

**THE CULT OF APOLLON PLEURENOS  
IN LYDIA\***  
(Pl. XVI-XVII)

Two inscribed *stelai* were purchased in 1994 by the Bergama Museum from a dealer who reported that they had been found (or unearthed ?) at Yeniköy (formerly Hasankıranı or Hacıhasankıranı)<sup>1</sup>, which is situated in the north of the lake Marmara Gölü, the ancient Gygaia / Koloe, in the north of Sardis. Due to the importance of these texts we hereby publish them without delay.

In 1982 L. Robert published an inscription from Kemerdamları<sup>2</sup>, located in the north of Sardis, in which a priest of Apollon Pleurenos and an association *mystai*<sup>3</sup> honor a certain Euxenos of Sardis who functioned as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων, “responsible for the sacred revenues”. It is probable, as L. Robert suggested, that the ethnic *Pleurenos*, if it is not derived from an indigenous toponym, points to a people who lived near the shore (πλευρά, plural from the neuter πλευρόν) of the lake Koloe, near modern Gölarmara, which is in close proximity to the find-spot at Kemerdamları<sup>4</sup>. The two texts presented here (hereafter Text 1 and Text 2), which record both the ethnic Πλευρενός (Text 2, 4) and the toponym

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<sup>1</sup> For other inscriptions from Yeniköy see *TAM* V, 1, 618, 625, 630, 639; H. W. Pleket, *Talanta* 10-11 (1978/9), 85ff., nos. 11-12 and H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (Wien 1994), 523 (recording *Thamoreitai*, *Arillenoï* and the cult of Zeus Driktes).

<sup>2</sup> *BCH* 106, 1982, 361-7 = *Documents*, 324ff.); *SEG* XXXII, 1982, 1237; W. Leschorn, *Antike Ären* (= *Historia*, Einzelschriften, Heft 81), 1993, 301-3 and 505; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (1983), 132; P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 9 (1989), 148 and M. Paz de Hoz García-Bellido, “Los Cultos religiosos en Lidia a Través de la Epigrafía griega”, Salamanca 1994 (unpublished PhD Dissertation), I (Text), 88 and II (Catalogue), 5.26.

<sup>3</sup> According to L. Robert, also the fragmentary block recording personal names from the same area (*Sardis* VII, 1, no. 5) might have similarly recorded an honorary text by an association of *mystai* (*BCH* 106, 1982, 364 and note 8 with different readings; cf. *SEG* XXXII, 1982, 1237).

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the ethnic Πλευρενός has also appeared in a Byzantine inscription in the Istanbul Museum; see *SEG* XXVIII (1978), 571: † ἐνθάδε κατάκτε Θεοφόβιος πιστός Πλευρηνός (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D.), in which the editors already thought of the toponym Pleura.

in dative (ἐν Πλευροῖς [Text 1, 4-5 and 24]), leave no doubt that the sanctuary of Apollon Pleurenos once existed at a place called Πλευρά, which was situated around the lake Κολόη<sup>5</sup>.

**Text 1.** Marble stele with a moulding at top. Above the inscription is depicted an olive-branch. Lower part of the stone is missing. Dimensions: 82x35.5x11, L. 1 cm. Inv. No. 2.3.93 (Fig. 1).

Ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου ἀρχιερέως καὶ  
 ἱερέως Καδοῦ Πληρι· Εὐθυδ-  
 ῆμωι ἀρχιερεὶ ὑπόμνημα πα-  
 4 ρὰ Καδοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ ἐν Πλευ-  
 ροῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχοντος τὴν  
 ἱερητήαν ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου· ἡξί[ι]-  
 8 ωσα πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ  
 βασιλέως Νικάνορα τὸν ἀρχιερ[έ]-  
 α ἵνα στήσω στήλην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 κατατάξαντός μου τὸ ἐκείνου  
 ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τῶν μυ[στ]-  
 12 ῶν καὶ νῦν ἀξιῶ σ' εἰ φαίνετα[ι]  
 συντάξαι γράψαι Ἀσκληπιάδ[η]  
 τῷ οἰκονόμωι ἵνα παραδείξῃ μοι  
 τόπον ἐν ᾧ σ[τ]ήσω τὴν στήλην  
 16 ἐν ἣ κατατάξω τὸ τέ στον ὄνομα  
 καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τῶν μυστῶν.  
 Διόφαντος Ἀττίνα· τῆς γραφ[εῖ]-  
 20 σης μοι ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ Εὐθυδή-  
 μου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑποτέταχά  
 σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Εὐθύδημος Ἀ-  
 σκληπιάδῃ τοῦ ἀναδοθέντος  
 24 μου ὑπομνήματος παρὰ Καδ-  
 οῦ ἱερέως τοῦ ἐν Πλευροῖς  
 Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσθω αὐτῷ-  
 ι καθάπερ ἡξίωσεν.  
 Μενεκράτης Ἑρμογένου  
 28 Μητρόδωρος Μιθρέους  
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<sup>5</sup> On the lake Koloe see L. Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982), 334ff. and 366.

## The Cult of Apollon Pleurenos in Lydia

L 2: ἱερέως Κάδοου Πληρι: The name Kadoas appears also in the other texts of the same series: In Robert's text Ἀπολλώνιος Κάδοου ἱερέως in lines 2-3 and Κάδοας Πληρι (see *infra*) in line 8; in our Text 2, 4: Ἐρμογένης Κάδοου ἱερέως. (see L. Robert, *BCH* 106, 1982, 362 with notes 3-5 with bibliography). Considering that in all the three examples recording the cult of Apollon Pleurenos the priests have Kadoas either as a name or patronym, therefore, we may presume that they belonged to the same family which held the priestship διὰ γένους, hereditary.

The genitive Πληρι appears also in Text 2, 21: Ἀπολλώνιος Πληρι. The name, which has not yet been attested elsewhere, seems to be indigenous (see also *infra*).

L. 14: ΠΑΡΑΔ<sup>Ε</sup>ΙΞΗ lapis (obviously, the mason first omitted *Epsilon* and later inserted it above the line).

L. 18: On the name Ἀττίνας see notably Ch. Naour, *ZPE* 44, 1981, 23 where numerous instances are collected; add now also *TAM* V, 2, 1070 and 1298.

L 6: ἱερητήαν for ἱερητείαν (cf. L. 24: ἱερώς for ἱερέως)

L. 28: For the name Μίθρης, indicating the "influence perse dans l'anthroponymie et dans la population" see L. Robert, *op. cit.* 364 (cf. also Text 2, 8).

*"In the year when Euthydemos was the chief-priest and Kadoas son of Pleri (?) was the priest. Petition from Kadoas, the priest of Apollon at Pleura who held the priestship for many years, to the chief-priest Euthydemos: 'I previously petitioned to Nikanor, the chief-priest in the time of Antiochos, to set up a stele in the sanctuary recording his name and mine and those of the mystai, and now I ask you, if it seems proper to you, to give an order to write Asklepiades the steward to assign me a place where I would set up the stele on which I would write down your name and mine and those of the mystai'.*

*'(From) Diophantos to Attinas: I submit to you the copy of the letter written to me by Euthydemos the chief-priest'.*

*'(From) Euthydemos to Asklepiades: Because of the petition made to me by Kadoas the priest of Apollon at Pleura, let it be just as he requested'.*

*Menekrates son of Hermogenes, Metrodoros son of Mithres, ...."*

In his petition (ὑπόμνημα)<sup>6</sup> to Euthydemos, Kadoas refers to his former petition which he addressed to the chief-priest Nikanor during the reign of the King Antiochos. This person is obviously identical with the man who appears to be appointed as ἀρχιερέως (ἐν τῇ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ταύρου) τῶν ἱερῶν πάντων in a letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis dated to

<sup>6</sup> On the term ὑπόμνημα see M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 228, note 139; 13 (1983), 323; 18 (1988), 457, note 155 and P. Herrmann, 19 (1989), 157.

209 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Other documents from Xanthos<sup>8</sup> appear to indicate that he was still in charge of the chief-priest of the Royal cult of the Seleucid empire at least until 196 B.C. Therefore, the period between 189-8, when Antiochos had to abandon all the lands beyond the Taurus, should be accepted as *terminus ante quem* for Kadoas' former petition.

The quotation of the name of Antiochos (ἡξι[ί]ωσα πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀντιόχου) for dating Kadoas' previous attempt makes it clear that Antiochos III was not in rule when he petitioned to Euthydemos. This would mean that the same year (i. e. 189-8) is also a *terminus post quem* for the present document. Considering that Kadoas may well have been a long-lived person (note for instance: ἔχοντος τὴν ἱερητήαν ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου), his letter might be placed somewhere in the middle of the second century B.C., possibly during the reign of Eumenes II. If so, one can reasonably assume that Euthydemos was serving as ἀρχιερεὺς of the royal cult of the Attalids, although we have no evidence recording such a functionary. Likewise, the οἰκόνομος, as a functionary to whom Euthydemos gives the order to assign a place to Kadoas (lines 21-26), is unparalleled for the Attalid period. He was perhaps a royal official responsible for the royal land (βασιλικὴ γῆ) as well as for the sanctuaries. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that both the office of ἀρχιερεὺς and οἰκόνομος were adopted by the Attalids from the Seleucid administration<sup>9</sup>.

It is clear that Euthydemos also wrote also to a certain Diophantos who sent a copy of his letter to Attinas with this covering letter. The text of Euthydemos' letter to Diophantos is not recorded on the stele, but there can be no doubt that it was concerning with Kadoas' petition. We know nothing about Diophantos or Attinas: They were perhaps royal functioners serving under the chief-priest or the *oikonomos*.

The information now furnished by our inscription that the Attalids took over the office of ἀρχιερεὺς from the Seleucids causes some doubts about L. Robert's dating of his list of *mystai*. He thought that the date ἔτους ζ' would correspond to 26/5 B.C. on the basis of the Actian era and that the ἀρχιερεὺς Hermogenes is the "*grand-prêtre de l'assemblée des Hellènes d'Asie*".<sup>10</sup> In the light of our inscription it is now reasonable to

<sup>7</sup> See H. Malay, *EA* 10 (1987), 7ff., cf. also *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (Wien 1994), no. 3 with bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> See H. Malay, *EA* 10 (1987), 14-5 with bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> On ἀρχιερεῖς in the Seleucid empire see J. et L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amizon en Carie* (1983), nos. 14-15 and 15B, cf. also H. Malay, *loc. cit.*; for οἰκόνομοι see notably Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes II* (1989), 132-4.

<sup>10</sup> *BCH* 106 (1982), 367.

maintain that Hermogenes ἀρχιερεύς and Euxenos ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων<sup>11</sup> appearing in L. Robert's inscription were both royal functioners of the Attalids. His text should therefore be contemporary with our inscription which we prefer to date somewhere around the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>12</sup> The question about the date ἔτους ς', however, remains unsolved<sup>13</sup>.

In conclusion, one would guess that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. the sanctuary of Apollon Pleurenos was under the direct control of the royal administration, and that Euxenos ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων of L. Robert's document was not an official of Sardis, but a royal one, likewise as at Pergamon (see above). Later on, after 129 B.C., the sanctuary may have been incorporated into the territory of Sardeis, as is shown by our Text 2.

Another reason for combining our text with L. Robert's inscription is that he has read the name of one of the *mystai* as Κάδοας Πάνηρει (line 8). After having checked the squeeze of Robert's inscription, Prof. Herrmann is certain that the reading of the patronym should be Πληρηει, rather than Πάνηρει, which thereby indicate that he may well have been the same Κάδοας Πληρηει referred to in our inscription (cf. also Ἄπολλώνιος Πληρηει in Text B)<sup>14</sup>.

**Text 2.** Marble stele with triangular pediment with acroteria. Lower part of the stone is missing. Dimensions: 100x50x12, L. between 0.9 and 1.8. Inv. No. 1.3.93 (Fig. 2).

- Ἐπὶ ἱεραῶν τῆς μὲν Ῥώμης Ἄπολλωνίου  
 τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιτέως  
 Φοίνικος τοῦ Φοίνικος, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου [number ?]  
 4 Ἄπολλωνι Πλευρηνηῷ Ἐρμογένης Κάδοου  
 ἱερεύς καὶ οἱ μύσται εὐχὴν εἰσὶν δὲ  
 Μητροδώρος Μενεκράτου, Διονύσιος Ἄπολλωνίου,  
 Δημήτριος Μητροδώρου, Ἄπολλώνιος Διονυσίου,  
 8 Ἄπολλώνιος Φιλίππου, Ἀμφίας Μιθρείου, Ποσι-  
 δώνιος Ἐρμολάου, Ἐρμογένης Ἀρτεμιδώρου ΟΔΗ..ΠΟ.

<sup>11</sup> On these royal functioners see L. Robert, *op. cit.* 365.

<sup>12</sup> In fact, regarding the general characteristics of the inscription L. Robert has mentioned the possibility that one may go back even to the second century B. C.

<sup>13</sup> It perhaps indicates the year of an Attalid king (Eumenes II or Attalos II ?), or the year of office of Hermogenes.

<sup>14</sup> As it can be seen even on the photograph published by L. Robert, a damage within the letter *Lambda* was possibly the reason for his misreading.

- 12 Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσίου, Ἰσίδωρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου,  
 Μενεκράτης Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἀπολλώνιος Μενεκρά-  
 του, Ἀπολλώνιος Μητροδώρου, Ἀλέξων Ἑρμογένου,  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμογένου, Γλαυκίας Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Μενεκράτης Ἑρμογένου, Ἑρμογένης Πυθέου,  
 16 Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑρμογένου, Ἀπολλόδωρος Με-  
 τροδώρου, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσίδωρου, Μητρόδω-  
 ρος Καλλιμάχου, Πλουτιάδης Διονυσίου,  
 Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἰσίδωρος Μη[τρο]-  
 δώρου, Ἀπολλώνιος Μενεκράτου, Ἑρμογένης  
 20 Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἑρμογένης Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἀπολλώ-  
 νιος Πληρει, Μητρόδωρος Ἑρμογένου,  
 Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Μενεκράτου,  
 24 Πλουτιάδης Καλλιμάχου,  
 Ἑρμιππος Διονυσίου,  
 Μητρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Μητρόδωρος Μενεκράτου,  
 28 Μητρόδωρος Ἀσκληπιάδου,  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνογένου,  
 Δημήτριος Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονυσίου,  
 32 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμολάου,  
 Σωκράτης Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 [Ἀπολλ]ώνιος Διονυσίου  
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L. 3: At the end of the line there seems to be some traces of a number.

L. 8: For the Persian name Mithres see above. The name Ἀμφίας appears to be unattested so far.

L. 9: ΟΔΗ..ΠΟ. is perhaps an ethnic or occupation of Hermogenes ?

L. 14: The name Πύθεος appears also in Robert's text.

L. 21: For the indigenous name Πληρει (Gen.), which occurs also in Text 1 (ἐπὶ ... ἱερέως Καδοῦ Πληρι), see above.

LL. 22-34: In higher letters, possibly later additions by a different mason.

*"In the year when Apollonios son of Dionysios was the priest of Rome and Phoinix son of Phoinix was the priest of Zeus Polieus, in the month Apellaios, the priest Hermogenes son of Kadoas and the mystai dedicated (this) to Apollon Pleurenos. They are : (names omitted)".*

## The Cult of Apollon Pleurenos in Lydia

This inscription is hereby dated by the names of the eponymous priests of Rome and of Zeus Polieus<sup>15</sup>. The appearance of the cult Zeus Polieus<sup>16</sup> leaves no doubt, as L. Robert has previously pointed out<sup>17</sup>, that during the late Hellenistic period, the territory of Sardis must have included the lake Koloe and its surrounding area<sup>18</sup>. The appearance of an eponymous priestship of Rome allows us to date the present document after the creation of the province of Asia (129 B.C.), after which *stephanephoroi* as eponymous officials, were replaced by priests of Rome. Regarding the script, one would think of a date in the first century B.C., but preferably before *ca.* 27 B.C., after which priests of the imperial cult gradually appeared as eponyms<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, one may speculate about a more precise dating: We are inclined to recognize Phoinix son of Phoinix, appearing as the priest of Zeus Polieus in our inscription, as the priest of Zeus Polieus who appears to have been elected by the Sardians as one of the persons responsible for taking care of the treaty between Ephesos and Sardis<sup>20</sup>, which is similarly dated, as our text, by the names of the priests of Rome and of Zeus Polieus<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> A treaty between Ephesos and Sardis is dated in the same way: εἶναι δὲ τὴν συνθήκην ὡς μὲν Ἐφέσιοι ἄγουσιν ... ὡς δὲ Σαρδιανοὶ ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῆς μὲν Ῥώμης Σωκράτου, τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως Ἀλκαίου κτλ. (*OGI*, 437, 89f.; *IGR* IV, 297; *Inshr. v. Ephesos*, Ia [I. K. 11.1], 7).

<sup>16</sup> On (Megistos) Zeus Polieus, who was a *synnaos Theos* with Artemis Sardiane, see L. Robert, *Villes*<sup>2</sup>, 298; *BCH* 106 (1982), 361; *CRAI* 1975, 321; Ph. Gauthier, *op. cit. supra* note 7, 166, cf. also P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 147-8 and M. Paz de Hoz García-Bellido, *op. cit. supra* note 1, 84-5, 134.

<sup>17</sup> *BCH* 106 (1982), 365.

<sup>18</sup> For other epigraphic evidence which illustrates Sardis' extention to the north see H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*, no. 51 (from Çömlekçi located near the lake Marmara), with the names of *Koloenoi*, *Koustianoi* and *Tabakreneitai*, and 523 (from Yeniköy) recording *Thamoreitai* and *Arillenoι*. All these villages must have been located in the Sardian territory.

<sup>19</sup> See R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, 71, cf. also H. Malay, *Erol Atalay Memorial* (= *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 1), 1991, 113 and *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*, nos. 449-452 (all cinerary chests from Sardis).

<sup>20</sup> *OGI*, 437, 93f. (for other publications see above note 14): εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ ὑφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν δήμων ἀποδειχθέντες ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν συλλύσεων Σαρδιανῶν μὲν Μενεκράτης Διοδώρου, Φοῖνιξ Φοινικός κτλ. The date of this treaty (98/7 or 94/3 B. C.) has been questioned by K. Rigsby, *TAPhA* 118, 1988, 141-9 (*SEG XXXVIII*, 1988, 1267).

<sup>21</sup> See *supra* note 15.

