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ALAN S. HALL – J. J. COULTON

A Hellenistic Allotment List from Balboursa in the Kibyris

1. Introduction

The block carrying the text discussed here was discovered by R. R. R. SMITH in September 1984, built into a Late Antique fortification wall at Balboursa (N. Lycia) during preparations for an archaeological survey of the city and its territory, which began in 1985 under the direction of J. J. COULTON.¹ Photographs and squeezes of Face A were taken by SMITH in 1985. In 1986, with the support of the Turkish authorities, the stone was removed from the wall, and taken for safe-keeping to the Fethiye Museum. Additional squeezes and photographs were taken at the time by N. P. MILNER, who also transcribed all the texts. The publication of the inscription, on the basis of these records, was undertaken by A. S. HALL, who had produced a working text and outline commentary at the time of his tragically early death in December 1986. The text was checked from the squeezes, and the commentary was revised and completed by J. J. COULTON.²

The inscription lacks any substantive document, being apparently the base of a stele onto which a long list of names had continued. But it can be seen to be a list

¹ Preliminary reports of the survey appear in AS 36, 1986, 7–8; 37, 1987, 11–13; 38, 1988, 14–17; and in the series *Kazı Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sonuçları Sempozyumu* published by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, beginning with IV *Araştırma* ... 1986, 1987, 171–8. The survey is conducted under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and with financial support also from the British Academy, the Oxford University Craven Committee, Merton College, Oxford and the Society of Antiquaries of London. We are grateful to the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums (now the Department for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Environment) in Ankara for permission to carry out the survey and to Bay M. GÜVEN GÜLER of the Fethiye Museum for much assistance. Our government representatives in 1985 and 1986, Bay MEHMET ÇAKICI (Fethiye Museum) and Bay MEHMET ŞENER (Elazığ Museum), also contributed much to our work on the inscription.

² We are both greatly indebted to R. R. R. SMITH and N. P. MILNER for their fundamental work on the inscription on the site. A. S. H. wished to acknowledge gratefully the help he received from W. H. COCKLE and J. M. REYNOLDS. J. J. C. is deeply grateful to P. M. FRASER and M. WÖRRLE for invaluable advice in preparing the paper for publication, to T. R. BRYCE and N. P. MILNER for comments on some of the indigenous names, to M. CRAWFORD for suggested restorations, and to those who offered comments on the inscription at seminars organised by F. MILLAR at Oxford and M. CRAWFORD at London. The errors and omissions which no doubt remain in spite of this help must stand to the account of J. J. C.

of lot holders, consisting largely of names (name and patronymic or other descriptor), with occasional indications of multiple and shared lot holdings, and of lots taken over from another. The names are grouped in δεκαβίαι, which on side A consist normally of ten lots. The unusual character of the text, with its many indigenous names, has controlled the organisation of the commentary. After the text (section 3), section 4 deals only with readings, restorations and letter forms, and is followed by a brief discussion of the date in section 5. Section 6 then lists the individual names in alphabetical order, and discusses their geographical connections, section 7 deals with the ethnics and occupations, and section 8 examines the internal relationships between the lot holders. Finally, section 9 discusses the nature of the list and the meaning of the other terms, and section 10 considers the historical context.

2. Location and Description of the Block

The inscribed block had been built into a roughly constructed fortification wall which ringed the upper part of the city hill (see Fig. 1);³ it formed part of the fourth course of the outer face, from which it was slightly protruding (Plate 3 b), and it has been weathered particularly on those parts which were towards the outer face of the wall, i. e. the right side of Face A, the whole of Face B, the left side of Face C and the lower part of Face D. There has also been more substantial damage from chipping at the edges and perhaps from hammering of the inscribed areas. However, Face C provides a continuous text for much of its length, thus confirming that the text did not run over onto a missing block behind.

The wall into which the block was built belongs to a probably Early Christian refortification of Balboura, which protected part of the lower city as well as the upper hill.⁴ The original setting of the block is unknown, but it was probably brought to the wall from somewhere higher up, not lower down. There are the ruins of an Early Christian church on the top of the city hill, and remains of Hellenistic terrace walls nearby may indicate an earlier sanctuary beneath it. If so, the inscription may have been set up there.

The inscribed block is of a plain rectangular shape, with no mouldings (ht. 0.64 m.; wdth. 0.52 m.; th. 0.51 m.). Its under face was worked flat, but not smooth, and one of the vertical faces was finished in the same way, showing no sign of inscription; this must have been the rear face of the block when it was first set up. The four other faces were inscribed, however. The original left face,

³ Fig. 1 is based on a survey of the site by L. BIER of Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and by G. HOLLINSHEAD, P. BOWLES, and A. GREENLAND of Northeast London Polytechnic.

⁴ The fortification appears to take a weak line in the northeast corner of the lower city, in order to take in a church east of the agora. Bishops of Balboura are attested only from the fifth century A. D. on.

Face A (Plate 1), and the right face, Face C (Plate 2), both preserve a considerable portion of the text. The front face, Face B, which projected from the fortification wall, is badly weathered (Plate 3b), so that no continuous text can be read; but the traces are sufficient to show that the whole face was inscribed like A and C, and the line spacing gives no indication of the larger lettering or different layout that might be expected at the start of a long text. The top face, Face D, has a rectangular slot ($0.24 \times 0.10 \times 0.075$ m. deep) cut into it (Plate 3a), which the lettering seems to take account of. Since, in addition, the cutting is in the original top face of the block and runs parallel to the original front, it is reasonable to suppose that it belongs to the original design. Presumably the block was a stele base, for which its form is entirely suitable. The preamble and substantive document which are missing from Faces A, C and D, and apparently also from Face B, would therefore have been on the missing stele. The inverted μ and reversed sigmas on Face D may result from the text there being cut with the stele already in place.

The lettering is irregularly spaced, so that only an approximate count of missing letters is possible. Letter height (0.011–0.015 m.) and width vary both between and within lines; average line spacing is 0.015 m. The lettering on all three legible faces is of similar character, although there are some slight differences suggesting different hands, or at least different occasions. The most distinctive forms are: Λ or Λ for alpha; lunate epsilon (A29, C32); I for zeta; Θ for theta (C9); M to M for mu; Ξ for xi; small omikron, set high or low; P for pi; sigma normally four-barred and varying from Σ to Σ to E (especially on Face C), but sometimes lunate (A38, A39, C14, C32, C40, and D7), usually where space is becoming short and at the end of a word; V for upilon (often close to tau); and Ω or B (on Face C) for omega. Phi and psi do not occur. Mu is inverted in A1 and consistently in D1–6; nu is reversed in C13, rho in D2 and D5, and sigma consistently in D1–6. Delta is written for alpha in A23, C16 and D3. Epsilon is omitted in A12, iota is omitted in A14, C36 and D4, and misplaced in A13; final sigma is omitted in C23 and perhaps at the end of C16, C28 and C34.

3. Text

Face A. (Plate 1)

The surface is destroyed at the top, especially towards the right, and also towards the bottom of the left side; the right-hand side is badly weathered. There are several vertical cracks. No complete line survives. If the inscription began at the top of the face, as on Face C, then one line is probably missing. Thereafter 39 lines survive, although there are only a few legible letters in the first two lines. The lower lines slope slightly down to the right; the right end of A38 is c. 0.01 m. lower than the left.

- [_ _ _ _ _ Αρ]τιμη[ς _ _ _ _ _]
 _ _ _ _ _ ΕΤΗ _ _ _ _ _]
 [δ]εκανία. Ἐρμαῖο[ς _ _ _ _ _ 28 ± _ _ _ _ _]
 τεω, Τοαλις Μερλατα, Μολ[η]ς [_ _ _ 20 ± _ _ _ _ _]
 5 λημιος, Κοτης Ατ[τε]ω, Μασας Κομβεύς, [_ _ _ 12 ± _ _ _ _ _]
 Κοδλαπημις χαλκεύς ἔχει ΠικιστηΓΟΥΚ[_ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 κλήρον. δεκανία. Μολεσις Μολεω, Αρμαζο[υς _ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 [.]ας Αρμαζου, Σαεις Οτιμω, Λιαμις Τα, Νεικ[ο] [_ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 ς Ηλαιο, Μερλαμνασις Μιλνισπου, Μασας Κενδ[_ _ 3-4 _ _ _]
 10 Αυδαμιος, Καπιλλας Μολεσιος, Κορρανας [_ _ _ 9 ± _ _ _ _]
 ασας Αρτιμου. δεκανία. Ἐ[ρ]μαῖος Αρτιμου καὶ Κλεονι[σπης 1 ±]
 να ἔχουσι κοινῇ. δεκανία. Κλ(ε)ονισπ[ης] Ἐρμαίου, Κ[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 Αλου ἔχει Σινδουιγρος Ιχνευτοῦ, Ἐρμαῖος Κιζου, [_ _ 6 ± _ _ _]
 Κιζου, Κλεομ(ι)σπης Μερλαμνατασιος, Ἐρμαῖος [_ _ 4 ± _ _ _]
 15 αλου, Μερλατος Σαμου ἔχει Μηνιδώρου γραμ[ματέος,]
 Τροκονδας Ἀρίστου, Κοτης Κοβαμιος ἔχει Κοβα[μιος 1 ±]
 [.]νου, Μασας Εια Μορσαλιος. δεκανία. Οβρασις Μαμο[του, Οξ]-
 [.]αλβιας Τροκονδα, Πισσαλαμτης Μολητος, Ορδηλις [_ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 [.]λης Κειρμηλου, Κοτης Αττεω, Ἐρμαῖος Αττεω, Υ[_ _ _ 11 ± _ _ _]
 20 [_ 3 ± _ _]του, Κενμηβης Παέλλου, Σινδουρις Μολη[τος _ _ 6 ± _ _ _]
 δεκανία. Μολης Κερδαλου, Καμοτος Πισαλαμ[του _ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 5 ± _ _]ογοβαρου, Τροκονδαβειμις Αργυλημιος, Αρτιμ[ης Ε 3 ±]
 [_ 5 ± _ _]νος, Το(α)λλις Αρτιμου, Ἐρμαῖος Αρτιμου, Κ[.]σ[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [Τρ]οκονδα, Μανης Ἀρακίου, Πιλλους Μιμνας[ου ἔχει]
 25 [_ 6 ± _ _]απιου Λυδοῦ. δεκανία. Τροκονδας Οξαμ[οα _ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 8 ± _ _]της Οβρατασιος, Οπραμοας Κοτε[ω], Οσ[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 8 ± _ _]δος, Μαμοτης Μολκου, Κοτης Πιλλου, [_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 8 ± _ _]ος καὶ Ἐρμαῖος Ἀρτέμιδος ἔχουσι κοινῇ _ _ 6 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 7 ± _ _]Μ]ολεσιος, Τροκονδας ὑπηρέτης, Πριανο[βας _ _ 4 ± _ _ _]
 30 [_ 7 ± _ _]. δεκανία. Σινδιλις Ταραντίνου, Οσαε[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 7 ± _ _]κεραμεύς, Μυσκελλας Σροημιος, Αρτι[_ _ 5 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 6 ± _ _]Αττης Σακοργου, Πιλλους Ἐρμαίου ἔχει Μ[_ _ 8 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 6 ± _ _]βαρου, Εριδαιος Πιλλου, Αρτιμ[.] ΥΜΕ[.]ΜΟΤΕ[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 5 ± _ _]ν καὶ Αρτιμης Τοαλλις Κουλασιος. δεκανία. [_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 35 [_ 3 ± _ _]Αρτιμου καὶ Κλεονισπης Αττα, Τροκονδας Με[_ _ 7 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 3 ± _ _]εδαλις Αρτιμου, Παναμνας Μολεσιος, Ἀρτεμῆς [_ _ 4 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 4 ± _ _]Κενδαιβης Ἀρτεμῆ, Ἀρτεμῆς Μερλαμνασιος, Κ[_ _ 4 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 4 ± _ _]Ἀρτέμew, Αββαίτης Μοταλφ, Γβα[ι]μος ΕΚΙΠΟΜ[_ _ 4 ± _ _ _]
 [_ 4 ± _ _]Οξαμοα Μ[2 ±] C A _ _ _ _ _]

The surface is weathered all over and badly damaged to left and right, especially at the bottom and top. Although no letters can be deciphered, the remains of 39 lines of text can be made out, suggesting a pattern similar to that on Faces A and C.

Little of the first two lines can be read, and the third line has disappeared completely, apparently erased. Several letters are lost at the start of lines C4 and C5, but thereafter the lettering is mainly in excellent condition, apart from the loss of a letter or two along either edge, and some weathering of the first ten centimetres or so at the left hand side.

— — — — — !. δέκα. Ολιαμιοι ΓΙ[— — 4 ± — —]
 [— — — 14 ± — —]ανου, Κοτης Νας, Αρσιμ[— — 7 ± — —]
 line erased
 [— — 8 ± — —] Αττω, Κυβαιβιμς Έρμαίου, Τροκονδας Δ-
 5 [— — 8 ± — —]οτον, Γης Ποκομου, Κοτης Καιδω, Αττας Ασκ-
 [— 4 ± —]ου, Χαπιλλας Ολιαμιος, Μερλατος Ολιαμιος[1 ±]
 [Αρ]τιμης Τροκονδα, Κοτης Μασα, Αρτιμης Αλου
 [Ξ]χει Έρμαίου σκυτέως, Τροκονδας Οξαμοου Ξχει Κ-
 [υα Η]λαιος, Όρθας Ηλαιος, δε(κ). Κενδαιβης Οπλσιος,
 10 [Α]ραπιας Σισί[ν]νεως, Πριανδρουας Έρμαίου, Έρμαίος Μα,
 [Σ]ινδιλις Παναμυοπλης Κυλλαηρου Ξχει Γίλλου Σ-
 [— 3 ± —]ΠΝΑΣ, Οξαμοας Κενδαιβου Ξχει Τοαλλιος Ναγιφ[υ],
 [— 3 ± —]ΙΑΛΤΟΣ Σιδανλου, Αρμανανις Δεξυβίου, Κοζαφ[1 ±]
 [— 3 ± —]ς, Έρμαίος Άρτεμψ, Μηνις Αρτιμουκας, Μολης Σαο[1 ±]
 15 [1 ± Μυ]σκελλας Σιδανρουου, Μολεσις Μ[ο]λεω, Κενδαι-
 [β]ης Κοτεω Ξχει Μολητος Μορσου. δεκ(α). Κενδηβη(ς)
 [1 ±]ουσα, Τροκονδας Έρμαικοτης Οτιμω, Μολης Αρτ-
 [ιμ]ου, Τροκονδας Άπολλωνίου, Μίδας Ούνανα, [— — 4 ± — —]
 [— 2 ±]δης Μερλατου, Έρμαίος Οσα, Αρτεμψς Μικρο[— 3 ± —]
 20 [— 2 ±]λης Μαλα, Αττης Ποκομου, Ομοβαρας Εβεγορ[ι]ο[υ],
 [Κε]νδαιβης Μολητος Ξχει Αττηδος Αρλοσηος,
 [— 2 ±]ασος Ηετου, Κλεονισπης Αργυαμμιος, Μεμισκος γρ-
 [αμ]ματεν(ς) Ξχει Αττω Ποδανα, Τροκονδας Αρτιμης Μι-
 [— 2 ±], Τροκονδας Πιλλου Ξχει δύο, Κυλλαηρας Μυσκ-
 25 [ελ]λου, Μολεσις Έρμαίου, Μολης Μαγησου, Μασας
 [Κε]νδαιβου, Παπης Κορλασι, Μασας Νηδος, Μαρα-
 [μ]οτης Μυσκελλου, Αρτιμης Κομωτιος, Κενδαι-
 [β]ης Μιλυει, Καδερλας Δημητρίου, Μολης Τροκονδι[ος],
 [Κιλ]λαηρας Μαμοτου. δε(κ). Κενδουργις Οπνεω, Κερ-

- 30 [μο]λασίας Αργογομοιος, Αρτιμοπλης Μολεω, Καπι-
 [λ]ας Μιδης, Ίπιτος Αρτιμου, Ορρομους Ισβουρου, Αρ-
 [τι]μης Κλεονισπου, Ἀρτεμῆς Οπνεω, Μεμανος Δεξυβί[ου],
 Μολης Καπιλλου, Κωβύλλις Αραπιας Μίλλυεύς, Ἀν-
 δρης Μοτελλου, Κβαμης Αττατη, Μορλατασις ἱερεὺς),
 35 Μο[λ]ης Μολεω. δεκ. Τροκονδας Κινδαιου, Μολης Πίλλου,
 [.]σας Οξαλβιου, Πισ(ι)δης Αττεω, Λαροδισκίς Μαλοτου,
 [..]σας Πογαρηλιος, Κερμολασιας Καρταπονω, Κλεομισπ[ης]
 [Π]αναμου, Κοτης Κλέπτου, Κοροβανσας Ινμου, Μανη[..
 [γρσ]μματαεύς, Μασας Κολοβα, Τροκονδας Αρτιμο[— 7 ± —]
 40 [— 4 ± —]μης Πιρπαραλμιου, Αρμανανις Ιδου[— — — —
 — — — — — ΠΙΑΛΟΥΥ — — — — —

Face D.

The lines are not of equal length (see below). D7–8 have smaller lettering. Below (i. e. in front of) D8, and to the left of the cutting, the marks of the toothed chisel can be seen, showing that this area was uninscribed; above D9 and to the right of the cutting the surface is weathered, but there is no sign of lettering. Lines D9–20 have a curving slope down to the right, with the right end of D11 about 0.015 m lower than the left. The surface here is badly worn but some letters of three lines can be read, and there seem to be traces of another nine lines below.

δεκανία. Κίλλαεργου Μαραμοτου κλή-
 ροι τέσσαρες, Τροκονδας Ολιαμιος
 Σα[.]εις Πίλλου, Ἀρτεμῆς Μ(α)σα, Ξενοτη-
 τεις Μαλοτου, Μολεσ(ι)ς Καπιλλου, Μυσεκ-
 5 κέλλας Κίλλαεργου *vacat*
 Τροκονδας Κιδιου παρέδωκεν Τροκον[δ]α WKOΔIO
 [Ἐ]ρμαῖος Ορτακιου
 ΔΙΜΗΚΛ ΕΟΟΥ

Cutting

[— 2 ±]ΔΕΚΛΗ
 10 ΟΕΝΙ έξουσί[α
 ΙΙΝΤΙ

4. Epigraphic Commentary

Face A:

A1: τιμ (mu inverted) is clear, then two vertical strokes with uncertain cross bar; perhaps another Αρ[τι]μη[ς].

A2: Σ or Ε, then Τ, then two verticals, the second perhaps forming Υ.

A3: after Ἐρμαῖο[ASH read ς; a nominative is normal after δεκανία. Then 28 ± letter spaces for the patronymic, another name in the nominative and the

start of the patronymic which is completed in A4; but if the names were not long, another name and patronymic might be lost completely.

A4: Ατ]τεω or Κο]τεω are the simplest restorations, but others are possible. At the end of the line ASH read Μορσις, but the third letter seems triangular, suggesting Μολης or Μολεσις. There is then space for $20 \pm$, or $18 \pm$, letters, enough for a patronymic, a name in the nominative and the start of the patronymic in A5, but probably not for another name and patronymic.

A5: At the end about 12 letters lost, enough for a complete name and patronymic.

A6: The last name is puzzling; the top of the second I is missing, the cross bar of the H uncertain. A genitive is expected; perhaps Πικιστηγou Κ[or Πικιστη Γουκ[, although neither produces known names.

A7: Before κληρον perhaps υ, the last letter of the missing patronymic in A6 (but no space for the preceding ο). Κληρον, the object of ἔχει, is expressed only here. The two horizontals of Ζ are clear, and the spelling Αρμαζο[rather than Αρμαζο[is confirmed in A8. Thereafter ASH read υ completing the name as Αρμαζους, since a nominative is expected; the υ is uncertain, however. The $7 \pm$ letter spaces before]ας in A8 must include the end of Αρμαζο[, his patronymic and the start of the following name. Since this last may lack only one letter (cf. Νας C2 and Τας A8), 4–5 letters may remain for the patronymic.

A8: 5–6 letters are lost at the end, leaving ample space for a two-element name such as Νεικο[στρατο]ς, with the final letter (presumably Σ rather than Ε), beginning A9.

A9: The cross bar of H in Ηλαιος is unclear. The 3–4 letter spaces at the end are insufficient to complete the patronymic and contain the next nominative (e. g. Μασας Κενδ[εα, Γης] Αυδαιμιος), so this must be a triple name such as Μασας Κενδ[ηβης] Αυδαιμιος (see below pp. 122–3).

A10: The $9 \pm$ letters lost at the end would have contained the patronymic and the start of the following nominative, separated perhaps by καί to give a *dekania* of 10 lots⁵ (see below pp. 143–4).

A11: Μ]ασας is tempting, but given the space at the end of A10, uncertain. At the end ASH could read σπ, presumably Κλεονιστης; only about one letter space remains to start the patronymic, but Κ]υα (KPN 762–1, occurring three times at Termessos) would fit.

A12: ASH could read Κλονιστης (the omission of ε was presumably accidental). After the final Κ 7–8 letters are missing, enough for (e. g.) Κ[οτης Ἐρμ]αίου.

A13: ASH read the second letter as ρ, but only the vertical stroke is clear. In the light of A20 we should expect Σινδουγγιος, but Σινδουιγρος is certainly written. Only the two horizontals of ζ in Κιζου remain, but Κιζου in A14 is clear.

⁵ The restoration of καί was suggested by M. CRAWFORD.

A14: Κλεομσπης, although clear, is surely an error, as Πισδης in C36 and Μολεσς in D4. At the end of the line perhaps Κερδ]αλου, as in A21.

A15: At the end ASH could read γρᾱμματέος (rather than -έως).

A16: At the end perhaps Κοβα[μιος followed by a short patronymic e.g. Μ|[α]νου.

A17: Only the second vertical of the first N is clear. At the end of the line ASH could read Μαμοτ[; there follow 4–5 letter spaces, presumably Μαμο[του (as A27); Μαμο[τασιος (KPN 855–1) does not allow space for the following names.

A18: The first two letters could be A or Λ. Either two or four names are expected between Οβρασς and Τροκονδα; ASH read]λα, Βιας, and there is just space to restore (e.g.) Μαμο[του, Γης] Λα, Βιας; but such a pair of short names is unparalleled in the surviving text, and one longer name seems preferable, e.g. Μαμο[του, Οξ][αλβιας. In the last name H has a faint cross bar, so Ορδηλις rather than Ορδιμις. Thereafter 5–6 letter spaces remain for the patronymic and the start of the following name.

A19: At the start perhaps Μολης or similar, in spite of the shortage of space; Λης (KPN 810) is a feminine name. There is more space than usual between λ and η, but no sign of an intervening letter. 11 ± spaces at the end of A19 and the start of A20 suffice for a name and most of the patronymic.

A20: The first letter could be T or Y. Κενμηβης perhaps miswritten for Κενδηβης. The α in Παελλου lacks a cross bar, and the second λ is badly formed. At the end ASH could read Μολητος, the commonest genitive of Μολης but not otherwise used in this text. There is then space for 6–7 letters before δεκανία in A21, hardly enough for a name and patronymic; perhaps an ethnic?

A21: The δ in δεκανία is small and set high. After the final τ ASH read ο, presumably from Πισαλαμτ[ου; thereafter perhaps 9 letter spaces for a nominative name before ?Μ]ουοβαρου.

A22: The first two letters somewhat doubtful; with some hesitation ASH read Μουοβαρου. At the end he read Ἀρτιμης Ε[; no known indigenous name could form the damaged patronymic Ἐ[.c.8..]νος, but Greek Ἐμπεδόφορονος (LGPN I) or Ἐλευθερίωνος (CIG II 2501) would fit.

A23: the A in Τοαλλις is written Δ. After the second Αρτιμου ASH read Μα-σα[ς; the traces of Σ are recognizable, but the first letter is rather κ, either Αρτιμουκ[α], Σ[or Αρτιμου, Κ[.]σ[. There is space for 7 ± letters to complete the name before Τροκονδου in A24.

A24: At the end ASH read Μιμνασου, thereafter ἔχει is suggested by the two successive genitives in A25, and this would virtually complete the line. Alternatively a nominative of 7–8 letters followed Μιμνασου, with]απιου as the patronymic and Λυδου a true ethnic agreeing with it.

A25: No single name in]απιου is known that is long enough to fill the missing 6 ± letter spaces at the start of the line. At the end of it ASH read Οξαμοα as in A39; but in C8 the genitive is Οξαμοου. There are then 12–13 letter spaces be-

fore]της in A26; Τροκονδιμοτης (KPN 1512–36), the longest indigenous name known with that ending, is too short, so perhaps a shortish name and patronymic followed by Της or Κοτης.

A26: There is space for 1–2 letters in Κοτε[.]οσ[, probably Κοτεω (ω is a longish letter), then perhaps Οσ[ας (C19) or Οσ[αεις (A30), with 11–13 letter spaces for a patronymic, a name, and the start of a patronymic ending in]δος (A27). Alternatively a longer name such as Οσαμνωτας (KPN 1118–2, Termessos) followed by a patronymic of $6 \pm$ letters before]δος.

A27: The Λ in Μολκου might be Α. After Πιλλου there are about 15 letter spaces for a name and a patronymic in]ος.

A28: After κο[at the end of the line 9–10 letters are lost, and about 7 more at the start of A29 before Μ]ολεσιος. The simplest restoration is κοινῇ as in A12, followed by a long name such as Τροκονδαβειμς (A22) or Μεγλαμνατας (A14) – in the nominative if the next lot holder, or in the genitive if the original holder of the lot taken up by two men named previously. But Κο[could rather start the name of the lot-holder replaced, followed by his patronymic, then another nominative before Μ]ολεσιος, e.g. Κο[τεω Αρτιμη, Αρτιμης Μ]ολεσιος.

A29: Lunate sigmas in Τροκονδας ὑπηρέτης, and lunate epsilon in the latter. At the end of the line Πριανο[ς (CIG III 4367 g add., Tefenne) would leave 13–14 letter spaces for a patronymic; Πριανο[βας (KPN 1304–2) only 11–12.

A30: The three bars of the final Ε survive, presumably Οσαεις then $14 \pm$ letters before κεραμεύς, either for a patronymic and a following name, or, breaking the normal sequence, for a second name (cf. C33 Κωβίλλης Αραπιας Μιλλυνεύς).

A31: The first letter of Σροημιος is certainly Σ not Ε. At the end of the line presumably Αρτιμης (ASH read μ), leaving $8 \pm$ letters before Αττης for the patronymic.

A32: Lunate sigma in Σακοργου. About 13 letter spaces for name beginning Μ[, and patronymic ending]βαρου.

A33: Εριδαιος is certainly written, not the common Έρμαϊος. After Πιλλου a nominative is expected. ASH read Αρτιμουμεικους, with the following $12 \pm$ letter spaces presumably occupied by a patronymic in]υ. However, it is also possible that the puzzling letters [.]YME[.]MOYE[(as usual, T and Y, and E and Σ are easily confused) conceal the end of a shorter nominative name and part of the patronymic, leaving space for a second name and patronymic before καί.

A34: Before καί a short diagonal stroke from the top left of the letter space, presumably the remains of a genitive in -ου. At the end of the line 9–10 letters are lost before (presumably) Αρ]τιμου in A35.

A35: After Με[space for about 7 letters.

A36: Of the first letter the three horizontals survive, probably ε, and there are 2–3 letter spaces before it. At the end of the line $8 \pm$ letter spaces for the patronymic of Ἀρτεμης, before Κενδαιβης in A37.

A37: The two sigmas in Μεϱλαμνασιος are small and raised, as if to save space. After Κ[about 8 letter spaces before Ἀρτεμῆ in A38.

A38: The second β of Αββαιτης is unclear and the second Α lacks a bar. The letters at the end of the line presumably begin the patronymic, with c. 8 letter spaces for its ending and for the nominative before Οξαμοα.

A39: A short stroke after Οξαμοα is probably a blemish in the stone, not a letter, so this is a genitive, as perhaps in A25.

Face C:

C1: At the end of the line γ and a vertical stroke, perhaps the patronymic Γίλλου. If so, then $14 \pm$ letter spaces for a name and a patronymic ending in]νου.

C2: Before]νου a sloping stroke, perhaps Α or Λ. The Σ of Κοτης and Νας are like Ε with the barest incurve at the middle of the vertical. The last name probably began Αρσιμ[rather than Αρειμ[; then space for 6–8 letters, perhaps enough to complete the name (Ἀρσίμας ?) and patronymic.

C3: Faint traces of letters but nothing legible; line erased.

C4: After 7–9 letter spaces the second oblique of α followed by the verticals of ττ.

C5: The second ο of]οτου is uncertain; there is a crack in the stone which the mason seems to have taken account of. No known indigenous name would suit the required the patronymic: Δ[8–9]οτου, but Greek Διονυσοδότου is possible. At the end of the line the division Αττας Ασκ[is preferable to Ατταςας Κ[, since Ατταςας, although plausible, is not attested.

C6: Of the first 5 letters only ο is certain, but the traces are consistent with]ου Καπύλλας; before that 4–5 letter spaces would allow a patronymic such as Ἀσκ[ληπι]οῦ or Ἀσκ[ανί]ου, but no known indigenous name fits.

C7: At the start presumably Αρ]τιμης (read by ASH); the sigma is like a lunate epsilon, whereas others are like normal epsilon.

C8: Sigmas again as epsilons. At the start ἐχ]ει, confirmed by the successive genitives Ἐρμαίου σκυτέως. Of the last letter the vertical hasta is clear, then a break which may follow the lower oblique of κ.

C9: 3–4 letter spaces at the start, which should complete the name Κ[(genitive after ἐχει). Κ[]να Η]λαιος is possible. Of δ in δε(κ) only the left oblique and lower strokes are visible; the κ is probably lost before Κενδαιβης.

C10: Sigmas as epsilons. Of the first letter the curve of Ρ or Φ survives, so presumably Α]ρραπας (as C33). The first ν of Σισιννεως is illegible. At the end of the line after Μ an oblique, presumably α, but no further space; if the next line starts Σ]ινδύλις, Μα must be the complete patronymic.

C11: Σ]ινδύλις (A30) is the only attested name which would fit. At the end of the line Γίλλου is clear, not Πίλλου.

C12: No attested name will fit the requirements of Σ[3±]πνας for the patronymic of Γύλου. The final υ of Νανίου was either omitted (cf. other omitted finals) or carried over to C13.

C13: At the start of the line 3–4 letter spaces. Με]ρλατος would suit the traces seen by JJC, but ASH read Κ]αματος. The first ν of Αρμανανίς is reversed. At the end presumably Κοζα[ρ]ας or -ος.

C14: 2–3 letter spaces at the start before Ε or Σ; a genitive is expected here, but compare Κοτης Νας (C2). Lunate sigma in Μήνις and Αρτιμουκας.

C15: The division between C14 and C15 is uncertain; either Σαο|[υ, Μυ]σκελλας or Σαο[υ], Μυ]σκελλας. Trace of the bottom curve of ο in Μολεω.

C16: At the start Κενδαι|[β]ης. The last letter of δεκα is written Δ, but Δ for Α occurs also in A23 and D3. No space for the final ς of Κενδηβης unless a small raised lunate sigma as in A37; cf. C34, C37.

C17: At the start one letter space then]οτεα,]ουεα, or]ουσα (genitive); the only suitable name attested is Μουσας (KPN 988–1).

C18: The division between C17 and C18 is uncertain; either Αρτ|[ιμ]ου or Αρτ[ιμ]ου. After Ουναυα about 5 letter spaces before]δης; either a name [5±]δης, or perhaps [δεκ| 2]δης.

C19: After Μικρο[5± letter spaces before]λης; either Μίκρο[υ, 4]λης or perhaps Μίκρο[υ. δε.] 2]λης.

C20: At the start 2± letter spaces, then the first oblique of Α, Δ, or Λ. ASH read]αλης; several restorations are possible. At the end there is probably space for Εβεγορ[ι]ο[υ.

C21: At the start presumably Κε]νδαιβης.

C22: At the start two letter spaces, and perhaps another at the end of C21, for the beginning of 2–3]ασος.

C23: At the start presumably γρ|[αμ]ατεύ. The final ς was omitted before the very similar ε.

C24: At the start perhaps Μι|[δη, but several other possibilities.

C25: At the start 2 letter spaces, but presumably Μυσκ|[ελ]λου.

C26: At the start presumably Κε]νδαιβου; only the obliques of δ and α survive. The word division Κορλασινι, Μασας, giving a known second name, is better than Κορλας, Νιμασας; but cf. Νιματει (NB 918–3).

C27: At the start one letter space before uncertain οτ; but presumably Μα-ρα|[μ]οτης.

C28: At the start presumably Κενδαι|[βη]ς. Insufficient space for both missing letters of Τροκονδι[ος; cf. C16, C32.

C29: At the start presumably Κιλ]λαηρας, in spite of the problem with Τροκονδιος. The κ of δε(κ) is probably lost before Κενδουρχις.

C30: At the start presumably Κερ|[μο]λασιας as A37; σι are incomplete but probable.

C31: At the start presumably Καπι|[λ]λας. The unusual double nominative

Καπίλλας Μιδης (cf. C2 Κοτης Νας) can be avoided by dividing at Μιδη, Σιπιτος; both Ιπιτος and Σιπιτος are otherwise unknown.

C32: Uncertain line division with C31; either Αρ[τι]μης or Αρ[τι]μης. Μεμα-νος has lunate epsilon and sigma. Insufficient space for both missing letters of Δε-ξυβί[ου]; cf. C16, C28.

C33: Only the right vertical of initial M survives, with no space for another letter before it.

C34: No space for the final ζ of ιερεύς even if small and lunate; cf. γραμμα-τεῦ in C23.

C35: Only right vertical of η in Μο[λ]ης survives, so that Μουσις (KPN 988–5) may also be possible.

C36: At the start Μασας is most likely, being already attested several times in this inscription; but Σασας is also possible. Πισδης is presumably an error for Πισίδης.

C37: At the start perhaps Μασας again, but a possible letter space at the end of C36 allows more alternatives. At the end only one letter space for the termination of Κλεονισπης; perhaps a small raised lunate sigma as in A37, or ζ carried over.

C38: At the start presumably Π]αναμνου or ζ Π]αναμνου. After Μανη[two letter spaces, in the first of which there may be the bottom of a vertical hasta, which would exclude Μανησας (C25). ASH read Μανη ὕ[πο|γρ]αμματεῦς, but Μανη is surprising as a nominative form, so perhaps Μανητας comparable to Μολητας (KPN 946–14).

C39: At the start presumably γρα]μματεῦς. After Αρτιμο[12 ± letter spaces before]μης, so perhaps Αρτιμουκα, Αρτιμοπλου, or the compound concealed in A33, rather than simple Αρτιμου.

C40: At the start perhaps Αρτι]μης, but many other possibilities. Only the upper half of λμ in Πιρωπαραλμιου is visible. Lunate sigma in Αρμανανις.

C41: Presumably Πιλλου Υ[or Κα]πιλλου Υ[.

Face D:

D1: Line begins c. 0.065 m. from the left edge of the block, and ends c. 0.05 m. from the right edge. Κίλλαεφου is genitive possibly as the leader of the *dekania*, but more probably as the owner of the κληροι τέσσαρες, which otherwise are not clearly assigned. The equivalent construction on Face A is Κοδλαπημις χαλ-κεὺς ἔχει ... κληρον (A7–8).

D2: Line begins c. 0.08 m. from the left edge and ends c. 0.03 m. from the right edge. Initial ϧ reversed.

D3: Line begins c. 0.02 m. from the left edge. A gap between Σα and εις may once have held a letter (e.g. Σα[σ]εις), or may have been left because of a blemish in the stone (which would at the same time explain the starting point of D2); so Σαεις, as in A8. The first Α in Μασας is written as Δ.

D4: The lower part of a vertical hasta survives to the left of the first ε. The ι in Μολεσις was omitted. After Μυσε a vertical hasta with perhaps the roots of the oblique strokes of κ.

D5: Line begins c. 0.014 m. from the left edge and ends c. 0.24 m. from the right edge. The remainder of the line was probably never inscribed. P in Κιλλα-ερον is reversed.

D6: Slightly smaller lettering (0.01–0.012 m.). After παρέδωκεν Τροκονδα (presumably dative) is faint but just legible; the following letters (patronymic ?) are unexplained.

D7: Letter height c. 0.01 m. Part of a vertical hasta of ρ? survives, and there is room for Έρμαϊος; lunate sigma.

D8: Letter height c. 0.01 m. No sense discernible.

D9: The Λ has no cross bar, and the letter following it is probably η not ν. Since no letter traces are visible in the preceding line space, this probably begins a new sentence, so either δεκα(νία) Η[(or δεκ(ανία) Λη[], or οί] δέ κλη[ροι.

D10: Only one word, έξουσία, is decipherable. The sigma is probably not reversed.

D11: only occasional letters legible.

D12–20: Nine more lines of lettering are discernible to the right of the stone, so presumably running its full width as also D10–11. But no letters are recognizable.

5. Date

The only evidence for the date of the inscription is provided by the lettering and by the nature of the names. In a remote part of Asia Minor the absence of Roman names from the text may not seem very significant, but Roman names probably appeared at both Balboura and neighbouring Oinoanda in the early first century A. D.,⁶ and in an officially inspired land allotment from that date on one would expect to find among so many lot-holders at least one whose name showed a Roman connection. The fact that the relatively few Greek names (see below) do not include any of the heroic/epic names favoured by the upper classes at Balboura under the Roman empire (Thoas, Kastor, Polydeukes, Meleagros, and Troilos) also suggests a Hellenistic date. So too do the unusual genitives of common indigenous names such as Αττης, Κοτης, Μολης, and

⁶ The great-grandfather of Meleager, who founded games at Balboura in A. D. 158, was called Caius (N. P. MILNER, AS 39, 1989, 48–9), and the Julii at Oinoanda were probably enfranchised by Caesar or Augustus (WÖRRLE, 57–60). Enfranchisements under Nero and Vespasian at Oinoanda are noted by S. JAMESON, AS 16, 1966, 125.

Τροκονδας,⁷ since the more commonly attested genitives are mainly of imperial date.

The letter forms, taken together, also indicate a Hellenistic date. From the hand of an experienced Greek mason they would suggest a date around the middle of the second century B. C., but from the less practised hand of the mason(s) responsible for this inscription, the date might be up to a century later.⁸ The variations in lettering noted above (p. 111) suggest that the list was not all inscribed at one time; but the variations are not great, and do not suggest that the composition of the list continued over a long period. Face A is likely to precede Face C, both because that would accord with the left-to-right direction of writing, and because the formulae are slightly fuller on Face A. Face D would be the least favourable one for display, and so is likely to have been inscribed last; the structure of Face D is somewhat different from that of Faces A and C, and in the family reconstructed on p. 142 below, it is the younger generation who are recorded on Face D.

6. *The Names and their Local Associations*

There is a clear normal structure in the list, with individuals identified by two elements, usually name and patronymic, but sometimes name and ethnic or name and occupation. In the following cases, however, this sequence is broken:

A9–10: Μιλυσπου, Μασας Κενδ[3–4] Αυδαιμιος

A17: ...]νου, Μασας Εια Μορσαλιος. δεκ.

A20–1: Σινδουργις Μογη[9–10] δεκανία

A34: καὶ Αρτιμης Τοαλλις Κουλασιος. δεκανία.

C10–11: 'Ερμαϊος Μα, [Σ]ινδιλις Παναμνοπλης Κιλλαηρου

C17:]ουσα, Τροκονδας Ερμαικοτης Οτιμω, Μολης

C23–4: Ποδανας, Τροκονδας Αρτιμης Μι[2–3], Τροκονδας

C33: Καπιλλου, Κωβιλλις Αραπιας Μιλλυεύς, 'Ανδρης

In A17 there appear to be two successive genitives, perhaps the father and grandfather of Masas; but in four cases (A34, C10–11, C17, C33) there are two successive nominatives followed by a patronymic or (in C33) an ethnic, and in the three remaining, less well-preserved cases the same pattern is possible. These represent either one man with a double name, or two men, one of whom lacks a patronymic. Since in four of these eight cases the first name of the three is a common one (Μασας, Αρτιμης, Τροκονδας, Τροκονδας), the absence of patronymic

⁷ Αττεω occurs once in the Indos valley W. of Kibyra (BCH 24, 1900, 51); Αττεους is the normal form in Pisidia and the Kibyrtis. Κοτεω is new; Κοτεους and Κοτηνους are the normal forms. Μολεω occurs once at Phrygian Apameia; Μολεους and Μολητος are the normal genitives in Lycia, Pisidia and the Kibyrtis. Τροκονδα occurs once, in Isauria, in place of the normal Τροκονδου. Σισιν(ν)εω is also new in place of Σισινεω and Σισινου.

⁸ This is the opinion kindly expressed by P. M. FRASER.

or other identifier would be surprising, so that the first alternative seems preferable.⁹ Where double names occur elsewhere in Asia Minor, they usually follow the sequence name-patronymic-second name. But in A34 Ἀρτιμης is separated from the previous patronymic by καὶ, and Μασας (A17) and Τροκονδας (C23) are both nominative, whereas the previous names (Κοβαμ[ιος, and Ἀττεω) are genitive after ἔχει. In these cases the sequence name-second name-patronymic is certain, and although either sequence is possible in the other cases, the punctuation of this text follows the latter. The appearance of double names in a text with no sign of Roman influence and little of Greek, tends to support ROBERT's contention that double names do not depend on Roman practice.¹⁰

There are also a few instances, all on Face C, where the second element of a two-element name is a name ending in -ας: C2: Κοτης Νας; C11-12: Γίλλου Σ[3 ±]πνας; C14: Μῆνης Ἀρτιμουκας; and C23: Ἀττεω Ποδανας; perhaps also C13-14: Κοζαρχ[ας 3 ±]ς and C30-1: Καπιλλας Μιδης (?). The termination is more appropriate for a masculine nominative than for a masculine genitive, so that most of the cases might be double names without a third identifier. But Γίλλου (C11-12) and Ἀττεω (C23) are certainly genitive, so can not form a double name with a following nominative; in these cases (and so presumably in the others?) we must have either an anomalous masculine genitive, or possible a feminine genitive.¹¹

Ignoring minor variations in spelling, we have about 163 different names, occurring more or less completely some 320 times.¹² Their frequency varies considerably; the four commonest names (Ἀρτιμης x19?,¹³ Ἐρμαῖος x17, Μολης x15?, Τροκονδας x16) occur about 67 times between them, accounting for about 20% of the list, while 117 occur only once, accounting for 36%. About half the names are not previously attested.

A detailed discussion of the local names requires a specialist, and here we simply list the names occurring in the inscription, together with their line numbers, giving only a single reference where a previous occurrence of the name is known to us. However, the geographical connections of the names, when they can be ascertained, are important to the history of Balboura, and this aspect is discussed

⁹ On double names see B. M. LEVICK, et al. (ed.), MAMA IX, 1988, lxi, n. 28, and G. E. BEAN, BSA 51, 1956, 149, no. 43 (area of Söğüt Gölü).

¹⁰ L. ROBERT, BCH 102, 1978, 518-20, 543, against R. MERKELBACH, ZPE 22, 1976, 200-2, who argues for a Roman connection.

¹¹ For another instance in Balboura's territory see VAM 168. T. R. BRYCE, *The Lycians 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, 1986, 143-58, finds some support for the statement of Herodotos, 1.173, that the Lycians used metronymics, but elsewhere, metronymics are usually a sign of illegitimacy (A. CHRISTOFILOPOULOS, *Δίκαιον καὶ Ἰστορία: Μικρὰ Μελετήματα*, 1973, 60-7).

¹² The exact figures depend on subjective assessments of «more or less complete» and «minor variations».

¹³ The similar Ἀρτεμης/-ις adds a further 9 occurrences.

below. For convenience those names which appear to be new are marked by an asterisk, and those whose local connections are discussed below by +. Uncertain nominative terminations are given in parentheses (). The letter n, g, or d after a line number signifies occurrence in the nominative, genitive, or dative case (the second usually, but not always, indicating a patronymic).

- * + Αββαίτης: A38n
- * Αλ(ος), -ου: C7g
- * Ἀνδρῆς: C33–4n. LGPN I.
- * Ἀπολλώνιος, -ου: C18g. HPN 526.
- * Ἀράκι(ος), -ου: A24g. cf. HPN 592, NI 146–8.
- + Αραπίας: C10?n, C33n. NB 82–2a
- * Αργογομῖς, -ιος: C30g
- * Αργυαμμῖς, -ιος: C22g
- * Αργυλημῖς, -ιος: A22g
- * Ἀριστος, -ου: A16g. HPN 73, LGPN I.
- * + Αρλοσ(ης), -ης: C21g
- * Αρμαζο(υς), -ου: A7n?, A8g
- + Αρμανανῖς: C13n, C40n. cf. KPN 97–15, NB 97–15a.
- + Αρσιμ[]: C2n
- + Ἀρτεμῆς, -ῆ/ -έω: A36n, A37g,n, A38g, C14g, C19n, C32n, D3n. KPN 108–11, n. 415.
- + Ἀρτεμῖς, -ιδος: A28g.
- + Αρτιμῆς, -ου: A1?, A11g,g, A22n?, A23g,g?, A31?n?, A33?n, A34n, A35?g, A36g, C7n,n, C17–18?g, C23n, C27n, C31g, C31–2?n, C39?g. KPN 108–6.
- * + Αρτιμοπλῆς: C30n
- * Αρτιμουκας: A23?g?, C14n?
- * Αρτιμουμεικους?: A33g?
- + Ασκ[.4.](ος), -ου C5g
- Αττας, -α: A35g, C5?n. KPN 119–9.
- Αττης, -εω/ -ηδος: A4?g, A5?g, A19g,g, A32n, C4g, C20n, C21g, C23g, C36g. KPN 119–10.
- * Αττατης, -η: C34g
- * + Αυδαιμῖς -ιος: A10g
- Βίας: A18?n. HPN 572, P–B. Doubtful reading.
- + Γβα[ιμ]ος A38n. KPN 205
- Γης: C5n. KPN 202–5.
- Γίλλ(ος), -ου: C11g. NI 158–9.
- Γουκ[]: A6? Doubtful word division.
- Δ[9 ±]οτ(ος), -ου: C4–5g
- Δεξύβιος, -ου: C13g, C32g. HPN 118.
- Δημήτριος, -ου: C28g. LGPN I.
- E[c. 8]ν, -νος: A22–3g
- * + Εβεγορ(ιος): C20g
- Ειας, -α: A17g. KPN 319–2.
- * + Εριδαῖος: A33n
- + Ερμαικοτης: C17n. cf. KPN 355–9.
- + Ἐρμαῖος, -ου: A3n, A11n, A12g, A13n, A14n, A19n, A23n, A28n, A32g, C4g, C8g, C10g,n, C14n, C19n, C25g, D7?n. HPN 527.
- * Ηετ(ος), -ου: C22g
- + Ηλαι(ς), -αιος: A9g, C9g?,g. cf. R.Cil. 197b.
- * Ιδου[-: C40g
- + Ινμ(ους), ου: C38g. KPN 475–2.
- * + Ιπιτος: C31?n. Doubtful word division.
- + Ισβουρ(ος), -ου: C31g. cf. P–B.

- * Ἰχνευτής, -ου: A13g. Perhaps a descriptor not a *hóme*.
- K[2-3]: C8g
- K[8-9]: A37-8
- * Καδεράς: C28n
- * + Καιδ(ως), -ω: C5g
- * Κ[α]ματος C13?n. Doubtful reading.
- * Καμοτος: A21n
- * + Καπιλλας, -ου: A10n, C6?n, C30n, C33g, D4g
- * Καρταπον(ως), -ω: C37g
- * + Κβαμς: C34n
- * Κειρωηλ(ος), -ου: A19g
- + Κενδ[: A9n?. cf. KPN 576-1, 2.
- + Κενδαιβης, -ου: A37n, C9n, C12g, C15-16n, C21n, C26g, C27-8n. KPN 576-4.
- + Κενδηβης: A9?n?, C16n. KPN 576-9
- * + Κενδουργς: C29n
- * + Κενμηβης: A20n.
- * + Κερδαλ(ος), -ου: A21g
- * + Κερμολασιας: C29-30n, C37n
- Κιδι(ος), -ου: D6g. cf. KON 500.
- * Κιζ(ος), -ου: A13g, A14g
- * Κιλλαεϙ(ας), -ου: D1g, D5g
- * Κιλλαηρας, ου: C11g, C24n
- + Κινδαιος, -ου: C35g. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (ed H. DELEHAYE), 11 Juli, col 813/14 (Side)
- * + Κλεομισπ[ης: C37n?
- * + Κλεομοσπης: A14n.
- + Κλεονισπης, -ου: A11?n, A35n, C22n, C32g. Tyr. 51, 52.
- * + Κλέπτ(ος?), -ου: C38g
- * + Κλονισπ[ης: A12n
- * Κοβαμς, -ιος: A16g,g?
- * Κοδλαπιμς: A6n
- + Κοζαρ[(ας) : C13n. KPN 647-1.
- * + Κολοβας, -α: C39g
- * + Κομωτις, -ιος: C27g
- * Κορλας: C26g? Doubtful word division.
- * Κορλασιν: C26g? (or indecl.?). Doubtful word division.
- * Κοροβανσας: C38n
- * + Κορρανας: A10n
- + Κοτης, -εω: A5n, A16n, A19n, A26g, A27n, C2n, C5n, C7n, C16g, C38n. KPN 707-3; NB 707-3.
- * + Κουλασις, -ιος: A34g
- Κυας, -α: A12?g, C8?g. Doubtful restoration. KPN 762-1.
- * Κυβαβιμς: C4n
- * + Κωβιλλς: C33n
- * Λαροδισκις: C36n
- * Λιαμς: A8n
- + Λυδός, -ου: A25g. HPN 540, LGPN I.
- M[? : A32g
- Μαλας, -α: C20g. cf. JNL 52.
- * Μαλοτ(ος), -ου: C36g, D4g
- * + Μαμοτης, -ου: A17?g?, A27n
- + Μάνης: A24n, C38n?. KPN 858-1; NB 858-1.
- + Μανησ(ας), -ου: C25g. KPN 859.
- * Μανητ(ας) C38?n. Doubtful reading.
- + Μαραμοτης, -ου: C26-7n, D1g. KPN 873-1.
- Μας, -α: C10g. KPN 839-3
- + Μασας, -α: A5n, A11?n, A17n, A23?n, C25n, C26n, C36?n, C37?n, C39n, D3g. KPN 875-6; NB 875-6.
- Με[? : A35g?
- * Μεμανος: C32n.
- * Μεμισκος: C22n
- * + Μεγλαμνασις, -ιος: A9n, A37g

- * + Μεγλαμνατασις, -ιος: A14g
 + Μεγλατας, -α: A4g
 + Μεγλατος, -ου: A15n, C6n, C13?n C19g. KPN 904–3.
 + Μηνίδωρος A15g. HPN 316.
 + Μήνις C14n. HPN 316, KPN 910.
 Μι[2–3 : C23–4g
 + Μίδας: C18n. KPN 912, NI 424–5.
 + Μίδης, -η?: C31g?. Doubtful word division.
 Μίκρος?: C19g. P–B.
 * + Μίλνει(ς), -ναι: C28g?
 * + Μιλνισπ(ης), -ου: A9g
 * Μιμνας(ος) -ου?: A24g
 Μο[: A4n
 + Μολεσις, -ιος: A7n, A10g, A29g, A36g, C15n, C25n, D4n. KPN 946–7; NB 946.
 + Μολης, -εω, -ητος: A4?n, A7g, A18g, A20g, A21n, C14n, C15g, C16g, C17n, C25n, C30g, C33n, C35n,g,n. KPN 946–1, NI 353.
 * + Μολκ(ος), -ου: A27g
 * Μορλατασις: C34n
 * Μορσαλις, -ιος: A17g
 * Μορσ(ος), -ου: C16g
 * + Μοταλως, -ω: A38g
 * + Μοτελλ(ος) C34g
 * + Μουοβαρ(ας), -ου: A22g. Doubtful reading.
 Μουσας, -α: C17?g. KPN 988–1. Doubtful reading.
 * Μυσεκκελλας: D4–5n
 + Μυσεκελλας, -ου: A31n, C15n, C24–5g, C27g. cf. P–B.
 Νανιος, -ου: C12g. KPN 1013–12.
 Να(ς), -ας?: C2g?. cf. KPN 1007–1, (fem.)
- Νεικο[6 ± : A8n?. cf. HPN 331–2.
 Νης, -ηδος: C26g. KPN 1033–2.
 * Νιμασας: C26?n. Doubtful word division.
 * Ξενορτηταις: D3–4n
 Οβρασις: A17n. KPN 1069–1.
 * Οβρατασις, -ιος: A26g
 * Ολιαμης, -ιος: C1n, C6g,g, D2g
 * + Ομοβαρας: C20n
 + Οξαλβιας, -ου: A18?n, C36g. KPN 1094–5.
 * + Οξαμοας, -α, -ου: A25g, A39g, C8g, C12n.
 + Οπλεσις, -ιος: C9g. KPN 1097–1.
 * + Οπνης, -εω: C29g, C32g
 + Οπραμοας: A26n. KPN 1099–3; NB 1099–3.
 * + Ορδηλις: A18n
 Ὀρθᾶς C9n. cf. Ὀρθέας, LGPNI.
 + Ορρομους C31n. cf. KPN 1111.
 + Ορτακι(ας), -ου: D7g. KPN 1114–1
 + Οσ(ας), -α: A26?g, C19g. cf. KPN 1117–1, 2, 3.
 + Οσαις: A30n. KPN 1117–1.
 * Οτιμως, -ω: A8g, C17g
 * Ουνανας, -α: C18g
 * + Παελλ(ος), -ου: A20g
 + Παναμνας, -ου: A36n, C38g. KPN 1197–5.
 * + Παναμνοπλης: C11n
 Παπης: C26n. KPN 1199–4.
 * Πικιστης, -η: A6?g. Doubtful reading.
 Πικιστηγ(ος), -γου: A6?g. Doubtful reading.
 * Πίλλους, -ου: A24n, A27g, A32n, A33g, C24g, C35g, D3g

* Πιρωπαρχαλιμος, -ου: C40g	Names lacking their beginning.
+ Πισ(ι)δης: C36n. cf. HPN 542.	]αιου?: A13
* + Πισσαλαμτης A18n	]αλβιας?: A18; Οξ]αλβιας ?
* + Πισαλαμτης A21g	]αλου: A15
* Πογαρηλις, -ιος: C37g	]αματος?: C13; see Epig. Comm.
* Ποδαναας?, -ας: C23g	]αναμνου: C38; Π]αναμνου ?
* Ποκομ(ος), -ου: C5g, C20g	]απιου: A25.
* Πριανδρουας: C10n	]ας: A8.
Πριανο[: A29?. cf. KPN 1304–2.	]ασας: A11, C36; Μ]ασας ?
Σ[3 ±]πνας: C11–12g	]ασος: C22.
* + Σαιεις: A8n	]βαρου: A33.
* + Σακοργ(ος), -ου: A32g	]δης: C19.
+ Σαμ(ης), -ου: A15g. KPN 1365–1.	]δος: A27.
+ Σαο[: C14g. cf. KPN 1343–2.	]εδαλις: A36.
+ Σα[σ]εις: D3?n. KPN 1379–2.	]ινδιλις: C11; Σ]ινδιλις ?
* Σιδαυλ(ος), -ου: C13g	]λα?: A18; see Epig. Comm.
* Σιδαυρυ(ας), -ου: C15g	]λαηρας: C29; Κιλ]λαηρας ?
+ Σινδιλις: A30n, C11?n. cf. KPN 1430–1, 2.	]λαιος: C9; Η]λαιος ?
* + Σινδουργις, -ιος: A13g, A20n	]λημιος: A5.
* Σιπιτος: C31?n. Doubtful word division.	]λης: A19, C20.
+ Σισίνν(ης), -εως: C10g. cf. KPN 1436–2; NB 1436–2.	]λιου?: A13
* Σροημις, -ιος: A31g	]μης: C40; see Epig. Comm.
+ Ταραντίνος, -ου: A30g. HPN 543; SEG 30, 1021, LGPN I.	]νδαιβου: C26; Κε]νδαιβου ?
Τας, -α: A8g. KPN 1493–4.	]νος: A23.
Της: A26?n. KPN 1550; NB 1550.	]νου: A17.
+ Τοαλις A4n. KPN 1575–2.	]οκονδα: A24; Τρ]οκονδα ?
+ Τοαλλις, -ιος: A23n, A34n, C12g. KPN 1575–4.	]ολεσιος: A29; Μ]ολεσιος ?
* Τροκονδαβειμις: A22n	]ος: A28.
+ Τροκονδας, -α: A16n, A18g, A24g, A25n, A29n, A35n, C4n, C7g, C8n, C18n, C23n, C35n, C39n, D2n, D6n, d. KPN, NB 1512–31.	]οτου: C5
Τροκονδης, -ιος: C28g. KPN 1512–35; NB 1512–35.	]ου: C6.
	]ουοβαρου: A22; Μ]ουοβαρου ?
	]ουσα?: C17; see Epig. Comm.
	]πνας?: C12; see Epig. Comm.
	]ραπιας: C10.
	]ρλατας?: C13; see Epig. Comm.
	]ρμαιος: D7; Έ]ρμαϊος ?
	]ς: C14.
	]σας: C37.
	]σκελλας: C15; Μυ]σκελλας ?
	]τεω: A4
	]της: A26.
	]τιμη[ς: A1, C7; Αρ]τιμη[ς ?

]τιμου: A35; Αρ]τιμου ?

]υ: A34.

]του: A20.

]υα: A12; K]υα ?

With so many names from the early history of Balboursa, we have a valuable opportunity to investigate the origins of the city's inhabitants. Some of the names, of course, are so widespread that they can not help us, and others, like Κορλασ-
 νι, are new and can not be reasonably connected with localised roots. But other names on the list are found only in specific areas of Asia Minor, and even some of the new names can be related with more or less certainty to previously known name elements. It is the commoner names, if geographically restricted, which are most reliable in this respect; the apparent distribution of rare names (and many here are previously attested only once or twice) may be radically changed by new discoveries. It must also be remembered that many of the epigraphic occurrences of indigenous names date from the Imperial period, and so may reflect population movements later than the present inscription. Many indigenous names are found, with slight variations, over a wide area from Caria to Cilicia.¹⁴ Small variations in the form or spelling of such names, if strongly localised, may indicate the immediate origin of an individual; but some variations may be chronological rather than geographical.

In discussing the associations of these names it will be helpful to refine somewhat the areas used by ZGUSTA in his treatment of indigenous personal and place names. His S. Phrygian-Lycian area is here divided into the Kibyrtis (the territories of Kibyra, Boubon, Balboursa and Oinoanda),¹⁵ the Acıpayam plain (Eriza, Themisonion and Keretapa/Dioskaisareia) to the northwest, and the Elmalı plain (Nisa, Komba, Choma, and Podalia) to the southeast. ZGUSTA's S. Phrygian-Pisidian area to the northeast of the Kibyrtis is extended to include the whole Lysis valley. And Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia are divided into eastern and western parts, Lycia along the Arykandos river, Pamphylia along the Kestros river, and Pisidia along a line running just east of Termessos, Ariassos, and Kestel Gölü to Burdur.

The easiest name group to distinguish is those of Greek origin. The 16 names listed below are certainly Greek:¹⁶ Ἀνδρῆς, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀράκιος, Ἀριστος, Ἀρτεμῆς, Ἀρτεμῖς, Γίλλος, Δεξύβιος, Δημήτριος, Ἐρμαῖος, Μηνίδωρος, Μῆνις, Μίκρο[ος, Νεικο[, Ὀρθᾶς, Ταραντῖνος.

¹⁴ Especially in Lycia and Rough Cilicia (P. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, 1961; x-xii, 188-97.

¹⁵ The territory of Oinoanda crossed the mountains to the south to include Yuva and Güğü (Yapraklı) on the northern fringe of the Elmalı plain (WÖRRLE, 47); that of Balboursa extended eastward to the southern part of the Söğüt Gölü basin (Tyr., 10-13); Kibyra controlled the small territory of Lagbe on the northern shore of that lake.

¹⁶ Brief references are given in the list above.

In addition the following may, with varying degrees of probability, be considered Greek. Κλέπτ(ος) may well derive from the same root as κλέπτω;¹⁷ Κλέπτης, the thief, would be surprisingly disparaging, but Κλεπτός, stolen (as a child?), is plausible in any bandit-ridden district. Εγιδαιος, unless miswritten for Έρμαϊος, might be connected with ἔρις, strife,¹⁸ and, less plausibly, Πισαλαμτης, for which there are no obvious indigenous parallels, could relate to πίσσα, pitch, and λαμπτήρ, brazier, lantern, although the spelling would be erratic.¹⁹ Μύσκελ(λ)ος (not -ας, as here) occurs outside Asia Minor as the name of the legendary founder of Kroton, and of two Krannonians.²⁰ Παελλος resembles the Boeotian Παελλία,²¹ although a Boeotian dialect form is unlikely here. Κάπιλλος (not -ας as here) also occurs in Boeotia,²² but the second element at least is indigenous; compare Πίλλους in this inscription, Πίλλις, and]απιλλίς.²³ Similarly Ίσβουρος is the name of a river in Sicily, but the toponym Ισβος/Ισβ(α) (Isauria-Pamphylia) would provide a nearer source.²⁴

This choice between possible Greek and indigenous roots arises in several other cases, too. Thus Κινδαιος might derive from κίνδος, a fragrant herb;²⁵ but Κινδος and Κινδους occur at Direvli, Cilicia, and there are indigenous compound names beginning Κινδ-.²⁶ Ιπιτος might belong to the Greek name group based on ἵππος, horse,²⁷ but there is an indigenous name Ιπτας.²⁸ Κερδαλος might be related to κερδαλέος, cunning, profitable,²⁹ but several indigenous names begin Κερ-.³⁰ Κολοβας, may be a variant of Κόλοβος from the Greek κολοβός, maimed;³¹ or it may be connected with indigenous Κολβας and Κολδοβας.³² Σακοργος could relate to σάκ(κ)ος, sack, strainer and -οργος, worker,

¹⁷ cf. Κλεψίας (SEG 31, 599, Illyrian).

¹⁸ cf. Έγίδιος (P-B).

¹⁹ cf. HPN 274: Πυριλάμτης.

²⁰ P-B; IG IX 2, 461.2, 517.75. It is interpreted as bow-legged by BECHTEL, HPN 492, following the gloss μύσκελος = στραβόπους in the Lexikon of Cyril (K. LATTE [ed.], Hesychius, 1953-66, s. v. μύσκειλοι, note).

²¹ SEG 30, 449 (Orchomenos, 3rd c. B. C.).

²² Four times: IG VII 4137.3; BE 1971, 337; 1976, 307.

²³ KPN 1257; I. Cil. 11A I 23; see also n. 79.

²⁴ P-B; KON 381.

²⁵ cf. Κίντος (Et. ep. phil. 206-9) and Κίνδων (LGPN I, Euboea).

²⁶ R. Cil. 202; cf. KPN 614-1,3,4: Κινδανυβας, Κινδαβυβας, and Κινδυοπρας (all Lycian).

²⁷ Ίπιτίας is cited by P-B, and for the single π, cf. Ίπόλας, LGPN I.

²⁸ KPN 481.

²⁹ cf. Κέρδων, Κέρδος, HPN 235-6.

³⁰ KPN 580-1 to 5, and 586, 587, occurring in W. Pisidia, Boubon, and the Acipayam plain; also at Notion, Sardis, Sidon (a Balbouran), and Pessinous.

³¹ See KPN 662; Et. Ep. Phil. 151; NI 78.

³² KPN 659, 660, each occurring once in Caria.

maker;³³ but the dialect form would be unexpected, and although there are no indigenous parallels for the first element, the second could be related to -ουγγις, as in Κενδουγγις (C29) and Σίνδουγγις (A13, A20), both discussed below. Κορ-
 γαυας might belong with Macedonian names in Κορρ- (e.g. Κόρρραγος);³⁴ but other such names are probably indigenous.³⁵ Given the heavy preponderance of clearly indigenous names in this list, an indigenous connection is perhaps more likely in most of these cases. So too Σαμου (A15) could be the Greek name Σά-
 μος,³⁶ but given the context, it is more likely to come from Σαμης, which, like other names in Σαμ-, is probably to be regarded as indigenous.³⁷

Another doubtful group is the incomplete names Ασκ[4](ος), Δ[9 ±]οτος, and Ε[8 ±]ν, which can all be restored as Greek names, not as known indigenous ones;³⁸ but given the number of previously unattested indigenous names in this inscription, that is not a strong argument.

The largest group of indigenous names is of those which can be associated with Pisidia. Most obvious is Πισ(ι)δης, presumably a misspelling of the normal ethnic but used here as a name.³⁹ Κοτης, which appears eleven times in this inscription, occurs widely in west Pisidia and twice in west Pamphylia, near Attaleia.⁴⁰ Γβαμος and Κοζα(α)ς are previously attested only once each, both Sagalassians.⁴¹ Οπνης is new, but perhaps related to Οπναδει(ος) and Οπναλβειβις, attested only once each, at Pisidian Antioch and Adada.⁴²

More frequent are the names with strong Termessian connections. Thus Κεν-
 δαιβης, Κενδηβης, and Κενδουγγις are all related to Κενδεας which occurs over thirty times at Termessos, three times in the neighbouring area and rarely elsewhere.⁴³ Its compounds are rare outside Pisidia, east Lycia, and west Pamphylia,⁴⁴ and the Termessian character of Κενδουγγις is supported by the recurrence of its second component in Μοτάσουγγις, found four times at Termessos.⁴⁵

³³ cf. HPN 162.

³⁴ A. HEUBECK, WJA 5, 1978, 91–8.

³⁵ Κορρη, Κορρις (KPN 686–2,3), Κορρα[(I. Labraunda 23), perhaps Κορραμος (NI 409–10); the termination -αυας is also indigenous (KPN 500–8, 516, 1142–2).

³⁶ Related to the ethnic Σάμος, (P–B; HPN 551; LGPN I).

³⁷ KPN 1365–1; L. and J. ROBERT, La Carie II, 1954, 78.

³⁸ See the commentary on C6, C5, A22.

³⁹ HPN 542 (Miletos); cf. Πισίδικος (SEG 32, 503, Thespiai) and Πισίδι(ος) (BCH 10, 1886, 222, no. 5, Oinoanda; to be discussed shortly by N. P. MILNER).

⁴⁰ KPN 707–3; NB 707–3; similarly Κοτης (KPN 707–4) occurs ten times at Termessos and twice in W. Pamphylia.

⁴¹ KPN 205; KPN 647–1 (at Notion).

⁴² KPN 1098–1, 2.

⁴³ KPN 576–1; at Attaleia, in the mountains to the north, in E. Lycia; also at Aspendos, and Iotape (Cilicia).

⁴⁴ KPN 576–2 to 15; exceptions are Κενδης and Κενδεβης in Cilicia.

⁴⁵ KPN 974–2.

However, Κενδηβης occurs only once at Termessos, but four times at Hippoukome on the western fringe of Lycia, and once each at Boubon and Tyriaion in the Balbouratike;⁴⁶ and the spelling Κενδαιβης occurs only in Balboura and its territory.⁴⁷ More strictly Termessian are Μανησας and Οπλεσις, previously attested only there (six times and five times respectively; and names related to the latter are almost entirely Termessian).⁴⁸ Μαμοτης is new, but Μαμωτασις, and Μαμοτασις are both known only at Termessos (five times and once);⁴⁹ and Μαραμοτης appears as a tribal name at Termessos although it is already known as a personal name from Balboura's territory.⁵⁰ Μερλατος occurs three times at Termessos (and once near Oinoanda),⁵¹ and other names beginning Μερλ- occur only there.⁵² This should also indicate a Termessian origin for the longer names Μερλαμνασις and Μερλαμνατασις. Σινδιλις must be a variant spelling of Σινδειλις, Σινδλις,⁵³ each of which occurs once at Termessos, and the related name Σινδουργις, like Κενδουργις is connected to Termessos by its second element.⁵⁴ Both names may also relate to the toponym Sinda (perhaps close to Kibyra),⁵⁵ but the simple name Σινδης occurs both in Cilicia and on the Asiatic coast of the Crimean Bosporus.⁵⁶ More doubtful is Παναμνας, for although it is previously attested only at Termessos (once),⁵⁷ the form Παναμνης occurs four times at Halikarnassos in the fifth century B. C.,⁵⁸ and a Carian connection is also suggested by the West Carian toponym Παναμαρα.⁵⁹

⁴⁶ KPN 576–9; I. Boubon no. 4; Tyr. 68; Κεδ(δ)ηβης, Κενθηβης (cf. the spelling Κενμηβης here), and Κενδηβυας also occur at Hippoukome, Κενδηβιος at Termessos, and Κενδηβας once at Arykanda and once as an unspecified Pisidian at Tanagra (KPN 576–10 to 14).

⁴⁷ KPN 576–4; Tyr. 67–8. But Κενδαιβιος appears at Samothrace (IG XII 2, 159) and Eretria (LGPNI I).

⁴⁸ KPN 859 and 1097–1. See also KPN 1097–2 to 5; but note Οπλανιλις and Οπλης in the Kibyraitis (JNL 39, 48). The Greek name *Οπλων is also particularly common in Termessos (KPN 1097–6).

⁴⁹ KPN 855–1 to 3.

⁵⁰ TAM III 1, 121; KPN 873–1 (= Tyr. 21, 72).

⁵¹ KPN 904–3, previously known only in the genitive; the nominative was presumably Μερλατος as here. The alternative form Μερλατας (A4) is new (unless it is the beginning of a compound name Μερλαταμο[.]).

⁵² KPN 904–1 to 2.

⁵³ KPN 1430–1, 2.

⁵⁴ cf. above on Κενδουργις.

⁵⁵ KON 1219–1. A. S. HALL, AS 36, 1986, 138, fig. 1, 144 n. 18, placed it by Gölhisar Lake, but others have taken it as a confusion with Isinda.

⁵⁶ KPN, NB 1431–1 (cf. Σινδιος, KPN 1431–2, also in Cilicia); L. ZGUSTA, Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste, 1955, 768.

⁵⁷ KPN 1197–5; also twice at Kos (LGPNI I).

⁵⁸ KPN 1197–6.

⁵⁹ KON 1000; ROBERT (VAM 211–12) claims the comparable name Κιδραμνας as Pisidian, however, locating the village of Κιδραμα in NE Caria, close to Pisidia; cf. KPN 603–4.

Some other names can be linked to Termessos by their second element. Thus the -βαρας of Μο]υοβαρας, Ομοβαρας and]βαρας (A33) occurs also in Οσβα-ρας, attested nine times at Termessos,⁶⁰ while Αρβαρας (or Καρβαρας) and Ονοβα-ρας occur on the eastern fringes of Pisidia and in the Acipayam plain and the Kibyratis, respectively.⁶¹ The -ηλις of Ορδηλις and Πογαρηλις is strongly represented in other names from Termessos: Αννηλις (f) (once, near Termessos), Μισκηλις (m) (once, at Termessos), Ναν(ν)ηλις (f) (22 times, all at Termessos), Ναννηλις (f) (16 times at Termessos, once from the Kibyratis); it occurs very rarely also in Lycia and Caria.⁶² The first element of Ορδηλις might also indicate a Pisidian, for ROBERT claims other names beginning Ορδ- as Pisidian, or Lycian and Pisidian.⁶³ The -οπλης of Αρτιμοπλης and Παναμυοπλης may also indicate a Termessian origin, for Οπλης is very common as an independent name at that city.⁶⁴

Specifically Lycian names are much fewer than the Pisidian. Ερμαικοτης is a variant of Ερμακοτας (once Ερμακοττας) which occurs twenty times in Lycia, but not elsewhere;⁶⁵ and Οπραιοας, well known as the self-advertising benefactor from Rhodiapolis, is the name of eight other Lycians, mainly from east Lycia; it also appears once each at Oinoanda, in the Acipayam plain, and near Amblada.⁶⁶ Τοαλ(λ)ις occurs twice in Lycia (at Hippoukome and Limyra), once as a Limyran at Oinoanda, and once in the Balbouratike;⁶⁷ the similar form Τοαλος occurs once at Olympus.⁶⁸ Ορτακιος appears both in Greek (Ορτακιας) and in Lycian in a bilingual inscription from Tlos.⁶⁹ Κβαμις is new, but the closest parallels Κβαμι(ος) and Κβαμοας occur in Lycia.⁷⁰ Αυδαιμις is also new; a Lycian connection is indicated by the termination -αιμις, found only in Αλαιμις, Ιμβρι-

⁶⁰ KPN 1120–1.

⁶¹ KPN 102–2; and HK 7, nos 20, 21; JNL 52.

⁶² KPN 62–5, 929–1, 1013–28, 40 (note that three of these four are feminine); cf. H. METZGER et al., *Fouilles de Xanthos VI, La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, 1979, 113: Κεσινδηλις; a mythical Carian Ἄρσηλις (KPN 107–12), and a Carian dynast Πισίνδηλις (KPN 1268, there related to the Pisidian toponym Πισίνδα).

⁶³ NI 431–2 and BE 1976, 583. The names in KPN 1104–1 to 4 occur once each, at Termessos, Myra, Tralleis and Pergamon.

⁶⁴ KPN 1097–3 with over 50 occurrences at Termessos (for TAM VIII 1, 97 read TAM III 1, 97), and two at Tlos (for TAM III 1, 169 read TAM II 1, 169).

⁶⁵ KPN 355–9.

⁶⁶ KPN, NB 1099–3; cf. Οπραιος (KPN 1099–2) from Oinoanda, and Οπραιοας from the Elmalı plain. On the benefactor see A. BALLAND, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII*, 1981, 173–224; J. J. COULTON, *JHS* 107, 1987, 171–8.

⁶⁷ KPN 1575–2, 4; *Tr.* 51; in A. S. HALL, correcting BCH 10, 1886, 233–4, no. 13, from which KPN 1575–3.

⁶⁸ KPN 1575–1.

⁶⁹ KPN 1114–1 (1 Lyc., Lyc. epich.).

⁷⁰ KPN 562 (once in Pinara); KPN 563 (four times at Çökek Asar, SE of Araxa, and twice at Oinoanda); but cf. Γβαμιος (above n. 41) at Sagalassos.

αμεις, Ιμβραμεις and Οσαμεις, which are all restricted to Lycia.⁷¹ More problematic is Καιδως; the only comparable indigenous name is Καιδαρμα⁷² (f.) which occurs once, uncertainly, at Arykanda.

Several names from the inscription are previously known only from the Kiby-ratis. Αραπ(ε)ιας occurs three times in the Kiby-ratis.⁷³ Αρμανανις is virtually identical with Αρμουνανις and Αρμονανις, which also occur four times in the Kiby-ratis and once in the Acirpayam plain.⁷⁴ As noted above, although names with the stem Κενδ- are strongly Pisidian, the spelling Κενδαιβης is restricted to the Kiby-ratis. It is already known at Balboursa and in its territory.⁷⁵ Κλεονισπης, (Κλεομισπης, Κλεομσπης and Κλονισπης are presumably all variants of the same name) is known once previously, from the territory of Balboursa.⁷⁶ The form Κλονισπης suggests a possible connection with Κλοινιζοας and Κλοινιζι-ραιοις from Oinoanda.⁷⁷ Μολκος may also belong here, for the closest known names are Μολκέστης or Μολκέτης, attested in the MSS of Diodorus Siculus for a tyrant of Boubon.⁷⁸ Καπιλλας, Οξαλβιας and Οξαμοας occur once each at Oinoanda;⁷⁹ the elements of the names do not have clear local connections. Οορομους occurs once in the territory of Balboursa, once at Oinoanda.⁸⁰ And the closest parallel for Κομωτις, Κομοτις (f), occurs once in the territory of Oinoanda.⁸¹

The names Μιλνει(ς) and Μιλνισπης obviously relate to the district known as Milyas, between Balboursa and Pisidia,⁸² and a few other names belong to the

⁷¹ KPN 40, 468, 469-1, and 1118-1, occurring once, thrice, twice, and once.

⁷² KPN 507.

⁷³ KPN 82-2; NB 82-2 a.

⁷⁴ KPN 97-15; NB 97-15 a; JNL nos. 32, 48; Tyr. 53. The Lycian equivalent is Ermene-ni (TAM I 121.1).

⁷⁵ KPN 576-4; Tyr. 67, 68.

⁷⁶ HK 1, 32 a-b = Tyr. 51, 52. ZGUSTA does not list the name in KPN, perhaps taking it for Greek, as the Κλεο- suggests; but ΝΑΟΥΡ (Tyr. pp. 94-5) rightly points out that since -νίσπης is not Greek, the whole name can not be.

⁷⁷ KPN 626-1,2.

⁷⁸ Diod. Sic. 33.5 a; the MSS read variously Μολκέστης, Μολκέτης and Μοκέλης. The easy emendation Μοαγήτης has been widely accepted, especially since a Μοαγήτης appears in control of Boubon in an inscription from Araxa (see below n. 159), but Μολκος here provides some support for the manuscript readings.

⁷⁹ N. P. MILNER reports Καπιλλας in an unpublished funerary inscription from Oinoanda. Οξαλβιας: KPN 1094-5; the nominative depends on the restoration 'Οξ]αλβίας in A18. A. S. HALL read Οξαμοου in place of ὁ Ξάνθου in OGI 555 (cf. WÖRRLE, 58, n. 30); also near Amblada (NB 1094-9), and cf. Οξοαδ(ας) at Güğü in Oinoanda's territory (JNL no. 53).

⁸⁰ Probably the true nominative of KPN 1111: Οορομ(ας), known only in the genitive (Tyr. 3; A. S. HALL, AS 27, 1977, 193-4 no. 1).

⁸¹ KPN 670-1, from Güğü on the edge of the Elmalı plain (cf. n. 15 above). The Greek name Κόμων (P-B; HPN 253) is notably popular in Pisidia (KPN p. 242, n. 168; L. ROBERT, Études anatoliennes, 1937, 392; NI 417, n. 12; BE 1977, 553).

⁸² On Milyas see below n. 124 and p. 150. Μιλνας may be a name in JNL no. 42.

Phrygian part of Milyas. Κωβίλλις is close to Κωβελλίς, which occurs five times in the Lysis valley,⁸³ and is here associated with the ethnic Μίλλνεύς. The Greek name Μῆνις also occurs very frequently in Phrygian Milyas (although it is not clear how many individuals are involved); it is quite common in the Kibyratis too, but less frequently attested elsewhere in southwest Asia Minor.⁸⁴ Οσαεῖς and its variant spellings occur often in the Lysis valley and western Pisidia;⁸⁵ Οσας presumably belongs there too. More dubious are Σαεῖς and Σαο[; they may belong with Σαοῦς which occurs once in the Lysis valley.⁸⁶

The most common names in the inscription are found frequently in Pisidia, Lycia, and the Kibyratis, but not generally outside those areas. Thus Τροκονδας appears over 100 times in west Pisidia, mainly at Termessos, 40 times in Lycia, mainly in the east, 7 times in the Kibyratis and 8 times in western Pamphylia. It is certainly known elsewhere, but much less commonly.⁸⁷ Μολῆς has a similar distribution: over 60 instances at Termessos, 15 elsewhere in Pisidia (mainly in the west); around 40 in Lycia (mainly in the east and north), two at or near Attaleia, about 10 from the Kibyratis, and one from Rhodes, with the ethnic Καβαλεύς. Where it appears elsewhere, it probably also indicates a Lycian-Pisidian origin.⁸⁸ Μολεσις and Μασας are less common. The former occurs six times at Termessos, three times elsewhere in west Pisidia, eight times at Boubon, six times elsewhere in the Kibyratis, and five times in Lycia (including one epichoric); also a man from Perge in West Pamphylia, and several scattered instances presumably belonging to «la diaspora lycienne et pisidienne».⁸⁹ Μασας occurs eight times at Termessos, once near Korkuteli (Isinda?), seven times in Lycia, four times in the Kibyratis, and once in E. Phrygia.⁹⁰ Κενδηβης may also belong here, since, as noted above (pp. 130–1), it occurs in Lycia, Termessos and the Kibyratis.

Of the names Ἀρτεμῆς/Ἀρτεμῖς/Ἀρτιμης which appear so frequently here, only the last is indigenous. This spelling is perhaps an early one, for of the four occurrences in KPN (one Lydian, three Carian), three are of the third century

⁸³ KPN 774–3.

⁸⁴ KPN 910; esp. J. R. S. STERRETT, *Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, 1888, 38–55, 77 etc.

⁸⁵ KPN 1117–1 to 3.

⁸⁶ KPN 1343–2.

⁸⁷ KPN, NB 1512–31; I. Bubon 4, 6, 8, 13, 24, 25, 30, with p. 60 on the distribution; cf. C. BRIKHE, R. HODOT, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud*, 1988, 115. Outside the main areas it occurs twice in Phrygia, twice in Lykaonia, and four times in Isauria. Τροκονδῖς and the similar Τροκονδεῖς (KPN 1512–34 to 35; NB 1512–35) occur only in E. Pisidia, Isauria and W. Cilicia, however.

⁸⁸ KPN 946–1; cf. NI 353–7 and Tyr. p. 57 n. 125.

⁸⁹ KPN 946–7; cf. Tyr. p. 61 n. 135 and L. ROBERT, BCH 107, 1983, 580.

⁹⁰ KPN 875–6; cf. C. NAOUR, ZPE 22, 1976, 114–5. A divinity Μασεῖς was worshipped at Tyriaion (Tyr. 72, 77).

B. C. or earlier.⁹¹ However, the distinction between Ἀρτιμ- and Ἀρτεμ- is not sharp,⁹² and the genitive Ἀρτεμιου, which could equally come from Ἀρτεμις, is ascribed by ZGUSTA to Ἀρτεμιας, so that it is safer to consider all four forms Ἀρτ(ε)μις/ας together. There are 38 occurrences at Termessos, 13 elsewhere in west Pisidia, 33 in Lycia (mainly Olympos and E. Lycia), and eight in the Kibyrat-*is*; also one in Pamphylia (Attaleia), and the three Carians and Lydian mentioned above. Ἀρτεμῆς and Ἀρτεμῖς are widespread Greek names, but ZGUSTA reasonably supposes that the unusual popularity of Ἀρτεμεῖς at Termessos (over 100 instances) is due to its similarity with indigenous forms.⁹³ Similarly, Ἐγματός is a common Greek name, but there are over 250 examples at Termessos, and it is also popular in the Kibyrat-*is* and Lycia, presumably for the same reason.⁹⁴ It is reasonable to see these names also as having special connections with W. Pisidia, the Kibyrat-*is* and (mainly) E. Lycia.

Outside Pisidia, Lycia, the Kibyrat-*is* and the Lysis valley, the largest group is of those names with a Phrygian connection. Ἀββαίτης, an ethnic in form, is likely to be connected either with the district called Ἀβαεῖτις on the border between Mysia and Phrygia or with the δῆμος Μυσῶν Ἀβαεῖτῶν in Phrygia, perhaps migrants from the former.⁹⁵ Μοταλῶς, and Μοτελλός, although new as personal names, also have quite specific geographic associations; the former is presumably related to the community of Μοταλεῖς to the north of Hierapolis,⁹⁶ and the latter to the ethnic Μοτελλήνης and to the epithet of Μῆν, Μοτελλεῖτης, both originating in the same district.⁹⁷ Τας occurs eleven times in Laodikeia Katakekaumene, and four more times elsewhere in East Phrygia; outside that district it is rare, and does not appear in Lycia, Pisidia or the Kibyrat-*is*, so that an outside source in this case is plausible.⁹⁸

Μάνης, named by Herodotos (1.94; 4.45) as the first king of Phrygia, also appears very frequently in Laodikeia Katakekaumene. ZGUSTA (who does not list all

⁹¹ KPN 108–6; so also Ἀρτίμης appears in Herondas 2.38, and one instance of Ἀρτιμας is early, although it also occurs later in Lycia, Pisidia and the Kibyrat-*is*.

⁹² Both spellings are used in J. R. S. STERRETT, *op. cit.* (n. 84) 52.

⁹³ KPN 108–11.

⁹⁴ So ZGUSTA, KPN p. 173; cf. ROBERT, *NI* 38–9 on Ἐγμας. For Termessos see TAM III 1, index. In Lycia seven examples at Hippoukome (TAM II 1, 168–9) and others from east Lycia (TAM II 3, 836, 853, 869, 877, 882, 885–7, 916).

⁹⁵ KON 2–1; LBW 1001; cf. B. V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*, 3rd ed., 1911, 446; SNGvAulock 9, 3329.

⁹⁶ L. ROBERT, *BCH* 107, 1983, 511–12; *id.*, *JSav* 1983, 45–63; P. CHUVIN, *RA* 1987, 107–8.

⁹⁷ MAMA IV, 309; L. ROBERT, *JSav* 1983, 48; L. ROBERT, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, 1964, 35–6; E. N. LANE, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis I*, 1971, no. 39; II, 70.

⁹⁸ KPN 1493–4.

instances) notes more than 50 occurrences from Phrygia and East Phrygia,⁹⁹ but the name is widely attested elsewhere, too, and there are at least 13 instances from Pisidia and 6 from the Kibyratis and Acipayam plain.¹⁰⁰ Μίδαξ, another legendary Phrygian name (Herodotos 1.14 etc.; 8.138 etc.) which continued in common use in that area, was also widely used elsewhere (nine times in Lycia, five in Pisidia, two in the Kibyratis).¹⁰¹ In these cases an immediate Phrygian origin is therefore uncertain. The theophoric names Μηνις and Μηνίδωρος, honouring the Phrygian god Men, also show Phrygian influence, but they are not restricted to that district, and as we have noted, Μηνις is particularly common in the Lysis valley.

Names suggesting other local connections are few. Λυδός is obviously Lydian;¹⁰² Αρλοσης is likely to be Carian, since Αρλισσις, Αρλισις and Αρλιωμος are all Carian names, and the toponyms Αρλαιο, Αρλανδα and Αρλισος are all in Caria;¹⁰³ Εβεγοσιος is not previously attested, but Σκινγοσιος at Pergamon is probably Galatian, like Βρογορις and Σιλγουριος;¹⁰⁴ for the first syllable compare Εβουγηνος and Εβουριανος.¹⁰⁵ Ινμους and Σασεις only occur (once each) in Isauria,¹⁰⁶ and the locations of names beginning Κουλ- suggest that Κουλασις may also be Isaurian.¹⁰⁷ The only attested name beginning Αρσιμ[(C2) is the Iranian 'Αρσίμας,¹⁰⁸ and Σισίννης is also Iranian, although it occurs quite widely in Asia Minor and elsewhere.¹⁰⁹

A strong Termessian element among the names in the Balboursa list is clear, not only in the fifteen or so names which, in whole or in part, are attested only at Termessos, but also in the names which have a wider distribution. The commonest names in the list, Αρτιμης, Έρματος, Μολης, and Τροκονδας, although found more widely, are all heavily represented at Termessos. Although this may be partly due to the large number of inscriptions surviving from that city, and their comprehensive publication, a strong connection with Termessos is historically plausible, as will be argued below.

⁹⁹ KPN 858–1; cf. NI 123, 365.

¹⁰⁰ KPN 858–1; on the wide distribution of the name see L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 81) 369.

¹⁰¹ KPN 912; L. and J. ROBERT, *La Carie II*, 1954, 78; Μίδης is the Ionic form.

¹⁰² As a name, HPN 540; for the Lydian connections of the Kibyratis see below p. 151.

¹⁰³ KPN 95–1 to 3 (all fifth or fourth century instances from Halikarnassos); KON 95–1, 2.

¹⁰⁴ L. WEISBERGER, in: *Natalicium...* J. Geffcke, 1931, 155, 173–4; NI 432, n. 4; RECAM II, 19, 349. Δηιοταριανος, from Galatian Δηιοταρος, is already known from Balboursa (IGR III, 472; cf. Tyr. 26).

¹⁰⁵ L. WEISBERGER, *op. cit.* (n. 104) 155.

¹⁰⁶ KPN 475, 1379–2; but Σα[σ]εις is uncertain here.

¹⁰⁷ KPN 726–1 to 4: 3 Isaurians, 1 Cilician, 1 E. Phrygian.

¹⁰⁸ JUSTI and P-B.

¹⁰⁹ JUSTI, 303; ROBERT, BE 1965, 342; R. SCHMITT, *Actes du 7ième Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Constanza, 1977), 1978, 144; KPN 1436–2 etc.

Outside Termessos, the parallels are almost exclusively from the area defined above as west Pisidia. So too, in Pamphylia the names on our list are largely restricted to the westernmost part, especially Attaleia, just below Termessos, and although the distribution is more uniform in Lycia, there is a definite preponderance of parallels from east Lycia, especially from Olympos.¹¹⁰ Together with the Kibyratis, the Acipayam plain and the Lysis valley, from which there are also many parallels, these form a continuous region running north from the eastern coast of Lycia to Burdur Gölü, with a westward extension into the mountainous district between Lycia, Phrygia and Caria. Very few names, as we have seen, have clear associations outside this region.

Table 1. Summary of suggested associations of names

	Names	Occurrences
Certainly Greek forms (p. 128)	16	40
Possibly Greek forms (pp. 129–30)	14	23
Strongly Termessian connections (pp. 130–1)	15	25
W. Pisidian connections (p. 130)	1	11
Other Pisidian connections (p. 130)	4	5
Lycian connections (pp. 132–3)	7	10
Kibyratan connections (p. 133)	8	25
Lysis valley connections (pp. 133–4)	6	6
E. Lycian – W. Pisidian (pp. 134–5)	8	95
Phrygian connections (pp. 135–6)	4–6	4–8
Other connections (p. 136)	8	8

N. B. This table necessarily presents a simplified picture, since some names are very similar, some occurrences uncertain, and some associations more or less probable. For the reasons given above, Ἀρτεμῆς/ις, Ἐρμαῖος and Μῆνις, although Greek (and counted as such), are also held to have local associations.

The existence of some Greek names shows a measure of Hellenisation in the group, as of course the setting up of the inscription in Greek also does; but further inspection suggests that this Hellenisation was limited. In no case does a Greek name follow a Greek patronymic. Apart from Μυσκελλας (occurring five times) and Καπιλλας (four times), which may not be Greek, and Ἀρτεμῆς/ις (nine times) and Ἐρμαῖος (16 times), which are popular because of their similarity to indigenous names, only Δεξύβιος occurs more than once. Μῆνις, Μηνίδωρος, and Ἀπολλώνιος, although Greek in form, relate to local divini-

¹¹⁰ This imbalance may be due to the absence of a TAM volume for central Lycia, and/or to the deeper Hellenisation of the centre and west.

ties.¹¹¹ The variations in genitive ending, the odd spellings,¹¹² and the occasional inversion of letters (see above pp. 111, 122) also suggest unfamiliarity with Greek. The 16 certainly Greek names constitute only about 10% of the names and 12% of the occurrences in the Balboursa list, and even if a Greek connection is accepted in the most doubtful of the cases discussed above, it would raise the total only to 30 Greek names, about 18% of the names and 20% of the occurrences. This contrasts strongly with the list of donors to a bath building at Hippoukome (on the Carian-Lycian border) in the late Hellenistic period, where Greek names constitute about 89% of the occurrences.¹¹³

Several of the names are unevenly distributed between the two generations. Κοτης, Τοαλλις, Κενδαιβης, Κλεονισπης, Ἀρτεμης, Ἐρμαῖος, Μασας, and Τροκονδας all belong predominantly to the ‘present’ generation, while Ηλαιοι, Ολιαμυς, and perhaps Αττας, are more commonly found among the patronymics. The Phrygian names are evenly balanced, and both the name and patronymic of Αββαίτης Μοταλω (A38), have specific Phrygian connections. Other names that may be associated with more distant parts do not belong to both a father and his son. In fact all but Αρσιμ[, belong to the ‘past’ generation, as do most of the Greek names, especially the certain ones. Presumably these alien names represent links of some kind, but very few, if any, of the lot holders are likely to have origins outside the region defined above.

The existence of some names attested only in the Kibyratis raises the difficult question whether some of the lot-holders had truly local origins. The relevant names are all attested only once to three times before this list, so their limited distribution may be due to the chance of survival; and there are no other early inscriptions to show whether the presence of these names in the Kibyratis antedates any population movements in the late Hellenistic period. Similarly, in view of the probability of Pisidian immigration at Oinoanda (see below), the similarities between some of the personal names of this inscription and toponyms from the territory of Oinoanda (Κερδαλος – Κερδεβότα, Κυλλαε/ηρας – Κακασβα Κυλλου, Κολοβας – Κολαβη[, Μαραμοτης – Μαρακανδα, Μεγλατας etc. – Μεγλακανδα)¹¹⁴ need not indicate a local origin for the lot-holders so named.

There is a fair agreement between the names on this list and those already known from the (predominantly later) inhabitants of Balboursa. Of the 80 previously attested names in the allotment list, the following 21 are already known in inscriptions from the city and its territory (the references are grouped after every

¹¹¹ Apollo was the πάτριος θεός of the Lycians.

¹¹² Δεξύβιος for Δεξιβιος, Μηνίδωρος for Μηνόδωρος.

¹¹³ TAM II 1, 168; on the names and the topography of the area see VAM 152–3, 363; L. ROBERT, BCH 106, 1982, 309–19. More comparable is a priest list from Uzuncaburç, probably of the first century B. C. (I. Cil. no. 11 A), where the Greek names are about 5% of the total.

¹¹⁴ WÖRRLE, lines 76–7, 72 and pp. 135–7.

third name): Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀρμ(α)νανις, Ἀρτεμεῖς/Ἀρτιμης,¹¹⁵ Ἀττας/ης, Δημήτριος, Ἑρμαῖος,¹¹⁶ Κενδαιβης/-δηβης, Κλεονισπης, Μαλ(ης),¹¹⁷ Μάνης, Μαθραμοτης, Μασας,¹¹⁸ Μῆνις, Μίδαας, Μολεσις,¹¹⁹ Μολης, Νης, Ορρομους,¹²⁰ Παπ(ης), Τοαλλις, Τροκονδας.¹²¹ This includes all the names occurring more than five times in the list except Κοτης and Μυσκελλας; but instead of the spelling Ἀρτιμ- used here, we usually find either Ἀρτειμ- or Ἀρτεμ-. Notably absent from the list, however, are several names common at Balboursa later, including Μουσαῖος (although Μουσας may occur at C17),¹²² and the epic/heroic names which were popular among the upper classes of Balboursa and neighbouring cities in the Imperial period: Θόας, Κάστωρ, Μελέαγρος, Πολυδεύκης, and Τρωῖλος.¹²³ The later adoption of these Greek names is presumably a measure of the increasing Hellenisation of Balboursa.

7. *Ethnics and Occupations*

Only two of the lot holders were identified by ethnics used as such: Μασας Κομβεύς (A5) and Κωβίλλις Ἀραπιας Μιλλεύς (C33); and both relate to districts quite close to Balboursa. The Milyeis occupied a district to the east of Balboursa which ran north from the Elmalı plain to the Burdur Lake basin,¹²⁴ and we have noted above two personal names directly associated with the district name. Komba, at the southwest corner of the Elmalı plain¹²⁵ is two to three days' walk from Balboursa; although its neighbours Podalia, Choma, Nisa and Kandyba are listed by Ptolemy as cities of the Milyas, Komba appears simply as an inland Lycian

¹¹⁵ Tyr. 3, 27; JNL 32, 48, Tyr. 53; LBW 1229, JNL 27, 31, Tyr. 3, 30, 50.

¹¹⁶ Tyr. 13; Tyr. 18; C. NAOUR, ZPE 22, 1976, 127–8, no. 19, id., Ancient Society 9, 1978, 171, no. 2, PvL 238–40, CIG 4380 e, g, JNL 16, 19, 23–5, 30, 32–3, Tyr. 2, 3, 8, 15–17, 20, 22–3, 30, 32, 34, 49, 50, 77.

¹¹⁷ LBW 1229, Tyr. 67, 68, JNL 18; Tyr. 51, 52; LBW 1229.

¹¹⁸ LBW 1229, PvL 214, JNL 20, Tyr. 16, 19, 34, 77; Tyr. 21, 72; JNL 25, Tyr. 56.

¹¹⁹ HK 25, Tyr. 22; LBW 1235, Tyr. 37; C. NAOUR, ZPE 22, 1976, 127–8, no. 19; Tyr. 19, 30.

¹²⁰ C. NAOUR, loc. cit. (n. 119); Tyr. 17, 18; Tyr. 37; Tyr. 3.

¹²¹ Tyr. 18; Tyr. 51; JNL 20, Tyr. 28, 37, 68.

¹²² KPN 988–1; here again there may be a connection between an indigenous name stem and a similar sounding Greek name (KPN pp. 338–9; J. NOLLÉ, S. ŞAHİN, CH. VORSTER, EA 5, 1985, 126).

¹²³ Τρωῖλος appears already in a late Hellenistic inscription at Balboursa (C. NAOUR, loc. cit. (n. 119)).

¹²⁴ On the extent of the Milyas see below p. 150. Various ethnics are attested: Μιλλεύς and Μιλλίτης (Steph. Byz. s.v.), Μιλλύαι (pl.; Herod. 7.77 etc.), and Μιλλυαδεῖς (A. S. HALL, AS 36, 1986, 137–9, no. 1).

¹²⁵ The site was identified by R. HEBERDEY, Festschrift ... H. Kiepert, 1898, 153–8; the inscriptions (all of the third century AD or later) are published in TAM II 3, 724–35, and the site is described by G. E. BEAN, Lycian Turkey, 1978, 158–60.

city.¹²⁶ This inscription is the earliest evidence so far for the existence of the community, although it does not necessarily imply a city there.

Other ethnics are certainly or probably used as personal names. Πισ(ι)δης (C36) and Λυδός (A25) (the latter, a genitive following a name in the genitive, could be either a true ethnic or an ethnic used as the father's name) are self-explanatory and unsurprising.¹²⁷ Αββαίτης (A38), certainly an ethnic used as a name, is, as we have seen, Phrygian. But Ταραντίνος (A20), originally an ethnic, was also the term for a type of light-armed cavalry,¹²⁸ and in the present context probably implies a military rather than a Sicilian origin. Other possible instances are probably not ethnics; Σαμ(ης) (A15), as noted above (p. 130), is probably a local name unrelated to Σάμιος the ethnic of Samos, and κεραμεύς (A31) almost certainly denotes an occupation, not a citizen of Keramos in Caria.¹²⁹

Five times an occupation is certainly used as an identifier, taking the place of a patronymic: χαλκεύς (A6), ὑπηρέτης (A29), γραμματεύς (C22–3, C38–9), and ιερέυς (C34); and another identifier, κεραμεύς (A31), is almost certainly also an occupation (see n. 129 above). These all appear as nominatives after names in the nominative.¹³⁰ Two other occupations, ιχθυήτης (A13) and σκυτεύς (C8), appear as genitives after names in the genitive, and so could be used literally or as patronymics; and a third instance of γραμματεύς (A15) was presumably a genitive following a genitive name, although the termination is lost. The one case where a possible <occupation> must be a name (genitive following nominative) is Κοττης Κλέπτου (C38) (cf. above p. 129).

Most of these occupations are those one might expect to find in a small community – bronze-smith, cobbler, potter, priest and secretary or scribe. Since the three γραμματεῖς are not further identified, it seems likely that the term simply indicates someone who could write (perhaps a rare accomplishment) rather than the holder of an official post. Ὑπηρέτης can indicate service in a variety of ca-

¹²⁶ 5.3.5. Geographically it is attractive to suppose that Komba and Kandyba have become exchanged in Ptolemy's text.

¹²⁷ For the Lydian connections of nearby Kibyra see below p. 151).

¹²⁸ M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* 1, 1949, 601–4; as a name HPN 543, SEG 30, 1021, LGPN I.

¹²⁹ Κεραμεῖς (plural), occurs as the ethnic of Keramos (Caria) three times in the Athenian tribute lists (B. D. MERITT, H. T. WADE GERY, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1939, 1, 306–7). But the normal ethnic is Κεραμύητης (Strabo 14.2.25; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγίνοι; E. L. HICKS, *JHS* 11, 1890, 113, 127 n. 11; *IG* XII 8, 160.17; A. MAIURI, *Annuario* 4/5, 1921/2, 475; *I. Ephesos* 618.3) or Κεράμιος (MERITT, WADE-GERY, loc. cit.; *IG* XII 1, 114; *I. Ephesos* 1447.4).

¹³⁰ Γραμματεύς (C22–3) and ιερέύς (C34) both lack the final sigma, and might be thought unusual genitives. However, the loss can be explained in both cases; the former comes before a word beginning with epsilon, often virtually indistinguishable from sigma, while the latter comes at the end of a line. The normal genitive σκυτέως occurs in C8.

pacities; at a private level as a domestic servant or as the attendant of a single soldier or officer;¹³¹ and at a public level as the attendant and messenger of some public body or of a military formation.¹³² The military significance of Ταραντίος has just been mentioned. A tracker, ἰχνευτής, might also have military value, and PREISIGKE takes ἰχνευτής, given as a man's occupation in a second-century AD Egyptian tax document, to mean a police tracker.¹³³ However, the context there does not suggest police work; elsewhere ἰχνευτής and ἰχνευτικός are used of huntsmen and hunting dogs,¹³⁴ and huntsman would be an unsurprising occupation in this context.

One of the two true ethnics (and perhaps the other) is used in place of the normal patronymic; so too are most of the occupations. These then are simply alternative ways of identifying an individual, and indicate how both ethnics and occupations might become names; the occasional appearance of an ethnic need not imply that all those who had a patronymic but no ethnic were citizens of Balboura or of some other single community, any more than the occasional appearance of an occupation implies that all those without one belonged to some specific trade.

8. Relationships within the Group

Rather over half (167) of the surviving names belong to the 'present' generation, i. e. the actual or replaced lot holders, as opposed to the 'previous' generation represented by the patronymics. In practice, these generations may not be distinct, for both fathers and their sons may have been lot holders. Where an unusual name appears first as a nominative and then as the patronymic of the following individual, as Αρμαζο(υς) in A7–8 and perhaps Κοβαμης in A16, we may suspect, but can not prove, that the two men were father and son. The reversed pairs Αρτιμης Τροκονδα (C7) – Τροκονδας Αρτιμου (C39) and Μ]ασας Αρτιμου (A11) – Αρτιμης Μασα (D3) may also be father and son, demonstrating the familiar phenomenon of names repeating in alternate generations, but the names are too common and too far apart to allow more than a guess. The rarer name Καπιλλας in Καπιλλας Μολεσιος (A10) – Μολεσις Καπιλλου (D4) is a more plausible case. And Κυλλαηρας Μυσκελλου (C24–5) – Μυσεκελλας Κυλλαηρου (D4–5), in spite of the differences in the spelling of both names, are further

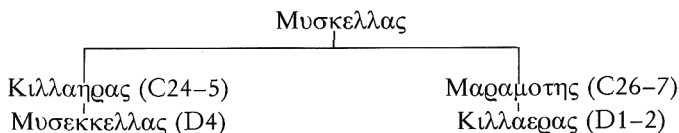
¹³¹ Thuc. 3.17; a ὕπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ occurs commonly in papyri (F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyruskunden*, 1924–31, section 8, s. v.).

¹³² LSJ s. v.; the attachment of a ὕπηρέτης to a military detachment, specified by tactical writers of the Roman period (Arrian, *Tact.* 10.4, 14.4; Asclepiodotus, *Tact.* 2.9, etc.), is attested in the second century B. C. (P. Rein. 14.31, 15.30, 22.30).

¹³³ P. Ryl. 188.22; PREISIGKE, *op. cit.* (n. 131) 1, 705, s. v.

¹³⁴ Pollux, 5.10; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 6.59; Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* 1.2.34 cf. ἀρχικυνηγός in JNL 42.

linked by the only two occurrences of the rare name Μαραμοτης (C26–7, D1–2). The following relationships involve only two generations taking part in the allotment, with both members of the older generation recorded on Face C and both younger men on Face D. The changes in spelling also occur from Face C to Face D.



Μαραμοτης Μυσκελλου and Κιλλαηρας Μυσκελλου, although separated by five lot holders, would thus be brothers, and others sharing a patronymic may also be brothers – more probably when they are listed together and/or when the patronymic is rare. Έρμαϊος Κιζου, [...] Κιζου (A13–14), Κοτης Αττεω, Έρμαϊος Αττεω (A19), Τοαλλις Αρτιμου, Έρμαϊος Αρτιμου (A23), Καπιλλας Ολιαμιος, Μερλατος Ολιαμιος (C6), and Κ[...] Ηλαιο, Όρθας Ηλαιο (C8–9) are all named successively; Γης Ποκομου (C5) ... Αττης Ποκομου (C20), Σαιεις Οτιμω (A8) ... Τροκονδας Ερμαιικοτης Οτιμω (C17), although separated, have rare patronymics. The sharing of a rare patronymic need not indicate the same father, however, for other men with previously rare or unknown names such as Αρμανανις, Πιλλους, or Τοαλλις, are shown by their patronymics to be different individuals.

If all these instances are accepted, there are 28 individuals with a father, son, or brother who is also a lot holder. This small number (out of a total of about 164 lot holders), and the large number of names occurring only once (c. 71% of the names, accounting for c. 36% of the individuals), suggest that this was not a closely related group of men.

Since a single person could hold more than one lot (C24, D1–2, A11–12), the same individual may have held more than one lot listed in different parts of the document. Four name and patronymic pairs occur twice in the surviving text: Κοτης Αττεω (A5, A19), Μολεσις Μολεω (A7, C14), Έρμαϊος Αρτιμου (A11, A23), and Τροκονδας Οξαμοου (A25, C8). The only rare name among them is Οξαμοας, which occurs twice more in this inscription and only once elsewhere. So Τροκονδας Οξαμοου may perhaps have been one person appearing twice, but the other names are all too common to support that supposition.

9. The Nature of the List

As we have seen (p. 111), the form of the block and layout of the text suggest that the surviving block was the base of a stele, which would have carried the missing preamble and substantive document to which the list of names belonged; but some clues remain to indicate the nature of the document. Of the few words that are not names, έχει ... κληρον (A6–7) and κληροι τέσσαρες (D1–2), show

that we have a record of holders of allotments, presumably of land, and as we shall see, the other words also suit such a context. The lot holders are normally identified by a name in the nominative followed by a patronymic (in the genitive), or by an ethnic or occupation (see above). In thirteen cases the lot holder's name and patronymic are followed by ἔχει and a name pair in the genitive,¹³⁵ presumably representing a man whose lot has been transferred to another (A6, A13, A15, A16, [A24], A32, C8 (twice), C11, C12, C16, C21, C23). Παρέδωκεν Τροκονδα in D6 must refer to a similar transfer, and ἐξουσία in D10 might do so too, although the absence of context makes certainty impossible. The numbers of transfers on Face A (6) and Face C (8) are similar, and there is no obvious distinction between the names of the original lot holders and those of their replacements. In A16 a son may take over his father's lot, but that was not true in the other cases.

In one, perhaps two, instances (A11–12, A28?), a joint holding is indicated by a pair of names followed by ἔχουσι κοινῇ. There are also two cases (A34, A35) where a pair of names is simply linked by καί with no verb, and these too presumably record joint holdings. In three of these four cases the two men apparently share a single lot (since nothing else is mentioned), but the fourth case (A11–12) probably involves larger holdings, perhaps of five lots each, for only the two names linked by καί separate two occurrences of the word δεκανία, which, on Face A, are normally separated by the record of ten lots. In C24 ἔχει δύο must indicate a multiple holding, although the word κλήρους is omitted; and in D1–2 the genitive Κίλλαεργου Μαθαμοτου must indicate the owner of the κλήροι τέσσαρες, which are otherwise not assigned. As with the replacement lot holders, the names of the sharing and multiple lot holders are not obviously distinctive, and are not consistently placed in relation to the word δεκανία.

The word δεκανία occurs ten times in full on Faces A and D (A3, A7, A11, A12, A17, A21, A25, A30, A34, D1), and five or six times on Face C and D, abbreviated to δεκα or δε(κ)¹³⁶ (C1, C9, C16, C29, C35, D9?). The number of lot holders between each occurrence of the term varies:¹³⁷

Face A: A3–A7, 10–11; A7–A11, 10–11; A11–A12, 2; A12–A17, 10; A17–A21, 10; A21–A25, 10; A25–A30, 9–10; A30–A34, 8–10; A34–A38, 12? (δεκανία might be lost before Οξάμοα in A39, but if so, the nominative would be expected). Face C: C1–C9, 17 (not allowing for names erased in C3); C9–16, 15; C16–29, 30; C29–35, 15; C35–41, 15–18 (15 taking Αρμανανις Ιδου[as the end of a δεκανία; 18 names to the end of C41).

¹³⁵ Since genitive follows genitive, it is not always clear whether the second element is a patronymic or an occupation or ethnic.

¹³⁶ δεκδ (C16) is probably miswritten for δεκα, while in δε (C9, C29) κ is probably lost before names beginning with kappa. δεκ is a common abbreviation for δεκανία in papyri (O. MONTEVECCHI, *La Papirologia*, 1973, 472).

¹³⁷ The number of names to be restored where the text fails is discussed in Section 4 above.

Face D: D1–6, 10 (taking the *vacat* in D6 as the end of the δεκανία; the words Τροκονδας Κιδιου παρέδωκεν seem to mark the start of a new construction, but the lower part of Face D is too ill-preserved for our purpose).

The pattern of ten lots per δεκανία on Face A is clear, the one significant exception being in A11–12 where two lot holders share the whole δεκανία, and there are also ten lots in the first δεκανία on Face D. On Face C, however, the norm is 15; the third δεκανία is double that size, unless δεκ was accidentally omitted at the end of C21 (there is no space for it to have been lost). A patronymic also ends at a line end in C2/4 (probably), C18/19 and C39/40, and here there is space to restore a lost δεκ. However, the resulting δεκανίαι would be of 4(3?), 13, 15, 8, 22, 15, 13, and 5? lots, which is not a sufficiently consistent pattern to justify such restorations. Thus fifteen must remain the normal number on Face C.

The appearance of δεκανία in a list of lot holdings is perhaps surprising. Words with the stem δεκαν- are first attested in the third century B. C., when the lowest ranking officer of the Ptolemaic cavalry was called a δεκανικός.¹³⁸ From the second century B. C. at latest, village contingents under a δεκανός formed part of a local police force in Egypt.¹³⁹ And an astrological system based on δεκανοί, beings controlling ten degrees of the zodiac, also evolved in Hellenistic Egypt.¹⁴⁰ Except for this text from Balboursa, words based on δεκαν- are not found in the Hellenistic period except in Egypt.

In the Roman period a similar village police system was organised in Egypt, with δεκανίαι (not always of exactly ten men) under a δεκανός;¹⁴¹ and the word is also used of other groups of about ten.¹⁴² However, by this time δεκανία and related words are used outside Egypt as well. The military or paramilitary connection is continued in a group of third century inscriptions from Adraa in southern Syria, where the δεκανία is clearly a building, presumably accommodating a detachment of about ten men, and the ἀρχιδέκανοι are concerned with fortifications.¹⁴³ But in an inscription from Aphrodisias a δεκανία is apparently a sort of

¹³⁸ J. LESQUIER, *Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, 1911, 91–2, 347; J. KROMEYER, G. VEITH, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, 1928, 128.

¹³⁹ H. U. INSTINSKY, *RAC* 3, 1957, 603–11; B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT, J. C. SMYLY, *The Tebtunis Papyri* 1, 1902, 27.31.

¹⁴⁰ W. GUNDEL, *Dekane und Dekansternebilder*, 1936; O. NEUGEBAUER, H. B. VAN HAESSEN, *Greek Horoscopes*, 1959, 5–6; R. DANIEL, in: *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung ... Erzherzog Rainer*, 1983, no. 39.

¹⁴¹ R. S. BAGNALL, *JARCE* 14, 1977, 67–86, with table of numbers on pp. 77–82 (up to 29 men).

¹⁴² A δεκανία τοῦ πυροῦ (BGU 834.11) is taken by LSJ s. v. to be an area of land; but since ten names follow, it probably means a group of men concerned with wheat. A δεκανία of oxen is mentioned in *P. Würzb.* 22.17.

¹⁴³ H. G. PFLAUM, *Syria* 29, 1952, 305–30; *SEG* 16, 813, 814; *IGR* III 1286. Δεκανία also occurs at Baalbek (*IGLS* 6, 1967, 2740), where J.-P. REY-COQUAIS follows PFLAUM in taking the word to mean a division into ten parts, not a group of (about) ten.

private study group within the Jewish community, and at Philipoupolis in Thrace the verb δεκανεύω means to head a trade association.¹⁴⁴ Δεκανοί in the district of Amblada (Pisidia) are officials at the head of some group or district within the community as a whole, but their responsibilities are not stated.¹⁴⁵ Finally, at Balboursa's neighbour Oinoanda there were in the Hadrianic period ἀρχιδέκανοι in some (but not all) of the city's villages, who were made partly responsible for the provision of oxen for sacrifice.¹⁴⁶ On this basis we should expect the δεκανίαι to define groups of men, possibly but not certainly with a military or paramilitary function.

However, a very different sense of δεκανία is provided by an inscription of the Roman period from Belevi near Ephesos.¹⁴⁷ A certain Tī. Claudius Soteirichos Philo[gives to Lucius ἀνπέλων δεκανίαν [ἦν] ἐκκληρωσάμην καὶ καλάμου πλῆθρον ἐν ἀπὸ δεκανίας Κολπηνης. Here δεκανία must mean an area of land, not a group of people, and the reference to allotment, as in the Balboursa inscription, is also noteworthy.

The most plausible explanation of the term δεκανία at Balboursa is that it combines both senses of δεκανία; that is, it was both a group of about ten men (as usual), and also the area of land normally assigned to such a group. The regular ten-man δεκανίαι on Face A emphasise the former sense; but where only two men share a δεκανία, as in A11–12, it is the sense of an area of land which predominates, since two men could not be equivalent, as manpower, to a group of ten or so. The first δεκανία on Face D is also conceived as a unit of ten, but the assignment of four lots to Κίλλαερας Μαζαμοτου highlights the land holding aspect. Since a δεκανία in other contexts was not always exactly ten men, the δεκανίαι of 8 to 12 men are not surprising, and the fifteen-strong units on Face C could perhaps be thought of as <a group of about ten> as well; but it is hard to see how that could be true of a group of thirty.

As we shall see, there is evidence of Pisidian involvement at both Balboursa and Oinoanda, so that the occurrence of δεκανίαι at Balboursa, ἀρχιδέκανοι at Oinoanda, and δεκανοί at Amblada might suggest that land allotment by δεκανίαι was characteristically Pisidian. However, the two inscriptions from the Ephesos district show that land allotment in that city's territory was similarly based, so that more probably there was a Hellenistic (possibly Ptolemaic) system adopted or adapted by the Pisidians.

In the surviving text there is no indication of the size of the lots or the δεκανίαι, even though the numbers in a δεκανία varied. The allotment district (presumably in Balboursa's territory) is unnamed, and so are the δεκανίαι (unlike one of

¹⁴⁴ J. REYNOLDS, R. TANNENBAUM, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (PCPhS Suppl. 12, 1987) 28–38; IGB III 1, 917, 1401, with BE 1961, 399.

¹⁴⁵ A. S. HALL, *AS* 18, 1968, 70, no. 12, 76, no. 26; BE 1969, 576.

¹⁴⁶ WÖRRLE, 147–50, with discussion of most of the instances mentioned here.

¹⁴⁷ I. Ephesos 3221, IGR IV 1675; a δεκανία also appears in I. Ephesos 1947, but in an uninformative context.

those in the Belevi inscription). The formula ἔχει + genitive might seem to identify a particular plot of land by the name of some previous owner, but such cases are rare (about 8% of the lots listed), and the use of name and patronymic (or other identifier) for the 'previous owner' just as for the current lot holder, does not suggest a traditional plot name. These features suggest that the Balboursa list is not a record of rights or duties arising out of ownership of particular (and varying) pieces of land, for instance liability to a land tax.¹⁴⁸ Rather it is the record of entitlement to (unspecified) lots of land, perhaps as a result of an important land allotment, or the record of liability to taxation or some other duty arising directly out of such a lot holding.

If the list is a record of land tenure, the organisation by δεκανία might simply be a by-product of some previous military formation to which the lot holders had belonged. However, in Ptolemaic colonies the enjoyment of a κληρος of land involved a corresponding duty of military service,¹⁴⁹ and at Balboursa the δεκανία of lot holders may have been similarly intended as a basis for recruitment and defense. That would provide a good reason for a permanent record of the lot holders, and the survival of δεκανοί and ἀρχιδέκανοι at Amblada and Oinoanda in the Roman period suggests that the organisation had a continuing function, although it was apparently modified to cover other aspects of rural administration.

Where one man held more than one lot, there is no suggestion that this was because he held a higher rank, and only one of the two multiple lot holders is named first in the δεκανία. Normally the first man named in a δεκανία gets no special treatment, and there is no indication that he was its leader. Similarly those who shared lots are not distinguished as lower ranking, and do not always come last in the δεκανία. The implication is that allotments were normally equal,¹⁵⁰ and that the exceptions were for individual, not for systematic reasons. This is comparable to the ἰσονομία which applied in early Greek colonies,¹⁵¹ and contrasts with Ptolemaic practice with its κληροὶ varying from 5 to 100 ἄρουραι in accordance with the recipient's rank. A fragmentary inscription concerning a Pergamene colony also mentions lots of at least three different sizes,¹⁵² and an inscription from Smyrna when it was under Seleucid control suggests that Seleucid practice was similar; for the κληροὶ ἵππικοὶ mentioned there are most obvi-

¹⁴⁸ The format is quite different from the late Roman cadastral lists from Thera, Tralleis, Magnesia, and elsewhere, discussed by A. H. M. JONES (JRS 43, 1953, 49–64).

¹⁴⁹ LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 128) 44–53.

¹⁵⁰ It is unclear whether more land was assigned to the δεκανία with more participants, or whether their lots were simply smaller.

¹⁵¹ A. J. GRAHAM, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 1964, 59; D. ASHERI, *Distribuzioni di terre nell' antica Grecia*, 1966, 13–16; G. M. COHEN, *The Seleucid Colonies; studies in founding, administration and organisation*, 1978, 59.

¹⁵² C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 1934, no. 51; COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 151) 57–9.

ously taken to mean cavalrymen's lots, larger than normal, although other explanations are possible.¹⁵³

10. *The Lot Holders and Early Settlement at Balboursa*

Early evidence for the existence of Balboursa is provided by a painted stele from Sidon for a Balbouran mercenary called Dioskourides; it has been loosely dated, on grounds of style and historical context, to the late third-early second century B. C.¹⁵⁴ In addition there are Hellenistic coins of Balboursa, and the earlier city walls, built of careful polygonal masonry, are also probably Hellenistic.¹⁵⁵ Surface survey in 1987 produced a significant number of sherds of the second century B. C. from the area within those walls, but nothing suggesting earlier settlement was found on the site. We have no direct evidence of the circumstances of Balboursa's foundation; it may, therefore, have been a local initiative, or the result of indigenous immigration, or a military colony planted by a Hellenistic king. Nonetheless by considering the available evidence together with the nature of this list and its names, we may be able to narrow the possibilities.

About 86 lot holders were listed on Face A, 93 on Face C, and at least 9 on Face D, making 188 in all. If Face B was similar in content to Faces A and C, as it appears to have been in layout, then the total would rise to about 280 lot holders, and if each of these represented, on average, a family of four, the total group would be over 1100. Although neither the date of Balboursa's foundation nor the date of this inscription is known precisely, the list of lot holders must belong quite early in the history of the city, and those named must have constituted a substantial part of its early population.

Whether the list was intended to record an allotment of land, or an obligation arising out of the lot holding, it is certainly evidence that an allotment on quite a large scale had taken place. The small number of lot-transfers (about 8% of the preserved total) and the absence of plot identification suggest that it was quite recent, although this is not certain. The lot-transfers would relate to the still small number of initial lot-holders who had lost, resigned, or transferred their lots to another person – perhaps because of death, or unwillingness or inability to take up the land at Balboursa. This large allotment suggests that there was, quite early

¹⁵³ OGIS 229; COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 151) 60–2, suggests that *ἱππικός* indicates a larger measure of land, given not because of rank but to balance a less favourable location.

¹⁵⁴ K. PARLASCA, *Syrische Grabreliefs hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, *Trierer WProgr* 3, 1982, 6, pl. 2.3. E. JALABERT, *RA* 1904 II, 8–15, and others date this group of stelai after 193 B. C.; but E. BIKERMAN, *Les Institutions séleucides*, 1938, 88–9, n. 1 shows that the argument is unsound (followed by LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 128) 116, 218, 464).

¹⁵⁵ B. V. HEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 95) 694–5; SNGvAulock 10, 4280–2; SNGCopenhagen, *Lycia-Pamphylia*, 1955, 51–2. The best preserved section of fortification is illustrated in IV Aşağıturma ... 1986 (see n. 1), 178, fig. 2.

in the history of the city, a substantial body of newcomers, for if the population of Balboursa had all come from existing villages in the district, they would presumably already have had land holdings, and so no allotment would have been needed: Whether the allotment was recent or not, the names of the lot holders listed, and those of their fathers, should give some indication of where the body of settlers had come from.

The extensive and systematic land allotment suggests the possibility of a new royal foundation, and through most of the third century B. C. the mountainous district between Lycia and Phrygia lay between the territories under Seleucid and under Ptolemaic control, so that a border outpost at Balboursa, commanding the passes from the fertile plain of Kibyra to the high ground further south might have served either kingdom. The term *δεκανία* suggests a Ptolemaic connection, and more Pisidian mercenaries are known to have served with the Ptolemies than with the Seleucids.¹⁵⁶ It has yet to be shown that settlement at Balboursa goes back into the third century, but there would be no archaeological objection to a foundation around 200 B. C. Military settlements often had non-Greek names,¹⁵⁷ but the low incidence of Greek personal names, and the absence of the hierarchical structure which seems to have been a feature of Ptolemaic (and perhaps also Seleucid) land allotments argue against, although not conclusively against, this explanation. So too does the probability that neither kingdom exercised control in this difficult area, for a successful colony or veteran settlement is less likely outside the kingdom concerned.¹⁵⁸

After 189 B. C. the Ptolemies and Seleucids no longer controlled the areas to the south and north. Lycia was assigned to the Rhodians, then in 167 B. C. became independent; but any formal connection between Lycia and the foundation of Balboursa is unlikely, for an inscription from Araxa shows that in the middle of the second century B. C. Balboursa's neighbours Boubon and Kibyra were independent of, and unfriendly towards, the Lycians.¹⁵⁹ It was only in 89 B. C. that Balboursa was assigned to Lycia. The kings of Pergamon, who in 189 B. C. received the Milyas, and also the port of Telmessos, are more plausible founders, but again the evidence is against their control of the Balboursa district. For nearby

¹⁵⁶ M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 128) 475. There is no direct evidence of *δεκανία* in the Seleucid realm, but the later occurrence of the word at Adraa and Baalbek may derive from earlier Seleucid practice.

¹⁵⁷ M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 128) 337–47.

¹⁵⁸ E. MEYER, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, 1925, 48, 129–30. Even Antioch in Scythia was probably, at the time of its foundation, in an area under Seleucid control (V. TSCHERIKOWER, *Die hellenistischen Stadtgründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit*, 1927, 106), and may not have survived long after that control was lost.

¹⁵⁹ G. E. BEAN, *JHS* 68, 1948, 46–56; A. N. SHERWIN WHITE, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East* 168 B. C. to A. D. 1, 1984, 49–51; M. ERRINGTON, *Chiron* 17, 1987, 114–18. The Orthagoras inscription from Araxa dates after 167 B. C., perhaps after 130 B. C. (ERRINGTON).

Kibyra appears as an independent agent in 189 B. C. and in the Araxa inscription; it had a separate treaty with Rome, and was joined to the province of Asia only in 89 B. C., not under the will of Attalos III.¹⁶⁰

The historical evidence favours an independent, predominantly Pisidian, initiative. Kibyra was established on a new, naturally strong site by immigrant Pisidians; Oinoanda was probably founded, on a similarly strong site, by immigrant Termessians; and a tyrant of Boubon also had connections with Termessos.¹⁶¹ Since Balboura's site is also a naturally strong one, with walls which are probably as early as the earliest sherds, and since Dioskourides, the Balbouran mercenary at Sidon, is described as a Pisidian,¹⁶² there is a strong *prima facie* case that the foundation of Balboura was also part of the westward expansion of the Pisidians in the Hellenistic period; an expansion which included not only Kibyra and Oinoanda, but also Tabai and Kidrama in eastern Caria.¹⁶³ Although its lettering suggests that the allotment list may well have been later than the first establishment of the city, the lot-holders' names indicate that a substantial element in the early population of Balboura was indeed from western Pisidia, particularly from Termessos. The existence of some Greek names, especially Tarantinos, among the local ones, and the organisation by *δεκαῖαι*, suggest a mercenary element among the settlers, and ex-mercenaries might easily require, and be able to hold, a new place to live. But we can not tell how great the mercenary element was, nor whether there was some degree of encouragement (formal or informal) from a previous royal employer.

The special link with Termessos and western Pisidia is noteworthy; there are few names that indicate connections with north or east Pisidia, or with major Pisidian cities such as Sagalassos, Kremna or Selge. Although the Termessians are described by Arrian as Pisidians in 334 B. C., and by the Lex Antonia in c. 70 B. C., Strabo calls them Solymians, and the Solymian connection is still clear in inscriptions of the Roman period.¹⁶⁴ The Solymians were obviously among the early inhabitants of this part of Asia Minor, preceding the arrival of the Lycians; their definition and distribution are problematic,¹⁶⁵ but Strabo connects two oth-

¹⁶⁰ Milyas: Polybius 21.45.10; Livy 37.56.2–4, 38.39.14–16. Kibyra in 189 B. C.: Polybius 21.34, Livy 38.14; treaty: OGIS 762; M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* (n. 159) 107–12; attachment to Asia: Strabo 13.4.17. Balboura's membership of the Kibyran tetrapolis does not affect the issue, for it need not have gone back to the city's foundation.

¹⁶¹ Kibyra: Strabo 13.4.17; Oinoanda: J. J. COULTON, *AS* 32, 1982, 115–31; Boubon: *Di-od.* 33.5 a.

¹⁶² See n. 154.

¹⁶³ L. and J. ROBERT, *La Carie* II, 1954, 72–9, 350–61. Note also the *θεοὶ Πισιδικοί* in epitaphs from the Acipayam plain and middle Indos valley (ROBERT, *op. cit.* 75, n. 8 and *VAM* 212–13).

¹⁶⁴ Arrian, *Anab.*, 1.27.6; *FIRA* I², 1941, no. 11; Strabo 13.3.10; *TAM* III 1, 18, 103, 127, 135, 548.

¹⁶⁵ Herodotos 1.173, Steph. Byz. s. v. Olbia; W. RUGE, *RE* IIIA, 1927, 989; K. LANCKORONSKI, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* II, 1892, 1–3.

er tribal names with them, reporting that both the Kabalians and the Milyans were said to be Solymian;¹⁶⁶ and Balboursa was part of Kabalia, while Milyan appears both as an ethnic and as a name element in the allotment list.

A. S. HALL has recently clarified the varying extent of the Milyas, running northwards from the Elmalı plain to the Lake Burdur basin, and including the Lysis valley and the Bozova plain to the east.¹⁶⁷ According to Strabo the fertile plain of Kibyra belonged to Kabalia, and so too, apparently, did Eriza and its territory to the north and northwest.¹⁶⁸ He is not explicit that Oinoanda, Balboursa and Boubon were also Kabalian, but Ptolemy (5.3.5) is. This would suggest that Kabalia was a roughly north-south strip lying west of the Milyas.

However, it has been suggested that *palus Caralitis* (Söğüt Gölü) in the manuscripts of Livy 38.15.2 should in fact be *Cabalitis*, so that its basin (lying to the east of Balboursa, but belonging in the Severan period mainly to that city) was also part of Kabalia,¹⁶⁹ and Ptolemy (5.5.5) lists nine «cities of Kabalia» under Pamphylia, including Termessos itself, Pogla, Kretopolis and Ariassos around the Bozova plain.¹⁷⁰ These lie in, or to the east of, the area assigned to the Milyas, and one of the cities Ptolemy lists is indeed Milyas. The same area could also be seen as Pisidian, however; Ariassos is probably one of Strabo's list of Pisidian cities,¹⁷¹ and Komama in the Bozova plain is among the cities listed by Ptolemy as simply Pisidian.¹⁷² Thus «West Pisidia», the area with which so many of the names in the allotment list have connections, was also Milyan and Kabalian. As Strabo (13.4.12) says of western Kabalia, this was an area of mixed population, where physical, administrative, and demographic boundaries did not coincide,¹⁷³ and it is impossible to say if the names from this area are really Pisidian, Milyan or Kabalian.

¹⁶⁶ Strabo 12.8.5 (referring to Herodotos 1.173), 13.4.16; 14.3.10. Herodotos 7.77 mentions the Kabalians and Milyans as separate peoples, both armed similarly to the Lycians, and so presumably already (as later) living in this part of Asia Minor.

¹⁶⁷ A. S. HALL, *AS* 36, 1986, 142–52.

¹⁶⁸ Strabo 13.4.15, 17. On the location of Eriza and other cities in the Acipayam plain ROBERT, *VAM* 105–21, esp. 112 n. 4, 318–27, 426; id., *CRAI* 1978, 278; H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens I*, *IstMitt Beih.* 25, 1980, 53–7, 65–9.

¹⁶⁹ C. MÜLLER (ed.), *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, 1883, note on 5.3.5; L. ROBERT, *RPh* III 13, 1939, 180–1; NAOÛR, *Tyr.* p. 1, n. 1; for Balbouran control of Tyriaion see *Tyr.* 8.

¹⁷⁰ Pogla: G. E. BEAN, *AS* 10, 1960, 55–65; *MSPis* I, 47. Kretopolis probably at Incirlihan, certainly in that neighbourhood, G. E. BEAN, *op. cit.*, 50–2. Ariassos: V. BERARD, *BCH* 16, 1892, 426–9, no. 61 (*IGR* III, 422); K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 165) 124–6 (identified as Kretopolis); *MSPis* I, 26. The other cities are unlocated.

¹⁷¹ Strabo 12.7.2; the MSS reading Ἀρασσὸν is probably a corruption of Ἀγιασσὸν (KON 1).

¹⁷² Ptolemy, 5.5.7; for the location: W. M. RAMSAY, *AJA* 4, 1888, 263; G. E. BEAN, *AS* 10, 1960, 53–5; B. M. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, 1967, 50–1; *MSPis* I, 34.

¹⁷³ If Milyan, Kabalian and Pisidian communities were interspersed, a Kabalian might well

In fact the Pisidian expansion seems to have proceeded by organising and including earlier populations, rather than by replacing them. This must be what had happened at Termessos by 334 B. C. At Kibyra the earlier, Lydian, inhabitants were included in the newly transplanted city,¹⁷⁴ and the Lydian name of Tabai suggests that here too an earlier Lydian settlement was taken over by the Pisidians.¹⁷⁵ At Oinoanda the fact that some (but not all) of the city's villages had ἀρχιδέκανοι, and so were presumably organised by δεκανίαι,¹⁷⁶ suggests that only some of its villages were inhabited by newcomers. Further survey work in the territory of Balboursa may show whether there was a substantial local population to be incorporated into the new city.

Given the tradition of Lydians at nearby Kibyra, and Herodotos' mention of Maonian (i.e. Lydian) Kabalians called Lasonians,¹⁷⁷ the paucity of Lydian names in the allotment list is surprising. So too is the comparatively small Lycian component, for the rock-cut tombs in the area of Oinoanda, Balboursa and Boubon,¹⁷⁸ although very simple, suggest earlier influence from the south rather than the east. However, the names in the list which do have connections with Lycia tend to link mainly with the eastern part, with the cities which were not originally part of the Lycian league. Already in 335–4 B. C. Pisidians were harrying the farmers of Phaselis; by the Roman period, to which most of the attestations belong, there may have been a Pisidian element in the population of the cities of this area, so that even this Lycian component may be illusory.¹⁷⁹

The chronology of the Pisidian expansion has not yet been established. As we have seen, there were Pisidians at Termessos and further south by the time of Alexander. Tabai, attested by the third century historian Apollonios and by an inscription of 269/8 B. C., was controlled by Pisidians by the time of Manlius Vulso's campaign in 189 B. C.¹⁸⁰ It is uncertain whether the Pisidian takeover of Kibyra had also happened by this date, but it is probable, for Tabai's history in

use that ethnic even within «Kabalia», as HK I, 8, no. 24. There is no need to suppose a city called Kabalia, as ROBERT, loc. cit. (n. 169), does.

¹⁷⁴ Strabo 14.4.17; whether the Solymian spoken at Kibyra (Strabo, loc. cit.) represents an earlier stratum at Kibyra or Solymians coming in with the Pisidians, is unclear.

¹⁷⁵ L. and J. ROBERT, op. cit. (n. 163) 82–3.

¹⁷⁶ WÖRRLE, 147.

¹⁷⁷ Herod. 7.77. For Lydian connections in this district see L. and J. ROBERT, op. cit. (n. 163) 76–7; G. PETZL, ZPE, 30, 1978, 270.

¹⁷⁸ PvL 170 (Osmankalfalar in the Söğüt Gölü basin), 177, HK p. 41 (near Seki and near Dont in the Oinoanda plain); G. E. BEAN, BSA 51, 1956, 145, pl. 40 b (E. shore of Gölhisar lake); *ibid.*, 140, pl. 38 (Boubon, hellenising); C. NAOUR, op. cit. (n. 119) 124–6 (Kırızlı yayla, c. 30 km. W. of Boubon). Other simple tombs of this type have been found in the W. part of Balboursa's territory.

¹⁷⁹ G. E. BEAN, op. cit. (n. 125) 146; J. ZAHLE, in: H. METZGER (ed.), *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, 1980, 37–49; Arrian, *Anab.*, 1.24.6.

¹⁸⁰ See n. 163, 179; Tabai: ROBERT, op. cit. (n. 163), 88, 95–6; Livy 38.13.11–13.

many respects parallels that of Kibyra; a treaty between Tabai, Kibyra and Plarasa/Aphrodisias records the «natural alliance and brotherhood» between the cities, and according to one tradition Tabai and Kibyra (together with Kidrama) were founded by Pisidian brothers.¹⁸¹ This westward expansion would certainly have been made easier by the unsettled conditions in this part of Asia Minor throughout the third century B. C., and it is plausible, but uncertain, that the Pisidian settlements in the Bozova plain and the Lysis valley preceded the more westerly ones at Kibyra, Kidrama and Tabai. On the other hand Pisidian occupation of the higher and less favourable areas around Oinoanda, Balboursa and Boubon, which are not certainly attested until after 189 B. C., might well have been later.

We do not know all that distinguished a Pisidian from a Milyan (or Kabalian).¹⁸² Their warlike behaviour is chiefly commented on, but it may have been more important that they were also well-organised; already by the fourth century B. C. Pisidian cities such as Sagalassos and Termessos were organised communities on strong defensive sites.¹⁸³ In contrast the Milyans were slow to be urbanised.¹⁸⁴ It was a *commune Milyadum* which complained about Dolabella in 80/79 B. C., not specific cities (Cicero, Verr. 1, 95), and an inscription in honour of Augustus was set up by (among others) people simply calling themselves Μιλυαδεῖς, not citizens of any city.¹⁸⁵ The cities of the Milyas and Kabalia are characteristically small, on low hills, and without a fortification wall; apart from Kibyra (after the Pisidian refoundation) and Boubon, Balboursa and Oinoanda, only Olbasa (listed by Ptolemy as Pisidian) has a strong well-fortified site.¹⁸⁶ The achievement of the Pisidians seems to have been to organise and urbanise their neighbours, and the Balboursa land allotment inscription, whatever its precise circumstances, is an important document of this process.

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¹⁸¹ J. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, JRS Monographs no. 1, 1982, Doc. 1.1–9; L. and J. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 163) 73; VAM 215–17.

¹⁸² LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 165) 18; A. S. HALL, AS 36, 1986, 152. More detailed analysis of the minor monuments of the area may help to define local cultures.

¹⁸³ Arrian, *Anab.* 1.28.1–2. The εὐκοσμία of Kibyra (Strabo 13.4.17) apparently belongs to the Pisidian phase.

¹⁸⁴ A. S. HALL, *op. cit.* (n. 167) 152.

¹⁸⁵ HALL, *op. cit.* (n. 167) 137–9, no. 1; on city institutions in this area during the Hellenistic period see G. E. BEAN, AS 10, 1960, 60–1; HALL, *loc. cit.* 147 n. 39.

¹⁸⁶ G. E. BEAN, AS 9, 1959, 78, 89, 92–3, 108; *id.*, AS 10, 1960, 53, 65, 69. Olbasa: Ptolemy 5.5.7; L'Abbé DUCHESNE, M. COLLIGNON, BCH 1, 1877, 370; G. E. BEAN, AS 9, 1959, 98; B. LEVICK, *op. cit.* (n. 172) 48–9; MSPis I, 39.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

BE	«Bulletin Epigraphique» in <i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i> .
Et. Ep. Phil.	L. ROBERT, <i>Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques</i> , 1938.
HK	R. HEBERDEY, E. KALINKA, <i>Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien</i> , 1896.
HPN	F. BECHTEL, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen</i> , 1917.
I. Bubon	F. SCHINDLER, <i>Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien)</i> , 1972.
I. Cil.	G. DAGRON, D. FEISSEL, <i>Inscriptions de Cilicie</i> , 1987.
I. Labraunda	J. CRAMPA, <i>Labraunda III.1–2: The Greek inscriptions</i> , 1969, 1972.
JNL	G. E. BEAN, <i>Journeys in Northern Lycia 1965–67</i> , 1971.
JUSTI	F. JUSTI, <i>Iranisches Namenbuch</i> , 1895.
KON	L. ZGUSTA, <i>Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen</i> , 1984; numbers are paragraph numbers unless otherwise stated.
KPN	L. ZGUSTA, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> , 1964; numbers are paragraph numbers unless otherwise stated.
LBW	P. LE BAS, W. H. WADDINGTON, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Inscriptions III</i> , 1870.
LGPN	P. M. FRASER, E. MATTHEWS, <i>Lexikon of Greek Personal Names</i> , vol. I, 1987.
MSPis	H. VON AULOCK, <i>Münzen und Städte Pisidiens</i> , I, <i>IstMitt Beih.</i> 19, 1977, II, <i>IstMitt Beih.</i> 22, 1979.
NB	L. ZGUSTA, <i>Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie</i> , 1971.
NI	L. ROBERT, <i>Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine</i> , 1963.
P-B	W. PAPE, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen</i> , 3rd ed., rev. G. E. BENSELER, 1911.
PvL	E. PETERSEN, F. VON LUSCHAN, <i>Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyris</i> , 1889.
R. Cil.	G. E. BEAN, T. B. MITFORD, <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–68</i> , 1970.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
Tyr.	C. NAOUR, <i>Tyriaion en Cabalide: épigraphie et géographie historique</i> , 1980.
VAM	L. ROBERT, <i>Villes d'Asie Mineure</i> , 2nd ed., 1962.
WÖRRLE	M. WÖRRLE, <i>Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien</i> , 1988.

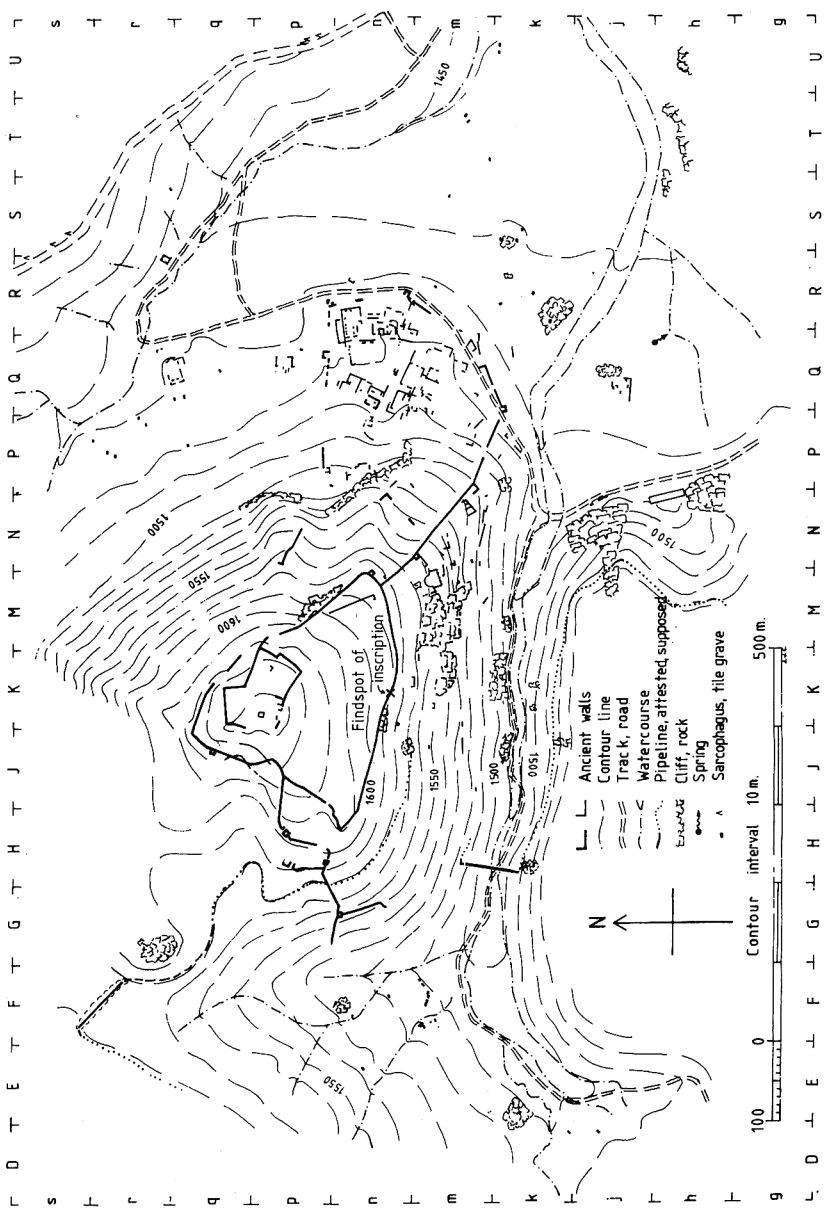


Figure 1. Plan of Balbura showing find spot of the land register (X) (Based on a plan drawn by G. Hollinshead, Polytechnic of East London).

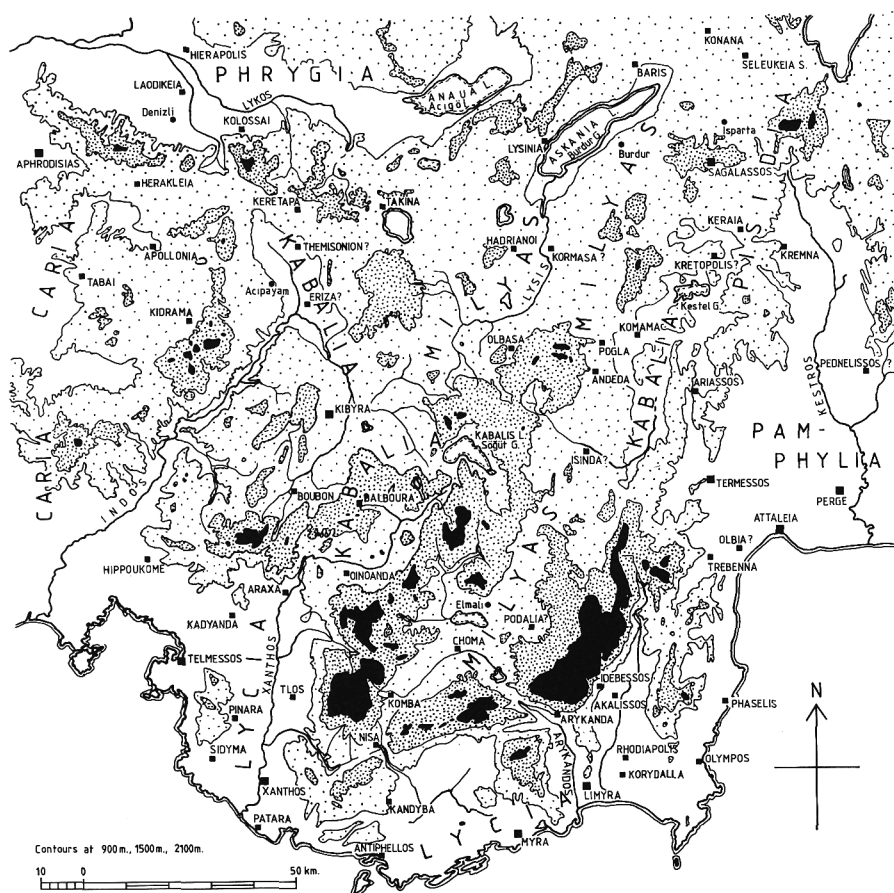


Figure 2. Map of Lycia, Kabalia, Milyas and their neighbours.

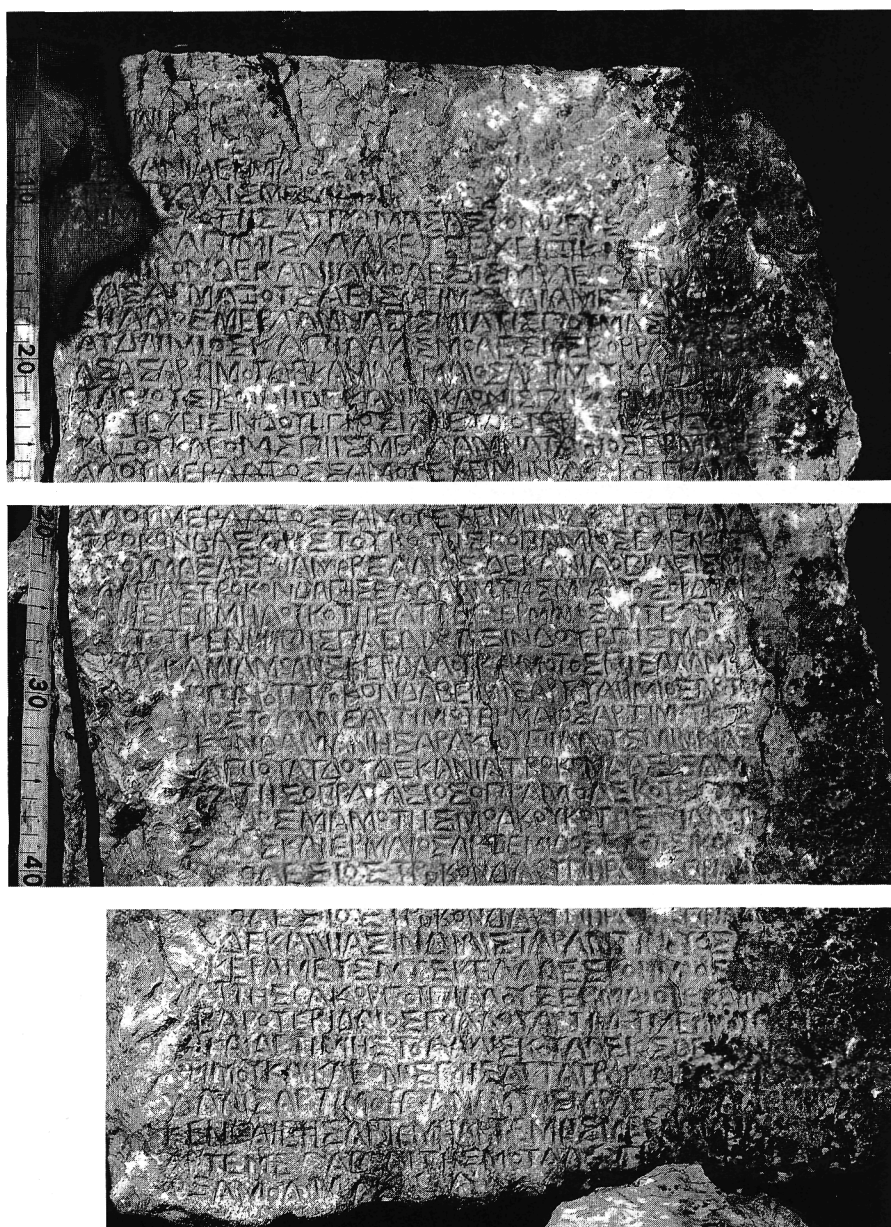


Plate 1. Side A (Photo: N. P. Milner)

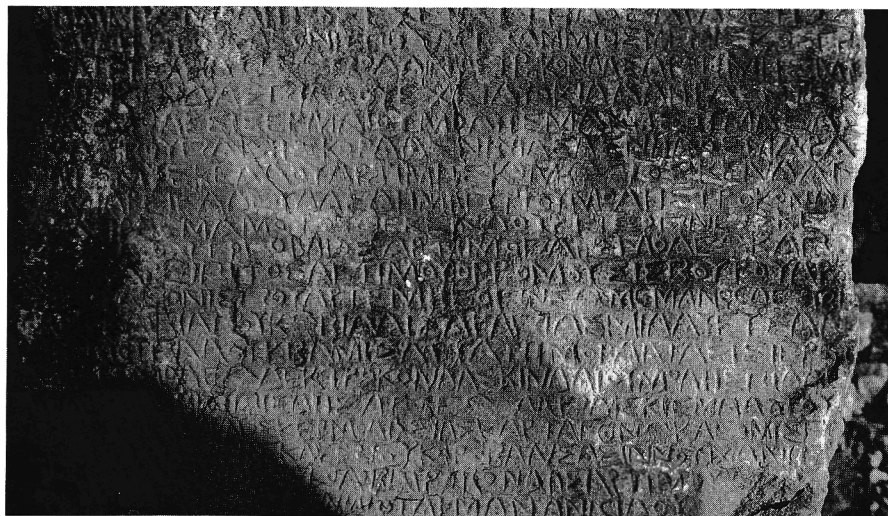


Plate 2. Side C (Photo: N. P. Milner)



Plate 3 (a). Side D (Photo: N. P. Milner)



(b). Inscribed block in situ, showing Faces B and D. (Photo: N. P. Milner)