

A New Hellenistic Contribution List from Tymnos in Karia. The Kaletepe Inscription

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For over a century, there have been various views about the location of Tymnos in the Rhodian Peraia. However, the issue is currently deemed to have been resolved (Fig.1).¹ Like the rest of the peninsula's *demosi*, Tymnos joined Rhodes' economic and political sphere of influence from the early Hellenistic period onwards. The settlement was of a *demos*-scale and displayed a dispersed pattern. There is little uncertainty that during the Hellenistic period, Tymnos was annexed to Kamiros, one of the three major *poleis* of the island of Rhodes, and this relationship may have commenced before that period.² The published inscriptions of Tymnos were discovered in the area spanning from Kırbaşı (currently called Külbaşı) in the southern section of Bozburun to the eastern region that reaches Avlana village.³ According to recent studies, Kaletepe which is situated on a raised area in the northeastern part of the town centre is the most suitable location for the *demos* centre.⁴



Fig. 1) Map showing the location of Tymnos

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¹ For recent studies on Tymnos, see Oğuz-Kırca 2016, 231-247; Oğuz-Kırca 2017, 31-40; Oğuz-Kırca 2018, 259-290. The primary concern is not Tymnos' correspondence with Bozburun but rather the attempt to establish a connection between Bozburun and other toponyms. Based on the existing data, it can be inferred that ancient settlements like Larymna or Larumna are not linked to Bozburun, see Bean 1971, 162; Peschlow-Bindokat 2003, 11; Oğuz-Kırca 2014, 277-278.

² See Meyer 1925, 50-51; Fraser – Bean 1954, 80; Jones 1987, 251; Dmitriev 1999, 250.

³ For the inscriptions of Tymnos, see I.Pérée rhod. 84-108; I.Rhodische Peraia 201-241.

⁴ Peschlow-Bindokat 2003, 11; Oğuz-Kırca 2014, 278, 282-283.

The 2022 fieldwork of the archaeological survey, which we have been conducting on the Bozburun peninsula with the authorisation by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Türkiye since 2021, yielded an important epigraphical finding.⁵ In our survey in the southern part of Kaletepe, we discovered a fragmentary limestone stele with an inscription. Likely fell from the top of the hill, the stele was found on the western slope situated at an elevation of around 155 metres, which overlooks the dry creek bed. The stele is damaged on the left and top side, but the right side is intact. It measures 45 cm in height, 26 cm in width and 14 cm in thickness. The letters from the first line to line six are noticeably larger than the others. The height of the letters varies between 0.8 cm (*omicron* in line 20) and 1.8 cm (*lambda* in the first line). Fig. 2. Date: 2nd century BC (lettering). The inscription reads:

	[- - -]
	[Σ]ελγε[ν̄ς]
	εὶς τὰν ^v
	ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) μ'
4	^{v v} Πρῶτος ^{v v v}
	Λαοδικεὺς ^v
	^{v v} εὶς τὰν ^{vac.}
	ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) μ'
8	Διογένης Μύνδιος ^{v v}
	^{v v} εὶς τὰν ^{vac.}
	ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) ν'
	[ca. ³]δ[ca. ²]ος Α[ν]τιοχεὺς
12	^{v v} εὶς τὰν ^{vac.}
	^v ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) κε'
	Ρόδιππος Μύνδιος
	εὶς ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) λ'
16	Ζωῖλος Φασηλίτας
	εὶς ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) λ'
	[Α]λεξανδρος Ἀντιοχεὺς
	εὶς ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) λ'
20	[Α]γήσιππος Κεραμήτας
	εὶς ἐπαύξησιν (δρ.) ν'

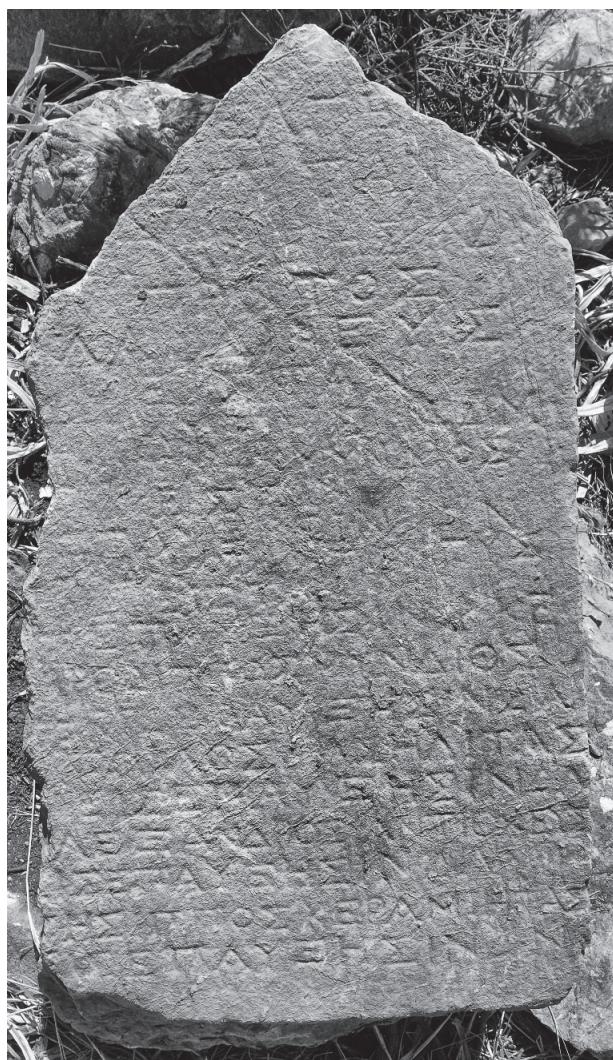


Fig. 2) The inscribed stele

⁵ We would like to thank the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, for having granted permissions for this research. The Bozburun Survey Project was funded by the Turkish Historical Society under the project number TP4-1358 in 2022. Special thanks are owned to Caner Bakan as a team member for his endless support and contribution to the project.

App. crit.: Throughout the inscription, the *drachma* is represented by the \angle symbol. | 15 As of this line, the preposition *εἰς* is no longer accompanied by the article *τὰν*. | 21 Based on the uninscribed space below this line, it appears that the list ends with the current line.

Translation: “[- -] of Selge for the increase 40 drachmas, Protos of Laodikeia for the increase 40 drachmas, Diogenes of Myndos for the increase 50 drachmas, [- - -]os of Antiocheia for the increase 25 drachmas, Rhodippos of Myndos for the increase 30 drachmas, Zoilos of Phaselis for the increase 30 drachmas, Alexandros of Antiocheia for the increase 30 drachmas, Hagesippos of Keramos for the increase 50 drachmas.”

This fragmentary inscription records eight non-native individuals who provided financial support for an augmentation (*ἐπαύξησις*) goal that is unknown to us.⁶ Considering that each name in the list is accompanied by the phrase *εἰς* (*τὰν*) *ἐπαύξησιν*, it remains conceivable that the missing left or upper portion of the inscription may have documented the involvement of other individuals who contributed to this unknown endeavour in some other non-monetary ways. The listing of contributors lacks clarity in terms of order. However, it is evident that the ranking was not determined based on the amount of the monetary contributions. For instance, the anonymous contributor from Selge, who donated 40 drachmas, is placed at the top, while Hagesippos of Keramos is listed at the bottom with a generous contribution of 50 drachmas. Additionally, amidst the list, Rhodippos of Myndos is mentioned for his contribution of 30 drachmas. Considering the first six lines, which are engraved in larger letters than the subsequent lines, it is likely that the ranking of these persons was affected by a hierarchical structure inside the organisation. The anonymous individual from Selge and Protos from Laodikeia may have held prominent roles, such as leadership posts, in the organisation. The majority of the contributors were from Asia Minor, specifically four from Karia (two from Myndos, one from Laodikeia, and one from Keramos), one from Lycia (Phaselis), and one from Pisidia (Selge). There are two contributors from Antiocheia. However, it is unclear which ancient city of Antiocheia is being referred to by the ethnic Ἀντιοχεύς. Since the majority of the individuals are from cities in Asia Minor, it can be inferred that the Antiocheia mentioned in the inscription was also a city in Asia Minor. Alternatively, taking into account Tymnos' geographical location in the Rhodian Peraia and the significant number of people from Antiocheia in Syria residing on the island of Rhodes, it is possible that the ethnic Ἀντιοχεύς refers to the city of Antiocheia in Syria.⁷

Tymnos was a favourite location for foreigners in the Hellenistic period, a fact that has already been attested to by inscriptions from the site. Grave inscriptions are particularly valuable in this respect. A cinerary urn, bearing an inscription from the late Hellenistic period commemorates the memory of Menandros, a man from Selge (Pisidia).⁸ Another Pisidian, Skopas, is found in a

⁶ On the term *ἐπαύξησις*, see Chaniotis 2013, 31-34, who discussed in detail that, in the festival context, *ἐπαύξησις*, and its variations or their corresponding verbs denote a concept aimed at enhancing the festival's grandeur, visibility, and impact. The list of inscriptions compiled by Chaniotis (2013, 31 n. 42), recording *ἐπαύξησις* or relevant words in his paper is very useful.

⁷ Cf. Carratelli 1942, 174. For the Antiocheians from Rhodes, see Boyxen 2018, 351-354.

⁸ I.Pérée rhod. 88; I.Rhodische Peraia 241.

Hellenistic grave inscription.⁹ In a gravestone of a couple dating to the Hellenistic period found in Tymnos, it is documented that Dionysios of Termessos (Pisidia) was married to a woman named Menias from Synnada (Phrygia).¹⁰ A Lycian man, Philippos of Xanthos, is found in another gravestone, probably from the Hellenistic period.¹¹ Apart from the funerary inscriptions, a dedication to Apollo Dalios from Tymnos informs us about an anonymous individual from Patara (Lycia).¹²

It is noteworthy that many of the names documented in the list are attested for the first time in their hometown; before this inscription, there is no prior attestation to the names Protos in Laodikeia, Rhodippos in Myndos, Zoilos in Phaselis, and Hagesippos in Keramos. Moreover, found on mainland Greece and on the Aegean islands, especially on Rhodes, the name Hagesippos was previously unknown in Asia Minor.¹³ The occurrence of this name in Keramos could be ascribed to the influence of Rhodes. The personal name Rhodippos is commonly found on the island of Rhodes and occasionally elsewhere.¹⁴ Another individual from Myndos named Diogenes appears on a coin, which dates to the second/first century BC.¹⁵ Only a few letters of the contributor's name from Antiocheia in the eleventh line are legible, [ca. ³] δ[ca. ²] ος. It is possible that this name can be a compound name ending in either -δωρος, -δικος, -δημος (-δαμος), -δοκος or -δοτος. An individual named Alexandros of Antiocheia also appears in a dedication (?) from Kallipolis in the Rhodian Peraia; he was the head of the association called *Haliastai Polemakleioi*.¹⁶

The loss of the opening part in the Tymnos inscription raises questions about the intended purpose of the monetary contributions, amounting to a minimum of 295 drachmas. In general, epigraphical documents listing contributors, whether natives or foreigners, gathered for various reasons are plentiful in Karia and Rhodes, as well as in other regions of the Greek world.¹⁷ Paral-

⁹ I.Pérée rhod. 105; I.Rhodische Peraia 219.

¹⁰ I.Pérée rhod. 98; I.Rhodische Peraia 211.

¹¹ I.Rhodische Peraia 218.

¹² I.Pérée rhod. 97; I.Rhodische Peraia 204.

¹³ See LGPN 1 s.v. Ἀγήσιππος; LGPN 3A s.v. Ἀγήσιππος; LGPN 3B s.v. Ἀγήσιππος.

¹⁴ See LGPN 1 s.v. 'Ρόδιππος. On the names from Rhodes beginning with 'Ροδ- see, Boyxen 2018, 166-167.

¹⁵ Milne 1938, 261, no. 2; cf. LGPN 5B s.v. Διογένης.

¹⁶ I.Rhodische Peraia 571; I.Carie hautes terres 86.

¹⁷ For some examples from Karia, see Stratonikeia: I.Stratonikeia 1508; Syrna: I.Pérée rhod. 58; I.Rhodische Peraia 301, 302 (cf. Harland, List of Donations to the Asklepios Sanctuary, AGRW 15219 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=15219>]); Tralles: I.Tralleis 168 (cf. Harland, List of Contributors and Honors by Initiates, AGRW 13189 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=13189>]); Magnesia on the Meander (area): SEG 31, 983 (cf. Harland, List of Donations for a Bacchic Feast, AGRW 12159 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=12159>, accessed on 6 November 2023]). For some examples from Rhodes, see Rhodos: SEG 53, 822 (cf. Harland, List of Contributors to a Building Project Led by Xouthos of Antioch, AGRW 21540 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=21540>, accessed on 6 November 2023]); Carratelli 1942, 167 no. 20; (cf. Harland, List of Contributors, AGRW 15063 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=15063>], accessed on 6 November 2023]).

lel to our inscription, there is a succinct list of donations collected for ἐπαύξειν at Kamiros on the Island of Rhodes.¹⁸ This fragmentary inscription from the 2nd century BC records monetary contributions made by the *demos* of Arioii and individuals named Kritoboulos, son of Aristomboridas, and Aristomboridas, son of Aristomboridas, who were the members of a prominent family in Kamiros, towards the enhancement of the worship of the gods and *panegyris* of the Panathenaia festival (ἐπαύξειν τάς τε τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ τὰν πανάγυριν τῶν Πανθηναίων). On the other hand, only a few inscriptions exist about non-native contributors and how their monetary contributions were used to support (ἐπαύξησις) an activity. A stele from Knidos from the 2nd century BC informs us that foreign contributors from various cities such as Arados, Soloi, Myndos, Selge, Kaunos, and Seleukeia provided financial support for the growth of a cultic association known as *thiasos* (ll. 1-2: [Τοῖ]δε συν[α]ύξειν προαιρούμενοι [τὸ]ν θίασον ἐπαγγείλαντο καὶ εἰσέδω<καν>.¹⁹ Another example from Karia is a Hellenistic inscription found in Kaunos.²⁰ The inscription includes two separate lists of contributors. The second list, which is well-preserved, documents monetary contributions made to help develop a private cultic association known as the *thiasos* of Theodosius, son of Antipatros (ll. 27-28: οἱ ἐπανγειλάμενοι ἐπὶ ιερέως Σωστιγένους ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ θιάσῳ Θεοδότου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρ[ο]υ, εἰς τὴν ἐπα[ύ]ξησιν τοῦ θ[άσου]). Unfortunately, the opening part of the first list is missing. However, Harland suggested that the initial list, consisting of 22 contributors, 18 of whom may have been foreign, could be associated with another effort to contribute during the augmentation of *thiasos*.²¹

Two further parallel examples are from the island of Rhodes. A stele from the 1st century BC and found in Rhodos records a roll of names, mostly non-citizens, together with their monetary contributions to the growth of the citizenry community (ll. 3-4: εἰς τὰν ἐπαύξησιν τοῦ πλήθευς τῶν πολιτῶν).²² Nevertheless, the inscription lacks any indication about the purpose of these

roman-associations/?p=15063, accessed on 6 November 2023]); Carratelli 1942, 168 no. 21 (cf. Harland, List of Contributions (frag.) by a Mixed Group of Immigrants [1], AGRW 15065 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=15065>, accessed on 6 November 2023]); Suppl. Rodio 157b (cf. Harland, List of Donors (?) including Sarapiasts, AGRW 14846 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=14846>, accessed on 6 November 2023]); Lindos: IG XII.1 9 (cf. Harland, Contributions for Restoring Tombs after an Earthquake, AGRW 14604 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=14604>, accessed on 6 November 2023]).

¹⁸ Tit. Camirenses 159; cf. Migeotte, Souscriptions 43; Boyken 2018, 55.

¹⁹ I.Knidos 23; cf. Harland, List of Contributions to a Society of Immigrants, AGRW 9729 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=9729>, accessed on 6 November 2023]; Carbon, Inv. Anc. Assoc., CAPinv. 839 [<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/839>, accessed on 6 November 2023].

²⁰ I.Kaunos 39; cf. Harland, List of Contributors to a Society Founded by Theodosius, AGRW 21802 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=21802>, accessed on 6 November 2023]; Carbon, Inv. Anc. Assoc., CAPinv. 836 [<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/836>, accessed on 6 November 2023].

²¹ See note 19 above.

²² Jacobi 1932, 177 no. 6; cf. Harland, List of Contributions (frag.) by a Mixed Group of Immigrants [2], AGRW 17600 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=17600>, accessed on 6 November 2023].

contributions. It is worth noting that, although this contribution is intended for the growth of the community of citizens (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν), the inclusion of non-citizens on the roster is intriguing. B. Boyxen hypothesised that this endeavour may be linked to religious celebrations or public infrastructure initiatives, potentially affecting all inhabitants of the polis, regardless of their citizenship status.²³ Another instance from Rhodes is an inscription discovered in the cemetery situated in the eastern part of Ialysos.²⁴ The inscription is closely related to the place where it was found. Dated to the 2nd century BC, it reveals that a group of association members, known as ἐρανιστὰί Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν Ἀριστοβουλιαστᾶν Ἐρμαϊστᾶν Παναθηναϊστᾶν τῶν σὺν Κτησιφῶντι, made a monetary contribution to acquire a communal burial ground for the growth of their association (Side B, ll. 1-5: τοίδε τῶν ἐρανιστᾶν δηλόμενοι συνεπαύξειν τὸν ἔρανον ἐπαγγείλαντο δώσειν δωρεὰν ἀργύριον εἰς τόπον ποτ' ὧνὰν καὶ ἀπέδωκαν). This record includes both Rhodians and multitude of outsiders.

The persons recorded in the present inscription may have been associated with a cult or professional organisation that was active in Tymnos. The presence of public cults in Tymnos was verified by the epigraphic evidence. A Hellenistic inscription related to the worship of Apollo Karneios has been found at the site.²⁵ Furthermore, another fragmentary inscription is known to provide evidence for the cult of Apollo Dalios.²⁶ The cult of Zeus had significant importance among the inhabitants of Tymnos. A 1st century BC inscription on a marble altar from the site suggests that the worship of Zeus took place in the region under the epithet *Kataibatas*.²⁷ In addition, the *koinon* of Tymnios made dedicated efforts to promote the cult of Zeus and Hera, as the *lex sacra* of Tymnos indicates;²⁸ according to the decision of the *koinon*, *hierothytas* was entrusted with the task of taking care of the essential requirements of those who would offer sacrifices to Zeus and Hera and also enhancing the worship of the gods. The compilation of contributions in the present inscription might perhaps stem from a similar public endeavour. Regarding associations, there is little evidence in Tymnos. The aforementioned Hellenistic inscription dedicated to Apollo Dalios attests to the existence of an association known as the *koinon* of *Aphrodeisiastai* and *Soteriastai* in Tymnos. This association bestowed a wreath of young branch upon an anonymous individual from Patara and honoured him with exemption from all his obligations.²⁹ Additional piece of evidence from Tymnos is a partially preserved inscription

²³ Boyxen 2018, 26-27.

²⁴ Kontorini 1989, 73 no. 10 (SEG 39, 737). Cf. Harland, Dedication of a Common Grave by a Mixed Immigrant Group, AGRW 14871 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=14871>, accessed on 6 November 2023]; Gabrielsen, Inv. Anc. Assoc., CAPinv. 2115 [<http://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/2115>, accessed on 6 November 2023].

²⁵ I.Rhodische Peraia 203.

²⁶ See note 12 above.

²⁷ I.Pérée rhod. 104; I.Rhodische Peraia 202.

²⁸ I.Pérée rhod. 102; I.Rhodische Peraia 201. See also Sokolowski 1956, 47-50; LSCG Suppl. 111.

²⁹ See note 12 above.

that refers to the name Mousaios (?), who held the position of being the head of an *eranos* (ἀρχερανιστάς).³⁰

Recently discovered remains of a structure which is located 180 metres southeast of the spot where the inscription was found, suggest a potential connection between the inscribed stele and this structure (Fig.3). The structure covers an area of 400 square metres, with a square plan measuring 20 by 20 metres, and comprises a minimum of three interior spaces (Fig.4). As can be concluded from the architectural elements scattered on the surface at the site, this was once a qualified structure. Unfortunately, there is no further archaeological findings available that would reveal its intended use as there has been no excavation at the site. An analysis of the function of this structure through a comparative examination of architecturally analogous buildings is outside the purview of this article. However, it is worth considering the possibility that this building served as an association house.



Fig. 3) Remains of the building on Kaletepe

³⁰ I.Pérée rhod.103; I.Rhodische Peraia 205. Cf. Harland, Reservation (?) for Mousaios the Leader, AGRW 15217 [<http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=15217>, accessed on 6 November 2023]. For the meaning of ἀρχερανιστής, see Arnaoutoglou 1994, 107-110.



Figure 4) Plan of the building

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The abbreviations of the epigraphic corpora and reference works used in this paper are those of AIEGL (*Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*).

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Karia'daki Tymnos'tan Yeni Bir Hellenistik Katkı Listesi. Kaletepe Yazılı Özet

Bu makalede, 2022 yılında Bozburun'un (Marmaris/Muğla) kuzeydoğusunda yer alan Kaletepe'de gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik yüzey araştırması sırasında yamaçta bulunan bir yazıt fragmanı tanıtılmaktadır. Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlenen yazitta, Tymnos'un yerlisi olmayan sekiz kişi, ethnikonları ve tanımlanamayan bir amacın desteklenmesi (*epauksesis*) için yaptıkları parasal katkılarla birlikte listelenmektedir. Paralel örnekler, bu kişilerin bir kültür ya da meslek birliğine bağlı olabileceklerini düşündürmektedir.

Yazıtın Türkçe tercümesi şöyledir:

Selgeli [- -] gelişim için 40 drakhme, Laodikeialı Protos gelişim için 40 drakhme, Myndoslu Diogenes gelişim için 50 drakhme, Antiokheialı [- -]os gelişim için 25 drakhme, Myndoslu Rhodippos gelişim için 30 drakhme, Phaselisli Zoilos gelişim için 30 drakhme, Antiokheialı Aleksandros gelişim için 30 drakhme, Keramoslu Hagesippos gelişim için 50 drakhme.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Karia; Tymnos; Bozburun; Kaletepe; Hellenistik yazıt; katkı listesi; *epauxesis*.

A New Hellenistic Contribution List from Tymnos in Karia. The Kaletepe Inscription Abstract

This article introduces a new fragmentary inscription discovered on the hillside during the archaeological survey at Kaletepe, situated northeast of Bozburun (Marmaris/Muğla), in 2022. The inscription, which dates to the Hellenistic period, lists eight non-natives of Tymnos along with their ethnics and monetary contributions for the augmentation (*epauxesis*) of an unidentified purpose. Parallel examples suggest that they may have been affiliated with a cult or a professional association.

Keywords: Karia; Tymnos; Bozburun; Kaletepe; Hellenistic inscription; contribution list; *epauxesis*.