

## A Name List from Lyrnai (Kayadibi) of Oktapolis on the Border between Lycia and Caria

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Our field surveys of 2018-2021 were focused on the territory around Fethiye and Oktapolis region, which is known from the *Monumentum Patarensis* (MP; also known as *Stadiasmus Patarensis*) as to have been attached to Lyrnai (B ll. 21: Λύρναι τῆς Ὀκταπόλεως). Another earlier epigraphic reference to Lyrnai is the ethnic form Λυρνιτῶν in a Hellenistic inscription from Hippoukome (TAM II 168). It is understood that Oktapolis became a city after 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., containing at least the lands of former Lyrnai and Hippoukome.<sup>1</sup> Though it is not possible to draw borders of the Oktapolis region precisely, it most probably contained Gürköy in the south, Kızılkaya in the east, Çöğmen in the north, and perhaps Nif/Arpacık in the east. Lyrnai was located at today's Kayadibi, which was recorded as Kızılkaya by many earlier works. Kayadibi and Kızılkaya are now separate districts, see Fig. 1.

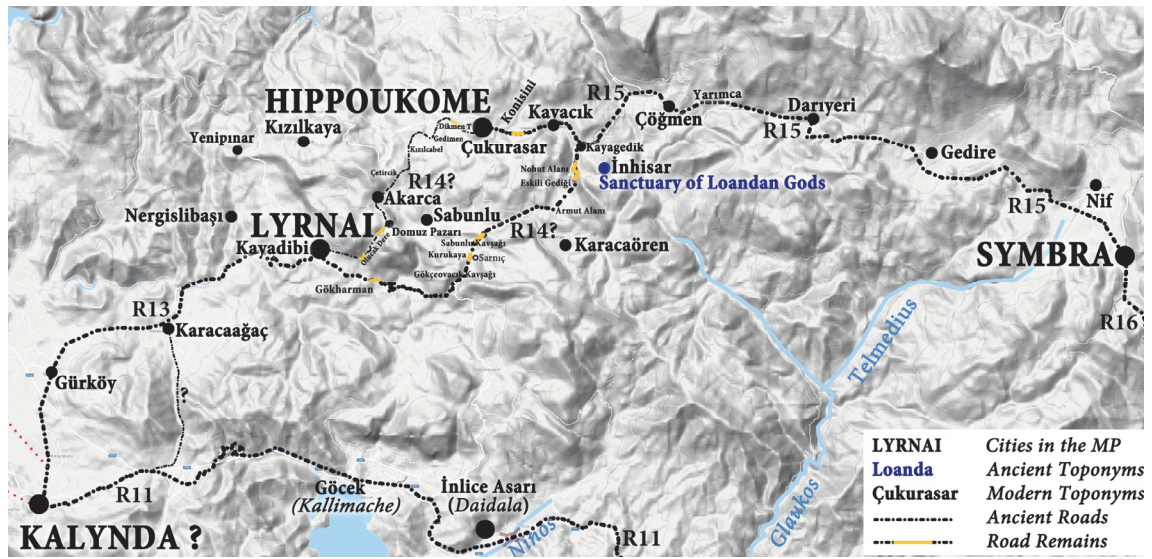


Fig. 1) Lyrnai in Oktapolis

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<sup>1</sup> For the latest general evaluations, and literature with research history of the region see Karabulut 2019 and Yıldız – Onur 2022 (with the results of the field surveys of 2021).



Fig. 2) Find spot of the inscription



Fig. 3) The inscription



Fig. 4) Top of the inscription



Fig. 5) Bottom of the inscription

A Hellenistic decree found during the field surveys and erected in the sanctuary of Zeus in Lyrnai is the only direct evidence for the location of Lyrnai.<sup>2</sup> The most famous ancient remains in Kayadibi are the rock cut tombs, carved on the steep southwestern slopes of Aptiuçan Tepesi facing towards the Kayadibi Plain. Many remains around Kayadibi in the territory of ancient Lyrnai were investigated by the earlier researchers.<sup>3</sup> Three inscriptions from the Roman Period, two of which provide the ethnic form of Oktapolis, and one inscription perhaps from the Hellenistic period were recorded amongst these remains.<sup>4</sup> Asar Tepe, where the new inscriptions were found, is a small hill covering an acreage of ca. 4,5 ha, the highest point is at an altitude of ca. 300 m. The hill is covered by several ancient remains including olive oil production workshops, tombs, defensive and terrace walls. The site seems to have been used from the Classical period onwards, as the walls to the south and north of the hill contain apparently the Classical masonry. Although no structure remains standing and there is no significant observable trace of public buildings, the sanctuary of Zeus mentioned in the new decree (see fn. 2 here) should have stood somewhere on the hill. The rectangular block with name list was unearthed by the owner of arable land at its southwestern edge, adjacent to the remains of an ancient building used also in Byzantine period (Fig. 2). A few blocks indicate an earlier phase of the building but it is not possible to identify what it was.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription has been presented by Hüseyin Uzunoğlu in the symposium “New Research on Greek Epigraphy in Lycia” and will be published soon. Lyrnai’s location was accepted as Kayadibi/Kızılkaya by Hild 2000, 152 and Tietz 2003, 265-267, and as Karacaören by Şahin 2014, 171-175.

<sup>3</sup> Arkwright 1895, 98 and Cousin 1900, 44-45; Tietz 2003, 270.

<sup>4</sup> TAM II 164-167.



### The Name List

Rectangular block broken at the top and the bottom. Its three faces are inscribed with a name list. The blank face was probably placed against a wall of a building. The author's decision to publish the order of the faces given below, has been decided on the evidence of some recurring names (see below p. 210 f.). The sequence given here is left face (A), followed by right face (B) and front face (C).

Dimensions (cm): H: 97 (Face A), 87 (Face B), 101 (Face C),  
W: 31 (Face A), 29-30 (Face B), 39-40 (Face C),  
D: 39-40; Lh: see Fig. 10.

Date: sometime between 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD including changes and/or additions made to the inscription within this period. The original height of the block is not known, since the bottom section ends with an uneven break, the top is more secure as there seems to be a profile over the top of Face A.

### FACE A (Left)

Σιλαγεις Σιλαγεσιος	1.	<i>Silagesis, son of Silagesis</i>
Ἑρμων Ἑρμώνακτος	2.	<i>Hermon, son of Hermonax</i>
Ἑρμων Θηρωνίδου	3.	<i>Hermon, son of Theronides</i>
4 Ἑρμώναξ [Α]ντιπά[τρου]	4.	<i>Hermonax, son of Antipatros</i>
Ἑρμων Διονυσίου	5.	<i>Hermon, son of Dionysios</i>
Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνί[ου]	6.	<i>Menandros, son of Apollonios</i>
Ἀρίστων Ἑρμοφάντου	7.	<i>Ariston, son of Hermophantos</i>
8 Νουμήνιος Ἑρμώνακτος	8.	<i>Noumenios, son of Hermonax</i>
Ἑρμαῖος Ἑρμοφάντου	9.	<i>Hermaios, son of Hermophantos</i>
Ποσειδώνιος Πολέμωνος	10.	<i>Poseidonios, son of Polemon</i>
Πρωτέας Ι(δ)αγρου?	11.	<i>Proteas, son of Idagras(?)</i>
12 Τροκονδας Φιλεταίρου	12.	<i>Trokondas, son of Philetairos</i>
Ἀντίπατρος Ἑρμώνακτος	13.	<i>Antipatros, son of Hermonax</i>
Ἑρμώναξ Σίμου	14.	<i>Hermonax, son of Simos</i>
Ζήνων Ἀντιπάτ'ρου	15.	<i>Zenon, son of Antipatros</i>
16 Τιμάσιος Ἄρμοδίου	16.	<i>Timasios, son of Harmodios</i>
Ἀντίπατρος Ἀγρεοφώντο[ς]	17.	<i>Antipatros, son of Agreophon</i>
Ἀνδρέας Ἀγρεοφώντος	18.	<i>Andreas, son of Agreophon</i>
Ἀγρεοφών Ἄρμοδίου	19.	<i>Agreophon, son of Harmodios</i>
20 Ζήνων Ἑρμώνακτος	20.	<i>Zenon, son of Hermonax</i>
Ἀντιφάνης Ἀγρεοφώντος	21.	<i>Antiphanes, son of Agreophon</i>
Ἀγρεοφών Θηρωνίδου	22.	<i>Agreophon, son of Theronides</i>
Ἑρμαῖος Ἀρίστωνος	23.	<i>Hermaios, son of Ariston</i>
24 Ποσιδώνιος Φιλεταίρου	24.	<i>Posidonios, son of Philetairos</i>

	Ἀπολλόδοτος Χαβρίου	25.	<i>Apollodotos, son of Chabrias</i>
	Ἀρμόδιος Ἑρμώνακτος	26.	<i>Harmodios, son of Hermonax</i>
	Ζήνων Ἀγρεοφώντος	27.	<i>Zenon, son of Agreophon</i>
28	Ζήνων Κλεοξένου	28.	<i>Zenon, son of Kleoxenos</i>
	Πύργων Σείμου	29.	<i>Pyrgon, son of Seimos</i>
	Ἑρμαῖος Μασαδος	30.	<i>Hermaios, son of Mausas</i>
	Διονύσιος Ἑρμώνακτος	31.	<i>Dionysios, son of Hermonax</i>
32	Θηρωνίδης Ἑρμῶνος	32.	<i>Theronides, son of Hermon</i>
	Ἀρμόδιος Ἀρμοδίου	33.	<i>Harmodios, son of Harmodios</i>
	Ἀγρεοφών Θηρωνίδου	34.	<i>Agreophon, son of Theronides</i>
	Πανταλέων Ἀντιπάτρου	35.	<i>Pantaleon, son of Antipatros</i>
36	Μηνόδωρος Θεοδότου	36.	<i>Menodoros, son of Theodotos</i>
	Ἑρμαῖος Ἀρμοδίου	37.	<i>Hermaios, son of Harmodios</i>
	Μηνόδοτος Ἀπολλοδότο[υ]	38.	<i>Menodotos, son of Apollodotos</i>
	Ἀγρεοφών Ἀρμ[οδίου]	39.	<i>Agreophon, son of Harmodios</i>
40	ΕΡΜ[-----]	40.	<i>Erm...</i>
	...	41.	<i>...</i>

**FACE B (Right)**

	...?		...?
	Δημήτριος Ἑ[ρμω]- νος	42.	<i>Demetrios, son of Hermon</i>
	Ἀγρεοφών Ἀντιπάτρο[υ]	43.	<i>Agreophon, son of Antipatros</i>
4	Χαβρίας Ἀπολλοδό- του	44.	<i>Chabrias, son of Apollodotos</i>
	Ἑρμῶναξ Ζήνωνος	45.	<i>Hermonax, son of Zenon</i>
	[Ἀ]ντίπατρος Ἀγρεοφών- τος	46.	<i>Antipatros, son of Agreophon</i>
8	Χαβρίας Δημητρίου	47.	<i>Chabrias, son of Demetrios</i>
	Ἀντιφάνης Ἑρμῶνος	48.	<i>Antiphanes, son of Hermon</i>
	Θε[.]ύδοτος Πύργωνος	49.	<i>Theudotos, son of Pyrgon</i>
12	Πύργων Ἀντιπάτρου	50.	<i>Pyrgon, son of Antipatros</i>
	Ἀνδρέας Θεοδότου	51.	<i>Andreas, son of Theodotos</i>
	Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου	52.	<i>Demetrios, son of Antipatros</i>
	Ἑρμών Διονυσίου	53.	<i>Hermon, son of Dionysios</i>
16	Διονύσιος Ἀντι- πάτρου τοῦ Διονυσίου	54.	<i>Dionysios, son of Antipatros, grandson of Dionysios</i>
	Ἀντίπατρος Παντα-	55.	<i>Antipatros, son of Pantaleon</i>



λέοντος	
20 [Α]γρεοφῶν Ἀγρεοφῶντος τοῦ Θηρωνίδου	56. <i>Agreophon, son of Agreophon, grandson of Theronides</i>
Ἀγρόθεος Ἄρμοδιου	57. <i>Agrotheos, son of Harmodios</i>
24 Ἑρμολέων Ζήνωνος	58. <i>Hermoleon, son of Zenon</i>
Ἀντίπατρος Ζήνωνος	59. <i>Antipatros, son of Zenon</i>
Ἑρμῶναξ Ἑρμωνος	60. <i>Hermonax, son of Hermon</i>
[Α]ντιφάνης Ἑρμωνος	61. <i>Antiphanes, son of Hermon, second time</i>
28 τὸ δεῦτερο[v]	
Ἀγρεοφῶν Ἑρμοτίμου	62. <i>Agreophon, son of Hermotimos</i>
[Μ]ενίππος Ἑρμαίου	63. <i>Menippos, son of Hermaios</i>
Θηρωνίδης Θεοδότου	64. <i>Theronides, son of Theodotos</i>
32 Δημήτριος Μηνοφάντο[v]	65. <i>Demetrios, son of Menophantos</i>
Πανταλέων Κρίτωνος	66. <i>Pantaleon, son of Kriton</i>
Μηνόδωρος Ἑρμοτίμου	67. <i>Menodoros, son of Hermotimos</i>
Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου	68. <i>Demetrios, son of Antipatros, grandson of Dionysios</i>
36 τοῦ Διονυσίου	
[Ἀρμ]όδιος Ἑ[ρμών]ακτος	69. <i>Harmodios, son of Hermonax</i>
[Ἑρμ]αῖος ...	70. <i>Hermaios ....</i>
...	...
<b>FACE C (Front)</b>	
Ἀρτεμίδωρος [-----]	71. <i>Artemidoros, son of [NN], grandson of Agreophon</i>
[τ]οῦ Ἀγρεοφῶντος	
Ἀγρεοφῶν Μηνοδ[ότου]	72. <i>Agreophon, son of Menodotos</i>
4 Διονύσιος Ἑρμωνος	73. <i>Dionysios, son of Hermon</i>
Ἀντίπατρος Δημητρίου	74. <i>Antipatros, son of Demetrios</i>
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀντιπάτρ[ου]	75. <i>Apollonios, son of Antipatros</i>
Ἀγρεοφῶν Ζήνωνος	76. <i>Agreophon, son of Zenon</i>
8 Δημήτριος Ἑρμαίου	77. <i>Demetrios, son of Hermaios</i>
Ἑρμαῖς Μηνοδώρου ΤΟΥ	78. <i>Hermais, son of Menodoros ΤΟΥ</i>
Δημήτριος Ἑρμωνος	79. <i>Demetrios, son of Hermon</i>
Μηνόδωρος τοῦ Ἑρμαίου	80. <i>Menodoros, son of Hermaios</i>
12 Ἑρμοῦ Ζήνωνος	81. <i>(H)ermoas, son of Zenon</i>
Διονύσιος Δημητρίου	82. <i>Dionysios, son of Demetrios</i>
[-----?]	83. <i>.....?</i>
[-----?]	84. <i>.....?</i>

- |     |  |      |  |
|-----|--|------|--|
| 16  | Ἀγρεοφῶν Ἀντιφάνου<br>Ἄνδρέας τοῦ Ἀγρεοφῶντος<br>Ἀρμόδιος [Β]οῖσκου<br>Ζήνων Ἀντιπάτρου                  | 85.  | <i>Agreophon, son of Antiphanes</i>    |
| 20  | Ἑρμῶναξ Ἀρμοδίου<br>[Ἀπο]λλ[ώνιος]ος [Ἀ]γρεοφῶντος<br>Θηρωνίδης Ἀντιπάτρου<br>Βασιλείδης Ἑρμώνακτο[ς]    | 86.  | <i>Andreas, son of Agreophon</i>       |
| 24  | Ἑρμων Ἑρμώνακτος<br>Ἀρμόδιος Ἀρμοδίου<br>Πύργων Ἀρμοδίου<br>[Ἀ]γρεοφῶν Θεοδότου                          | 87.  | <i>Harmodios, son of Boiskos</i>       |
| 28  | Ἑρμαῖος [Ε]ρμώνακτος<br>Ἀγρεοφῶν [Ερμοφ]άντου<br>Ἑρμῶναξ Ἀντιπάτρου<br>Ἀγρεοφῶν Ἀρμοδίου                 | 88.  | <i>Zenon, son of Antipatros</i>        |
| 32  | Ἀντίπατρος Θηρωνίδου<br>Ἀντιφάνης Ἀγρεοφῶντος<br>Μηνόδωρος Ἑρμώνακτος<br>Παυσανίας Ἀρμοδίου              | 89.  | <i>Hermonax, son of Harmodios</i>      |
| 36  | Ἑρμόφαντος [Ἀν]τιπάτρου<br>Ἑρμων Θρ[α]σέου<br>Θεότειμος [Ζ]ήνωνος<br>Μηνόδοτος Διονυσίου                 | 90.  | <i>Apollonios, son of Agreophon</i>    |
| 40  | ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΟΣ Ἑρμῶ[ν]ακτος<br>Σάμος Ἀντιπάτρου<br>Ἑρμόφαντος Ἑρμαίου<br>Ἀντίπατρος Ἑρμωνος                   | 91.  | <i>Theronides, son of Antipatros</i>   |
| 44  | [Ἀρμ]όδιος Τει[μ]α[σ]ίου<br>[Ἀντίπ]ατρος Ἀγ[ρ]οίτου<br>[Δημή]τριος Ἑρμώνακτος<br>[Βασιλεί]δης Βασιλείδου | 92.  | <i>Basileides, son of Hermonax</i>     |
| 48  | ..... Ἑρμ[ώνακτ]ο[ς]   | 93.  | <i>Hermon, son of Hermonax</i>         |
| ... | ...  | 94.  | <i>Harmodios, son of Harmodios</i>     |
|     |  | 95.  | <i>Pyrgon, son of Harmodios</i>        |
|     |  | 96.  | <i>Agreophon, son of Theodotos</i>     |
|     |  | 97.  | <i>Hermaios, son of Hermonax</i>       |
|     |  | 98.  | <i>Agreophon, son of Hermophantos</i>  |
|     |  | 99.  | <i>Hermonax, son of Antipatros</i>     |
|     |  | 100. | <i>Agreophon, son of Harmodios</i>     |
|     |  | 101. | <i>Antipatros, son of Theronides</i>   |
|     |  | 102. | <i>Antiphanes, son of Agreophon</i>    |
|     |  | 103. | <i>Menodoros, son of Hermonax</i>      |
|     |  | 104. | <i>Pausanias, son of Harmodios</i>     |
|     |  | 105. | <i>Hermophantos, son of Antipatros</i> |
|     |  | 106. | <i>Hermon, son of Thraseas</i>         |
|     |  | 107. | <i>Theoteimos, son of Zenon</i>        |
|     |  | 108. | <i>Menodotos, son of Dionysios</i>     |
|     |  | 109. | <i>Kastorios, son of Hermonax</i>      |
|     |  | 110. | <i>Samos, son of Antipatros</i>        |
|     |  | 111. | <i>Hermophantos, son of Hermaios</i>   |
|     |  | 112. | <i>Antipatros, son of Hermon</i>       |
|     |  | 113. | <i>Harmodios, son of Teimasios</i>     |
|     |  | 114. | <i>Antipatros, son of Agroitas</i>     |
|     |  | 115. | <i>Demetrios, son of Hermonax</i>      |
|     |  | 116. | <i>Basileides, son of Basileides</i>   |
|     |  | 117. | <i>..., son of Hermonax</i>            |
|     |  | 118. | <i>...</i>                             |



A l. 1 - [Σ]ιλαγεσις Σιλαγεῖσιος: The name Silagesis is attested for the first time. The name Ἀγεσίς is known from Kos, and name Λαγφεισις is attested in Aspendos in the local dialect (LGPN I and V.B, respectively, s.vv.). Σιλαγεσις might be a derivation or a different form from the same root as these names.

A l. 4: This line is quite worn, and the letters are hardly visible. However, surviving letter traces indicate this name.

A l.11 – Ι(δ)αγρου?: On the stone ΙΑΓΡΟΥ.

A l. 30 – Μανσαδος: This should be the genitive form of Μανσας, a name previously unattested. Perhaps a variation of Μασας known from several locations in Lycia (LGPN V.B. s.v.). Another similar name is Μουσᾶς (LGPN III.B and V.A s.v.).

B l. 11 – Θε{.}ύδοτος Πύργωνος: There is damage on the stone after ΘΕ. This was made probably by the inscriber, who seem to have continued to carve right after the crack and he perhaps fixed the damaged section with plaster.

B l. 28 – τὸ δεύτερο[ν]: On the stone ΤΟΔΕ Υ Τ Ε Ρ Ο, squeezed between the lines 28 and 29, with very tiny letters, possibly to emphasize the iteration of Antiphanes' office second time, as the earlier occurrence is in B l.10 (no. 48).

C l. 4 – Διονύ(σ)ιος: On the stone ΔΙΟΝΥΕΙΟΕ.

C l. 9 – ΤΟΥ: an abrupt end. It is impossible that the name of the grandfather was in the next line, and erased later, as the entire section between lines 1 and 13 looks contemporary and from one hand.

C l. 18 – [Β]οῖσκου: another possibility would have been [Ἀν]οῖστού, an extremely rare name, which was registered only in Tegea (LGPN III.A).

C l. 40 – Ι/ΑΣΤΟΠΙΟΣ (see Fig. 6): The traces of the first letter may indicate a *kappa*, or perhaps a *pi*. The most probable name to suggest is Καστόριος known only from Perge in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> (LGPN V.B s.v.). Another suggestion could be Κλειτόριος (LGPN III.A and V.A s.v.). If the sixth letter is B instead of P, then Ἀριστόβιος (LGPN I, II, III.A, III.B, V.A and V.B s.v.) can be proposed.

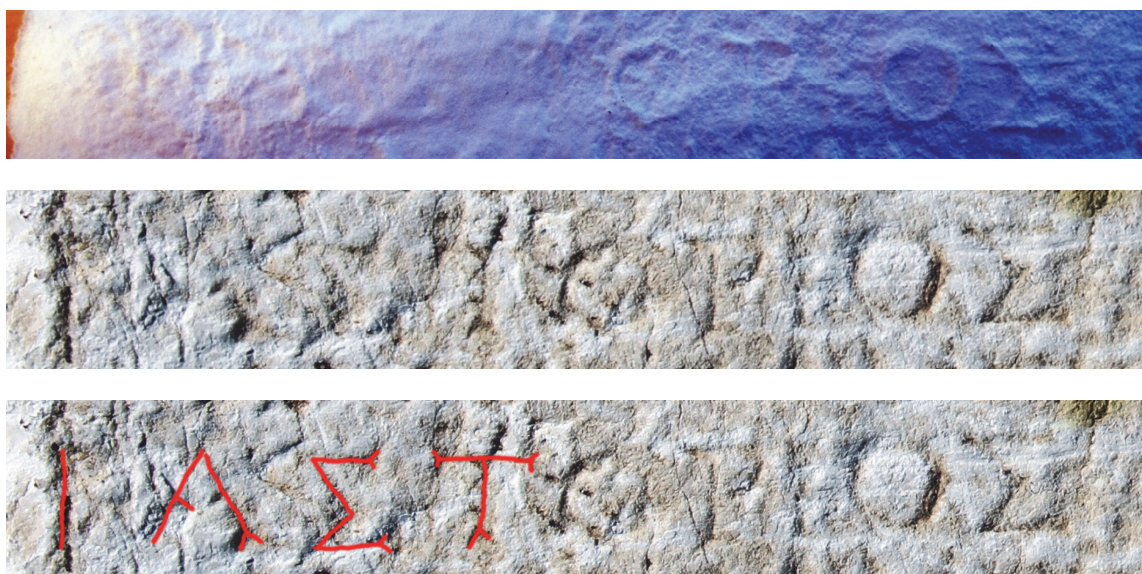


Fig. 6) C l. 40

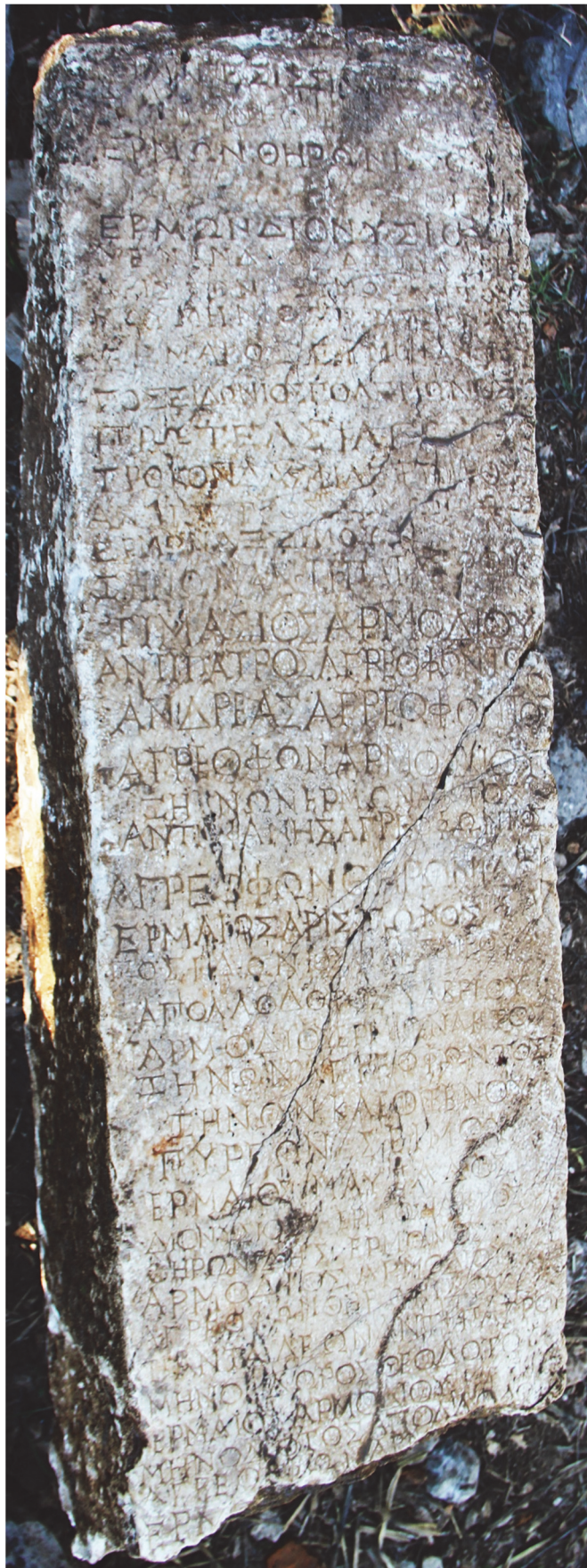


Fig. 7) Face A





Fig. 8) Face B





Fig. 9) Face C



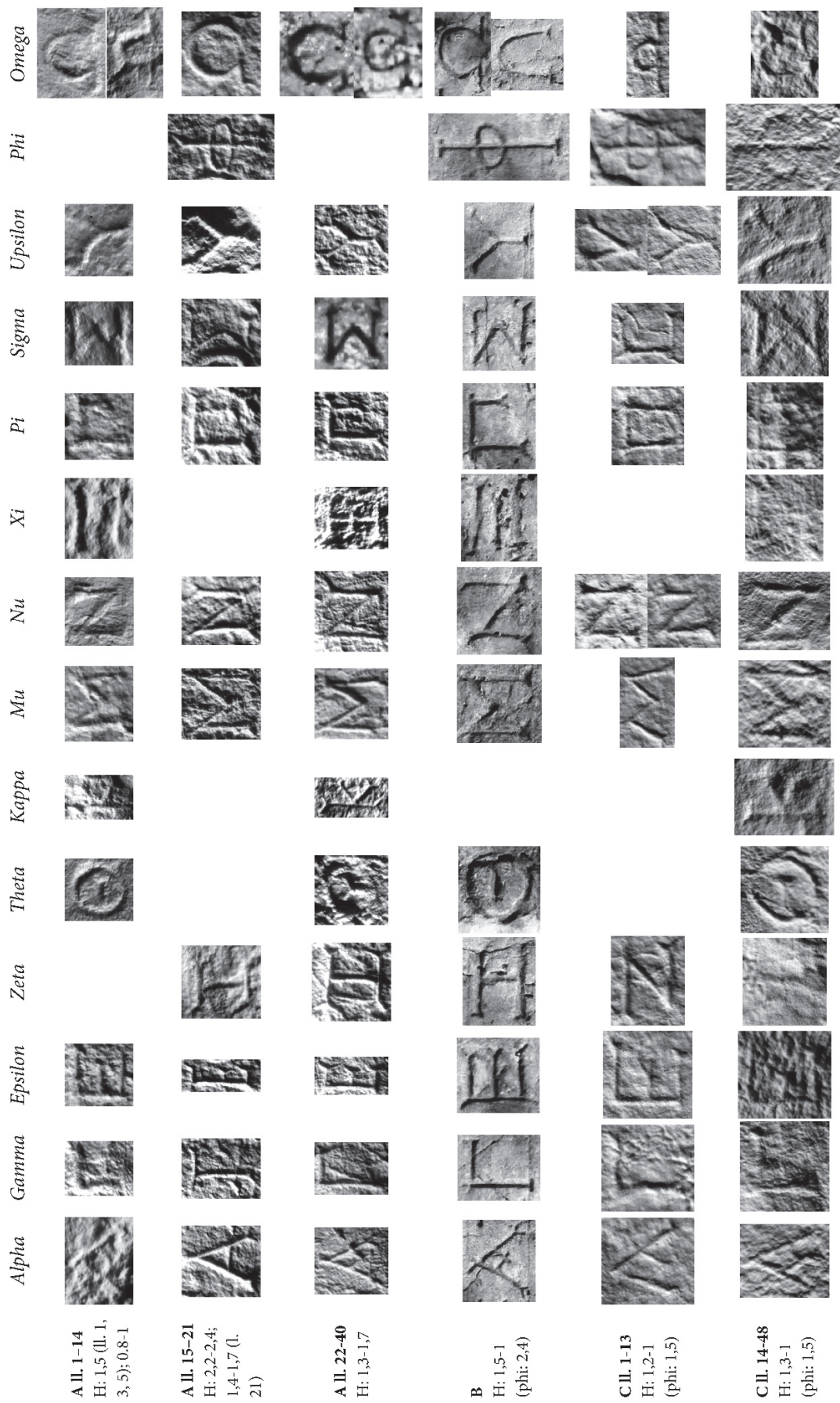


Fig. 10) Letter forms used in the inscriptions

### Letter forms, orthography and dating

No dating can be established on the basis of the contents of the inscription. Although the orthographic features are consistent almost throughout the inscription (for the exceptions see p. 209 below), the lettering is not uniform. As will be discussed in detail below, the letters of different sections (and sides) of the inscription suggest dates ranging from the second or first century BC to the first or second century AD; therefore, the inscription appears not have been cut all at the same time. The letter sizes are different in the sections of the inscriptions. On Face A it can sometimes be observed that the letter sizes vary because names had to be fitted on to one line, but this is not the case for all faces since on Face C some lines end before reaching the edge of the stone, and on Face B sometimes they overflow to a second line. The descriptions of the letter forms given below can be followed in the chart, Fig. 10.

On Face A, the first, third and fifth names are carved emphatically and large, while the names between them are smaller and unobtrusive, the fourth one is almost indecipherable. The lines from 6 to 14 inclusive, though in general uniform, are slender and shallowly carved. However, the letters have the same forms throughout lines 1-14. Bars and strokes have fine ends and there are almost no observable *apices*. In this section, the *alpha* has broken cross-bars. *Gamma* is plain and its upper stroke does not protrude beyond the vertical stroke. *Epsilon*'s horizontal bars are long with a shorter middle bar. *Theta* has a simple bar, not reaching to the circle. The cross-bars of *kappa* are short. The strokes of *mu* are not always straight and its cross-bars are not equal, the left one is longer. *Nu* is plain, sometimes its right vertical bar is a little shorter. *Xi* has three simple bars, the middle of which is shorter. *Pi* has a short right stroke, and the horizontal bar does not protrude beyond the vertical strokes. *Sigma* is in classical plain 4-bar form, horizontal bars are straight and equal, the cross bars meet in the middle of the letter, not reaching to the right end. *Upsilon* is plain. *Omega* is inscribed plain; the ends of the loop are not so close to each other though they remain in the diameter of the circle. One example is different (b; l. 11), as the ends of the loop are out of the diameter of the circle. This line (l. 11) is also carved with larger letters, which might indicate a slightly different date.

A different phase of Face A can be seen between l. 15 and l. 21. We can observe the thinner, sharper and bigger carving of the letters with more ornate *apices*. The letters of l. 21 are smaller. The *alpha* here has a straight bar. *Gamma*'s upper stroke protrudes beyond the vertical stroke. *Epsilon* is narrow and its horizontal bars are short with a shorter middle bar. *Zeta* consists of two bars connected with the vertical stroke in the middle. The vertical strokes of *mu* are straight and equal cross bars meet in the middle. *Pi* has a short right stroke, and the horizontal bar protrudes beyond the vertical strokes. *Sigma* is narrower and its horizontal bars are straight and equal, the cross bars meet to the slightly left of the middle. *Upsilon* is plain. *Phi* is taller than the other letters and its middle circle is horizontally elliptic. *Omega* is circular, the ends of the loop are fairly close to each other, and bottom bars are short.

A change in the lettering is also clear in Face A from l. 22 to l. 40, though the thinner style with fine *apices* is preserved. There is also a larger space between l. 21 and l.22, perhaps also indicating a different date. The letters of first two lines of the section are sharper, which may also indicate a section of an earlier period. *Alpha* has cross-bars. *Gamma*'s upper stroke does not protrude beyond the vertical stroke. *Epsilon* and *Zeta* are in the same forms as in the previous lines 15-21. *Theta* has a tripod-like sign in the middle, similar to an *upsilon*. The cross-bars of *kappa* are short. *Mu*, *nu*, *pi* and *upsilon* do not represent a change from those in ll. 15-21. *Xi* is quite different and



is like the form of *zeta* with a short bar in the middle. *Sigmās* are similar to those in the ll. 1-14. *Omega* is circular, the ends of the loop are fairly close to each other. However, an *omega* in l.39 is a little different as it has a shorter height and the bottom bars are longer. Two small orthographic differences are observable on Face A: Ποσειδώνιος in l. 10, while Πῑσειδώνιος in l. 24, and Σίμου in l. 14, while Σείμου in l. 29. These orthographic changes do not correspond to the changes in the latter styles mentioned above.

The letters on Face B are general uniform with careful *apices*, and most of them are similar to those in lines 22-40 of Face A. The *alphas* have broken cross-bars. *Gamma*'s upper stroke does not protrude beyond the vertical stroke. *Epsilon* is larger with equal long horizontal bars. *Zeta* has two bars connected with a stroke in the middle. *Theta* has a simple bar, not reaching the circle. *Xi* has three simple bars, the middle of which is shorter. *Pi* has a shorter right stroke. *Sigma*'s horizontal bars are straight, and the cross-bars meet in the middle. *Upsilon* is simple in usual form. *Phi* is taller than the other letters, its middle circle is small and horizontally slightly elliptic. *Omega* has two forms, one is circular with short bottom bars, the other, appearing in l.33, is totally different from the rest of the *omegas*, as it is of a half elliptic shape and its bottom bars are almost non-existent (b). Ruled guidelines are visible up to line 14 (Fig. 14).

The most prominently different style of lettering can be seen in the first 13 lines of Face C. This part is much more legible than the rest of the face, with sharper cutting and different letter shapes with *apices*. There is an observable gap of 3,5 cm between l.13 and new text beginning at l.16. Two lines might fit in this space and there seem some indistinct traces, which might have belonged to the letters, but it is impossible to derive anything from it. *Alpha* has cross bars. *Gamma* is plain and its upper stroke does not protrude left beyond the vertical stroke. *Epsilon* is wide and its middle bar is short. *Zeta* is in usual form that appears only in this section. The vertical strokes of *mu* are not upright. Some of *nus* have different forms, one ordinary, one with right stroke shorter. *Pi*'s strokes are equal in size and the horizontal bar does not protrude beyond the vertical strokes. *Sigma* is in the square form. *Upsilon* has two forms, one with cross bars combined almost at the bottom, one plain. *Phi* is taller than the other letters, its middle circle is small and horizontally slightly elliptic. *Omega* is small and wide with the extending lower bars. The space between the lines of the upper part is narrower, while the rest of the inscription as far as the bottom of Face C is more worn and the letters are like those of Face A, ll. 1-14, except for *xi*, which is similar to that of A ll. 22-40, i.e. three horizontal bars, middle of which is shorter, with a vertical stroke from top to bottom in the middle. Another difference is in the orthography of the name Agreophon, which was carved with double *gamma* as Ἀγγρεοφῶν in all three occurrences in this part.

All these diverse features indicate that the parts of the inscriptions were inscribed in different periods and by different hands. However, these differences do not offer any certain conclusion for dating the whole of the inscription or for understanding the sequence of the parts, since variations of the letters are observed not only on different faces but also within each face and even within the same lines. The earliest features of the letters, such as some *omegas* and *pis*, indicate a date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C, while some letters in the first part of Face C (esp. *sigma* and *pi*) have the features of the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. These large time spans between changes might refer to an updated list on a stone, this would then indicate that this was a list, which was continuously being updated and edited. The observations on the letter forms given above indicate only the latest part of the inscription was C ll. 1-13. It is almost impossible to work out the sequence of other sections depending only on the letter forms. It is quite possible that there might even be only a few years

between some lines as the differences within these main parts are minor. The inscription was first carved most probably sometime between the 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and then the parts, sometimes probably only individual lines, were added gradually up to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. Taking the natural sequential flow on the stone and some prosopographic conclusions (see below), the probable chronological sequence of the parts might be as follow:

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 1) A ll. 1-14  | 4) B  |
| 2) A ll. 15-21 | 5) C ll. 14-48  |
| 3) A ll. 22-40 | 6) C ll. 1-13 (1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD) |

### **Onomastic and prosopographic observations**

The onomastic features represent similarities with name lists from İnhisar (TAM II 168) and from Kaunos, mentioned below. All the personal names in the list are already known and registered in LGPN, except for the new names Σιλαγεσις (A l. 1; no. 1) and Μαυσας (A l. 30; no. 30). Some specific names are found almost exclusively in Kaunos and Otkapolis, such as Agreophon, Agrotas, Agrotheos, Theronides, rarely in other places in Lycia. The dense clustering of these names in a particular geography was already noticed by earlier scholars, the last of whom was Van Bremen, who conducted a comprehensive investigation of these names.<sup>5</sup> With this new list, the onomastic homogeneity of Kaunos, Kalynda and the cites of the Otkapolis is thereby bolstered.

There are four individuals with the same name from Lyrnai that are recorded in the lost inscription from İnhisar (TAM II 168): Ἐρμαῖος Ἀρίστωνος (B ll. 42-43), Ἀγρεοφῶν Θηρωνίδου (B ll. 43-44), Θηρωνίδης Ἀγρεοφῶντος (B ll. 46-47) and Ἐρμῶναξ Ἀντιπάτρου (B ll. 47-48). Three of these names, other than Θηρωνίδης Ἀγρεοφῶντος, appear in the new list from Lyrnai in nos. 23 (A l. 23), 22 /34 (A l. 22/34) and nos. 4/99 (A l. 4 / C l. 30) respectively. The İnhisar inscription refers to a people called the Kastanneis in the nominative (Κασταννεῖς) immediately after the Lyrnitai whose name is in the genitive (Λυρνιτῶν), implying that there was a locality called Kastanna in the territory of Lyrnai, one of whose inhabitants was an individual named Ἀγρεοφῶν Ἀρμοδίου. The Kastanneus among the Lyrnitai, might have been one of the persons with the same name in nos. 19, 39 and/or 100 of the new list. Nevertheless, all these similarities might be a coincidence of the same names, and there are no other clues to track the possible prosopographic relations.

The list has many repetitions of the names. Some of them might be iterations and possible father and son relations might be observed. Though it is not possible to prove that they were the same persons, the list suggests several prosopographic connections. A good example for this is the Agreophon, son of Theronides in A l. 22 (no. 22), A l. 34 (no. 34) and B l. 20-22 (no. 56; as the father of an Agreophon). If the list included annual officials (see below), Agreophon might have taken the office two times, the second coming 12 years after the first term, and then his son Agreophon took the office after at least 22 more years, as it is not known how many lines are missing at the end of Face A. The order of the faces has been decided basically on this determination. There are also some other possible iterations, which support this sequence (see below). Most of these recurrences do not refer to an iteration as the intervals are too large for an average lifetime, but some may indicate iterations of the annual offices of the same persons:

<sup>5</sup> For this detailed work and all related references see Van Bremen 2013.

Name	Occurrences	Annual Interval
Άγρεοφῶν Ἀρμοδίου	A19, no. 19; A39, no. 39	20
Άγρεοφῶν Θηρωνίδου	A22, no. 22; A34, no. 34; B20-22, no. 56 (as father of an Agreophon)	12; min. 22 (his son's office)
Ἀρμόδιος Ἐρμώνακτος	A26, no. 26; B37, no. 69	min. 43
Δημήτριος Ἐρμωνος	B1-2, no. 42; C10, no. 79	min. 37
Ἀντιφάνης Ἐρμωνος	B10, no. 48; B27, no. 61	13
Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου	B14, no. 52; B35, no. 68 (grandson of a Dionysios)	16
Ἀντίπατρος (τοῦ) Διονυσίου	B16-17, no. 54 (father of a Dionysios); B35-36, no. 68 (father of a Demetrios, no. 52?)	min. 14

Ἀρμόδιος Ἐρμώνακτος and Δημήτριος Ἐρμωνος in this list are the least likely to be iterated office holders, as the year differences are high. Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου in no. 52 and the one in no. 68 may not be the same persons since the appearance of his grandfather Dionysios may indicate a distinguishing information from the other one. In this case, the father of Demetrios in no. 52, Antipatros, might then be Ἀντίπατρος (τοῦ) Διονυσίου in no. 68. In such a scenario, Ἀντίπατρος (τοῦ) Διονυσίου in 54 and the one in no. 68 would not be the same persons.

There are also some names which may reflect the relations of fathers and sons, and indirectly the possible families in Lyrnai. Although certain conclusions cannot be reached in all cases, there were probably filial connections amongst the names below:

Ἐρμων Ἐρμώνακτος	A2, no. 2; C24, no. 93	Ἐρμώναξ Ἐρμωνος	B26, no. 60
Ἐρμων Θηρωνίδου	A3, no. 3	Θηρωνίδης Ἐρμωνος	A32, no. 32
Ερμώναξ [Ἀ]ντιπά[τρου]	A4, no. 4; C30, no. 99	Ἀντίπατρος Ἐρμώνακτος	A13, no. 13
Ερμαῖος Ἐρμοφάντου	A9, no. 9	Ἐρμόφαντος Ἐρμαίου	C42, no. 111
Ζήνων Ἀντιπάτρου	A15, no. 15; C19, no. 88	Ἀντίπατρος Ζήνωνος	B25, no. 59
Τιμάσιος Ἀρμοδίου	A16, no. 16	[Ἄρμ]όδιος Τει[μ]α[σ]ίου	C44, no. 113
Ἀντίπατρος Ἀγρεοφῶντο[ς]	A17, no. 17; B7-8, no. 46	Άγρεοφῶν Ἀντιπάτρο[υ]	B3, no. 43
Ζήνων Ἐρμώνακτος	A20, no. 20	Ἐρμώναξ Ζήνωνος	B6, no. 45
Ἀντιφάνης Ἀγρεοφῶντος	A21, no. 21; C33, no. 102	Άγρεοφῶν Ἀντιφάνου	C16, no. 85
Ἀπολλόδοτος Χαβρίου	A25, no. 25	Χαβρίας Ἀπολλοδότου	B4-5, no. 44
Ἀρμόδιος Ἐρμώνακτος	A26, no. 26; B37, no. 69	Ερμώναξ Ἀρμοδίου	C20, no. 89
Ζήνων Ἀγρεοφῶντος	A27, no. 27	Άγρεοφῶν Ζήνωνος	C7, no. 76
Ἀρμόδιος Ἀρμοδίου	A33, no. 33	Ἀρμόδιος Ἀρμοδίου	C25, no. 94
Πανταλέων Ἀντιπάτρου	A35, no. 35	Ἀντίπατρος Πανταλέοντος	B18-19, no. 55

Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου; Δημήτριος Ἀντιπάτρου (τοῦ Διονυσίου)	B14, no. 52; B35-36, no. 68	Ἀντίπατρος Δημητρίου	C5, no. 74
Ἑρμων Διονυσίου	B15, no. 53	Διονύσιος Ἑρμωνος	C4, no. 73
[Ἄρμ]όδιος Ἑ[ρμών]ακτος	B37, no. 69	Ἑρμῶναξ Ἄρμοδίου	C20, no. 89
Θηρωνίδης Ἀντιπάτρου	C22, no. 91	Ἀντίπατρος Θηρωνίδου	C32, no. 101

### The possible nature of the list

This new list contains ca. 113 surviving names without any origin, both in group and individually, probably indicating that all were from Lyrnai. Since there is no title or any other information concerning the nature of the list on the surviving part of the inscription, we do not have a precise idea of what these names constituted. There are many sorts of lists from the neighbouring settlements, though none provides a certain parallel. The inscription found in İnhisar, mentioned above, records the donors and the money they contributed to the construction of a bath, which was built most probably near the sanctuary of the Loandan Gods within the territory of Hippoukome and should have been somewhere in İnhisar (see also fn. 1 above). However, this list seems not to be a donor list<sup>6</sup>, as there is no trace of contributions. It may therefore have contained the names of members of a Lyrnai institution. The find-spot might suggest that the names belonged to the members of a cultic or religious group, like a *thiasos*, affiliated with the nearby sanctuary of Zeus at Lyrnai. But the number is too high for a *thiasos* and the names are from different periods. One might also consider that this was the list of the council members at Lyrnai. An inscription from Sidyma contains the full name list of 51 *bouleutai* and 50 *demotai*, who were the first members of the *gerousia* of Sidyma established by the reign of Commodus and amongst whom there were also Roman citizens.<sup>7</sup> An important list of councillors from Patara was carved sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The total surviving number of the Pataran *bouleutai*, none of them is a Roman citizen, is 112 including the addition of 43 names from two new blocks, and the editors, as a result of the calculation based on the physical features of the inscription and the constructional details of the blocks, expect that the real number, with those inscribed on the missing blocks, was between 170 and 250.<sup>8</sup> A councillor list from Gagai records the “first” councillors of Gagai, ordered by Q. Veranius to be chosen represents a similar

<sup>6</sup> There are several Hellenistic name lists found in Kaunos. One is of the winners of *agones* in Kaunos, one for donors for an unknown purpose with their contributions, one for contributors of a *thiasos* with donations, one for *epheboi* (found in Evgile), one more of perhaps *epheboi* and one for the citizens, see IKaunos nos. 37-43, pp. 223-235; An example from Pisye records donors with their contributions to the construction of dockyards, see Bresson et al. 2001, 95-96 Nr. 1; Another from Tlos lists the contributors to the construction of the theatre (TAM II 550/551); Another from Xanthos records the donations of people who contributed to the construction works in the Letoon; Another Hellenistic donor list is from Kadyanda (TAM II 650).

<sup>7</sup> TAM II 176, A l.2-4: οἱ πρῶτως κατα|ταγέντες ἰς τὴν γερουσίαν.

<sup>8</sup> Lepke et al. 2015, 307-321 no. 3, 317; Schuler – Zimmermann 2012, 609-618 no. 9, 617 points that keeping the list of *bouleutai* on an inscription might indicate a special occasion beyond a routine register, and is probably related to the reform of municipals councils, which was enforced by Q. Veranius during the establishment of the Lycian province.

situation.<sup>9</sup> However, the composition of Lyrnai list during at least six observable phases in different periods does not support this suggestion. Another explanation could be that this was a list of *epheboi*, of young men attached to a gymnasium, who would have been part of the *ephebeia*, as some name additions seem to represent, not individuals but groups as parts of the inscription, each inscribed once, but the name iterations in the list confront this approach, as the *epheboi*, usually between the ages 17 and 20, were registered only once for a certain term of a few years .

Name lists of the eponymous officials, such as *prytaneis*, archons and priests, are well known from inscriptions and literary sources from antiquity.<sup>10</sup> These were used to supply eponymous year dates, as can be observed in the inscription from İnhisar (TAM II 168). The start of the inscription is [ἐπι]ερέ[ως Τ]ο[άλλεως τοῦ | Πειγάσεω]ς μηνὸς Ἡρα[ιῶνος? . . .], a restoration based on the first name amongst the officials given at the beginning of the donor list of the same inscription. We also know from a new inscription (see fn. 2 above) that there were archons in Lyrnai, one of whom could have been the eponymous official, similar to the *aisymnetes* amongst the archons in Miletos.<sup>11</sup> However, no eponymous archon is known from Lycia. Another prevalent eponymous official is *stephanephoros*, widely seen in Caria, including Kaunos.<sup>12</sup> Eponymous officials of Lyrnai might well have been the priests of Zeus, as its sanctuary should have been nearby (see fn. 2 above). A list of Asklepios priests from Thyssanous contains a min. 155 names, which were carved gradually over the course of ca. 200 years<sup>13</sup>, as the letter forms vary, similar to this new list from Lyrnai. There are also erasures in this example, this might have also occurred in the new list such as those examples in A ll. 2, 4, and perhaps more after l. 5, which might have been ineffectively erased. If this was a list of eponymous officials, then we face a time span of more than a hundred years, which makes sense to explain the periodical differences in the different parts in the list. Even, if we consider tiny differences in the letters and lines within the groupings made above, inscribing the names might have been more frequent. The first draft might have been done in the late Hellenistic period, inscribing the names of earlier officials inscribed on Face A and B, then the process might have continued on Face C in a later period and finally the first part of Face B might have been added, but before the region of Otkapolis was integrated into the province of Lycia during its foundation in AD 43, from which point the imperial priests became the eponymous officials. Though this final proposal seems to be the most probable of them all, the final list remains open to discussion.

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<sup>9</sup> French 1999/2000, 174-177 no. 2; Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 562-563; Şahin 2014, 49; Schuler – Zimmermann 2012, 616.

<sup>10</sup> For the still most comprehensive series of work on the eponymous officials see Sherk 1990a, 251-255 (for the surviving lists on stone and papyri); Sherk 1990b; Sherk 1991; Sherk 1992.

<sup>11</sup> See more in Sherk 1990a, 251-252.

<sup>12</sup> For the relevant cities of Caria see Sherk 1990a and Sherk 1992; for a detailed account on the office of *stephanephoros* in Asia Minor see Gökalp Özdil 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Fraser – Bean 1954, 34-38 no. 23; SEG XIV 699; BE 1956, 272.



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**Likya ve Karya Sınırında Yer Alan Oktapolis Bölgesi'ndeki Lyrnai'dan (Kayadibi) Bir İsim Listesi**  
**Özet**

Oktapolis Bölgesi'nde 2021 yılı yüzey araştırmalarında, Kayadibi – Asar Tepe yamacında üç tarafı yazılı bir blok bulunmuştur. Yazıtın günümüze ulaşmış olan kısmı yak. 113 tane isim içermekte olup yazıtın mahiyetine yönelik başka hiçbir bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Geç Hellenistik – Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenebilecek isim listesinde *ethnikon* ve para miktarı olmadığından kurumsal bir liste olma ihtimali yüksektir.

*Anahtar Sözcükler:* Likya, Oktapolis, Lyrnai, isim listesi, Karya.

**A Name List from Lyrnai (Kayadibi) of Oktapolis on the Border between Lycia and Caria**

**Abstract**

A block with three faces inscribed was found on the slope of Asar Tepe – Kayadibi in the region of Oktapolis during the field surveys of 2021. The surviving part of the inscription records ca. 113 names and no other information on the nature of list remained. Since there is no ethnic or monetary quantity provided with list of names, which can be dated to the Late Hellenistic – Early Imperial Period, it is probable that it was an institutional list.

*Keywords:* Lycia, Oktapolis, Lyrnai, name list, Caria.





Fig. 11) Face A, ll. 1-19



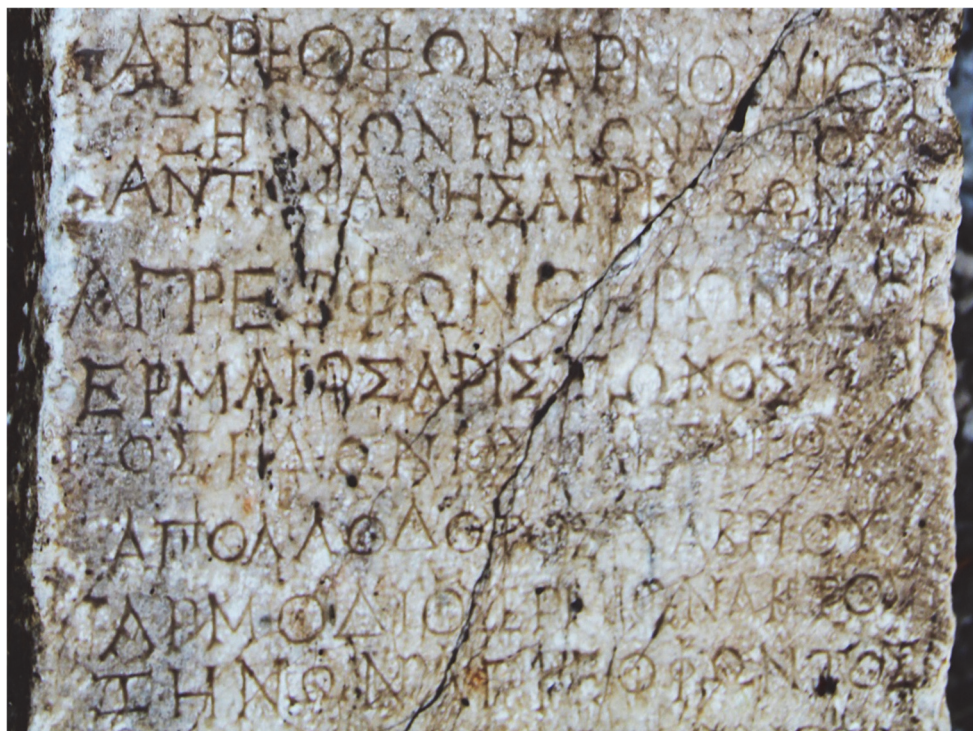


Fig. 12) Face A, ll. 19-27

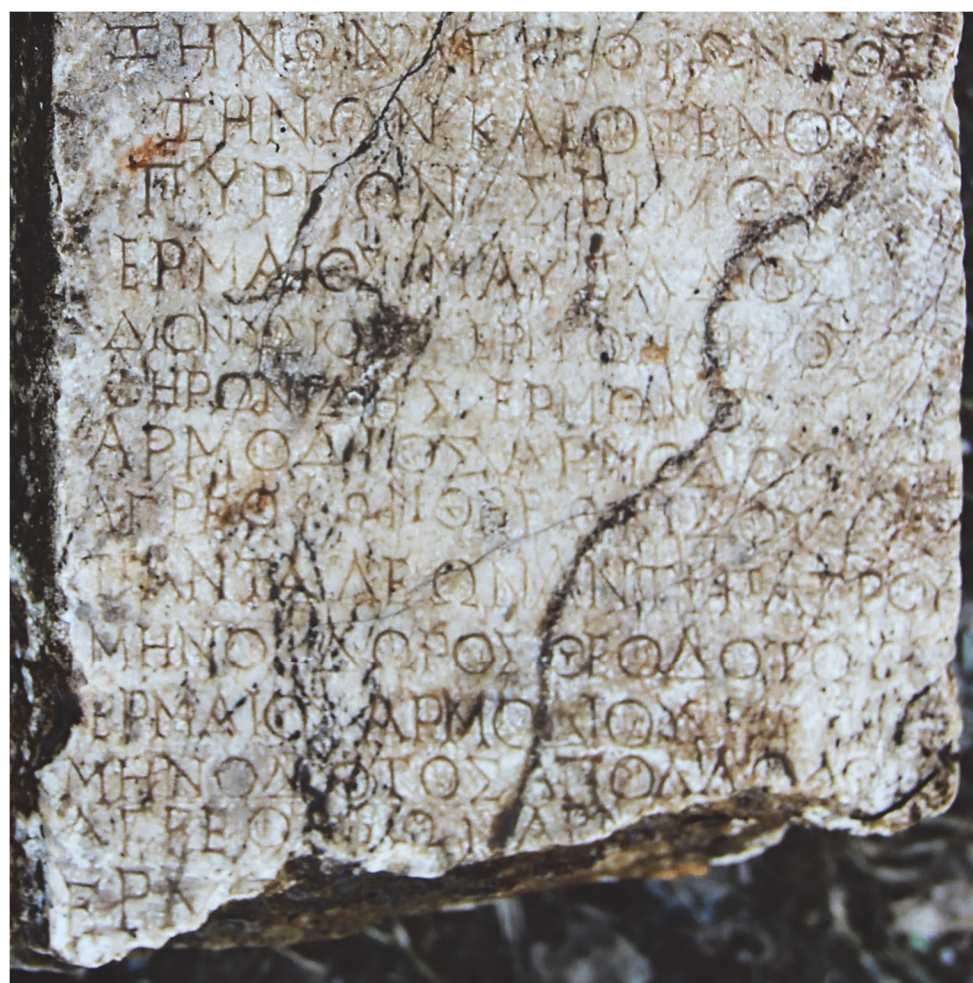


Fig. 13) Face A, ll. 27-40



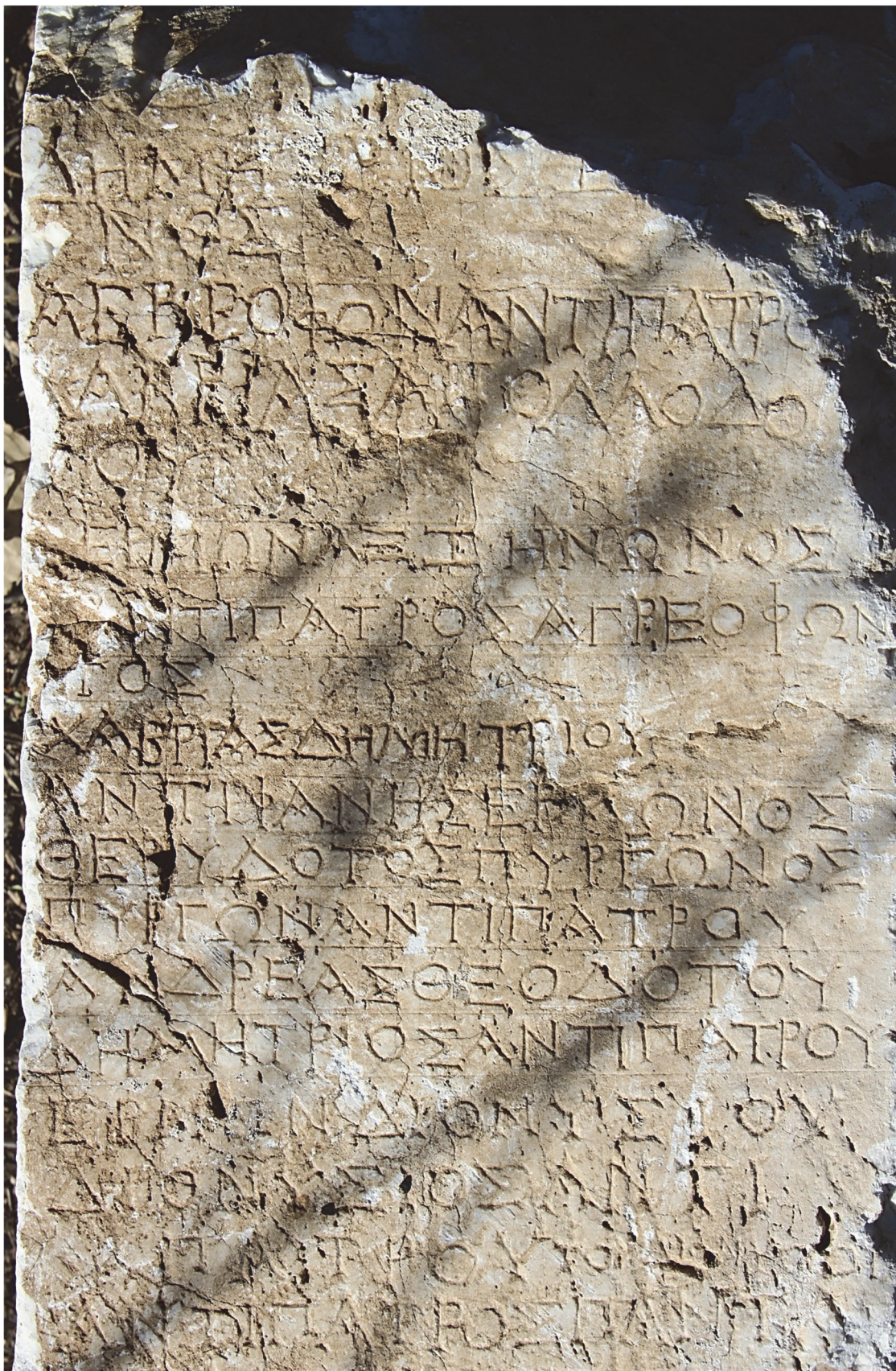


Fig. 14) Face B, ll. 1-18



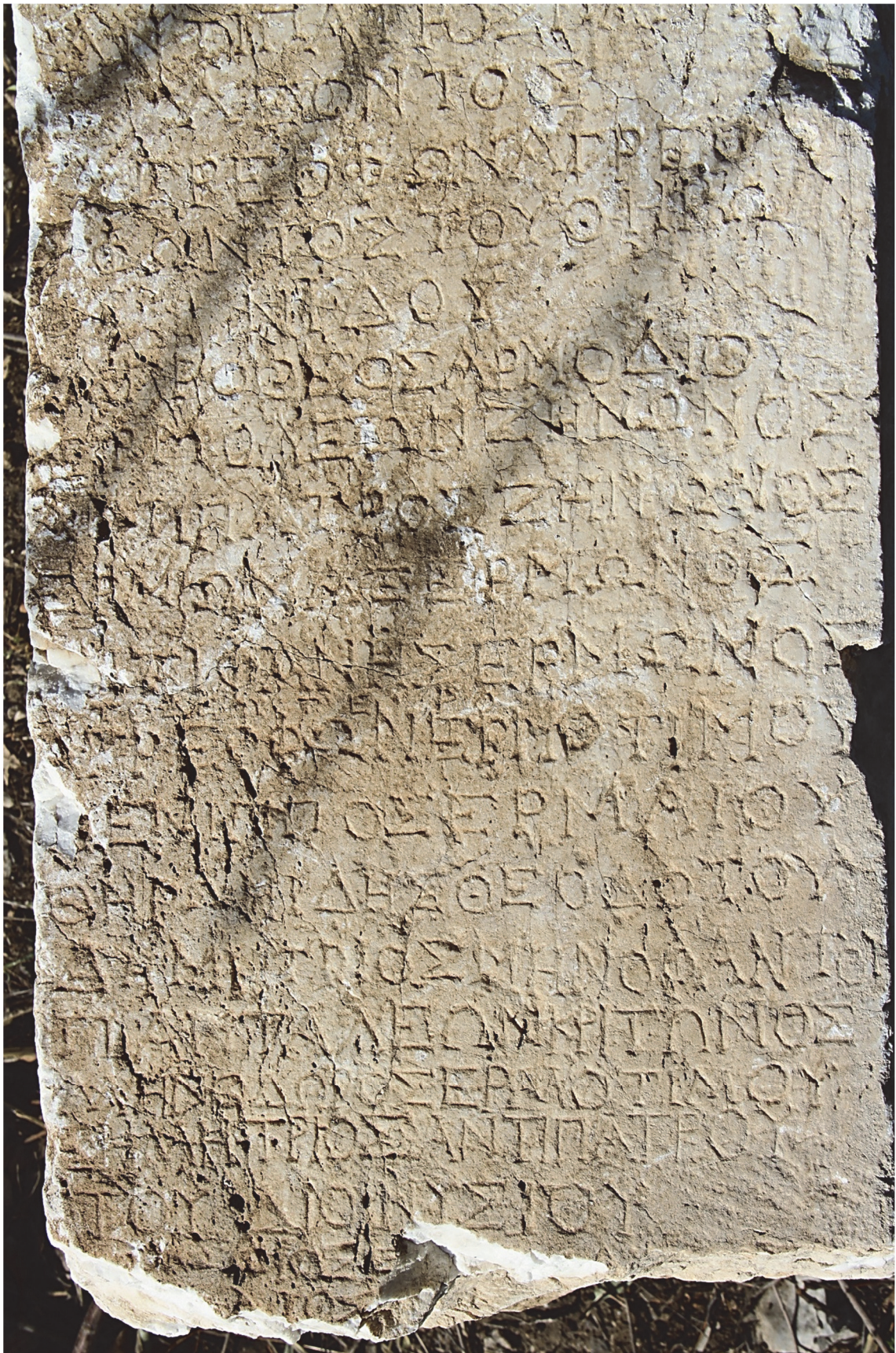


Fig. 15) Face B, ll. 18-38



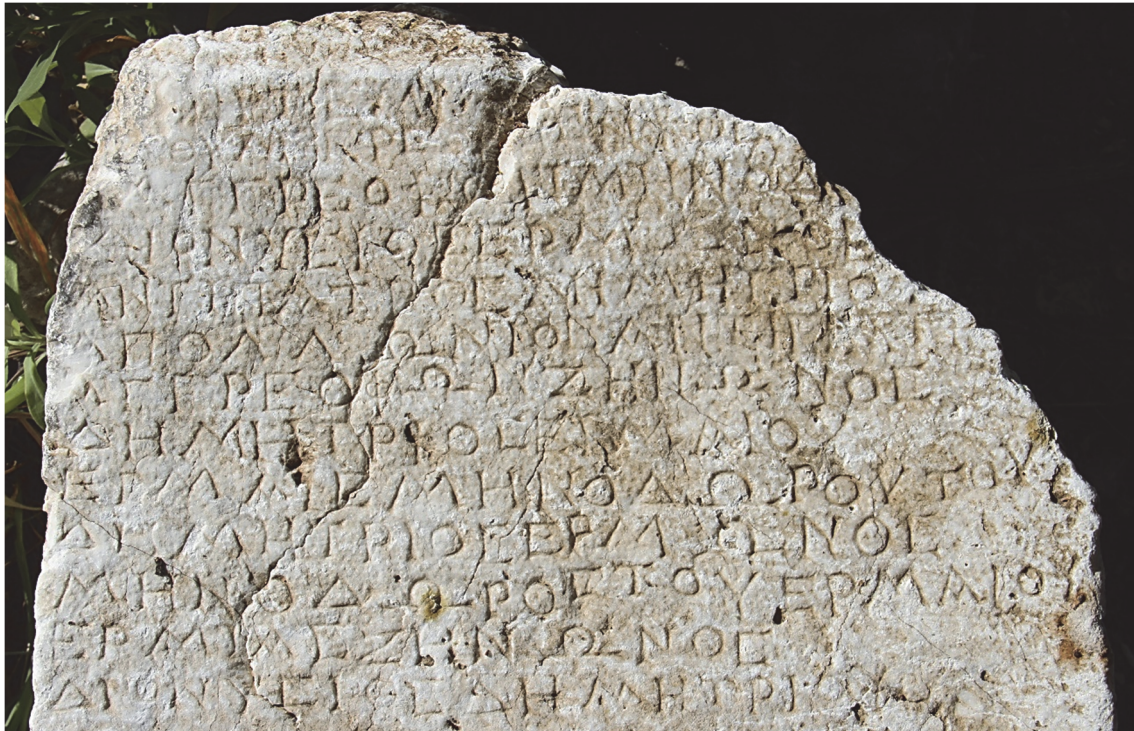


Fig. 16) Face C, ll. 1-13

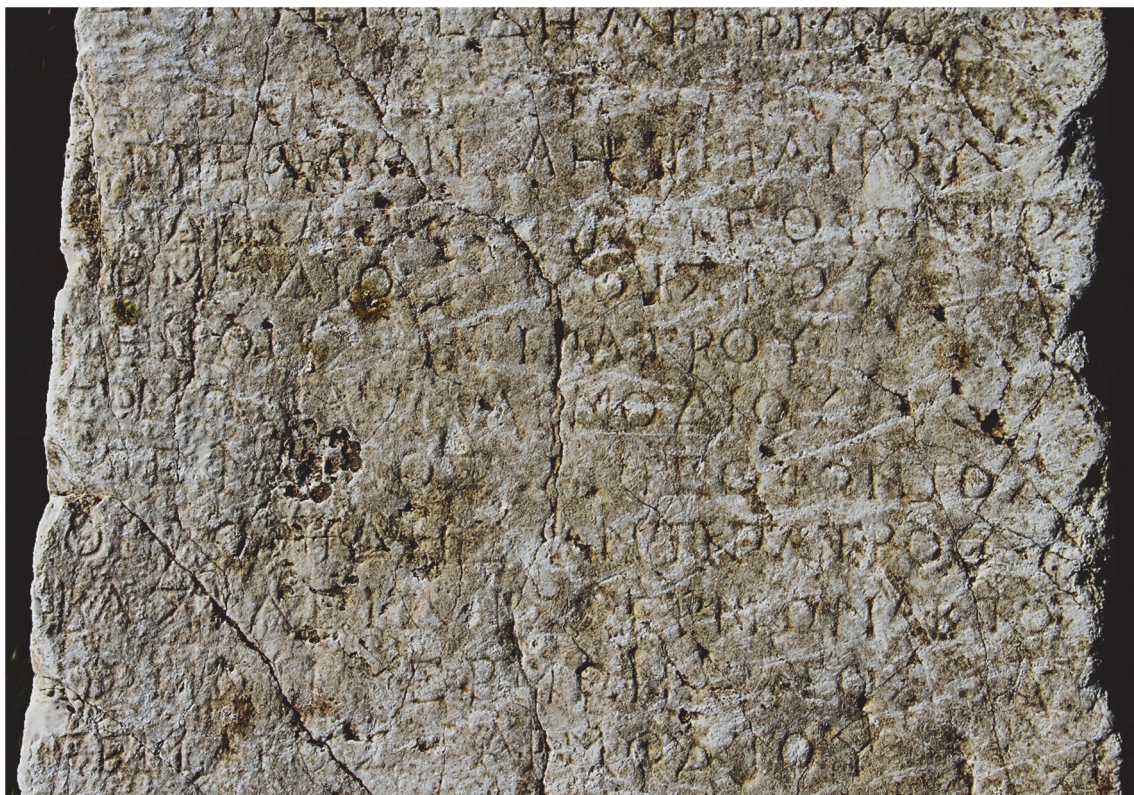


Fig. 17) Face C, ll. 13-25



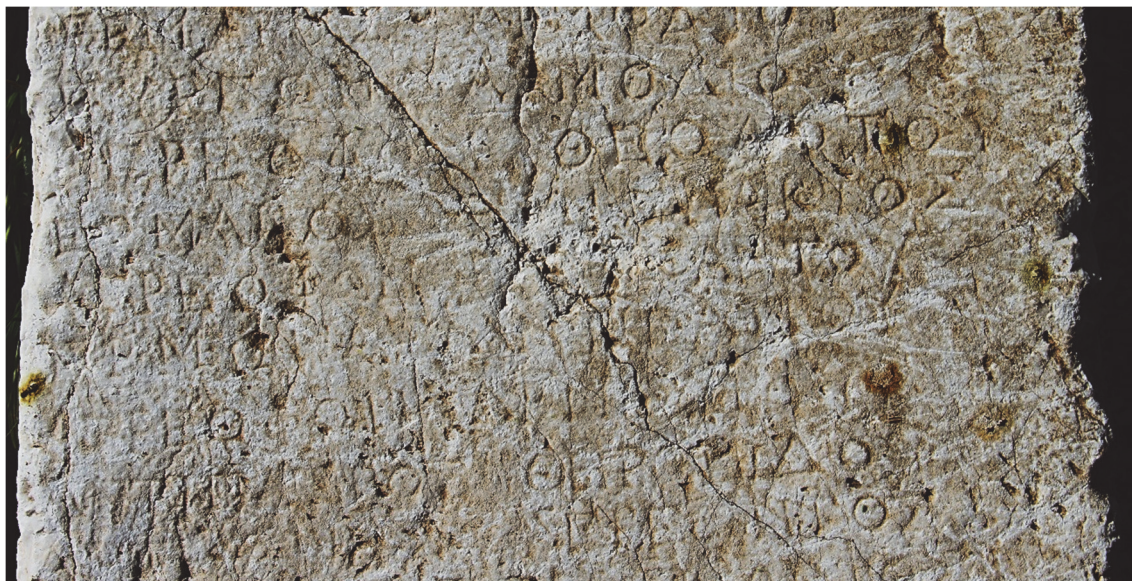


Fig. 18) Face C, ll. 25-33

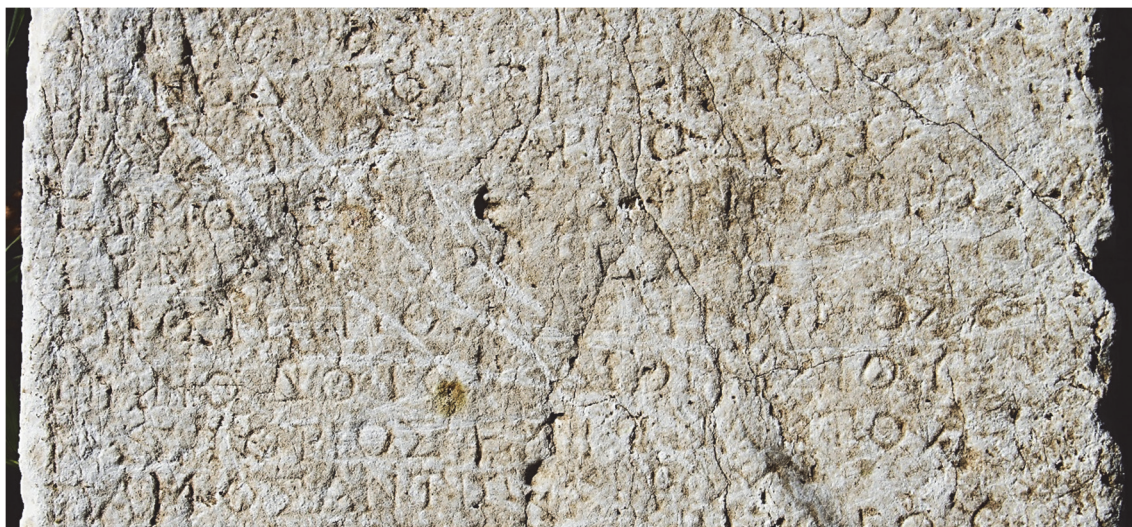


Fig. 19) Face C, ll. 33-41

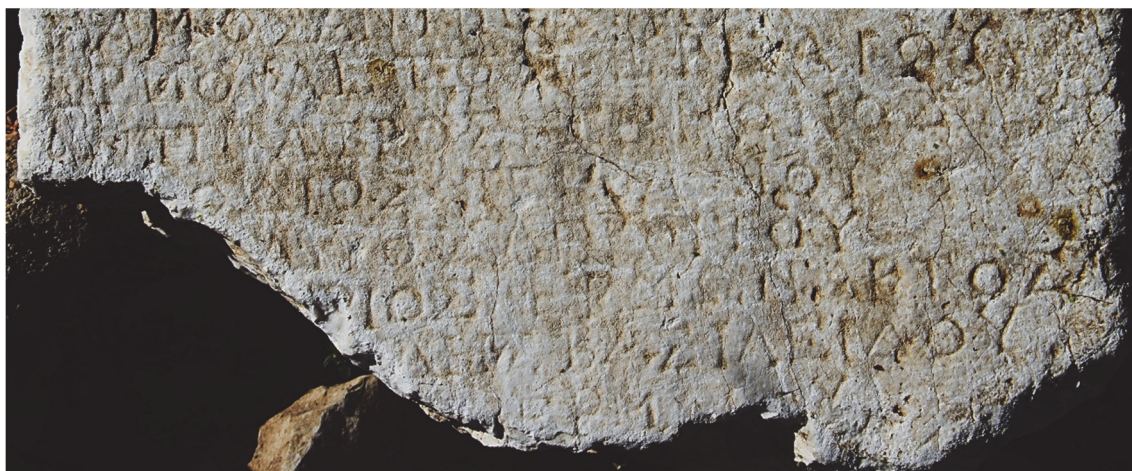


Fig. 20) Face C, ll. 41-48