A dedication to Herakles, Hosios and Dikaios and Chrysea Parthenos from the Kibyratis

Abstract: The article contains the publication of an inscription found by the Roberts in 1948 and rediscovered in 1997 and again in 2008 in the village of Bayramlar near ancient Kibyra. It is a dedication of a temple to Herakles, the Anatolian deity “Holy and Just” as the son of Herakles, and a “Golden Virgin”. The inscription was set up by three priests in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. Herakles is interpreted as an Anatolian “Rider-God”, common in the region, but the identity of the “Golden Virgin” remains obscure.

Keywords: Herakles; Hosios kai Dikaios; Rider-God; Kakasbos; Kibyra; mammothreptos; neokoros.

In 1948, Jeanne and Louis Robert undertook an epigraphical and topographical journey in Pisidia and Caria, about which the latter reported in Robert 1948, 402–403 (= Robert, OMS III 1455–1456). Among the many inscriptions they discovered, L. Robert mentions that “une très curieuse dédicace à Héraklès donne des détails sur le culte du Saint et Juste”; it was seen “près de Tefenni”. He refers to the same inscription again in Hellenica VII 58 and adds that it was seen in Bayramlar (near Tefenni). More information is given in Hellenica X 106–107, where L. Robert writes: “Une inscription inédite, trouvée par nous sur les confins de la Phrygie et de la Pisidie et qui servira de base à notre étude complète du culte original d’Hosion Dikaion, nomme, avec cette divinité, une Χρυσέα Παρθένος, la parrèdre féminine. Comme, d’autre part, cette dédicace nomme en premier lieu Héraclès et nous fait savoir qu’Hosion Dikaion est l’enfant nouveau-né d’Héraclès», on aperçoit quels liens intimes unissent Héraclès à Hosion Dikaion ...”. Finally, in Robert 1958, 121 (= Robert, OMS I 420), he alludes again to Hosios and Dikaios as “l’enfant nouveau-né d’Héraclès”.

During his research in the Kibyratis one of us (TC) rediscovered the stone in the village of Bayramlar (approx. 30 km northeast of Kibyra) in 1997 when it was built into the wall of a house next to several fragments of a sarcophagus. For reasons of insufficient time and failing sunlight, a transcription and a photograph were made, which, however, turned out to be inadequate. The plan to go back to Bayramlar on one of the following surveys was realised only in 2004, but by then the stone had disappeared, “stolen from the wall of the house”, as the villagers claimed. Since this seemed hard to believe, visits were repeated every year, unsuccessfully – until 2008, when the village was visited twice in three weeks. By chance, on the second visit a villager provided the welcome information that the stone was now in his garden, offering thus an opportunity to take a good photograph and a squeeze of the inscription. In the meantime, and thanks to the kindness of Glen Bowersock, access had been granted to Louis Robert’s notebooks, photographs and squeezes in the “Fonds Louis Robert” at the “Académie des In-

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1 On the basis of these allusions, the inscription was taken into account by INikaia II 2 pp. 267a/269a comm. on no. 1501, and Rilić 1991, 43 no. 94.
scriptions et Belles Lettres” at Paris. Robert’s photographs and the copy he made from the stone were made available for study. When the Roberts saw the inscription, it was in the cemetery among pottery sherds and “nombreux blocs”. It turned out that they had seen an additional line containing a date and missing in the transcription made in 1997. This line is (in good light) still visible on the stone, albeit slightly more damaged than it must have been in 1948.

The inscription is engraved on a block of white marble or limestone. Its edges, albeit slightly damaged, seem to be preserved except at the top where the stone looks as if it had been accurately cut (photo 2).

Dim.: height 0.47 m; width 0.45 m; thickness 0.30 m; letter height 0.022–0.028 m.

Cf. Robert 1948, 403 (= Robert, OMS III 1456); id. 1949, 58; id. 1955, 106–107; id. 1958, 121 (= Robert, OMS I 420); INikaia II 2 pp. 267a/269a comm. on no. 1501; Ricl 1991, 43 no. 94; Ricl 2008, 574 no. 42.

Date: 2nd/3rd century A.D., perhaps about 200 A.D. (see commentary).

vacat έτους ... vacat
Θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλέως τέ-
κνῷ Ὀσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ ν[ε]-
ογενήτω καὶ Ἰρυσεί-
ῷ Παρθένῳ Ἀρήλιο[[?]]
Κράτερος Ῥεττύλου
καὶ Μίνης β’ Μαμμοθρέ-
πτου καὶ Ἐρμαίος νεο-
[κ]όρος, ἑρεῖς, ἤγειραν
[ἐ]ξ[άθρων τῶν ναῶν

ék τῶν ἰδίων ύπαρ-
χόντων εὐτυχῶς
tois ἐπηκόοις θεοῖς.

1 The numbers in the date cannot be read since only faint traces of their lower parts were preserved when the Roberts saw the stone, and almost nothing was visible when it was rediscovered in 1997; cf. below in the commentary. 2 The mason had first cut ΘΕΟΣ and then added the missing iota above the line between omikron and sigma. 5 The last letter (iota) is preserved in part only. 8 Of the last letter (epsilon) only the upright hasta is preserved.

2 Thanks are also due to Béatrice Meyer, who made the stays at the Fonds, undertaken by TC in connection with the work on some Mysian inscriptions for volume V.A of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, most agreeable and highly successful. The transcription is in “carnet 47” of 1948 (II).
A dedication to Herakles, Hosios and Dikaios and Chrysea Parthenos from the Kibyratis

To the gods listening to prayer – to Herakles and Herakles’ child, newly-begotten Holy and Just, and to Golden Virgin – Aurelii Krateros, son of Rhettios, and Menis, son of Menis Mammothreptos, and Hermios neokoros, priests, erected from the foundations the temple from their own resources, with good luck, to the gods who listen to prayer.

Line 1: The date of the dedication stood in the centre of the first line and is, unfortunately, in a poor state of preservation. The Roberts read βιρ′ (see the illustration from their notebook, photo 2), but what remains today are just two vertical strokes. Were the Roberts’ reading correct, the inscription would be dated to the year 112 - but of which era? The most probable era is that normally used in Kibyra, starting in 24/25 A.D.3 and would thus yield a date of 135/36 A.D. for the present text. This is, however, almost impossible, given the mention of Aurelii in lines 6–9 (even if only the first man was an Aurelius). On the assumption that the inscription dates after the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 A.D., the starting year of the era used here should be at least around 100 A.D., but nothing of the sort has appeared so far. In an inscription found in Karamanlı, only a few kilometres from the findspot of the present text, a double date is given: 110 and 51, where 110 is based on the Kibyratan era (thus, 133/34 A.D.), 51 however on an unknown era starting in 83/84 A.D., which comes close, but not close enough, unless we concede that the Aurelii in our text did not receive their name in the reign of Caracalla, but sometime in the 2nd century A.D., which is quite possible and supported by many Aurelii securely dated to the time before 212 A.D.5

However, given that the reading of the date is anything but certain, we refrain from all attempts at assigning too precise a date to our text; judging from the letter forms, it is clearly of Roman Imperial date, most probably from some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.6

Lines 2–3: It can be safely assumed that it is not the Greek Herakles who is meant here, but the indigenous deity who is often shown riding a horse and brandishing a club. When the Greeks arrived in the region, the club became the basis for his identification with the Greek hero armed with the same weapon, in addition to potential similarities of legendary stories attached to their names and of their standing within the local pantheon, of which we, unfortunately, know nothing. This – finally “mixed” – god is represented in numerous reliefs on free-standing stelae and on rocks in the Kibyratis and in Pisidia, and according to inscriptions which often accompany the reliefs, his indigenous name was Κακασβος7.

Close to the findspot of this inscription, near the village of Yuvalak south of Tefenni, lies a small rock (called “Kocataş”) with 80 reliefs depicting a rider-god with club in different architectural frames apparently mirroring the front of a temple. On the outskirts of Tefenni itself, there is another rock with originally 56 reliefs carved on it, only 19 of which are preserved today8. Whereas there are no inscriptions discernible today on the rock at Tefenni, the rock-cut reliefs near Yuvalak show clear traces of texts, some of which were still legible in the late 19th century when they were first reported9. On one of them the rider-god is called Herakles: consequently, L. Robert proposed to identify the rider-god represented in the rock reliefs of Tefenni and Yuvalak (Kocatas) as Kakasbos10. An additional argument

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4 SEG XLVII 1809; now Horsley, Burdur pp. 79–80 (with the previous literature).
5 See, e.g., IPrusias 10 (with comm.); IKios 16 B 75–77; IPrusa 5; Horsley, Burdur p. 4; SEG LVII 1415 (see app.cr.).
6 This would fit a date reckoned on the basis of the unknown era starting in 83/84 A.D., i.e. 194/95 A.D.
7 Robert 1946; Robert, Carie 220 and note 2; Delemen, Rider-Gods 5–38.
8 Delemen, Rider-Gods 21–23 (Yuvalak); Labarre et al. 2006 (Tefenni; brief mention of Yuvalak); Zimmer 2012 (Yuvalak and Tefenni).
9 Labarre et al. 2006, 103.
in favour of this identification could be a dedication to Kakasbos found an hour south of Kocataş. The tendency to syncretise Herakles with other non-Greek deities is one of the most salient features of the worship of the Greek hero’s cult.

Lines 3–6: Contrary to what L. Robert said at the time he was composing his short monograph on Kakasbos, namely, “… il n’est jamais associé … à des déesses, nymphes ou autres”, we now find Herakles-Kakasbos not only associated with Golden Virgin, but also identified as a father of a newly-begotten child, Holy and Just.

Lines 3–5: Ηρακλέως τέκνῳ Ὀσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ νεογεννήτῳ: the genitive form Ηρακλέως is rare both in literary and in documentary texts; see Hist. Alex. Magni passim; Georg. Monach., Chron. p. 41; IG II 2610, 4986; SEG XXVIII 103; XXXIX 148; Tolstoi, Graffiti 111.

In most dedications to Ὀσίῳ καὶ Δίκαιῳ it is not made clear whether the dedicant worshipped two deities or one deity with two names. In the present inscription, however, the singulars τέκνῳ and νεογεννήτῳ leave no room for doubt that both names belong to one and the same divine entity.

How it came about that the Holy and Just God became the “newly-begotten child” of Herakles-Kakasbos is a complex question. There are at present two other published monuments linking Hosios and Dikaios with Herakles, both originating from Phrygia. On the first monument, Hosios and Dikaios, represented as twin brothers, and a nude Herakles in the standard Greek form with club, feature in the relief decoration of a dedication addressed to Ἡλίῳ Δίκησι. The importance of the divine twins is underlined by their position in the centre of the upper relief-field, directly underneath Zeus in the pediment niche, while Herakles is squeezed into the lower field next to Hermes and two yoked bovines. The connection between Herakles and the twins is unmistakable, but it does not seem particularly close or momentous. On the second monument, a bust of a Greek Herakles of good quality, bearded and covered by lion-skin cape and hood tied on his chest, stands on the right side of an altar dedicated to Hosios, whose remaining sides carry the busts of Hosios and Helios and a bundle of wheat-stalks. In this case, the relationship between Hosios and Herakles seems more meaningful and possibly close to or even identical to the one articulated in the new text from Kibyra.

The adduced pictorial evidence, albeit inconclusive and unsupported by written confirmation to the same effect, seems to suggest that Phrygian worshippers recognized the bond uniting Herakles and Hosios and Dikaios. If we ask ourselves why this theological postulate finds its first unequivocal textual expression in an inscription from the Kibyratis, we could perhaps look for the explanation in the detail that three priests authored it as a plaque commemorating their construction of an entirely new temple. A completely different issue is how it came about that Hosios and Dikaios began to be viewed as Herakles’ child. Speculation on this issue is unprofitable until new evidence surfaces, but the least we

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12 Gruppe 1918, 1103–1108; Schachter 2000.
13 Robert 1946, 57.
14 Cf. Zwicker 1912, 520.
17 When the second monument was unknown, the following hypothesis on the cult of Hosios Dikaios and Herakles in Kibyra proposed in the original study on Hosios and Dikaios was not unjustified: “Sur cette inscription inédite des environs de Tefenni, au sujet de laquelle L. Robert dit qu’il s’agit d’une “très curieuse dédicace”, Hosion Dikaion est “proclamé” enfant nouveau-né d’Héraclès. Une telle qualification est en effet très curieuse, car Héraclès apparaît uniquement parmi les figures en relief ornant la stèle no 24. Pour cette raison, je considère qu’il s’agit ici d’un reflet de la place exceptionnelle qu’occupait “Héraclès” au sein des cultes pratiqués dans la région de Tefenni, où les reliefs gravés dans les rochers le représentent sous les traits d’un cavalier. D’ailleurs, “l’adoption” d’Hosion Dikaion par Héraclès pourrait en fait refléter l’adoption de son culte dans la région de Tefenni” (Ricl 1992a, 92 note 92).
can say is that there are indications in the legends connected with Herakles that he spared no efforts to curb and chastise injustice.18

For the adjective νεογέννητος, correctly formed from γεννητός but nearly unattested in classical authors and inscriptions, cf. Cyranides II 20, 2: κύων ἐστὶ ὁ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κυνάριον λέγεται, μικρός, νεογέννητος; Phot. Lex. s.v. νεογιλόν· νεογέννητον; Suid. s.v. νεογιλόν· νεογέννητον. παρά τὸ νέον γινέσθαι, νεογίνων, καὶ ὡς πνεύμων, πλεύμων Ἀττικός, καὶ δόρον, λίτρον, στείρον, νεογιλέ; Sch. in Lucianum 110, 18: νεογιλός· νεογέννητος, νεογενής. In this inscription, the adjective has the appearance of a cult epithet.

Lines 5–6: Χρύσεος is a standard epithet of diverse gods and goddesses: Aphrodite19, Artemis20, Elpis21, Kore-Persephone22, Leto23, a Muse24, Nike25, Zeus26, an unknown goddess (?) 27. The Mother of Gods has golden wings according to Euripides, and golden locks (χρυσοπλόκαμος) in an inscription found in Karamanlı28. As to the identity of this particular “Golden Virgin”, one should not automatically identify her as Greek Artemis29. She could be a local deity, as many other divine παρθένοι elsewhere in the Greek world are,30 a different member of the Greek pantheon31 or a foreign deity integrated into the local pantheon.32 Likewise, we remain in the dark as to her position in the triad attested in this inscription. In the opinion of L. Robert, she was “la parèdre feminine” of Hosios Dikaios.33

Lines 6–9: We supply Αὐρήλιοι in line 6 and consider it very likely that the nomen belongs to all three priests, not just to the first one mentioned, which indicates that all three were Roman citizens34. Line 7: The male name Ῥέττυλος seems otherwise unattested.

Lines 8–9: Μαμμοθρέπτου is a riddle. It clearly belongs to the person called Μῆνις, but it is not obvious whether it is an attribute or a part of his name. As a noun, μαμμόθρεπτος is explained as “blockheaded” or “spoil’t child” in the scholia on Aristophanes’ Frogs 990 and Acharnians 49; cf. also Hesychius,
Suidas, and Eusthatius. The meaning is thus anything but flattering, and it is understandable that Μαμμόθρεπτος is so far not attested as a personal name. However, its use as a signum cannot be excluded, given the fact that nicknames with a belittling meaning were used by the Greeks, apparently without causing them any problems; see, e.g., a Κυνολάπων in Priene, or a Κυνόκωλος ("dog-bottomed") in Lydian Philadelphiea.

Lines 9–10: The last named of the men, Hermaios, is called νεωκόρος, “temple-warden, curator, caretaker.” The duties of a neokoros were manifold, consisting mostly of tasks in the administration and daily functioning of a sanctuary. Neokoroi were not usually considered as members of the priesthood, but in the new inscription all three dedicants are styled ἱερεῖς. A similar situation is found in at least two more inscriptions from Epidauros and from Amblada in Lykaonia. It would seem that the word “priest” is in all these cases used in a less official manner to designate all the persons effectively running the sanctuaries, i.e., occupants of higher posts within the temple hierarchy.

Lines 10–11: The three priests erected a temple “from the foundations”, i.e., it was not a repair or an enlargement of an existing cult building. The erection of temples for pagan cults is characteristic of this region even in a time when Christianity was gaining ground in Asia Minor. Cf., e.g., the temple built, perhaps at around 200 A.D., by a cult association, a φράτρα, near modern Yeşilova, ca. 30 km to the north.

Lines 12–13: The priests had the temple constructed “from their own resources”. Τὰ ὑπάρχοντα is “leurs biens”, as L. Robert pointed out, referring to A. Wilhelm, who explained the term ὑπάρξις as follows: “ὑπάρξις ist in dem Sinne von Habe im hellenistischen Griechisch gewöhnlich.” The financing is thus different from, e.g., the erection of a temple by the cult association just mentioned, where all – or at least the men named in the list – bore the costs. This is a clear sign for the prosperity of this fertile region in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., of which there is abundant evidence in numerous inscriptions.

Line 14: The inscription ends with the repetitive τοῖς ἐπηκόοις θεοῖς, expressed already in line 2. This repetition creates the impression that the characteristics of the gods as those “who listen” was of utmost importance to the three priests (or all devotees).

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35 Hesychius s.v. τηθαλαδοῦς; Suidas s.v. τηθελᾶς; Eusthatius, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem III p. 590–591.
36 IPriene 313 (517).
37 Malay 1994, 41–42 no. 48 line 20 (= TAM V 3, 1488).
38 Cf., e.g., Debord 1982, 77 and 259–260; Ricl 2003, 85–87; ead. 2011.
39 However, Ephesian Megabyzos, called by Xenophon “nekoros of Ephesian Artemis” (Anab. 5,3,6–7), is given by Menander (Dis exapaton 84) the title of zakoros, and by Strabo (14,641) and Appian (BC 5,1,9) that of priest. Early Christian and later Byzantine sources occasionally equate (confuse?) nekoroi with priests (Gregory of Nyssa, De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi pp. 916–917 [G. Heil et al. (edd.), Gregorii Nysseni opera, vol. x, pt ii, bk 1: Sermones, Leiden 1990]: in the morning, the nekoros performs the usual service to the gods, including sacrifices and cathartic rituals; Suid., s.v. ἱερόν τη νεωκορήσας· ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐφημότερον ἱερατεύσας.
40 IG IV 1, 393 (183 A.D.): ἱερεύς, νακόρος, πυροφόρος, ζάκορος, ναυφύλακες appear as joint dedicants referred to as ἱερωσάμενοι ξ΄ ἔτει.
41 Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition 1888, 185 no. 303: [ὁ δείκτα - -]νος ἱεροσάμενος νακόρος[ζ θεὸς] (unless we understand this as cursus embracing a former priesthood and a current neokoria of Asklepios).
42 Corsten 2011, 135–140 with further parallels.
43 Wilhelm 1914, 55 (= Wilhelm, Abhandlungen I 521); Robert 1983, 535 (= Robert, Documents 379; inscription from the antiques trade in Beirut with reference to parallels in Robert, OMS II 1356–1360; cf. also ISelge 2 (with reference to L. Robert on p. 71/72 with note 13); Ricl 1991, 35 no. 77.
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Dualara kulak veren Herakles, Herakles’in yeni doğmuş çocuğu “Kutsal ve Adil” ve “Altın Bakire” için, Rahipler Rhetylos oğlu Aurelius Krateros ve Mammothreptos’un torunu, Menis’in ise oğlu Aurelius Menis ve neokoros (tapınak bekçisi) Aurelius Hermaios duaları işitten tanrılar için kendi keselerinden bahtiyarlık içinde tapınağı temelinden itibaren inşa ettiler.

Yazıt, 2. ve 3. yüzyıllarda üç rahip tarafından dikilmiştir. Herakles, bölgede genel olarak “Süvari Tanrı” olarak yorumlanmaktadır, fakat “Altın Bakire”nin kimliği belirsizdir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Herakles; Hosios kai Dikaios; Atlı Tanrı; Kakasbos; Kibyra; mammothreptos; neo- koros.