



INSTITUTUM TURCICUM SCIENTIAE ANTIQUITATIS
TÜRK ESKİÇAĞ BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

Colloquium Anatolicum

23

• 2024 •



INSTITUTUM TURCICUM SCIENTIAE ANTIQUITATIS
TÜRK ESKİÇAĞ BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

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COLLOQUIUM ANATOLICUM

23

ISSN 1303-8486
E-ISSN 3062-133X

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Sosyal Bilimler Veri Tabanında taranmaktadır.**

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Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü adına Necmi Karul

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Tasarım ve Uygulama

Bahadır Erşık

Kapak Fotoğrafi

Yerin Bora Uysal, Elbistan Karahöyük Silindir Mühür

Baskı/Printing

Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.
100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No:202/A Bağcılar-İstanbul
Tel: +90 (212) 325 71 25 Fax: +90 (212) 325 61 99 - Sertifika No: 29487

Yapım ve Dağıtım/Production and Distribution
Zero Prodüksiyon Kitap-Yayın-Dağıtım Ltd. Şti.
Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09
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A New Honorary Inscription from Korykion Antron (Kilikia Trakheia) and Some Thoughts on a Publication*

*Korykion Antron'dan (Kilikia Trakheia) Yeni Bir Onurlandırma Yazıtı ve
Bir Yayın Üzerine Düşünceler*



Hamdi ŞAHİN**

DOI: 10.58488/collan.1551489

Keywords: Cilicia, Korykion Antron, Inscription, Corycus, Rough Cilicia

This article aims to present a newly discovered honorific inscription found at the Cennet-Cehennem sinkholes (Korykion Antron), located approximately 20 km northeast of the Silifke district in the Mersin province, 2 km northwest of Narlıkuyu and about 5 km southwest of the ancient city of Korykos. The inscription is carved in Greek in 8 lines on a limestone block, broken at the top, right, and left. On the left side of the block are letters from a second inscription, though they do not form a coherent whole. Based on the content, the inscription can be dated to the 1st–2nd century CE. It reveals that the People and the Council honored Athenadora, daughter of Sarapas and wife of Diodotos, son of Theodotos, who served as a priestess with her husband.

Another purpose of the article is to share our views on a study published online in 2019 (Durukan 2019).

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kilikia, Korykion Antron, Yazıtı, Korykos, Dağlık Kilikia

Bu makalenin bir amacı Dağlık Kilikia Bölgesi Yüzey Araştırmaları kapsamında Mersin İli Silifke ilçesinin yaklaşık 20 km kuzeydoğusunda, Narlıkuyu beldesinin 2 km kuzeybatısında ve Korykos antik kentinin yaklaşık 5 km güneybatısında bulunan Cennet-Cehennem Obruqları'nda (Korykion Antron) tespit edilmiş olan yeni bir onurlandırma yazıtını tanıtmaktır. Yazıtı üstten, sağdan ve soldan kırık kalker taşından bir blok üzerine 8 satır ve Hellence olarak işlenmiştir. Bloğun sol yanında ikinci bir yazıtı ait harfler bulunmakta ancak bir anlam bütünlüğü oluşmamaktadır. MS 1.-2. yüzyıla tarihlenebilecek yazıtın anlaşıldığı üzere Halk ve Danışma Meclisi'nde eşi ile birlikte rahibelik yapmış, Theodotos oğlu Diodotos'un karısı, Sarapas'ın kızı Athenadora'yı onurlandırmıştır.

Makalenin diğer bir amacı ise 2019 yılında internet ortamında yayımlanmış olan bir çalışma (Durukan 2019) hakkındaki görüşlerimizi paylaşmaktır.

Hakeme Gönderilme Tarihi: 17.09.2024 Kabul Tarihi: 25.11.2024

* Durukan, 2019.

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Cennet-Cehennem Sinkholes (Korykion Antron) (Map 1), which are located 20 km northeast of Silifke District, Mersin Province, 2 km northwest of Narlıkuyu and 5 km southwest of the ancient city of Korykos, was discovered and presented in 1852 by Russian naturalist P. de Tchihatcheff (Tchihatcheff, 1854: 127-134). The sinkholes, described in detail by Strabon 2 and Pomponius Mela 3, are depressions formed due to erosion caused by underground waters coming from the Taurus Mountains. At the bottom of the Cennet Sinkhole is a cave and a church with an epigram¹ over the entrance.

During the epigraphic and archaeological surveys carried out in Korykion Antron between 2007 and 2016, a new honorary inscription was discovered among the trees at the base of the Cennet Sinkhole (Fig. 1).

Definition: Limestone block, broken from the top, right and left. It has an 8-lines Greek inscription. There are letters belonging to a second inscription on the left side of the block, but no unity of meaning is formed. It is possible to date the inscription to the 1st-2nd Centuries CE due to the existing letter characters.

H: 55 cm W: 61 cm Thickness: 53 cm LH: 2-4 cm

		Right:
		[Ἡ βου]λή καὶ
		ὁ δῆμος ἐτειμή-
Left:		σαν Ἀθηνοδώραν,
A	4	Σαραπα θυγάτερα,
ΕΙ		γυναῖκα δὲ Διοδό-
ΚΙΑΣ		τοῦ τοῦ Θεοδό-
		τοῦ συνιερασα-
ΝΙ		μένην αὐτῶ.

The Boule and Demos honored Athenodora, daughter of Sarapas, wife of Diodotos, son of Theodotos, who who served as a priestess with her husband.

L. 1: Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος must refer to the city of Corycus, which the settlement Korykion Antron is affiliated.

L. 3: Ἀθηνοδόρα LGPN II; III A; III B; IV s.v. “Ἀθηνοδόρα”.

L. 4: The name Σαραπᾶς, which is very rare in inscriptions, is attested in a funerary poem

¹ Hicks 1891, 242, Nr: 25; Keil-Wilhelm 1931: 219; Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, Nr: KrA 5: ὥσπερ θεὸν ἐδέξω τὸν ἀχώρητον λόγον | χαίρουσα μικροῖς ἐνκατόκησον δόμοις, | οἷς Παῦλος ἀνήγειρε θεράπων ὁ σὸς καμῶν, | τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν Χριστὸν ἐκμιμουμένη.



from Smyrna dating to the 2nd Century BCE².

With this inscription, a woman serving as a cult priestess – most likely the cult of Hermes³ – was documented for the first time in Korykion Antron.

The epigraphic, archaeological, and geophysical works conducted in Korykion Antron in 2008 and 2009 mainly focused on the view of Th. Bent in a report⁴ published in 1890, that the church in Korykion Antron was built with blocks brought from the “temple (Göztepesi) above the sinkholes” and on the investigation of which deity the temple in Korykion Antron might have belonged to. In 2008 and 2009, geological and geophysical studies were carried out in both the Göztepesi Sanctuary⁵ and the temple in Korykion

² IKSmyrna 525= SEG 46, 1485; Merkelbach, Stauber 1998: Nr. 05/01/58: Σαραπίωνα Ἡροδότου· | Ἡροῖ νήτου παιδὸς ἀφεί-| λετο πνεῦμα Σαραπίᾱ·| πένθος ἄδρὸν προγόνους | Μοῖρα ἐπέκλωσε βίου. | Ἡροδότου πατρὸς τριε-| τῆς νόον ἐξαπατήσας | κέκρυπται τύμβῳι πρὸς | πατρίδος χάρακι.

³ The author of this article first presented the possibility that the temple at Korykion Antron could be a temple of Hermes at a Symposium held in France in 2010 (see Şahin 2014: passim also Şahin 2012: passim.)

⁴ Bent 1890b, 742f. Durugönül also agreed with this view, Durugönül 1998: 112.

⁵ The inscriptions of Zeus Korykios, Hermes Korykios, Zeus Kodopaios and Zeus Kodopas dating back to the Roman Imperial Period found in Göztepesi and its vicinity indicate that the structure here was a sanctuary where offerings were made to different gods rather than a temple to a single god, for detailed information, see Şahin et. al. 2010: 77.

Antron to investigate Bent's view. As a result of the studies, it was understood that the stone was not provided from the Göztepesi sanctuary site in the construction of the temple in Korykion Antron. Still, both structures were built by cutting stones from the area where they were located. (Şahin *et al.* 2010: 71-77).

Another problem is the question of which deity the temple at Korykion Antron might have belonged to. These discussions began in the late 19th century. There are lists of names on the blocks forming the ante projection of the north wall of the temple facing east. Th. Bent conducted surveys at the Korykion Antron settlement in 1890 and in the temple, which was converted into a church in Late Antiquity. There are lists of names on the blocks forming the ante of the north wall of the temple. Th. Bent suggested that the names on the lists are “*members of the Teukros Dynasty or that of the priest-kings of Olba*” (Bent 1890a, 448); while E. L. Hicks said that they are “*contributors to the construction of the temple*” (Hicks 1891, 256) and W. M. Ramsay stated that are the “*benefactors to the temple's building*” (Ramsay 1890, 233-234), and R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm suggest that the names belong to priests⁶ of Korykios. The view that the temple at Korykion Antron is dedicated to Zeus Korykios is based primarily on the inscriptions published in two separate articles by Th. Bent. In his article published in 1890 (Bent 1890a, 448), Bent stated that they had identified two inscriptions related to Zeus Korykios, one in the form of *graffito* on the wall of the temple and another on an altar, and lists of priest names on the northeastern ante of the north wall of the church in Korykion Antron, in a temple “*one mile above the Sinkholes*”. In his article published in 1891 (Bent 1891, 214f.), he stated that the two inscriptions and lists of names related to Zeus Korykios were found in different temples (Bent 1891, 214f). The inscriptions in question were confirmed to be found in the temple at Göztepesi, approximately 3 km north of Korykion Antron⁷. This raises the question of which deity the temple at Korykion Antron might belong to.

According to ancient literary texts, Korykos is the city of Hermes⁸. Hermes temples

⁶ Heberdey–Wilhelm 1896: 72. For the same view, see Keil–Wilhelm 1931: 216. Durugönül 1998: 85; Durugönül 1999: 114f; MacKay 1990: 2107; Dagron–Feissel 1987: 34.

⁷ For the inscription on the western wall of Göztepesi temple, see: Hicks 1891: No.: 30; IGR III 859; Hagel–Tomaschitz 1998, KrA 2: Ζεῦ Κορύ[κιε] | Τ(τρος) (?) | Τραϊανός (?). For the inscription on the rectangular altar found in the same sanctuary, see Hicks 1891: No.: 26; IGR III, 860; Dagron–Feissel 1987: No.: 16; Hagel–Tomaschitz 1998: KrA4: Δὴ Κωρυκίῳ | Ἐπινεικίῳ | Τροπαιούχῳ | Ἐπικαρπίῳ ὑπὲρ εὐτεκνίας | καὶ [[φίλαδελφίας]] | vac. τῶν vac. | Σεβαστῶν. Şahin *et al.* 2010: 66. For the inscriptions regarding Zeus Kodopas identified in the sanctuary, see Sayar–Şahin 2008: *passim*. G. Dagron and J. Marcillet–Jaubert published an inscription belonging to Hermes Korykios, which was found in the Silifke Museum in 1978 and which they thought came from the vicinity of the city of Korykos. Due to the erasure of the word philadelphia in the sixth line of the inscription, the altar is dated to the coregency of Emperors Caracalla and Geta, 209–211 CE. See Dagron–Marcillet–Jaubert 1978: No.: 42; SEG 28, 1278; BE 1979, 588; AE 1978, 817; Dagron–Feissel, 1987: 44, No.: 17; Hagel–Tomaschitz 1998: inc 13: Ἑρμῆ Κωρυκίῳ | Ἐπινεικίῳ | Τροπαιούχῳ | Ἐπικαρπίῳ ὑπὲρ εὐτεκνίας | ας [[καὶ φίλαδελφίας]] | τῶν vac. | Σεβαστῶν. fol.

⁸ Anth. Pal. IX, 91: Ἑρμῆ Κωρυκίων ναίων πόλιν. Oppianus, Hal. III, 208–209: Ἑρμῆϊο πόλιν, ναυσίκλυτον ἄστν.

like those in Çatıören (Hellenkemper 1986: 74-77; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 224f; Durugönül 1998: 120) and Yapılıkaya (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, 459); coins⁹ and inscriptions found in the region support the information given by ancient literary texts.

The inscription on a lintel discovered as a result of the surveys at the Adamkayalar settlement located in the territorium of Korykos and the revision made to the text published by M. Collignon in 1880 (Şahin 2012: 68); the fact that the names on the inscription under the rock relief Nr. A 3 at the Adamkayalar settlement and the names thought to belong to the priests in the lists of Korykion Antron are in the same father-son relationship (Şahin 2012: 68f); and the possibility that Hermokrates, the Hermes priest mentioned in the inscription on the ground floor of the Yapılıkaya Hermes sanctuary, is the same person as Hermokrates in the lists in the Korykion Antron temple (Şahin 2012: 69) indicate the existence of the Hermes cult here.

Cennet Sinkhole in Korykion Antron is also the site of a mythological story. Oppianus, in his *Halientika* (III, 1-28), narrates this story as follows:

...ἔργα δέ τοι ζύμπαντα μετ' ἀνδράσι πορσύνονται,
σοὶ δ' ἐμὲ τερπώλην τε καὶ ὑμνητῆρ' ἀνέηκαν
δαίμονες ἐν Κιλικέσσιν ὑφ' Ἑρμαιοῖς ἀδύτοισι.
Ἑρμεία, σὺ δέ μοι πατρῷε, φέρτατε παιδῶν
10 Αἰγιόχου, κέρδιστον ἐν ἀθανάτοισι νόημα,
φαῖνέ τε καὶ σήμαινε καὶ ἄρχεο, νύσσαν ἀοιδῆς
ἰθύνων· βουλάς δὲ περισσοῶν ἀλιήων
αὐτός, ἄναξ, πρῶτιστος ἐμήσαο καὶ τέλος ἄγρης
παντοίης ἀνέφηνας, ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρας ὑφαίνων.
15 Πανὶ δὲ Κωρυκίῳ βυθίην παρακάτθεο τέχνην,
παιδὶ τεῶ, τὸν φασὶ Διὸς ῥυτῆρα γενέσθαι,
Ζηνὸς μὲν ῥυτῆρα, Τυφάονιον δ' ὀλετῆρα.
κείνος γὰρ δείπνοισιν ἐπ' ἰχθυβόλοισι δολώσας
σμερδαλέον Τυφῶνα παρήπαφεν, ἔκ τε βερέθρου
20 δύμεναι εὐρωποῖο καὶ εἰς ἄλλος ἐλθέμεν ἀκτῆν·
ἐνθα μιν ὄξειαι στεροπαὶ ῥιπαὶ τε κεραυνῶν
ζαφλεγέες πρήνιξαν· ὁ δ' αἰθόμενος πυρὸς ὄμβροισ
κρᾶθ' ἑκατὸν πέτρῃσι περιστυφελίζετο πάντη
ξανόμενος· ξανθαὶ δὲ παρ' ἠϊόνεσσιν ἔτ' ὄχθαι

⁹ For the coins, see SNG France 2 Cilicie, No.: 1100, 1109, 1114, 1115, 1120, 1129; SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia No.: 802, 803, 808, 813, 818, 822; SNG Cop. Lycaonia-Cilicia, No.: 121. During surveys carried out in the region, a relief of Hermes holding a money bag was discovered carved into the rock just north of Imbriogon Kome, see Şahin 2012: 66, fn. 14.

25 λύθρω ἐρευθιώωσι Τυφασονίων ἀλαλητῶν.
 Ἑρμεία κλυτόβουλε, σὲ δ' ἔξοχον ἰλάσκονται
 ἰχθυβόλοι· τῶ καί σε σὺν ἀγροίοισιν αὔσας
 δαίμοσιν εὐθήριοιο μετὰ κλέος ἔρχομαι οἴμης.

According to the story, the hundred-headed monster Typhon fought Zeus in the Cennet Sinkhole to take over the world. In his struggle, Hermes and Pan helped Zeus. Typhon was brought out of the sinkhole by Pan with the promise of eating fish and as a result, he became the target of Zeus' lightning. At the end of the fight, Typhon's blood dyed the yellow limestone red¹⁰. The myth¹¹ of Hermes and Pan helping Zeus and the presence of a prayer inscription to Pan and Hermes on the wall of the cave¹², it was suggested in previous studies that both cults were honored/worshipped here in the cave¹³. On the other hand, based on line 8 of Oppianus' lines above ...ἐν Κιλίκεσσιν ὑφ' Ἑρμαίοις ἄδύτοισι..., it has been suggested that the temple at Korykion Antron may have been a temple to Hermes¹⁴.

In 2019, a study published online (Durukan 2019: *passim*), revisited the discussions about the temple at Korykion Antron and reiterated that the temple should have been a "Pan temple"¹⁵. At the very beginning of the study, the following view has been presented:

"At this stage, it should be remembered that there was a "temple to Pan" in Korykion Antron, where the myth of Typhon is supposed to have taken place... (Durukan 2019: 25)". The following sentences try to support this view. Durukan's, "...Tuchelt...points out that Korykion Antron is the only "temple to Pan" in Anatolia..." view is essentially based on the following sentence in Tuchelt's article published in the 1970s:

"...Bekannt dagegen ist in Kleinasien nur ein Panheiligtum:
 die korykische Grotte in Kilikien..." (Tuchelt 1970: 231)

First of all, Tuchelt is talking about a sanctuary (Heiligtum), not a temple. As is known,

¹⁰ Oppianus III, 1-28. The origins of the Greek myth of Zeus and Hermes' battle with Typhon can be traced back to a Hittite legend from the second millennium BCE, in which the storm god Tarhunt fought a similar battle with the dragon Illuyanka and won. See Houwink ten Cate 1965: 208; MacKay 1990: 2108.

¹¹ Pomponius Mela I, 75: Totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a diis et dignus et creditus, nihil non venerabile et quasi cum aliquo numine se ostentat.

¹² Hicks 1891, No.: 24; Heberdey-Wilhelm 1896, No.: 154; Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, KrA 3; Merkelbach-Stauber 2002, 195, No. 19/08/01: Ἄγκεσι καὶ δρυμοῖς ἢ δ' ἄλλεσι πρὶν μυχὸν εὐρὴν|δύμεναι ἐν γαίης βένθεσιν εἰν Ἀρίμοις,| ἠχῆεις ὄθ' Ἄως ἀφένγεσι ρεύμασι φεύγει,| Πᾶνα καὶ Ἑρμείην Εὐπαφίς εἰλασάμην.

¹³ Tuchelt 1969/70: 231; Mackay 1990: 2107, Şahin 2013: *passim*; Şahin 2012: *passim*.

¹⁴ Şahin 2012: 70f. A. Sitz agrees with this view. See Sitz 2023: 157f.

¹⁵ There is a terminological confusion in this study. The area described as the "Temple of Pan" by Durukan, which is scattered throughout the study – e.g. pp. 25, 26, 30, 32, 33f – refers to the sanctuary in the cave at the base of the Cennet Sinkhole. For theoretical and conceptual approaches to temples, see Kortanoğlu 2018: *passim*.

sanctuaries, in comparison to temples, come in different forms and can be a mountain peak, a wooded area, a water source, under a tree in the forest, or, as in the case of Korykion Antron, a cave, such as the one inside the Cennet Sinkhole. Tuchelt clearly states that it is a “Grotte” (cave) as can be understood from the lines above.

Tuchelt states also that Pan was worshipped in the cave at Korykion Antron along with Hermes and the Nymphs. Tuchelt’s opinion is based on the inscription in J. Keil’s article published in 1928 (Tuchelt 1969/70, 231, fn. 43). This evidence is the text of the prayer on the lower part of the eastern wall of the cave entrance, which was also examined by us during the surveys in Rough Cilicia (Şahin 2012: 70):

“Ἀγκεσι καὶ δρυμοῖς ἡδ’ ἄλσεσι πρὶν μυχὸν εὐρὺν
2 δύμεναι ἐν γαίης βένθεσιν εἰν Ἀρίμοις,
ἡχῆεις ὄθ’ Ἀῶος ἀφένγεσι ρεύμασι φεύγει,
4 Πᾶνα καὶ Ἑρμείην Εὐπαφίς εἰλασάμη”¹⁶.

According to the inscription, a person named Eupaphios prayed to Hermes and Pan before entering the cave sanctuary and sought refuge in their mercy. The first question that comes to mind here is why Zeus was not included in the prayer. Although it is quite difficult to give a clear answer to this question, it is possible to interpret this situation as follows:

- 1- Considering Oppianus’ text, Hermes and his son Pan help Zeus to triumph in the struggle that takes place in the cave. For this reason, Zeus is probably not included in the prayer text in the inscription at the entrance of the cave.
- 2- On the other hand, since Hermes and his son Pan are mythologically directly related to caves, only the two are mentioned in the prayer text.

But what is the main focus of Durukan’s study, since a Hermes and Pan sanctuary is already known in the cave inside the Cennet Sinkhole? The focus is not on the sanctuary of Hermes and Pan in the cave, but rather on who the name lists on the walls of the temple above the sinkhole represent, the dating of these lists, the dating of the temple above the Cennet Sinkhole, and to which god(s) the temple may have been dedicated to.

Durukan goes on to reiterate that the temple at Korykion Antron in Kilikia may also have been a “Pan temple” since the cult of Pan began to spread in Arkadia, and from the 5th Century BCE in Greece and beyond, and was worshipped in caves (Durukan 2019: 27f). On the other hand, it has been argued that the Pan Sanctuary of Paneas (Caesarea

¹⁶ For the inscription, see Hicks 1891: Nr. 24; Heberdey–Wilhelm 1896: Nr. 154; Hagel–Tomaschitz 1998: KrA 3; Merkelbach–Stauber 2002: 195, Nr. 19/08/01.

Philippi/Banias) in the Golan Heights provides strong data that would allow us to understand Korykion Antron and this situation is tried to be conveyed as follows:

“While the area of Korykion Antron in Cilicia is now called Cennet-Cehennem, the cave at Paneas is called the Gates of Hell or Gates of Hades. Both caves have water springs, and Pan and Hermes are said to have been worshipped together in both caves. The entrance to the cave at Paneas is reported to have figures of Hermes and Pan. An inscription found at Korykion Antron indicates the presence of reliefs or statues of Hermes and Pan in the middle of the weeds just in front of this cave” (Durukan 2019: 32).

As evidence for this hypothesis, the inscription at the entrance of the Cennet Sinkhole, published by Hicks in 1891, is presented (Durukan 2019: 32, fn. 45). Although Hicks published the last word in the last line of this inscription as *εικάσαμεν*¹⁷, —which does not create a coherent meaning within the context of the inscription—, Wilhelm later revised it to *είλασαμεν*¹⁸, providing a more accurate and meaningful interpretation. This correction eliminates the incorrect assumptions that Hicks made regarding the existence of statues or depictions of Hermes and Pan within the cave.

In the following part of the study, the connection between Nemesis and Pan is discussed. Considering the following text on lines 21-23 of Block B on the sinkhole, which – according to Durukan – “remains a mystery” (Durukan 2019: 38):

...
 Ζηνοφάνης β
 ὁ καὶ Ῥωμύλος
 ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου
 4 τῶν Νεμέσεων
 κτλ.

Translation: “Zenophanes, also known as Romulos, the lifelong priest of the Nemeses, who had served as a priest twice/two years...”

It was suggested that, since the Nemesis-Pan relationship is known in the Pan sanctuary at Paneas (Durukan 2019: 38ff), Korykion Antron in Kilikia was also a “temple of Pan” and the mention of Nemesis in Block B 21-23 was related to “athletic games organized within the scope of the cult of Pan” and this was tried to be explained “as a result of these evaluations, it is not possible to explain the presence of the name of the priest of Nemesis in the name list at Korykion Antron with a coincidence. The fact that the name

¹⁷ Hicks 1891: Nr. 24. Similarly, Durukan 2019: 32.

¹⁸ Heberdey–Wilhelm 1896: No154. Within the scope of our work at Korykion Antron, the said inscription was documented and the squeeze was taken. The autopsy has shown that the word in the last line is *είλασαμεν*.

Nemesis is mentioned should be considered both as a clue pointing to the existence of this cult and as a sign that annual festivals and sports games were organized at Korykion Antron” (Durukan 2019: 39). Even the name lists were questioned, saying “whether they are truly a list of priests or not” and “accordingly, is it correct that the names on the lists were ordained for only one year, while those with the letter β next to their names were ordained twice (or for two years)?” (Durukan 2019: 43) and ultimately suggested that these were the names of those who excelled in athletic competitions at festivals organized for the cult of Pan. (Durukan 2019: 45ff). He then tried to reinforce his argument by citing Strabon’s report that the priests in the Pontos region served for life (Durukan 2019: 44). However, as it is known, that pagan priests could fulfil their duties annually, for life, or even only during a festival. In other words, the duration of the priesthood could be variable and there was no specific rule (Burkert 2012: 96). On the other hand, to disprove that the names in the lists belong to priests, he refers to Zenophanes, also known as Romulos, who was the lifelong priest of the Nemesis in Block B 21-23 mentioned above, as follows:

“...It is also important to note that a priest in List B at Korykion Antron, who is emphasized to have served in the temples to Nemesis, the goddess of justice, is specifically stated to have served “for life”. Although he is listed in List B, this information can be taken as proof, which supports the hypothesis that the priests in the region served for life...” (Durukan 2019: 44).

However, this is a purely hypothetical proposition. The reason for specifically stating that Zenophanes was a lifetime priest of the Nemesis is related to the fact that Zenophanes – who is mentioned quite late in the list of names – may have been a priest of another cult as well. Indeed, priests could be both polytheists and monotheists. That means they could be priests of a single cult or more than one¹⁹.

While Durukan argues that the people in the list of names are not priests, he also explains how the numerical indicator β at the end of the names should be interpreted as follows:

“An expression in List C, used for two different names, reinforces the doubts that the assessments made so far about the letter β are not correct. The two names in this list are preceded by the adverb “δίς” and followed by the letter β” (Durukan 2019: 45). As evidence for this assumption, the following parts of the name list on the C blocks are shown:

C II. 2 Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Ἄκυ-
 λιανὸς Διοκλῆς δίς β
 κτλ.

¹⁹ Burkert 2012: 96-99. For instance, in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, priestesses known as Pythia honoured other gods and goddesses while serving Apollo, the god of divination. See Broad 2007: 42-45.

C VI. 3 M. Αὐρ[ήλιος] Πινος δις β
 κτλ.

An explanation for the adverb “δις” after the names in the inscription have been attempted as follows: “It is already derived from the number δύο (two) and means “twice”. That is, the adverb δις is a word that exactly fulfills the meaning suggested or so far accepted to explain what the letter β means in this list. The addition of the letter β, which has the same meaning, is superfluous, but it has been added. In that case, instead of thinking that δις and the letter β mean the same thing, it would be more accurate to think that they have different meanings... Therefore, the letter β in the list can be defined as a sign indicating those who win the competition twice in a row (in festivals organized in the name of Pan), i.e. those who do a double. The few names where the letter β and the adverb “Δις” appear together can be understood as twice double winners, i.e. those who won the contest a total of four times.” (Durukan 2019: 45ff.)

Such an approach is unfortunately incorrect. The adverb δις after the names in the inscription may refer to the second occurrence of something, but it is also used extensively in the inscriptions to indicate that the father and the son have the same name. Indeed, the adverb δις after Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀκυλιανὸς Διοκλῆς used to indicate that the father and son share the same name, and the β is added to the end of the name to indicate that the son was a priest twice. The same is true for the name M. Αὐρ[ήλιος] Πινος in the list.

After all these considerations, it is suggested that the temple on the Cennet Sinkhole in Kilikia can be dated to the reign of Hadrianus at the earliest, but this date can also be moved to the Antonine and Severan periods. (Durukan 2019: 62). This is based on the assumption that the names 1-129 on A. Wilhelm’s List A was taken from an older list. However, this view is not correct. First of all, the letter characters in List A reflect the characteristics of the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, List B is located directly inside the blocks containing List A. The reason why Durukan supports this assumption is to facilitate the dating of the temple to the Hadrianus/Antonines/Severan periods, rather than the 1st Century BCE, assuming that the name lists were taken from another building (Durukan 2019: 62ff) and ignoring the name list on a new block discovered a few years ago (Şahin 2010: 70). The newly discovered list consists of 21 lines. When the names on the blocks on the temple are taken into account – with exceptions – there are 2 names per line. This implies that there are 44 names on the list recently identified in 2009 and that it covers approximately 22 years.

Another proof that the calculations are flawed²⁰ is the aforementioned assertion that by taking δις as a 2-year indicator and multiplying it by the letter β, which stands for the number 2, the names on the list “represent those who have won two doubles each, i.e. a

²⁰ A new publication on revisions to the names on these lists and a new dating proposal is in preparation.

total of four winners” (Durukan 2019: 63). This calculation is also incorrect, as $\delta\iota\varsigma$ is the determiner used to indicate that the father and son have the same name. Thus, Durukan’s calculations (Durukan 2019: 63), attempt to date the cutting of the names on the lists to 260 CE, “when Shapur destroyed Cilicia, causing the end of the cult of Pan” (Durukan 2019: 64), also lose their validity. The reason for his attempt to reach this date stems from his endeavor to link the names in the lists to a historical event that caused the names to be cut off due to the plundering of the region by Shapur.

In conclusion, although it is possible to speak of a worship of Hermes and Pan here, as the inscription at the entrance of the cave in the Cennet Sinkhole at Korykion Antron suggests, it is more likely that the temple above the sinkhole was a temple of Hermes in the form of a *templum in antis* rather than a temple to Pan surrounded by a temenos. There are archaeological data, inscriptions, coins, and ancient literary texts that support this idea more concretely than conjecture. Future archaeological excavations and systematic surveys in and around the temple at Korykion Antron will bring even more concrete information to light.

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