclusively with the two sons, who wanted to show in their father's merits only the prelude to their own.

The two brothers have shaped their biographies, which were slightly distant in time, as stylistically somewhat varied but essentially parallel narratives in order to present themselves as exponents of a system of practical and symbolic values that they both represented and helped to develop.¹⁴ This begins with their wives, for whom they both claimed the traditionally status-appropriate *super-eugeneia*. They had it already attested to their mother in B, l. 2 with the predicate *eugeneistate*, and demonstrated it now with long lines of ancestors going back to the great-grandfather in the case of the ---dion married to Hieratikos (II). It increased one's prestige to be able to appear in a representative office with such a woman at one's side; as we learn from B, ll. 6-9, the reaction of the 'public' had found expression for the mother in a *psephisma* adopted for her by the Limyran demos especially for this purpose.

The reason for this public recognition had been her participation in her husband's priesthood for the urban imperial cult of Limyra. Of the sons, at least the younger one, Hieratikos (II), did not stop there,¹⁵ but became priest to the cult of Roma of the Lycian Confederation.¹⁶ One can ask oneself whether it is perhaps not a false impression due to a coincidence of tradition that this cult, after a hiatus beginning in the earliest imperial period, regained its attractiveness in the late 2nd century AD. In any case, the three Roma priests documented so far from the provincial epoch of the Lycian League¹⁷ are all more or less contemporaries of Demetrios and Hieratikos of Limyra. Two priests from this group were obviously younger men.¹⁸ Whether Hieratikos (and before him

ταμίαις) or *πρός* (IG XI 2, 147 A, ll. 15-18 [Pernin 2014, 63]; B, ll. 6-8: *πρός ἡμᾶς* [= the Delian Hieropoioi]; cf. the alternation of *Dat.* in IG II² 1628, *pass.* with *πρός* in 1629, ll. 589-593). It is thus the payee who can appear in the accusative.

¹⁴ From several points of view the pair of statue bases from Asarönü could enrich the documentation of Ivana Savalli-Lestrade and Patrice Hamon's research programme on fraternal cooperation (Savalli-Lestrade 2022), however far removed it is from their more Hellenistic orientation.

¹⁵ For Demetrios, the alternative between the priesthood of the *Σεβαστοί* in Limyra and that of Roma in the Lycian Koinon must remain open because of the loss of text in A, ll. 3-4.

¹⁶ For the documentation on the Hellenistic Roma priesthood of the Lycian Koinon, see most recently Lepke - Schuler - Zimmermann 2015, 330. Around the middle of the 2nd century B.C., according to the Lycian treaty with Oinoanda, its holder was the federal eponym, together with and ranking before the federal Apollo priest: Rousset 2010, 15-17.

¹⁷ The inscriptions from Sidyma, Oinoanda and Balbura are, recently compiled again in Lepke - Schuler - Zimmermann 2015, 330: TAM II 223; SEG 44, 1199; IGR III 474 in the new edition by Coulton - Milner - Reyes 1989, 56-60 no. 5 (cf. Coulton 2012 II, 409).

¹⁸ The couple Ptolemaios Aristoteles + Demetria, related to each other as *ἐξάδελφοι* (cousins), built the tomb TAM II 234 (Samama 2003, 284) in Sidyma for themselves and their sons (on the marriage Samama and Schuler 2004, 697 with bibliographic references on the, unstable, kinship terminology), but also created an additional tomb (TAM II 233) for Demetrios Nikolaos, who had died before them. Nikolaos was Demetria's son from her earlier marriage to Hippokrates, probably her uncle and at the same time father of Ptolemaios, who was thus both stepfather and *ἐξάδελφος* (second cousin) of Nikolaos. The latter must thus have been a younger man, when he held the federal priesthood of Roma for a year. What must be inferred here with some difficulty is easy to read on the monument of M. Aur. Onesiphoros of Oinoanda, SEG 44,

Demetrios?) held the office which they placed at the head of their further public activities, in an early phase of their political career cannot be said with certainty, because we do not know the criteria they used to organize their ‘short biographies’, but the federal priesthood of Roma may have become at their time a kind of ‘entry’ into public activity at the highest regional level.

The two brothers obviously wanted the *σιτωνία* to be seen as central to their common political interests in the framework of the local polis administration. It appears at A, l. 6 in the ‘biography’ of the older and at l. 16 in that of the younger. We learn here for the first time of the existence of this institution in Limyra, but also elsewhere in imperial Lycia provision for grain supply on the polis level seems to be attested with this terminology only for little Arsada:¹⁹ *Συμβρας Μνησιβίου ... Ἀρσαδεύς*, honoured there for his services as a *σιτώνης* is the only one we know of in the whole country. However, Symbras’ fellow citizens did not see his essential merits in the core of this function,²⁰ but in its connection with additional achievements, *σειτωνήσαντα τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀργύριον ἀναπόδοτον δόντα καὶ χειριστέυσαντα*. The first achievement, the gift of money to the polis, will have been set off by the experience, made by many *sitonai*, that the public funds allocated to their task were insufficient and required a top-up from the private funds of the ‘office bearer’.²¹ A capital increase of this kind may have been the *ἀργύριον ἀναπόδοτον*, which Symbras gave to Arsada, earmarked for grain purchase. To protect the capital against the risk of ‘evaporation’, he, like other public benefactors, kept its management, by interest-bearing lending, in his own hands.²² A special public fund, like the one which vaguely comes into view in Arsada, will also have existed in Limyra for the *σιτωνία*, which played such a central role in the public activities of Demetrios and Hieratikos. It is unclear whether the brothers thereby gave a nuance to the terminology that is new to us by calling *σιτωνία* the institution of the ‘grain fund’ known elsewhere as *σιτώνιον*, τὰ *σιτωνικά*, *σιτωνικά χήματα*,²³ whereas *σιτωνία*, otherwise denotes the procurement activity of

1199: The man was still *νεανίας φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλότιμος*, when he had already finished his Roma priesthood and advanced to the higher federal function of the archiphylakia. In the federal decree for M. Aur. Thoantianos of Balbura, the Roma priesthood appears only in the retrospect to Thoantianos’ father and does not allow for a biographical classification.

¹⁹ TAM II 539. The inventory of documentation created by Strubbe 1987; 1989 has remained fundamental for subsequent research (Broekaert – Zuiderhoek 2015, 162-164 with the references).

²⁰ The basic condition, extraordinary appointment for a critical situation or holding a regular ‘office’, is unclear, the former more likely in the context.

²¹ With its well-known but not always sufficiently considered concentration on the praise of special and personal euergetic acts, the epigraphic documentation, especially that on the *σιτωνία*, distorts the picture of normality (cf. the objections of Zuiderhoek 2008, 162-172 against Strubbe’s accentuation), in which the urban grain funds were regularly financed with public money or founded with duly organised general subscriptions (the Hellenistic testimonies, among which Samos and Iasos [Migeotte 1992, 62; 74] stand out, have been analysed in comparison by Migeotte 1991).

²² Insights into relevant regulations are provided by the foundation documents discussed by Wörrle 1988, 151-158. That Symbras assumed the office of a *ταμίας* is unlikely to have been meant, contrary to the commentary of the TAM; cf. the management of the capital (*ἐκτοκίζειν ὡς ὅτι ἀσφαλέστατα*) of the Symmasis foundation by its *χειρισταί* (SEG 48, 1640, A34-40; B1-14).

²³ An overview of the terminology is given by Strubbe 1989, 108-109.

σιτώναι made possible by the fund. When and under what circumstances the special fund²⁴ had been created in Limyra with deposits of what kind and amount²⁵ is unknown, and unclear remains the relation of the σιτωνία to the corn dole for a privileged section of the citizenry (σιτομετρέϊν and related terms), which, as for other Lycian cities, is also attested for imperial Limyra in some ‘catalogues’ of public services of committed local politicians.²⁶ In view of C. Licinnius M. Thoantianus Fronto who in Trajanic-Hadrianic Oinoanda used the public grain stocks for the σιτομετρία,²⁷ the distinction between σιτομετρία and σιτωνία may after all not seem so clear as Arjan Zuiderhoek imagines.²⁸ About the administrative organisation of the Limyrean σιτωνία-fund we learn at A, l. 16 the again quite new detail that it had with the τῆς σιτωνίας ἐπιστατήσας a ‘president’ whose function was probably different from that of a σιτώνης.²⁹ Hieratikos, however, was not directly involved in the management of the σιτωνία, but acted for its interests as, at least formally, an outside advocate. For their protection the fund’s own νόμος (A, ll. 15-16) might not have sufficed in Limyra. In Arsada Symbras avoided putting them at risk altogether by managing the capital himself. The syntactical connection between Hieratikos’ activity as a lawyer and its outcome is lost; if the Limyrean grain fund was not just stored grain either, but capital that had to be managed by issuing interest-bearing loans repayable on time, insofar as it was not acutely needed as working capital for grain transactions of the σιτώναι, we can get an idea of the framework, in which Hieratikos, as lawyer of Limyra or of Limyra’s σιτωνία-fund³⁰, may have enforced compliance with the legal deadlines³¹ for installments by legal proceedings about which we unfortunately learn nothing at all.³² Whether the last month of the Lycian calendar year, Hyperberetaios, was mentioned in the lost beginning of A, l. 17, must remain open,³³ like so much that is unclear due to the textual

²⁴ Such a fund was, for example, the διηνεκῆ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐλαιοθεσία, whose capital in imperial Stratonikeia was raised by public subscription. That one of its major donors had immediately paid his share was noted as a special merit: ἐπηγγέλματο ... καὶ ἔδωκεν παραχρήμα (I.Stratonikeia II 2. Addenda et corrigenda II, pp. 32-33 No. 21 [excerpted Migeotte 1992, 76]).

²⁵ That their contributions to the σιτωνία-fund defined the privileged citizen group of the σιτομετρούμενοι (for sitometria and sitometroumenoi in Lycia see now also Akdoğu Arca 2016), can at best be a consideration, as Lepke – Schuler – Zimmermann 2015, 349-350 have again pointed out.

²⁶ Ermandyberis of Bonda: fn. 3 above; an unknown *euergetes*: Wörrle 2016, 429-433; Olympias: Wörrle 2016, 440-442.

²⁷ IGR III 493 (σειτομετρήσαντα πάλιν τοὺς πολίτας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ καὶ οὐ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπέδωκεν ἐν δυσχρηστοτάτῳ καιρῷ) with Wörrle 1988, 130-131.

²⁸ Zuiderhoek 2008, 166 against Strubbe 1989, 114-115.

²⁹ Diversified administrative structures are also indicated for the grain funds of Nikaia and Prusias with their ἀργυροταμίας / ταμίας τῶν σιτωνικῶν χρημάτων (SEG 29, 1281; I.Prusias 8; 11; 14), supplemented in Prusias by a λογιστής.

³⁰ For a more precise definition of his competence, the term συνήγορος is of little help: cf. the references by Balland 1981, 229 and Corsaro 1984, 466-472.

³¹ Local meaning of πρό, however, cannot be excluded a priori.

³² One recalls the special importance that the punctual, complete and unequivocal repayment of loans taken out with a municipal *frumentaria ratio* had for Ulpian: Dig. 50, 8, 2, 2-5 with Zuiderhoek 2008, 162-163.

³³ The spelling Ὑπερβερετέος, common in Syria at that time, would be a novelty in Lycia, and the only partially preserved first letter of A, l. 17 looks more like P or Φ, if no stone damage deceives here.

losses, but also due to our lack of familiarity with everyday realities presupposed by Demetrios' and Hieratikos' allusions. Not least among these ambiguities are the purpose of the instalments and the identity of the σιτωνία-president for whom Hieratikos had acted: quite possibly it was precisely his brother Demetrios, who may have appeared in A, l. 6 as ἐπιστατήσας] τῆς σιτωνίας, possibly in the context of the σιτωνία-foundation in Limyra, with καταβολαί, to which the text looks back as a unique and completed series of contribution payments.

Both brothers undertook long journeys to personally represent their hometown Limyra as its envoys before emperors. Whether they travelled alone, like the envoys from Syedra (194), Prynnessos (195) and Delphi (197) to Septimius Severus,³⁴ or in a group, like the unusually large group of nine from Aizanoi to the same emperor,³⁵ they do not reveal, but in any case they travelled separately, at different times and to different destinations.

If one does not go back beyond the Severan context with the certainly earlier legation of Demetrios (A, ll. 6-8),³⁶ its possible time frame begins with the elevation of Caracalla to Augustus during the Second Parthian War of Septimius Severus in the winter of 197/8 and shifts to April 202 with the destination, βασιλις Ἰώμη, stated in l. 8.³⁷ It was then that the imperial family, after years of sojourn in the Orient, came to Rome, this time for a longer and almost continuous period ending only with the departure for the Britannian campaign in the spring of 208. The legal claims of Limyra, for which Demetrios had to appeal to Septimius Severus and Caracalla as syndikos,³⁸ apparently already at that time in the context of the σιτωνία, remain as unclear as the factual and syntactic integration of the σύνδικία into the context: even that the noun was used is by no means certain. To find agonistic vocabulary for successful legal representation is no surprise,³⁹ but the person or the matter to which the inserted relative clause with ὃν ἐνείκησεν refers, is lost.

A little later Hieratikos (II) had to travel much further, more arduously and more adventurously than his brother, who had been able to reach Rome essentially by sea. Hieratikos met the Augusti, to whom Geta had also belonged since the autumn of 209, during their war in Britain, which had begun in 208 and was broken off after the death of Septimius Severus in April 211 (A, ll. 12-13). That the emperors intensively pursued their civil, administrative and legal governmental business

³⁴ Syedra: SEG 64, 1496. Prynnessos: Oliver 1989, 214. Delphi: Oliver 1989, 215.

³⁵ Wörrle 2019, on the composition of the group of envoys 73-75.

³⁶ For the general background of contemporary history, everything can now be found excellently elaborated in Brandt 2021, 428-460, previously Kienast – Eck – Heil 2017 s.vv. Septimius Severus, Caracalla and P. Septimius Geta.

³⁷ On Rome as βασιλις Wörrle 1971, 329-331. Sometime before the Hieratikos monument, an inscription in neighbouring Arykanda also praises the person honoured there as πρεσβεύσαντα εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα Ἰώμην (I.Arykanda 52, belonging to the fragments reassembled by C. Schuler in SEG 54, 1396).

³⁸ On the σύνδικος as legal representative of a city in external relations (already since Hellenistic times) Fournier 2007 with the references to the predecessors; Fournier 2010, 684 s.v. σύνδικος. In Julio-Claudian times Q. Veranius Philagros travelled to Rome four times to meet the reigning emperor on behalf of Kibyra. The issues he successfully negotiated there (ἐγδικήσας δημοσίας ὑποθέσεις), included the obligation of local producers to provide sufficient grain supplies to the urban market (τὴν τοῦ σείτου πρᾶσιν γείνεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ... ἐκ πάσης τῆς χώρας): I.Kibyra 41, ll. 13-15 with the commentary by T. Corsten.

³⁹ For a contemporary example cf. I.Ephesos 802 honoring a lawyer who had frequently acted as envoy (we come back to the text below), where νεικήσαντα alternates synonymously with κατορθώσαντα.

from the war zone, too, is well known, and Hieratikos was not the only envoy from the distant Greek East whom they received there. From Athens travelled the distinguished Kasianos πρεσβεύσας οἰκοθεν (at his own expense) εἰς Βρεταννίαν,⁴⁰ two *defensores Aeniorum* from Thracian Ainos had received a legal notice from Caracalla and Geta at Eboracum,⁴¹ and a syndikos, anonymous due to loss of text, from Ephesus and the Koinon of Asia had to have disputes settled, especially concerning the ranking of the cities of Asia (περὶ τῶν πρωτείων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δικαίων), and presented himself to Severus and Caracalla in Germania Superior, several times in Rome and finally also in Britain (πρεσβεύσαντα δὲ καὶ συνδικήσαντα ἐπὶ θεοῦς Σεουήρον καὶ Ἀντωνίνον εἰς τε τὴν βασιλίδα Ῥώμην πλεονάκικα καὶ εἰς Βρεταννίαν καὶ Γερμανίαν τὴν ἄνω).⁴²

For the retrospective dramatisation of his enterprise leading ‘to the end of the world’, Hieratikos had devised to replace Britain by the Ὠκεανός, rich in mythological and ideological reminiscences,⁴³ and emphasizing the dangers one had to overcome in the reality of such a journey.⁴⁴ The idea was not original.⁴⁵ In correspondence with the stylistic exaltation of Rome by βασιλὶς Ῥώμη

⁴⁰ IG II² 3707 (Clinton 2005, 645), on the person Follet 1976, 287. Kasianos' mission is unknown.

⁴¹ Kaygusuz 1986, 66-67 no. 3 (AE 1986, 628, cf. Berghammer 2022, 86-87), the decision itself is lost.

⁴² I.Ephesos 802. What has been quoted is only a selection from the many journeys with which the anonymous man, always as σύνδικος, must have remained almost continuously on the heels of the emperors, in order to appear again before Macrinus and Diadumenianus immediately after the fall of Caracalla. To the context of the negotiated πρωτεία and δίκαια belong the letters of Caracalla and Iulia Domna to Ephesus and the Koinon of Asia, I.Ephesos 212 with the essential textual improvements of C. Jones and G. Souris, most recently summarised, deepened and expanded by Strasser 2022.

⁴³ The verb of the short subordinate clause devoted to Ὠκεανός seems to have been ρεῖν, common since Homer with variants in connection with the primeval current flowing round the earth. The imperial funerary epigram of a far-travelled physician at Nikaia endeavours with κατιδόντος Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ τέρματα ἠπειροῖο the same image (I.Iznik 175 [Samama 2003, 306]). Regarding the associations connected with Ὠκεανός, we only have to refer to the excellent introduction by Schmitt 2000; on idiologems of rule until the end of the world developed from their arrival at the Ὠκεανός for Alexander and the Achaemenids see recently Degen 2022.

⁴⁴ Cf. only Herodian (3, 14, 3) on the Roman deployment: (Σεβήρος) ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἐλπίδος θᾶττον τὸν Ὠκεανὸν διαπλεύσας Βρετταννοῖς ἐπέστη. Here Ὠκεανός is the current geographical term for the ‘Atlantic’, which in Plutarch (Ant. 61, 5) delimits as Ἐσπέριος Ὠκεανός Caesar's sphere of power in the west. Klaudios Ptolemaios knows of several regional Ὠκεανοί from the Δυτικός off the Iberian Peninsula to the Ὑπερβόρειος north of Ireland and including the Βρετταννικός Ὠκεανός, the ‘Channel’, with which Hieratikos alone may have had acquaintance (the evidence can easily be found in the second book of the Geographike Hyphegesis, cf. now its new edition by Stückelberger - Graßhoff 2006). This was not a novelty: already for Caesar and Tacitus, Britain lay, exotically, beyond the *oceanus*.

⁴⁵ In Oinoanda the unknown owner of a damaged sarcophagus put τὸν κατ' ἐσπέραν Ὠκεανόν as a special highlight at the beginning of the long list of provinces, cities, rivers and regions travelled through τοῖς ἔμοις ἀναλώμασιν, as he claims, in order to recruit everywhere *tirones*, perhaps gladiatorial rather than army recruits (Bean 1971, 18-20, no. 36 [AE 1975, 815, cf. BE 1972, 443; Milner 2011, 161]). At the end of the partly destroyed and unclear text, the anonymous tomb-owner seems to have given a date for the beginning of his travels with the singular ἡρξά δὲ ἀπὸ ἀρχιερέος Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου, but the archpriesthood of Ptolemy (Reitzenstein 2011, 172-173: “unter Domitian/Trajan (?)”) cannot be regarded as dated

in the section concerning Demetrios' deeds, however, it fulfils its purpose of uniting the brothers' diplomatic journeys in their common patriotic intention and underlining their political significance with a little literary decoration.

Hieratikos surpassed his elder brother not only with the more exotic destination, but also with the fact that he undertook his embassy προῖκα, renouncing the usual ἐφόδιον⁴⁶ and financing the particularly long and logistically complex journey himself. We cannot quantify the amount he thus lost, but his euergetic gesture does give an idea of the wealth that already the πρωτεύων ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ, Hieratikos (I), must have had at his disposal in the now so modest Asarönü and which his descendants and heirs apparently managed to maintain. With the education required for successful appearances before emperors, another element of the social standing of our brothers from Asarönü comes into view, not only in general, but at least to some extent concretely with the legal competence that seems to have distinguished them both.

As far as its gaps allow us to make a decision, our inscription probably did not provide any information about the mission of Hieratikos' embassy. The text goes on thematising Zeus Olympios, Limyra's main divinity, and probably also the Dia Olympia celebrated to him, but the syntactical connection of προκαθεζομένου with the following Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου in A, l. 14 does not become a matter of course, with Athena as the main deity of Side at least once referred to there as προκαθεζομένη θεός;⁴⁷ for Zeus of Limyra, προκαθηγέτης τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν was common throughout the advanced imperial period.⁴⁸ To reconstruct a problem with the agonothesia of the Dia Olympia as the subject of Hieratikos' negotiations in Britain could thus be rash. On the other hand, προκαθέζεσθαι has been discovered by Louis Robert as a new addition to the agonistic vocabulary of the imperial epoch.⁴⁹ It seems to denote a function alongside, above, in substitution for agonothesia, without a supra-regionally and -temporally clear definition and not yet definitively clarified even with the term's extended treatment by Jean-Yves Strasser.⁵⁰ The function could have been the merit of Hieratikos (II) to Limyra following (according to the listing of our text) his journey to the emperors. The exact wording, however, remains unclear: the repeatedly attested combination of the two participles ἀγωνοθετοῦντος and προκαθεζομένου cannot be restored, because the position of the last letters of l. 13 calls for the noun ἀγωνοθεσία.⁵¹

From A, l. 17 onwards, the two brothers treat in disproportionate breadth the joint placement of the two statues of their parents, which they had perhaps only secondarily decided to unite. They

with certainty. - We are very grateful to N. P. Milner for his information on the monument, especially for the opportunity to study his photographs of the sarcophagus and the inscription.

⁴⁶ On the relevant evidence in the imperial letters Müller 2009, 377-378. There does not seem to be any concrete information on possible amounts for the imperial period: Kienast 1973, 580-581.

⁴⁷ I.Side TEp 1 (Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, Aydolin 3). Among the designations for major polis deities (Nollé, I.Side, I, p. 201 with the bibliographical references p. 105), προκαθεζόμενος is the rarest.

⁴⁸ The extant documentation is consistent in this from Commodus to Valerian: Wörrle 2022, 297-309.

⁴⁹ Robert 1960, 12-14; 1966, 83.

⁵⁰ Strasser 2001, 116-132.

⁵¹ Whether the idea may go in the direction of something like ἀγωνοθεσ[ιῶν --- προκαθ]εζομένου Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου? The surviving statue bases of victors (Wörrle 2022, 298-302) show no trace of this in their inscriptions, but also illustrate the history of the agon only with very large gaps.

declare their motivation by φιλοστοργία (A, l. 19), which is conventional in the context, and only in the last three lines, already chiselled on the lower profile, do they give a special touch to their intentions directed at a family prestige that transcends generations. How they had grammatically constructed the transition to their instructions about the place of installation of the statues can no longer be precisely discerned from the extensive loss of text at the beginning of l. 20, but the statues were in any case to stand in a sanctuary of Apollo, which the two bases having come to light there locate with certainty in the peripolion of Asarönü. The sanctuary seems to have consisted of a temple in an associated area, and within this sacred area around the temple the brothers probably designated a place for their monuments, whose exact designation before τεμένους we have not succeeded in reading.⁵²



Fig. 7) *Altar of Apollo*
(2003; Photo by M. Wörrle)

The Apollo envisaged as the host of the statues did not belong to the πρὸ πόλεως θεοί,⁵³ but, as the Γ clearly identifiable just at the right end of the legible area of l. 20 requires, is designated as προγονικός. The epithet is not at all usual in Lycia (if what we still know of the documentation does not deceive us), and in the pantheon of the polis of Limyra Apollo played no significant role at all. In the contemporary context this is demonstrated by Apollo's absence from the reverse motifs of the coins minted by Limyra under Gordian III, although at about that time imperial Limyra's only epigraphic testimony to the god so far must have been produced: an exceedingly modest votive altar with the clumsy and also erroneous inscription Ἀπόλω|νι (Fig. 7).⁵⁴ The magnificent altar dedicated to Apollo by Pericles of Limyra in the early 4th century BC belonged to a 'family group' of votive altars which as a whole glorified Zeus and did not aim at opening up a local future for Apollo.⁵⁵ The Apollo head of rare Hellenistic bronze coins (with the winged lightning bundle of Zeus

⁵² The conjecture ἐντεμεν(ί)ους will not be risked because the term has so far only been attested for secondary cults of 'real' gods in the sanctuary of another and then referred to this god himself, not his ναός. Cf. the rich study by Zimmermann 2017, 301-303, which, starting from the ἐντεμενίοι θεοί of Zeus Labraundos at Patara, opens up access to the widely scattered evidence and the pertinent literature. Among the documents, however, none is nearly as late as the pair of statues from Asarönü.

⁵³ The basic study on the subject is now Schuler 2010b.

⁵⁴ The tiny, badly damaged monument is cursorily worked and smoothed only at the front. The lower and upper profiles are just indicated as slants. It is 14.5 cm high, 9.8 (shaft 7.3) cm wide, 9.5 (shaft 7) cm deep, the letters are 0.7 cm high. Where the altar, now kept in the inscription depot of the Limyra excavation, was found, is unknown.

⁵⁵ Apollo's head appears only among the motifs of the dynast's small bronzes: Babelon 1910, 331 N. 497.

on the reverse), which Limyra possibly minted ‘autonomously’,⁵⁶ is likely to cite the Apollo πατρώιος of the Lycian League rather than a local cult. For the rest we are left with the consideration of whether an early imperial festival calendar fragment notes the celebration of an Ἀπόλλωνος γενέθλιον in Limyra.⁵⁷ If so, nothing would rule out that the celebrated god was the Apollo of Asarönü, who, possibly, left still another trace in the name of a subdivision of the Limyrean citizenry called Ἀπολλώνειοι.⁵⁸ The epithet προγονικός points to a community identity matured in a long tradition. In the face of the sparse evidence we could bring together, the cult of Apollo cannot have symbolised such an identity for the polis of Limyra, but only for the peripolion of Asarönü, where it was the main local cult and had its seat in the temple to whose inventory our two statue bases from Severan times were to belong.

Beyond Bonda Tepesi, the archaeological research of the remains of the ancient settlement at Belören (Muskar) in the chora of Myra by Bülent İşler and the study of the inscriptions found at the place by Hüseyin Sami Öztürk and Christof Schuler led to the localisation of the peripolion of the Sybeneis there.⁵⁹ Its main cult was that of Eleuthera. On the anta of her temple, the local community inscribed in Hellenistic times not only its thanksgiving decrees for patrons of the cult, but with the donor list of an epangelia ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ... εἰς τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῆς χώρας καὶ τοῦ περιπολίου also a ‘profane’ document, that affected the common identity existentially. The structural similarity with the role of the cult of Apollo in Asarönü is obvious,⁶⁰ and of the numerous poleis that perpetuated essential documents in or at their main sanctuaries, only the nearest one needs to be mentioned here, Limyra with its publication of honorary decrees and letters of rulers of the 4th to the early 2nd century BC at the city’s most important temple of Zeus.

Central to the religious and ceremonial community life in the Termessian peripolion of Kelbessos were Μέγας Θεός and Artemis Κελβησσίς. We do not know how their cults related to each other, but the priesthood of the former can be traced over six generations in the possession of a local elite family that erected its ‘private’ honorific monuments in the public space of imperial Kelbessos.⁶¹ In Asarönü, too, the functionalisation of the cult of Apollo as a stage for the leading family of the Hieratikoi could have had a longer tradition. We do not know it, but with Hieratikos

⁵⁶ BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia: Limyra 1-3; Babelon 1897, 3073. The bronzes stand next to the federal coins minted in Limyra, from which Frei 1990, 1764 does not distinguish them. The difficulty of classifying them historically is articulated by Behrwald 2000, 103.

⁵⁷ Wörrle 2007, 91-95 with 2024 (in print).

⁵⁸ For the evidence and a discussion see the second chapter and the addendum below.

⁵⁹ Schuler – Öztürk 2020; Schuler 2023 with the references to İşler’s research. – We are very grateful to Christof Schuler for allowing us to study his 2023 manuscript before its publication.

⁶⁰ The peripolion of Termessian Neapolis was particularly impressive in declaring its responsibility for its cult of Zeus. In the dedication of the new temple building it proudly communicated: Διὶ Σωτήρι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν μετάθεσιν τοῦ ἀφειδρύματος τὸ περιπόλιον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπήρτισεν κτλ. (İplikçioğlu et al. 2007, 182).

⁶¹ For the inscriptions cf. İplikçioğlu et al. 2007, commentary on no. 165; Schuler 2010a, 410-411. — In a village near Thracian Augusta Traiana the cult of Zeus Sabazios, θεὸς προγονικός, seems – a decisive step further – to have been a real family cult with a lifelong priesthood (ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ προγόνων διὰ βίου) hereditary within the founding family (IGBulg V 5592).

(III), whose name so pointedly concludes the text that actually belongs to the statue of his grandfather,⁶² we see, not only the upcoming next generation of the family, but also the acting manager of the sanctuary, responsible for its equipment and logistics.⁶³ In the context of such ‘successful networking’, the material arrangement and the religious exaltation of their claim to prestige became family decisions for the brothers Demetrios and Hieratikos, in which they merely ‘took along’ the rest of the peripolion community.⁶⁴

*2. A Hellenistic honorary decree:
Asarönü’s descent from polis to peripolion*

In addition to the base of the Severan staupe, a fragment of a marble stele (H: 135; W: 50; D: 17; L: 1.5 cm) was found in the same area, about 250 m south-east of Asarönü Hill. The inscription on this stele at first sight appears to be centuries older than the other inscriptions presented above (Fig. 8). The letters are, on the whole, broad, monumental, strict and stiff, the ends of their strokes are decorated with very small apices, the round letters, Theta with a dot, are completely or almost completely line-high, which is also true of the Omega, wide open at the bottom. The cover stroke of the Pi overhangs the verticals on both sides, the right of which is clearly shorter than the left, the four-line Sigma has horizontal outer strokes, the transverse line of the Alpha is straight, Ny stands not always on the baseline on the right. Even if some letters that are important for the chronology do not appear at all on the fragment, this script, to pick out only three examples, can be dated with great certainty alongside TAM II 1 (240 B.C.) from Telmessos,⁶⁵ the fragments of the list of priests of Athena Lindia dated by Nathan Badoud to the middle and second half of the 3rd century,⁶⁶ or the royal prostagma from Ptolemaic times in Limyra itself,⁶⁷ even if its long text carved on an anta follows somewhat different aesthetic criteria. The fragment, broken on all sides, comes from the lower right part of the stele, with the right edge probably partially preserved. At the bottom, below a line height of un-inscribed space and the presumably chipped off foot profile, the tenon is partially preserved. At the top the stele is broken off into the running text, and on the left side more than half of the line width is missing.

⁶² The connection between grandfather, long out of sight in the text of his statue base, and grandson is stylistically rather unsuccessful with ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ after so many other items. Whether Hieratikos (III) was the son of Demetrios or of Hieratikos (II) remains open; as a neokoros of Apollo we may see him, fostered by father and uncle, in an early phase of his public activity.

⁶³ Νεοκορεῖ in A, l. 21 is due to an apparently unavoidable textual correction. The neokoria was for a long time a blank in the epigraphy of Limyra. It now takes its place in the main cult of the peripolion of Asarönü alongside the highly detailed (although only partially reconstructable) documentation of the neokoria of Zeus, who was worshipped as the main deity in the polis centre of Limyra (Wörrle 2022, 284-296; 2024).

⁶⁴ More than just a preview of the social power relations and their political consequences in Severan Limyra and its peripolion of Asarönü can be seen in the dossier of Maroneia, adopted in the context of the establishment of Thrace as a Roman province in AD 45/6 under Claudius. It allows the local elite to undertake pseudo-authorised embassies to the emperor at their own discretion and at all times (Wörrle 2004b; 2005, the authoritative text is now I.Thrac.Aeg. E180).

⁶⁵ Photographs of the right half of the stele in Robert 1933, pl. XXX B and Segre 1938, 187.

⁶⁶ Badoud 2015, 341-344 with the accompanying photographs.

⁶⁷ Wörrle 2010.

 -----ων καὶ τ[ῶ]ν πο-
 [λιτῶν ----- ἐπαινέσα]ι αὐτὸν καὶ πο-
 4 [λιτείαν δεδόσθαι αὐτῶ]ι καὶ ἔγκτη[σιν]
 [καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων ὧν ἡ πό]λις κυρία ἐ[στίν]
 [-?- καλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ εἰς πρ]οεδρίαν Τοα[λιν] (?)
 [------ καὶ στεφαν]οῦσθαι χρυσῶι
 8 [στεφάνωι αὐτὸν ὅπως ἦι φανε]ρὸν ὅτι ἡ πόλι[ς],
 [ἐὰν -----εὐχρη]στήται, δύνατ[αι]
 [-?- τὴν προσήκουσαν χάριν ἀ]ποδιδόναι. Τὸ δὲ
 [ψηφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγραφάτω]σαν οἱ ἄρχοντε[ς]
 12 [------ εἰς στή]λην λιθίνην καὶ
 [ἀναθέντων αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν το]ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

«--- <for the benefit> of --- and the citizens <each for him-
 self>. He shall therefore be praised and granted citizenship
 and the right to own real estate and exemption from all obli-
 gations that fall within the jurisdiction of the city; Toalis ---
 shall also be invited to the place of honour --- and he shall be
 crowned with a gold wreath, so that it becomes clear that the
 city, if it is treated well, has ways of expressing corresponding
 gratitude. The archons shall have this decree <recorded> on
 a stele of stone and place it in the sanctuary of Apollo.»

The preserved text begins with the last words of the account of the merits of the honoured person, perhaps a Toalis with lost patronym in ll. 6-7. The first two letters preserved in l. 2 are possibly the remainder of the ethnicon, unknown to us, of the community resident in Asarönü, which had benefited from the deeds of Toalis in common and, as is subsequently noted, to the individual advantage of each of its members. This is as conventional (and may well have frustrated us with the sweeping generalities which so many Hellenistic honorary decrees do not get beyond) as the catalogue of honours that follows from l. 3. It is a linguistically perfect product of practised bureaucratic routine; εὐχρηστεῖν used in the passive voice suggests, as far as we can tell, perhaps even an attempt at stylistic originality.⁶⁸

The informative weight of the text lies in the return of Apollo of Asarönü, more than four centuries before the Severan context in which we met him in the first chapter. The designation of the god there as προγονικός thus acquires historical depth: when Demetrios and Hieratikos erected the statues of their parents in the sanctuary of Apollo then administered by their family, they must

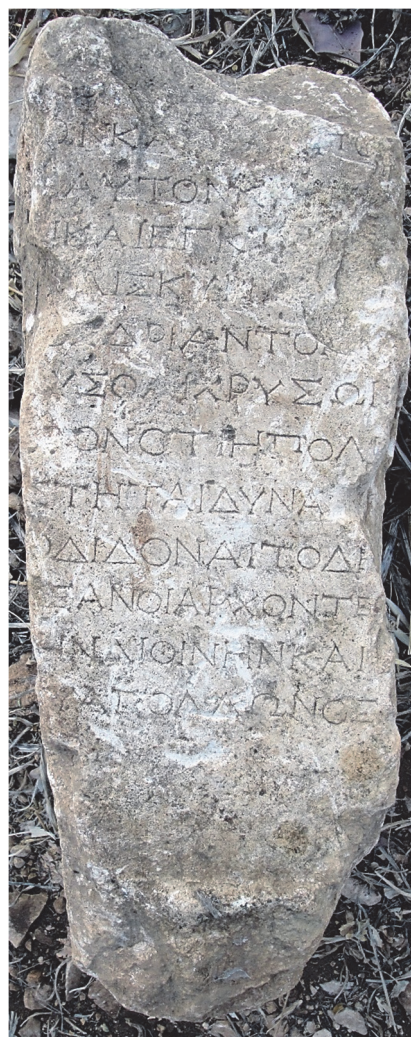


Fig. 8) Inscription 2
 (2011; Photo from ADKAM)

⁶⁸ The word family (εὐχρηστεῖν, εὐχρηστος, εὐχρηστία) is popular for praising Hellenistic euergetai. On εὐχρηστεῖν see for instance the hints by Wiemer 2001, 4, the passive seems to be rare, in decrees we do not find it.

have been aware of the significance of the stele, presumably still standing there, as a time-honoured monument to their own history.⁶⁹ They will also have known what it meant that their peripolion appeared in this ancient text as ἡ πόλις, that there had once been πολῖται who had not been those of Limyra but had had an independent πολιτεία and independent external relations,⁷⁰ in which they could make use of this πολιτεία as a reward to foreigners who had become their benefactors, that the rulers of this community had once been ἄρχοντες, common in the Lycian poleis of the Hellenistic period,⁷¹ not δήμαρχοι who normally directed the local administration of dependent communities in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia and may also have been in charge of Asarönü at our brothers' time.⁷² We do not know what the decree's proviso still meant to them that the exemption from public burdens could only apply to those which fell within the jurisdiction of the polis itself (l. 5). For us it confirms the dating arrived at from the style of writing and determines the *terminus ante quem* for the monument and for Asarönü's status as an autonomous polis witnessed by it: the end of the Ptolemaic provincial regime in Lycia in the spring of 197 BC or, at the latest, the collapse of the rule of Antiochos III with the Roman peace order of Apameia in 188 BC.

In the isopolitia treaty between Xanthos and Myra, dated by Jean Bousquet and Philippe Gauthier, according to their impression of the writing, to about 150-120, it is an administrative standard that the territories of both partner cities are divided into the polis centres and the peripolia, each with the associated chora, thus being completely covered.⁷³ The epangelia of donations for securing Myra's peripolion of the Sybeneis in a πόλεμος dates for Christof Schuler "roughly from the same period".⁷⁴ That at that time Asarönü, too, had already descended from the autonomous polis of the decree in honour of Toalis to a peripolion of Limyra is a sufficiently probable assumption, also that the now visible time frame of this development does not only apply to Asarönü, but equally to the other peripolia of Myra, Phellos,⁷⁵ Xanthos and wherever else in Lycia they still will appear. For Asarönü a confirmation can perhaps be seen in the Hellenistic funerary altar raised in Limyra by Kynnane, ἄστικῆ, to Protoleon, Ἀπολλών[ειος]. The subdivision of the citizenry of Limyra to which the dead had belonged is difficult to explain in the context of Limyra's religious traditions where Apollo played only the minor role we have seen in the first chapter, and an easier

⁶⁹ Needless to say the scenario is hypothetical, as, unfortunately, we do not have the archaeological evidence to support the assumption.

⁷⁰ If the name of the person honoured by our decree was Toalis, a plausibly narrow regional framework of such relations becomes visible with eastern Lycia, where the name had its focus (LGPN V.B, s.vv. Τοαλις, Τοαλλις, Τουαλλις).

⁷¹ Wörrle 1988, 119-121.

⁷² On the δήμαρχοι as heads of dependent communities in Lycia, including the peripolion of the Sybeneis in the territory of Myra, Schuler – Öztürk 2020, 72-73. They are not (yet?) attested for the peripolion of Asarönü, but are assumed in analogy.

⁷³ Bousquet – Gauthier 1994 (SEG 44, 1218) with an illustration that does not allow to control their judgement about the script. According to the treaty the citizens of Xanthos and Myra are without alternative οἰκούντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τοῖς περιπολίσις (ll. 32-38).

⁷⁴ Schuler 2023.

⁷⁵ On Tyinda and the question of affiliation to Kyaneai or Phellos Schuler 2010a, 409.

assumption may be to connect the origin of the Ἀπολλώνειοι to the entrance of Asarönü, with the peripolion status of the minor partner, into a sympolity with Limyra.⁷⁶

From, roughly, the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC, when we see the peripolia firmly instituted in Lycia, back to the Toalis decree, when Asarönü appeared as a polis, the retrospective goes over a manageable distance of time. For the Lycians it was marked above all by the painful key event of Rhodian rule over their land from 188 to 167. They resisted it in two protracted wars, but what specifically took place in Lycia at that time under the control of a Rhodian ἀγεμῶν ἐπὶ Λυκίας⁷⁷ is no longer visible behind rhetorical summaries, composed by Polybios and Livius, of envoys' speeches complaining of oppression and exploitation.⁷⁸ It is significant for the initial situation, poisoned by inconclusive Roman diplomacy, that the Lycians came to Rhodes to negotiate about συμμαχία, only to be dispatched there with the information, that the Rhodians had long since appointed their commissioners and instructed them on the duties assigned to them for the occupation of the country, διατάζοντας ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν πόλεις ὡς ἕκαστα δεῖ γενέσθαι.⁷⁹ Even in this much quoted passage, the real measures applied by the Rhodians for the institution of their rule are only hinted at. They may well have included, sooner or later, the reduction of the Lycian 'small-stateism' with a 'consolidation', in which smaller poleis arising from subordinate dynastic seats were forcibly incorporated, with partial loss of autonomy, into the centres that had always dominated their neighbourhood. However, the Rhodians did not implement their sympolitical restructuring model⁸⁰ anywhere with such consistency and such a long afterlife as in Lycia.⁸¹ What was intended to serve the security and efficiency of Rhodian rule there seems to have found so much acceptance in the Lycian poleis strengthened by it that it endured in liberated Lycia in the long term, as a community status of civil administration, even when the military functions had long since died. We cannot (yet) observe the process anywhere for such a long time as in Asarönü. How great the joy was there when polis constitution and autonomy did not return at the departure of the Rhodians, we do not know, but we now see how the memory of the distant and proud historical background of the modest actuality of περιπόλιον status was not lost: its monuments were, as our stele suggests, held in honour, and for all their pan-Limyran loyalty, the consciousness of a special local identity remained in families like that of the Hieratikoi of our opening chapter. The symbol of this identity since classical times had been the cult of Apollo, and

⁷⁶ For the altar of Protoleon cf. Wörrle 2012, 427, H II 40 (SEG 62, 1422) and the addendum, for the other citizenry subdivisions of Lycian poleis Kunnert 2012, 166-172; Wörrle 2016, 410; Korkut – Yıldız – Tekoğlu 2023, 147-148. The third subdivision we know of in Limyra are the Ὀλυμπιεῖοι (Wörrle 2024 in print) reflecting the polis centre's main cult of Zeus Olympios.

⁷⁷ SIG³ 619.

⁷⁸ Wiemer 2002, 260-271 draws a discouraging balance after an in-depth research discussion.

⁷⁹ Polyb. 22, 5.

⁸⁰ C. Schuler has recovered it from the collection of the evidence for περιπόλια in the Rhodian area of influence and linked its enforcement in Lycia to the years after 188 (Schuler 2010a). Where we have an insight into the situation in Hellenistic times, the designation of a community as a περιπόλιον seems to be regularly associated with fortification functions as part of a chora safeguarding system for the central polis.

⁸¹ For Caria, handed over to the Rhodians at the same time as Lycia, Hornblower 2022, in a long discussion with his predecessors, has just denied any interest on their part in a comparable 'downgrading' of small poleis.

it was precisely here that, involved in the service of the προγονικός θεός, our brothers stood in a row with the πρόγονοι, despite all their cosmopolitanism, which contributed to the prestige of the family, but did not mean everything for their self-understanding.

Addendum

The outer walls of the late antique – early byzantine ‘southern’ baths in the ‘Oststadt’ of Limyra consist of reused material taken from earlier buildings (Fig. 9).⁸² At floor level the walls stand on a row of massif slabs of which the one at the south-eastern corner of the building shows the remains of the inscription to be published here,⁸³ nine lines (Lh: 1-1,5 cm) of a text starting immediately under the beginning of a lost upper profile and once going on where the surface of the stone is now destroyed by deep blows with a hoe.



Fig. 9) South-eastern corner of the ‘southern’ baths (2013; Photo by M. Wörrle)

The stone is 130 cm high, its inscribed smaller side is still 30 cm wide, and the depth of what was to become its upper side in its reuse is 68 cm of which a 40 cm wide zone (with two dowel holes) at the front corner is 5 cm lower than the rest of the surface (Fig. 10). The different processing phases are unclear, and it is impossible to imagine to what sort of building or monument the ‘slab’ originally belonged.

⁸² The ruin, longtime thought to be the residence of Limyra’s bishop, emerged as a late bath building with the research of Sewing 2015.

⁸³ For a more detailed description of the architectural context cf. Sewing 2015, 234-238.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀργα[ί]-
 ου ἐστρατήγη-
 σαν θερινή[ν]
 4 ἑξάμηνον Ἑρ-
 μοκράτης Μύ-
 ρωγος ἀστικὸς
 καὶ Δημήτριος Δ.-
 8 γεννημιος Ἀπ[ολ]-
 [λ]ώνειος ΟΙΑ

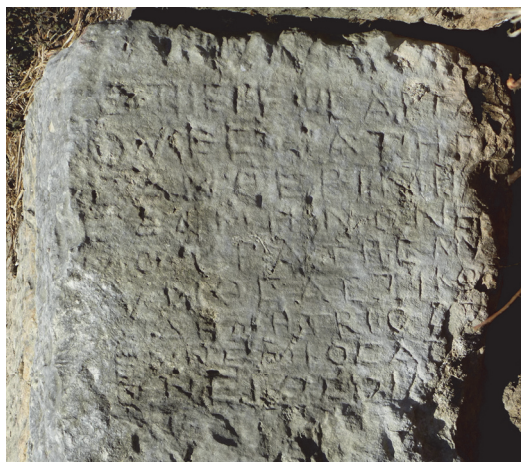


Fig. 10) *The inscription (2013; Photo by M. Wörrle)*

«In the year of the priesthood of Argaios served as strateges during the six summer months Hermokrates, son of Myron, of the Astikoi, and Demetrios, son of -nennemis, of the Apolloneioi ---»

The inscription is in a pretty bad overall condition. With its irregular and cursory script, it looks unprofessional and unrepresentative. But its square Sigma and cursive Omega are not at all necessarily indicating its origin in, more or less, the Severan time that was once envisaged by M. Wörrle,⁸⁴ a mistake that fortunately had no consequences for K. Sewing's dating of the bath building. The strategy as a public function in the Lycian poleis ended with the creation of the Roman province of Lycia in AD 43, staying only as an afterlife in the memory of local elite families celebrating the deeds of their ancestors. It favors the same chronological orientation to see an eponymous priest designating the year in Limyra⁸⁵ and to meet Hermokrates Μύρωνος again in a fragmentary list of names inscribed with a more pretentious and doubtless late Hellenistic script.⁸⁶ Correctly viewed, our inscription's letter forms and overall style of writing also fit best into, more or less, the 1st century BC.⁸⁷ To cite just one example for comparison: The declaration of asyilia for a Jewish community in Lower Egypt, convincingly dated by Kent J. Rigsby to the last years of the Ptolemaic period, shows amazing similarities to the fragment in Limyra.⁸⁸

Rarely appearing in the rare inscriptions late Hellenistic Lycia has left to us, the strategia must have been one of the highest-ranking public offices of its poleis. The evidence from Xanthos and Patara in the West is now complemented by that from Limyra in the East, and we may assume that the strategia belonged to the basic administrative equipment of all the cities in the country. That the function was divided between several persons holding it at the same time has already been indicated for Xanthos with the στρατηγῆσας κατὰ πόλιν of TAM II 383 b presupposing a

⁸⁴ In Sewing 2015, 234. For the chronology of the building Sewing 2015, 246-251.

⁸⁵ For the eponymous priests of the Lycian poleis in Hellenistic times cf. Wörrle 2021, 234.

⁸⁶ Wörrle 2016, 407.

⁸⁷ In this sense, but from another perspective Wörrle 1995, 74-75; 2000, 268. Cursive letter forms in Hellenistic inscriptions were repeatedly noted since Adolf Wilhelm, cf. e.g. Robert 1963, 481-482; Knoepfler 1972, 288-290; Bresson 1997, 492-494; Badoud 2018, 238-243.

⁸⁸ Rigsby 2003, 130-131 with the photograph p. 142. Cf. now also the second copy of the Baitokaike dossier (IGLS VII 4028) recently published by Hallof 2022.

colleague responsible for the safety of the χώρα. The new inscription in Limyra confirms the conclusion even if it does not specify competences. Two colleagues seem to have sufficed there for the whole of public safety and defense. Perhaps this, too, was standard all over Lycia – and in contrast to Karian Stratonikeia where one preferred a college of four στρατηγοί. The division of the official year into two times six months, summer and winter, established in Stratonikeia and well known for other cities in Hellenistic Karia, too, is a novelty in Lycia. In Karia it was an import from Rhodos, and in late Hellenistic Limyra it may also have been a heritage from the time of Rhodian occupation.⁸⁹

Both of our strateges give the subdivision of the citizenry of Limyra to which they belonged. For Hermokrates it was the already well known ἀστικοί for whom the terminology seems to announce some connection to the polis center. Demetrios, with a father whose partly lost epichoric name seems to be new in the Lycian onomasticon, belonged to the Ἀπολλώνειοι,⁹⁰ not easy to explain, as we have seen, in the frame of the Limyrean pantheon but in a plausible relation to the Apollo of Asarönü. According to the contract of isopoliteia between Xanthos and Myra⁹¹ citizenship was conferred through προσγράφειν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ δῆμον and the candidate was free to choose the subdivision to which he wanted to belong (καὶ χρηματίζουσιν ἐν ἧ ἄν φυλῆι ἢ δῆμῳ βούλωνται). Despite all the ambiguity that remains for us, we can formulate the hypothesis that Ἀπολλώνειος was the demotikon of ancient Asarönü, and, one step further, that Demetrios, strategos of Limyra for six late Hellenistic months, was another ‘commuter’ from the χώρα, having his center of life and residence in the peripolion of Asarönü.

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⁸⁹ For the strategia and the division of the year in Stratonikeia with its Rhodian background cf. van Bremen 2020, esp. 28 referring to Nathan Badoud.

⁹⁰ On the funerary altar of Protoleon (fn. 76, above) the name of the subdivision is lost after Ἀπολλων--. As we see now we have to restore there Ἀπολλων[εἰώ] and not Ἀπολλων[ιάδη] that M. Wörrle once proposed under the influence of the φυλὴ Ἀπολλωνιάς in Kadyanda.

⁹¹ fn. 73, above.

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Asarönü'nden (Finike, Antalya) İki Yeni Yazıt Özet

Bu makalenin ilk bölümü Asarönü'nden Severuslar Dönemi'ne ait bir aile anıtını ele almaktadır: Oğulları tarafından yerel Apollon kutsal alanına dikilen baba (yeni) ve anne heykel kaideleri (ilk olarak 1991'de yayınlanmıştır), elit ailenin Limyra'daki önemli kamusal işlevlerini göstermektedir. Bunlar arasında imparatorlar için yerel rahiplik, sitonia organizasyonu, imparatorların Roma ve Britanya'da buldukları sırada onlara elçilik görevleri ve Likya Birliği'nde Roma rahipliği bulunmaktadır. İkinci bölüm, aynı Apollon kutsal alanından parça halinde bir steli (MÖ 3. yüzyıl) tanıtmaktadır: O zamanlar hâlâ özerk bir polis olan Asarönü, Likya'nın Rodos işgali altında (M.Ö. 188-167) peripolion statüsü ve işleviyle bağımlı bir topluluk olarak Limyra polisine dahil edilmiştir. Ek bölümde (addendum) ise, strategia, resmi yılın iki heksamenoî'a bölünmesi ve Asarönü'nün Limyra'daki 'demotikon'u olarak Apolloneioi hakkında bilgi veren Limyra'dan bir Geç Hellenistik yazıt parçası sunulmaktadır. Makaledeki yazıtların çevirileri şöyledir:

1 A, s. 6-7: “--- <Demetrios>'un babası --- karısı ile birlikte rahiplik <yapan> --- <... 'n kızı> ---, Epaphroditos'un oğlu --- tahıl tedarikçisi ve <Limyra'nın> bir avukatı olarak --- memleketi uğruna imparatorlar için <şehirlerin> kraliçe<si> Roma'ya seyahat etti ve başarılı da oldu ---, <Ermene-nis'in torunu II. Ermaphilos'un kızı olan karısı --dion ile birlikte Likyalıların Tanrıça Roma rahipliğini yapan, masrafları kendisine ait olmak üzere okyanusun aktığı <yere> imparatorlara elçi olarak giden, Zeus Olympios'un agonothesia'larına (?) başkanlık eden, bir avukat olarak katkı paylarının yasalara göre ---'n önünde kamu tahıl tedarikinin başındaki kişiye ödenmesini <sağlayan> Hieratikos'un da <babası>. Yukarıda adı geçen oğullar, hürmetleri vesilesiyle baba ve annelerinin heykellerinin dikimini, atalarımızın tanrısı Apollon'un, yönetimi torunu Aurelius Hieratikos'un elinde olan tapınağının avlusunda ... yaptılar.”

1 B, s. 7: “---, en iyi aileden Limyra vatandaşı, peripolion'da önde gelen Hieratikos Trebemis'in merhum eşi, saygınlık ve eş sevgisi içinde yaşamış, kocasıyla birlikte imparatorların rahibesi olmuş ve bir kararname ile kendisi de onurlandırılmıştır. Hieratikos Trebemis'in oğulları Aurelii, Demetrios ve Hieratikos, saygıdeğer meclisimizin ve anavatanımızın halkının onayıyla sevgili annelerinin bronz heykelini diktiler.”

2, s. 18: “--- ve her bir yurttaşın <yararına>... Bu nedenle, övülecek ve kendisine vatandaşlık, gayrimenkul sahibi olma hakkı ve kentin yetki alanına giren tüm yükümlülüklerden muafiyet verilecektir; Toalis ---- de şeref yerine davet edilecek --- ve altın bir taçla taçlandırılacaktır, böylece kentin, kendisine iyi davranıldığında, buna karşılık gelen minnettarlığı ifade etmenin yollarına sahip olduğu açıkça görülecektir. Arkhonlar bu kararı bir taş stel üzerine kaydedecek ve bunu Apollon tapınağına yerleştireceklerdir.”

Addendum, s. 22: “Argaios'un rahip olduğu yıl, Myron oğlu 'Astikos' Hermokrates ve -nennemis oğlu 'Apolloneios' Demetrios strategos olarak altı yaz ayı boyunca görev yaptılar.”

Anahtar Sözcükler: Likya; Limyra; Asarönü; Apollon; Zeus Olympios; sivil elit; sitonia; Roma ve Britanya elçilikleri; vatandaşlık bölümlenmeleri.

Two New Inscriptions from Asarönü (Finike, Antalya)**Abstract**

The first part of this article deals with a Severan family monument from Asarönü: Statue bases of father (new) and mother (first published in 1991), erected by their sons in the local sanctuary of Apollo, show important public functions of the elite family in Limyra: local priesthood to the emperors, organisation of *sitionia*, embassies to the emperors in Rome and Britain, and in the Lycian Confederacy: priesthood to Roma. The second chapter presents a fragmentary stele from the same sanctuary of Apollo (3rd century BC): Asarönü, then still an autonomous polis, was incorporated into the polis of Limyra as a dependent community with the rank and function of a *peripolion* under the Rhodian occupation of Lycia (188-167 BC). The appendix presents a fragmentary Late Hellenistic inscription from Limyra, which informs about the *strategia*, the division of the official year into two *hexamenoï*, and the *Apolloneioi* as Asarönü's 'demotikon' in Limyra.

Keywords: Lycia; Limyra; Asarönü; Apollo; Zeus Olympios; civic elite; *sitionia*; embassies to Rome and Britain; subdivisions of citizenry.