

A New Attestation of the Cult of Zeus Trossou in a Public Inscription from the Upper Maeander River Valley (Çal Ovası)

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From the village of Akkent north of Çal, found at a place called Dikilitaş mevki and subsequently transferred to the storeroom of the Belediye (municipality) of Çal. White-marble block broken above and damaged on all sides. On the front side of the block is an inscription of twenty-two lines: of the first nine lines only some letters at the beginning of each are preserved, since the surface of the stone was subsequently reworked and a part of the text destroyed in the process; furthermore, a large piece of the stone's surface is broken off on the right side of the same area. Dimensions: height 0.72; width 0.48; thickness 0.16; letters 0.015-0.02 (lines 1-13), 0.013-0.015 (lines 14-22).

Date: Roman Imperial Period

	[]
	ETIM[]
	.IH[]
	..E[]
	.OΣ[]
5	..N[]
	.AN[]
	.Ω[]
	OYΣ ^{vac} []
	.HIAN ^{vac} [θεΐναι?]
	<i>vacat</i>	
10	[δ]ὲ στήλην ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ [Τρω]- σου ἱερῷ, ἀναγράψαντες [τὰ δο]- θέντα, τὴν ἐπιμέληαν ποιη[σα]- [μ]ένων τῶν πρεσβυτέρω[ν]. ^{vacat}	
	[ὁ]μοίως - Πλ() - Εὐκόπος Φιλοδο[...]	
15	[ἔδ]ωκεν καὶ εἰς τὰς βουθυσίας τοῦ Δ[ι]-	

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[ὄς] καὶ εἰς τὸ εὐλυτεῖσθαι τῶν ἱερ[έων?]
 [τὰ] ἐπικεφάλια × ρν', δι' ὃ ἐκμαρτυρεῖσ[θαι]
 [αὐ]τῷ ἔτι μείζοσιν τειμαῖς ὑπὸ τ[οῦ]
 [δή]μου, καὶ καθῶς προγέγραπτα[ι],
 20 [τ]αῦτα δὲ διευλυτηθήσεται ἐκ τῶν
 [τόκ]ων, μενεῖ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀθῶο[ν κεί]-
 [με]νον? τῷ δήμ[ω]. ^{vacat}

- - - and a stele [is to be set up] in the sanctuary of Zeus [Tro]ssou after (a list of) the donations is inscribed under the supervision of the elders; similarly, Pl() Eukopos, son of Philodo[xos(?)] [do]nated both for the sacrifices of oxen to Zeus and for the payment of the prie[sts?]' poll-tax 150 denarii, on which account let him receive a testimonial from the people in the form of even greater honours; furthermore, as stated above, these expenses will be perpetually defrayed from the interest, while the principal will remain intact to the people.



It proved challenging to decide if the damaged surface on the upper part of the stone originally contained continuous lines of letters comparable to those present on the lower half of the block, or a molded wreath – there is a clearly noticeable round, wreath-like outline in this part of the block¹ – initially encircled² by the first nine lines of the inscription. In favour of the second option are the following points: there seem to be no traces of letters on the preserved part of the inner surface of the conjectural wreath, no letters were carved after ΟΥΣ in line 8 and ΗΙΑΝ in the following one, although there was an adequate space for a couple of letters next to the putative wreath³, and line 10 starts below a space intentionally left vacant, presumably in order to inscribe it in *scriptio continua*. On the other hand, the letters ΗΙΑΝ, at the beginning of line 9 cannot be smoothly joined to the beginning of the first completely preserved line 11, but there is also a possibility that some letters from the same line originally stood on the missing right border of the stone; 1 ἐτί[μῆσαν]; 9 the second letter in this line could be a *beta*, since on the squeeze one notices a lower horizontal hasta too short for an *epsilon* or a *sigma*; 11/12 there is not enough place to supply [τὰ ἀνα|τε]θέντα, but enough for [τὰ δο]|θέντα: if that is a correct supplement, than what was to be inscribed on the stele was a list of private donations destined to the community of Atyochorion, and actually lines 14-17 contain the name of a donor and the amount of his donation; 14 from this line onwards, starting with [ό]μοίως, Ω displays a different, more slender form with ends bent upwards and keeps it till the end of the inscription; moreover, Δ and Μ assume slightly modified forms when compared to the same letters in the preceding lines, and lastly, from line 14 onwards letters are generally smaller, suggesting that perhaps the final part of the inscription was engraved at a later date; letters ΠΛ are separated from the rest by two short horizontal dashes clearly observable on the photographs and the squeeze of the inscription: this suggests an abbreviation, possibly of a Latin *nomen* (e.g., Placidius, Plautius, Plinius, Plotius); following that is a personal name, either Εὔκοπος or, less likely, Εὔροπος, both of which were so far attested only in two Latin inscriptions - Eukopos in the form Eucopio in Rome⁴, and Europos as Europus in Sicyon⁵, and a patronymic, either Φιλόδοξος⁶ or Φιλόδοτος; 16 at the end, ἱερ[ῶν] is also possible; 17 for the rare form ἐκμαρτυρεῖσθαι, cf. SEG 39, 1413, ll. 9-10 (βου[λόμενος] ἐκμαρτυρηθῆ[ναι σαφῶς] πρὸς ὑμᾶς; SEG 51, 458B, ll. 31-33: ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβείαν ἥτις ἐκμαρτυρήσει τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἡμῶν ἃς παρέσχηκεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; 18 before the initial *omega* one sees the final part of an upper horizontal hasta belonging most probably to a *tau*; 21-22 the word ἀθῶο[ν] is certain, but we were unable to find a parallel for its use in this context, to qualify τὸ ἀρχαῖον; comparable and helpful is SEG 58, 1460B, ll. 10-11 (Tlos, c. 150 B.C.): ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διατηρήσουσιν σῶιον ἀεὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον; after ἀθῶο[ν] there is place for only two

¹ H. Malay kindly suggested in his e-mail message of September 28, 2015, that the chiseled surface does not have any traces of a wreath and that the wreath-like round outline is due to the fact that this part of the stone may have been prepared to provide a rough surface on which to place a column.

² And possibly also carrying some letters on its surface.

³ Hypothetically, the stonecutter was reluctant to start a new word and separate it in two parts by the relief.

⁴ CIL VI 17313 (ILS 8487): D(is) M(anibus) | Eucopionis qui | vixit m(ensibus) VI, d(iebus) III, in|fanti dulcissimo | suavissimoque, qui | cum nondum fa|ri potuisset, iucun|dissimo. L(ucius) Curio Terminalis | item Verna | et Sosipatra | parentes | fec(erunt).

⁵ ILGR p. 42 no. 82: V(ivus) M(arcus) Calpetanus Co|rinthus sibi et Fulviae | Eutychildi uxori et Cal|petanis Ianuario et Ma|gna(e) liberis et M(arco) Pacu(v)io Europo et libertis.

⁶ Φιλόδοξος might have been used as an honorary epithet, as well, although in that case one expect the article ὁ to precede it.

or three letters, and the same number can fit before NON in the following line, so that we propose to read [κεί|με]νον, realizing that [σω|ζόμε]νον or [τη|ρούμε]νον would also be possible, although somewhat too long for the available space.

The new public inscription comes from the modern village of Akkent situated in the great bend of the Maeander River, on the left bank of the river itself and about 9 km northwest of Çal as the crow flies. The village was previously known under the name of Zeive. M. Ricl and E. Akinci Öztürk recently published another inscription from Akkent⁷, bringing the total number of inscriptions from the village to three. The other two are 1. MAMA IV 302 (ἔτους τιε', μ[η(νός)] ἡ γυνή μου M[– –] + on the left side of the stele, opposite line 1: [– – –] και); 2. Ramsay 1883, 383–384 no. 6 (MAMA IV 302 bis: Ἀπολλωνίω Μηνοφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους εἰερεῖ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἡ θυγάτηρ Εἰφιανάσση καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Παυλεῖνος καὶ Δημήτριος οἱ ἔγγονοι τὸ ἡρώον κατεσκεύασαν)⁸. The ethnic Atyochoreites⁹ used for the same Apollonios, son of Menophilos, in the inscription from Bahadınlar adduced in note 8 suggests that Apollonios' birthplace originally had the status of a village community on the territory of a city (Dionysopolis?). In a recently published inscription of unknown provenance¹⁰ kept in the Museum of Denizli and dated in 169 A.D.¹¹, Atyochorion reappears with a *demos*, *boule* and *gerousia* (A, ll. 2–3: ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ γερουσία Ἀτυοχορειτῶν), the presence of these three constitutional elements together suggesting that at some point in time the village was elevated to the status of a city¹². The third inscription from Akkent, published previously by Ricl and Akinci Öztürk and preserving a part of a decree honouring a community's own deserving member (cf. πατρίς in line 3 and [διὸ] δεδόχθαι in ll. 10–11) points in the same direction. Regardless of

⁷ Ricl – Akinci Öztürk 2014: [..... κα]ῖ ἐν πᾶσιν [c. 14 letters lost] | [.....]ION καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀ[δ]ιαλείπ[τοις] | εἰς τὴν] πατρίδα εὐεργεσίαις κατεσ[κευα]κότα ἄλλω ἐν τόπῳ ἰδίῳ παρ' ἑαυτ[οῦ] ναὸν | τοῦ Ἀσκ[λη]πιοῦ καὶ καθειδρυκότα ἀγ[άλ]ματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εὐσε[β]είας, | δεδωκ[ό]τα καὶ ἀνέλους καὶ ἐργαστή[ρια] καὶ | δούλ]ους καὶ διατετακχότα εἰς τὸ ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ | πρ[ο]σόδου αὐτῶν θρησκευέσθαι το[ῦ]ς θε[ο]ῦς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦσθαι τὰ ἔργα· [διὸ] | δεδόχθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ἀσκ[λη]πιοῦ καὶ τῶν συνκαθειδρυμένων [θεῶν] | εἶναι - - -].

⁸ Apollonios, son of Menophilos and his daughter Iphianassa, along with a son named Laomedon who most probably predeceased his father, appear in another inscription found at Bahadınlar northwest of Akkent (Ramsay 1883, 382–383 no. 5 = Ramsay 1895, 146 no. 34 = Ritti – Şimşek – Yıldız 2000, 8 no. D5): Μητρί Λητοῖ καὶ Ἥλιῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λυερμηνῶ Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρείτης ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος | καὶ Εἰφιανάσσης τῶν τέκνων τὴν στοὰν ἐκ | τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησε). Since in this inscription Apollonios dedicates a stoa to Meter Leto and Helios Apollo Lyermenos on behalf of his children, the stone was presumably brought to Bahadınlar from the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos and his Mother situated at the place called Asartepe (on this sanctuary, see most recently Akinci Öztürk – Tanrıver 2008, with earlier bibliography).

⁹ Two more natives of Atyochorion can be found in Akinci Öztürk – Tanrıver 2008, 96 no. 5 (SEG LVIII 1526, 223/4 A.D.) and 96–97 no. 6 (SEG LVIII 1523, 215/6 A.D.). On Atyochorion itself, see Robert 1962, 129–130; Zgusta 1984, 107 § 113–12, s.v. Ἀτυοχωρίον; Belke – Mersich 1990, 196.

¹⁰ By now, we think it is almost certain that this stone originates from Akkent, as well.

¹¹ Ritti 2002, 66–69 (SEG 52, 1333).

¹² The comment of the first editor on p. 68 is unspecific: 'L'abitato di Atyochorion appare qui come un agglomerato in possesso di una propria organizzazione di governo locale, funzionante attraverso un'assemblea e un consiglio, ed anche di una associazione degli anziani.' Later on (p. 69), she labels it 'villaggio'. In any event, the name of the community having as its constituent part the word χωρίον should not be used as evidence against its possible polis-status (cf. TAM II 168, 2nd/1st c. B.C., from Hippoukome in Lycia, a full-fledged polis).

the stance we choose to adopt regarding the question of its status, we should probably locate ancient Atyochorion at or near modern Akkent¹³.

The new inscription from Akkent/Atyochorion is the third official inscription from this place out of five inscriptions originating from the same site, and simultaneously the third honorific one. The first honorific inscription is engraved on a statue-base for one Dionysios erected by the people, council and gerousia of Atyochorion (cf. note 11), while the second honours an anonymous benefactor who had built “[a temple/altar] of Asklepios and dedicated s[tatues] of the gods and of his own piety; he had likewise given vineyards and workshops and [slave]s and assigned them (to the sanctuary) so that the profits thereof be used for the performance of ritual observances for the gods and the maintenance of the (sacred) installations; [on account of this], it was resolved that the priesthood of Asklepios and the [gods] consecrated together with him - - -” (cf. note 7).

The new inscription preserves a part of a decree of the community of Atyochorion stipulating that a stele with a list of some donations/dedications will be erected in the sanctuary of Zeus Trossou and that the *presbyteroi* will supervise this operation. The cult of Zeus Tros(s)ou is a well-known cult of Roman Phrygia previously attested in three or four inscriptions originating from the same region of the upper Maeander River valley as the new inscription. They are the following ones: 1. J. Keil, ‘Zeus Trossou’, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, philos.-hist. Kl. 87, 1950, pp. 83-85 (*Bull. épigr.* 1951, 211, ‘Mons Dindymus’); 2. MAMA IV 268 (Bahadımlar); 3. probably also MAMA IV 266 (Kuyucak north of Akkent), where the editors read Δὴ Τυλίσσου; 4. Drew-Bear 1976, 261-262 no. 16 (SEG 26, 1372, Üçkuyu in the same region but north of the Maeander River). A fifth attestation is found in a confession-inscription reportedly originating from Akçaavlu near Soma in southeastern Mysia and republished by Petzl 1994, 1-3 no. 1. The new inscription from Akkent/Atyochorion features the god’s sanctuary, the sacrifices of oxen that took place there and the sanctuary’s personnel, either the priests or the *hieroi*.

The *presbyteroi* entrusted with the supervision of the production and erection of the stele, were members of the *gerousia* of Atyochorion: as stated above, this organ is already attested for Atyochorion in an inscription from the Museum of Denizli¹⁴.

The concluding part of the inscription (lines 14-22) provides information on a donation of 150 denarii made by one Pl. Eukopos Philodo[...] to the *demos* of Atyochorion for the sacrifices of oxen to Zeus (Trossou) and for the payment of the priests’ poll tax¹⁵. Because of this benefaction, he was

¹³ This view is shared by Ritti – Şimşek – Yıldız 2000, 8 note 19 and again by Ritti 2002, 68.

¹⁴ On the institution of gerousia in the Imperial period, cf. Dmitriev 2005, *passim*; Zimmermann 2007; Giannakopoulos 2008; Bauer 2014 (*non vidimus*). Less likely, although still not impossible, would be to view the *presbyteroi* of Atyochorion as a group of elders involved in the management of the cult of Zeus Trossou, comparable, e.g., to the sacred gerousia of Asklepios Soter in Boeotian Hyettos (IG VII 2808; Roesch 1982, 153 no. 21) or the ‘second gerousia of Pluto’ in Isaurian Astra (Royer – Bahar 2011, 155-156 no. 4).

¹⁵ For other epigraphical attestations of the Roman poll-tax, see IBeroia 117 (end of 1st c. A.D.); IG XII 5, 724 (Andros, Hadrian); IG XII 5, 946 (Tenos, 1st/2nd c. A.D.); SEG 14, 479 (IGBulg IV 2263, Parthicopolis, 158 A.D.); Robert – Robert 1954, no. 67 (Herakleia Salbake, Imperial period); ILampsakos 10 (Imperial period); IAssos 28 (2nd c. A.D.); SEG 57, 1673 (Patara, Vespasian). On the tax itself, see Jones 1974, 151-185; Neesen 1980, 117-135 (esp. p. 128 on the amount payable in Egypt – from 10 to 40 *drachmae*, with one Alexandrian bronze *drachma* equivalent to one *sestertius*, as presented by Geissen 2012, 563); Brunt 1981; Corbier 1991, 629-665, esp. 653-654; Potter 2004, 53-57.

honoured by the people ἔτι μείζοσιν τιμαῖς¹⁶. The amount he donated may not seem particularly impressive to us, yet it still probably equaled five years of bare subsistence for an average Roman¹⁷. As already stipulated in the lost part of the inscription, the public expenses selected by the donor were to be covered from the generated interest on the donated sum, while the capital itself (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) was to remain intact to the people of Atyochorion.

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¹⁶ For this phrase and its use to indicate additional honours bestowed on an individual, cf. IG II³ 1218; SEG 60, 585, ll. 4-5: ἄξιον κρίνων αὐτοῦ[υ] εἶναι καὶ ἥς ἐτετεύχει τιμῆς καὶ ἔτι μείζονος; SEG 47, 1608, ll. 13-14: [καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἄξιός ἐστιν] μείζονος τιμῆς. This phrasing suggests that Pl. Eukopos had been previously honoured by Atyochorion on an unknown occasion, perhaps in connection with another donation of his.

¹⁷ Zuiderhoek 2009, 4.

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**Yukarı Menderes Vadisi'nde (Çal Ovası) Bulunan,
Zeus Trossou Kültüne İlişkin Yeni bir Kamu Yazıtı
Özet**

Makalede, Çal'ın kuzeyindeki Akkent kasabasında (Atyokhorion) bulunmuş olan ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenen yeni bir resmî yazıt incelenmektedir. Üst bölümü oldukça yıpranmış durumdaki bu Yunanca yazıtın okunabilen kısmında, Pl. Eukopos adındaki yerel bir hayırseverin yaptığı bağışlar kaydedilmektedir. Buna göre Eukopos, Zeus Trossou'ya boğa kurban edilmesi (*bouthysia*) ve rahiplerin kelle (bireysel) vergilerinin ödenmesi için 150 *denarius* bağış yapmıştı. Ancak bu masraflar sürekli olarak Eukopos'un bağışladığı paranın faizinden karşılanacak ve anapara Halk'a ait olacaktı. Yazıtın aşınmış olan üst bölümünde, Yaşlılar Meclisi'nin (*gerousia*) kontrolü altında sunulmuş olan adakların/bağışların bir listesi yer almaktaydı. Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

“... ve Yaşlılar Meclisi'nin denetimi altında bağışların bir listesi yapıldıktan sonra, bu listenin yazıldığı bir stelin Zeus Trossou Tapınağı'na dikilmesine (karar verildi). Aynı şekilde, Philodoksos oğlu Pl. Eukopos, hem Zeus'a boğa kurban edilmesi (*bouthysia*) ve hem de rahiplerin kelle (bireysel) vergilerinin ödenmesi için 150 *denarius* bağışlamıştır. Bu nedenle, halkın takdirini ifade etmek üzere kendisine çok daha büyük onurların verilmesine (karar verildi). Ayrıca, yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi, tüm masraflar bu paranın faizinden karşılanacak ve anapara Halk'a ait olacaktır”.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Atyokhorion; hayırsever; bağış; Zeus Trossou; onurlandırma; *gerousia*; *bouthysia*; kelle vergisi; rahip; anapara; faiz.

**A New Attestation of the Cult of Zeus Trossou in a Public Inscription from the
Upper Maeander River Valley (Çal Ovası)**

Abstract

This article contains the publication of a new public inscription from the village of Akkent north of Çal (ancient Atyochoion). The inscription dates from the Roman Imperial period and its upper half is heavily damaged. The remaining part of the inscription contains information about a local benefactor Pl. Eukopos, son of Philodoxos (?), who donated 150 *denarii* for the sacrifices of oxen to Zeus Trossou and for the payment of the priests' poll tax, under the condition that the expenses are perpetually defrayed from the interest, while the principal remains intact to the people. The lost part of the inscription contained a list of similar dedications/donations, erected under the supervision of the members of local *gerousia*.

Keywords: Atyochoion; benefactor; donation; Zeus Trossou; honorary inscription; *gerousia*; *bouthysia*; poll tax; priests; capital; interest.