

Thomas CORSTEN* – Marijana RICL**

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 Héraplès 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 pârèdre 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”¹.

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-

* Prof. Dr. Thomas Corsten, Universität Wien, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien (thomas.corsten@univie.ac.at).

** Prof. Dr. Marijana Ricl, University of Belgrad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, Čika Ljubina 18–20, SRB – 11000 Belgrade (mricl@f.bg.ac.rs).

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 Ricl 1991, 43 no. 94.

scriptions et Belles Lettres” at Paris². 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.

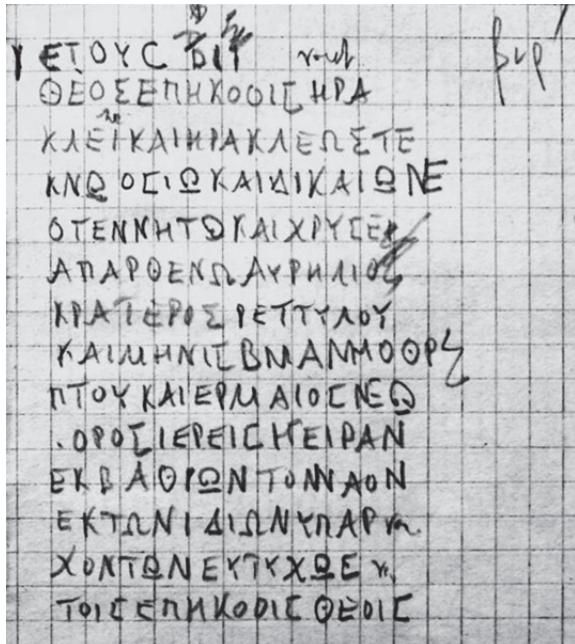
The inscription is engraved on a block of white marble or limestone. Its edges, albeit slightly damaged, seem to be preserved except at the top where the stone looks as if it had been accurately cut (photo 2).

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 ἔτονς ... vacat
	Θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Ἡρα-
	κλεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλέως τέ-
4	κνῷ Ὁσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ ν[ε]-
	ογεννήτῳ καὶ Χρυσεί-
	ᾳ Παρθένῳ Αύρήλιο[?]
	Κράτερος Ῥεττύλου
8	καὶ Μῆνις β' Μαμμοθρέ-
	πτου καὶ Ἐρμαῖος νεω-
	[κ]όρος, ιερεῖς, ἥγειραν
	[ε]κ βάθρων τὸν ναὸν
12	ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ὑπαρ-
	χόντων εὐτυχῶς
	τοῖς 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).

To the gods listening to prayer – to Herakles and Herakles' child, newly-begotten Holy and Just, and to Golden Virgin – Aurelii Krateros, son of Rhettylos, and Menis, son of Menis Mammothreptos, and Hermaios 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 βιη' (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 given⁴: 110 and 51, where 110 is based on the Kibyrratan 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 Kibyrratis 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 “Kocatas”) 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

³ Leschhorn, Ären 352–359, esp. 353–354.

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.

¹⁰ Robert 1946, 68–71.

in favour of this identification could be a dedication to Kakasbos found an hour south of Kocataş¹¹. 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 cult¹².

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”,¹³ 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: Ἡρακλέως τέκνῳ Οσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ ν[ε]γεννήτῳ: the genitive form Ἡρακλέως is rare both in literary and in documentary texts; see Hist. Alex. Magni passim; Georg. Monach., Chron. p. 41; IG II² 2610, 4986; SEG XXVIII 103; XXXIX 148; Tolstoi, Graffiti 111¹⁴.

In most dedications to “Οσίος καὶ Δικαίος” 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 God¹⁵ 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 Phrygia¹⁶. 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 Dikaios¹⁷. If we ask ourselves why this theological postulate finds its first unequivocal textual expression in an inscription from the Kibyralis, 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

¹¹ Robert 1946, 71–72.

¹² Gruppe 1918, 1103–1108; Schachter 2000.

¹³ Robert 1946, 57.

¹⁴ Cf. Zwicker 1912, 520.

¹⁵ Cf. Ricl 1991; ead. 1992a; ead. 1992b; Petzl 1992; Tanrıver 2003; Akyürek Şahin 2004; Ricl 2008.

¹⁶ Ricl, 1991, 13 no. 24; ead. 1992b, 98–99 no. 5.

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 ἔστι ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κυνάριον λέγεται, μικρός, νεογέννητος; Phot. Lex. s.v. *νεογιλόν*: *νεογέννητον*; Suid. s.v. *νεογιλλόν*: *νεογέννητον*. παρὰ τὸ νέον γίνεσθαι, *νεογινόν*. καὶ ὡς πνεύμων, πλεύμων ἈΤΤΙΚΩΣ, καὶ νίτρον, λίτρον, οὕτω *νεογινόν*, *νεογιλόν*; Sch. in Lucianum 110, 18: *νεογιλλός*: *νεογένητος*, *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 *Αὐρήλιο[ι]* 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 *Πέττυλος* seems otherwise unattested.

Lines 8–9: *Μαμμοθρέ|πτον* 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 “blockhead” or “spoilt child” in the scholia on Aristophanes’ Frogs 990 and Acharnians 49; cf. also Hesychius,

¹⁸ Paus. 6,20; Polyaen. 1,3,1; Hist. Alex. Magni 1,46a, 6–7: Ἡρακλέα δίκαιον ἔργοις καὶ βοηθὸν ἀνθρώποις; Iamblichus, De Vita Pythagorica 32,222: κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δίκην καὶ ἀνδρείαν; Stobaeus 1,49,53; Olympiodorus, In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria 5,26, 13; Photius, Bibl. 186,133b.

¹⁹ Homer, Il. 3,64; Od. 8,337; Hes. Op. 65; Homer, Hymnus ad Venerem 93; Bacchylides, Ep. 5,174.

²⁰ INikaia II 2, 1501.

²¹ Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus 158.

²² Lehmler – Wörrle 2006, 86–88 no. 141 (SEG LVI 1439).

²³ Callimachus, Hymnus in Delum 39.

²⁴ Pindar, Isthmian Odes 8,5.

²⁵ Pindar, Isthmian Odes 2,26.

²⁶ Dain, Louvre no. 67 = Robert 1939, 204 (= Robert, OMS II 1357); Robert 1955, 104–107.

²⁷ IG XII 3, 1328.

²⁸ Euripides, Bacchae 370; SEG XLVII 1809 lines 2–3 (republished in Horsley, Burdur pp. 79–80, with the previous literature). Cf. Λητώ ... χρυσοπλόκαμος in the ps.-homeric Hymn to Apollo 205, and χρυσοπλόκαμε θεὰ Μότερ in Timotheos’ Persae 138–139.

²⁹ The identity of Chrysea Parthenos and Artemis Chrysea is considered possible in INikaia II 2 pp. 267a/269a comm. on no. 1501.

³⁰ Herodotus 4,103; Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris 1230; Diodorus 5,62; IG I³ 101; Béquignon 1937, 91 no. 64; SEG XXXVIII 538–539; XLIII 430; XLV 670; IosPE I² 343–344, 352–353, 357–361, etc.; Syll.3 46.

³¹ Since Herakles’ ties with Athena are well known, she would be a better candidate than Artemis.

³² SEG XXVI 646 (Atargatis); IG IX 1² 1, 96 (Atargatis); Gounaropoulou – Hatzopoulos 1998, 51–52 (Atargatis); SEG XLIII 388, 435 (Atargatis).

³³ Robert 1955, 107.

³⁴ Cf. Robert 1937 65 and Bull.ép. 1978 no. 480.

Suidas, and Eusthatius³⁵. The meaning is thus anything but flattering, and it is understandable that Μαμόθρεπτος 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 Priene³⁶, or a Κυνόκωλος (“dog-bottomed”) in Lydian Philadelphiea³⁷.

Lines 9–10: The last named of the men, Hermaios, is called νεωκόρος, “temple-warden, *curator*, caretaker, attendant”. The duties of a *neokoros* were manifold, consisting mostly of tasks in the administration and daily functioning of a sanctuary³⁸. *Neokoroi* were not usually considered as members of the priesthood³⁹, but in the new inscription all three dedicants are styled ἵερεῖς. A similar situation is found in at least two more inscriptions from Epidauros⁴⁰ and from Amblada in Lykaonia⁴¹. 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 north⁴².

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 ὑπαρξίς as follows: “ὑπαρξίς ist in dem Sinne von Habe im hellenistischen Griechisch gewöhnlich”⁴³. 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 inscriptions⁴⁴.

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 to all devotees).

³⁵ Hesychius s.v. τηθαλλαδοῦς; 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 “neokoros 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?) *neokoroi* 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 neokoros performs the usual service to the gods, including sacrifices and cathartic rituals; Suid., s.v. ιερόν τι νεωκορήσας· ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐφημότερον ιερατεύσας.

⁴⁰ IG IV 1, 393 (183 A.D.): ιερέυς, νακόρος, πυροφόρος, ζάκορος, ναυφύλακες appear as joint dedicants referred to as ιερωσάμενοι ξέτει.

⁴¹ Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition 1888, 185 no. 303: [ό δείνα - -]νος ιερασάμενος νεωκόρο[ς Ἄ]σκληπιοῦ (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.

⁴⁴ See Corsten 2005, especially 13–17.

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Özet

Kibyritis'ten Herakles, Hosios kai Dikaios ve Khrysea Parthenos için bir adak yazımı Makale, 1948 yıllarında Robert çifti tarafından bulunmuş olup 1997 ve 2008 yıllarında Kibyra antik kenti yakınındaki Bayramlar Köyü'nde yeniden keşfedilen bir yazıtın yayını içermektedir. Bu eser bir tapınağın, Herakles'e, Herakles'in oğlu olarak Anadolu tanrıları olan "Hosios kai Dikaios'a (Kutsal ve Adil), ve bir "Altın Bakire"ye adanması ile ilgilidir. Yazıtın çevirisini söyledir:

Dualara kulak veren Herakles, Herakles'in yeni doğmuş çocuğu "Kutsal ve Adil" ve "Altın Bakire" için, Rahipler Rhettylos oğlu Aurelius Krateros ve Mammothreptos'un torunu, Menis'in ise oğlu Aurelius Menis ve neokoros (tapınak bekçisi) Aurelius Hermaios duaları işten 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*; *neokoros*.