

Sencer ŞAHİN*

ἀναπαύη ἐν εἰρήνῃ / *requiescat in pace*

The “Lykiarkhes” Question

Abstract: In this posthumous contribution the author discusses the nature of *Lykiarkheia*, which has long been subject to discussion by several scholars. The position of author in this respect is that the period of the *Lykiarkheia* begins with the office of *Grammateia*, continued with the office of *Arkhierosyne* and that it was held for life only as an honorary title, as has been previously indicated by the author (Şahin 2006; Şahin 2012). The author argues the office of the *Grammateus* has been repeatedly ignored in recent studies, and presents here a much more detailed investigation concerning this issue, countering the common opinion on this matter, most recently reiterated by D. Reitzenstein (2011).

Keywords: Lykia; Lycian Confederacy; *Lykiarkhes*; *Arkhierous*; *Grammateus*.

Translation from the Turkish mss. by Fatih ONUR**

Emperor Claudius occupied Lykia, citing local unrest and the loss of some Roman citizens' lives as the reason for this action, and, in consequence, the last clientel federative city state that originated in Hellenistic Period in Asia Minor came to an end. Senator Quintus Veranius, who was sent to the country in order to repress the uprising, organized Lykia as a Roman Province, including a wider area of land¹ compared to the area of Hellenistic Lykia. A *legatus Augusti* was installed at the top of the provincial government organized in a military character, but the local administration was entrusted to the local elite (τοῖς ἐξ ἀρίστων ἐπιλεγμένοις βουλευταῖς)² in favour of Rome, in line with traditional practises and the preferences of the provincial governor. While a *Lykiarkhes* who was elected for one year was singularly responsible for the government of the federative state during the Hellenistic Period, together with the provincial governance, this traditional magistracy was practised under different names being divided into two. Henceforward, an eponym Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν was elected for one year based upon the imperial cult and a Γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοίνου τῶν Λυκίων again for a period of one year to conduct the executive mechanism and to shoulder the responsibility to the Roman governor. Namely, the term “Lykiarkhes” was no longer employed as a definition describing an official administration. However, the re-appearance of the term “Lykiarkhes,” together with *Arkhierous* and *Grammateus* beginning from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century A.D. has resulted in considerable scholarly debate concerning the

* Prof. Sencer Şahin, late founder of the Dept. of Ancient Languages and Cultures at Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Campus 07058 Antalya.

** Assoc. Prof. Fatih Onur, Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Dept. of Ancient Languages and Cultures, Campus 07058 Antalya (fatihonur@akdeniz.edu.tr).

I decided to translate this article because it was his last contribution which was lying on his table in his home, full of notes written on it, with the permission of his wife, Prof. Dr. N. Eda Akyürek Şahin. Maybe he would have added more information to it, but this cannot now be known, and the Turkish manuscript seemed to be completed and almost ready for publication. The Turkish version will be published in: N. E. Akyürek Şahin – M. E. Yıldız – H. Uzunoglu (edd.), *Eskiçağ Yazıları* 8 [AKRON 10], İstanbul 2015. I thank Hüseyin Uzunoglu, who read the Turkish manuscript and made the bibliography from the references, and T. Michael P. Duggan for polishing the translation. Due to his sudden death, Prof. Şahin left many unfinished works behind. We wish to complete and publish them as the occasion arises.

¹ For the boundaries of Lykia by the reign of Claudius see Şahin 2014, 106-108; Şahin 2013a, 32-37.

² Şahin 2014, 35 l. 25-28; cf. *ibid.* 41-42.

identity of this high official. Over 130 *Arkhiereis* are attested in the period extending from the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.) until 280 A.D.³, none the less around a 100 *Arkhiereis*, as well as *Grammateis* of the same number seem to be lacking. In the documents the *Lykiarkhes* appears to have been an administrator who was involved more in state affairs than the *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*, but whose duration of service and legal nature are unclear. Another featured peculiarity of the surviving documents is that in correspondence with the provincial governor the documents were dated with the year of service of the related *Arkhiereus*, yet the addressee of the correspondence, apart from a few exceptions, appears as either the *Grammateus*⁴ or the *Lykiarkhes*⁵, but neither of these two were addressed by the governor concurrently nor did they both address to him together. This is therefore indicative of two high officials, who held active roles in the same assigned position, either entirely independent from each other or identical with each other. In the customs inscription from Andriake⁶, which is the first official document recording *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*, dating from the reign of Nero, only the *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus* and his assistant *Hypogrammateus* appear to have been assigned to an important duty, such as collecting taxes: διενγύ[η]σις τοῦ τέλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠνητοῦ γεινέσθω πρὸς ἀπλήν τὴν τεμῆν τοῦ [ἐν]ε[στῶ]τος ἐνιαυτοῦ [ἐπὶ τ]οῦ Ἀρχιερέως τῶν σεβαστῶν καὶ [τ]ο[ῦ] [γ]ραμματέως τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τοῦ ὑπογραμματέως ἐπὶ ὑπο[θή]καις ἐνγαίοις (l. 75-77) and οἱ δὲ καθ' ἕκα[στον] ἔτο[ς] Ἀρχιερεὺς τε κα[ὶ] Γραμματεὺς ὑποκείσθωσαν πρὸς τὴν εἴσπραξιν ἕκαστοι τῆς [ἡμισεία]ς (l. 78-79). The word Λυκιάρχης is not to be found anywhere in the law. This is the first indication that the Λυκιάρχης did not participate as a separate magistracy in the administration of the Lycian Confederacy. Further, no denotation defining a person directly as “Lykiarkhes” can be found recorded in the inscriptions dating from the 1st century A.D. The earliest date when this indirectly appeared, from personal choice, was in the last years of Traianus, as Opramoas represented his family-past as προγόνων λυκιάρχων for the first time⁷. Corresponding with this, the antecedents of those who are indirectly shown with the title *Lykiarkhes* in inscriptions dating from the middle of the 2nd century A.D., have their origins around the date of the customs inscription mentioned above. For example, an anonymous woman who lived in the above mentioned period at Arykanda describes her father Embromos (ἔκγονος), her grandfather Pantainetos (ἐξέκγονος) and her grand-grandfather Hermaios (ἀπόγονος) together with her other relatives as *Lykiarkhes*⁸. Now, even though the number of inscriptions relating to *Lykiarkheia* is quite high (see above), that the word “Lykiarkhes” does not occur as an honorary or an official title in any document

³ Zimmermann 2007, 115; for the documents see Reitzenstein 2011, 166-242.

⁴ For example TAM II 3, 905 doc. 24 V, l. 1-4 (= Kokkinia 2000, doc. 25 VII A = Reitzenstein 2011, 192, no. 42): ἐπὶ [ἀρχιερέος Κ]λαυδ[ίου Ἀττάλου, μηνὸς] Λῶου, Δομίτιος Σενέκα[ς Κλαυδίω Ἀττ]άλω, ἀρχιερεῖ Σεβασ[τῶν καὶ γ]ραμματεῖ Λυκίων [χαίρειν· κτλ. (cf. below option “a”); TAM II, 3, 578/9: Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματεὺς Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ; Balland 1981, no. 66: ὁ γεγωνὺς ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματεὺς Λυκίων.

⁵ For example TAM II 3, 905 V E (doc. 18 = Kokkinia 2000, V E, no. 19 = Reitzenstein 2011, 238, no. 118; however cf. *ibid.* no. 38 [V E is confused with V F]: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος [- - -, Σου]φή[να Οὐ]ήρ[ος, Ἀ]πο[λλωνίω] λυκ[ι]άρχῃ χαίρειν; TAM II 3, 905 V F (doc. 19 = Kokkinia 2000 V F no. 20 = Reitzenstein 2011, 238, no. 118): ἐπὶ ἀρχ[ι]ερέος [Ιά]σονος τοῦ Ἐμβ[ρ]όμου [- - -] Σουφήνα Οὐήρος Μα[- - -] λυκιάρχῃ χαίρειν; TAM II 3, 905 XII B (doc. 45 = Kokkinia 2000 XII B no. 46 = Reitzenstein 2011, 204, no. 54): [ἐ]πὶ ἀρχ[ι]ερέος Με[τ]ρίου Ἀνδροβίου [- - -] κα' Ῥουπίλος Σεουή[ρ]ος, Ἀνδροβίω λυκιάρχῃ χαίρε[ι]ν; IGR III 706 (= Reitzenstein 2011, 185-186, no. 32): [ἐ]πὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Μαυσ[ώ]λου τοῦ [Ι]άσονος κτλ. - - - ἐπιστολὴ Λικιννίου Στασιθέμιδος λυκιάρχου Φλαυίω Ἄπρω ἡγεμόνι καὶ ἀντιγραφῇ Ἄπρου.

⁶ Takmer 2007, 177. “Lex Portorii Provinciae Lyciae” submitted as a doctoral dissertation by B. Takmer is under preparation for publication.

⁷ TAM II, 3 no. 905 II = Kokkinia 2000, 19 l. 8.

⁸ IARYkanda 46 and 49; cf. Reitzenstein 2011, 170, no. 7; 174, no. 14 and 206-207, no. 58; about these inscriptions and a new convincing combination of fragmentary inscriptions in IARYkanda 47, 49, 52, 53 and family tree see Schuler 2004, 691-699.

dating from the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd century⁹, strengthens the opinion that an official under the name “Lykiarkhes” was not included within the re-organization of the administrative structure of the Lycian Confederacy during the reign of Claudius. Taking this situation into consideration, it can be taken as indicative that the definition of *Lykiarkhes* began to be employed at a much later date than that of *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*, through re-employing and updating an old (Hellenistic) tradition preserved in the memory of the people. The surviving documents show that the first person using this definition for the ancestors was Opramoas, as mentioned above. Another document that confirms what has been said, is an honorary inscription from Olympos, which should belong to 3rd century A.D.¹⁰ and which records for the first time, *Arkhiereus*, *Grammateus* and *Lykiarkhes* together¹¹: Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀρχέπολιν τὸν καὶ Ὀπλον Ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματέα, Λυκιάρχη ἀξιολογώτατον. That the participles of *γεγονώς* or *γενόμενος* are not used in this sentence indicates that Arkhepolis was an *Arkhiereus*, *Grammateus*, *Lykiarkhes* on the job. That the particle of *καὶ* was not written between *Γραμματέα* and *Λυκιάρχη* is especially remarkable. This would suggest that it was a definition of *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus* in one word, namely a joint synonym of these titles. This forms the main point of the article below.

Even though the abundance of existing documents seems to be sufficient to present the structure relating to the officials of both *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*, and *Lykiarkhes*, the lack of detailed information in these inscriptions concerning these officials has resulted in many opinions being proposed in modern research in order to explain the relationship between these three administrative titles and consequently the situation presently resembles a knot tied into an inextricable ambiguity. This confusion becomes evident essentially in responses to the question as to who the *Lykiarkhes* was. Two theories have been proposed from Th. Mommsen to the present:

a) *Lykiarkhes*, being one and the same person with the *Arkhiereus*, is a title assumed to be held for life, as an active member of the high administration of Lycia¹².

b) *Lykiarkhes* is an official, distinct from and independent of both *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*¹³.

In addition to these main theories, there are supplementary views, largely concerned with the idea of “a)” above, but largely changing the nature of the term, which have been proposed:

c) *Lykiarkhes* is an honorary title that a retired *Arkhiereus* held for life¹⁴.

d) *Lykiarkhes* is a higher office only honouring those who had undertaken the two highest magistracies of the administration, namely the *Arkhierysine* and *Grammateia*, simultaneously¹⁵.

e) Both the *Arkhiereus* and the *Grammateus* could hold the title *Lykiarkhes* independently from each other; in other words, *Lykiarkheia* is a popular definition held passively, starting with the appointment

⁹ Reitzenstein 2011, 51.

¹⁰ Reitzenstein (2011, 210-211, no. 65) states “ab 2. Hälfte 2. Jh.” for the dating. However, the high amount such as ἀργυρίου μυριάδος δύο in the funerary inscription (see the reference in fn. 11) of the *Lykiarkhes* seems rather to indicate a 3rd c. A.D. date.

¹¹ Adak – Tüner 2004, 60-61.

¹² Mommsen 1900, 5-6; Larsen 1945 85-86 (with fn. 101 and 104); Deininger 1965, 74-75 (for more literature and information see Behrwald 2000, 209-216); finally Reitzenstein 2011, 51-57; cf. further Kokkinia 2000, 134: according to the author *Lykiarkhes* and *Arkhiereus* are essentially synonyms. However, *Arkhiereus* is the title of archpriest of the Confederacy, while *Lykiarkhes* is the honorary title of a retired archpriest of the Confederacy (see fn. 14).

¹³ Benndorf – Niemann 1884, 72; Magie 1950, 1389; Jameson 1980, 843-847; Behrwald 2000, 209-216 and Tietz 2003, 147. According to these, *Lykiarkheia* and *Arkhierysine* are the offices undertaken in successive two years. For a rich literature see also Balland 1981, 8 fn. 74.

¹⁴ Balland 1981, 8; Kokkinia 2000, 214-215 (cf. above fn. 12); According to Reitzenstein 2011, 56 “Die Bezeichnung Lykiarch wurde ab der Bundespriesterschaft also dauerhaft als Titel geführt”.

¹⁵ Engelman 2006, 183-186.

to the office of *Grammateia*, continuing with the transition to *Arkhierosyne* and obtained after the completion of these two offices.

As a matter of fact, all of these opinions are the raddled variations of the first theory (a) and each has inconsistencies in itself. Below the inconsistent aspects of the views in question are presented and investigated to determine which presents the least, and maybe no inconsistencies.

a) *Arkhiereus* and *Lykiarkhes* are the same official; these titles could be held by taking an active role in the administration after retirement. The documents put forward to support this hypothesis are:

TAM II, 3 905 doc. 24 VII = Kokkinia 2000, p. 34 doc. 25 VII A l. 2-3 = Reitzenstein 2011, 192, no. 42: ἐπὶ [ἀρχιερέος ¹⁶Κ]λαυδ[ίου Ἀττάλου] [Δομίτιο]ς Σενέκα[ς Κλαυδίω Ἀττ]άλω ἀρχ[ιερεῖ Σεβ]α-
στῶν καὶ γ[ραμματεῖ] Λυκίων.

Since the governor usually addressed the *Lykiarkhes* as the addressee of his correspondences (see above fn. 5), but since the addressee in this inscription is also *Arkhiereus*, this has been interpreted as showing the common identity of the *Arkhiereus/Lykiarkhes* in active charge by the defenders of this hypothesis (see above fn. 12).

Inconsistency: In this inscription, there is no indication or implication showing that the *Arkhiereus* Attalos was *Lykiarkhes* at the same time. On the other hand, it is clearly stated that Attalos was *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus*. Namely he held both offices simultaneously. But then, the question needs to be answered as to who the *Grammateus* was, in the case of accepting Attalos as being *Arkhiereus* and *Lykiarkhes*. This question is continuously ignored¹⁷ and *Lykiarkhes* is sought in an answer focused on the *Arkhiereus*, as if *Grammateus* was non-existent. This problem is discussed in “e)” below.

TAM II, 3 no. 905 doc. 15 IV F, l. 5-7 = Kokkinia 2000, p. 27 doc. 16 IV F, l. 5-7: καὶ πρεσβευσα-
μένων τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμῶν συνκατέθετο.

TAM II, 3 no. 905 doc. 17 V C, l. 10 ff. = Kokkinia 2000, p. 27 ff., doc. 18 V C, l. 10 ff.: καὶ πρε-
σβευσαμένων τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμῶν συνκατέθετο.

TAM II, 3 no. 905 doc 20 VI A, l. 12-13: [- - πρεσ]βευ[σαμένων τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμῶν
συνκατέθετο]¹⁸.

The plural form of the legates, who were sent to the governor for approval of the yearly honours for Opramoas after it was decided in the Lycian assembly, has been interpreted in modern works that the *Arkhiereis* continued their active service as members of the βουλή and *Lykiarkhai*¹⁹.

Inconsistency: In these inscriptions, there is no indication relating that the *Arkhiereis*, who in charge of legation came to the governor, were retired (for instance γενομένων). Consequently, the hypothesis that the plural form comprises many archpriests of the confederacy certainly requires a compelling recognition. Yet πρεσβευσάμενοι ἀρχιερεῖς might very well correspond to the married couple who conducted the imperial archpriesthood together. Because, many inscriptions attest that women undertook this office together with their spouses²⁰. Likewise, women could hold the title *Lykiarkhissa* besides their

¹⁶ For the restoration of Κ]λαυδ[ίου instead of Φ]λαυ[ίου see Wörrle – Wurster 1977, 441.

¹⁷ Cf. Behrwald 2000, 210.

¹⁸ Kokkinia (2000, 31) proposes a different restoration for the related lines of doc. 21 VI A: [- - καὶ περὶ αὐ]το[ῦ
πρεσ]βευ[σαι παρὰ τῷ ἡγ]εμ[όνι· κτλ. For this, see the explanations given in ibid. 143.

¹⁹ Larsen was the first scholar to assert that the membership of these archpriests of the Confederacy in the *Boule* also continued after the official duties had ended. Lastly, Kokkinia and Reitzenstein support his view (see fn. 12).

²⁰ Concerning the views of the roles undertaken by women as *Arkhiereia* see Reitzenstein 2011, 89 with fn. 1, for their list see ibid. fn. 3. There are interesting examples in the inscriptions of Arykanda on this matter: IARYkanda 42 l. 4-7: τὴν δεῖνα - -] συναρχιερασα[μένην] τῶν Σεβαστῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ [ἐαυτῆς] τῷ ἀξιολογώτατῳ Τιβ. [Κλαυδίω] Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀριστταίνε[τῳ κτλ.; IARYkanda 50: Ἀπολλοδότῃν Ἐρμωτ[ίμου - - -] συν]αρχιερασαμένην τοῦ ἔθους μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐ]αυτῆς Σαρπήδονος τ[οῦ Πανταίνε]του δὲ κτλ.

Lykiarkhai husbands²¹. On the other hand, the *Grammateus* on the job was the candidate for the *Arkhiereus* of next year and had the right of holding the title *Lykiarkhes* (see below option “e”). From this point of view, it is highly possible that one of the legates, who are mentioned in plural form in the aforementioned Opramoas inscription, was the *Arkhiereus* in charge, and the other was the *Grammateus* in charge, who was the candidate for becoming the next *Arkhiereus*.

Iason was famed as γεγονώς Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματεὺς Λυκίων in the decision concerning the Myreans (II A) in the inscription that records the list of decrees in honour of Iason from Kyaneai (IGR III 704), but he was famed in the same inscription as δι’ ἧς ἐτέλεσεν λυκιαρχείας in the decision of the Patarans (II B), which Larsen takes to be contemporary with the former. Larsen (see fn. 12) associates this fact with the identicalness of *Arkhiereus* and *Lykiarkhes*. What is ignored both in this and also in the context of the *Lykiarkheia* mentioned in the inscription from Sidyma (see in detail below option “c”) is the relation between *Grammateus* and *Lykiarkhes*, so it provides a deficient and inconsistent explanation (see below option “e”).

b) *Lykiarkhes* is a separate official, independent of the *Arkhiereus* and these offices were undertaken within successive two years²²: The strongest fulcrum of the defenders of this hypothesis (see fn.13) is that the office of *Lykiarkhes* was characterised in many inscriptions with the participles of γεγονώς or γενόμενος²³ indicating an office that is limited in time²⁴. The same applies to the *Arkhiereus*²⁵. Behrwald attributes this situation, and that no one who had the offices of *Arkhierysyne* and *Lykiarkheia* together simultaneously is attested to date, to say these two magistracies were two different offices independent of each other²⁶. One of the important documents concerning the matter of if the *Lykiarkhes* was an official independent of the *Arkhiereus* is the decision of the People and the Council of Sidyma taken for the establishment of *Gerousia* in the city (TAM II, 1 no. 175). While the inscription is dated in the traditional phrase ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Διογένους γ’, the expression of ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λυκιάρχου in the last section of the same inscription was accepted as the second dating by some scholars, and it is interpreted that *Arkhiereus* Diogenes III was meant by the expression “same Lykiarkhes” here (see the literature above in fn. 12), thus this inscription is used to support the identicalness of the retired *Arkhiereus* and the *Lykiarkhes*²⁷. On the other hand, it is accepted by many researchers that this expression refers to ἀξιολογώτατος Λυκιάρχης Τι. Κλ. Τηλέμαχος mentioned in previous sentence and, consequently, the *Lykiarkhes* and the *Arkhiereus* were separate officials (see the literature above in fn. 13). Furthermore, that the addressee in the correspondence of governor in the existing documents is not *Arkhiereus* but constantly *Lykiarkhes* (see above fn. 5) also seems to support this hypothesis. However, it should be observed that the word *Lykiarkhes* in these inscriptions actually stands in the place of the word *Grammateus* and consequently an examination in this context is required (see below option “e”).

²¹ In an unpublished inscription from Rhodiapolis, an ἀξιολογώτατη Λυκιάρχισσα, γυνὴ τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου Λυκιάρχου is mentioned (Reitzenstein 2011, 58). Likewise, in an inscription from Sidyma (TAM II, 2 188 and 189) M. Aurelia Nemeso also known as Khryision represents herself as Λυκιάρχισσα (On the marital relations of this woman see Zimmermann 2007, 119).

²² For the debate on the matter see Reitzenstein 2011, 12-13 with fn. 6.

²³ IGR III 461 = Schindler 1972, no. 15: ἐπὶ ἀγνοθηέτου τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου γεγονότος Λυκιάρχου; cf. IGR III 462; TAM II, 3 741 = Şahin 2006, 41, no. 10: τοῦ ἀξιωμαθιμονεύτου γενομένου Λυκιάρχου.

²⁴ Behrwald 2000, 214.

²⁵ IGR III 704 II A l. 6-7: γεγονώς Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματεὺς Λυκίων; Balland 1981 du Létōon, 173 f., no. 66: Ὀπραμόαν τὸν γεγονότα Ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Γραμματέα Λυκίων: According to Behrwald (2000, 215) here Γραμματέα stands for the office of “λυκιαρχεία”: “Die Austauschbarkeit beider Begriffe dürfte sich so aus dem Umstand ergeben haben, daß die Bekleidung der beiden Ämter automatisch aufeinander folgte”; IGR III 693: γεγονυῖα Ἀρχιέρεια ἐν τῷ ἔθνει.

²⁶ Behrwald 2000, 211.

²⁷ The last defender of this hypothesis is Reitzenstein (2011, 57).

Inconsistencies: Here again the unanswered question is who the *Grammateus* is, in the presence of the *Arkhierous* and the *Lykiarkhes*. Although Behrwald assumed that *Grammateus* is substituted for *Lykiarkhes* from the point of the statement τὸν γεγονότα Ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Γραμματέα Λυκίων employed for Opramoas in the inscription from Ksanthos, wishes to make a constrained statement, as “Die Austauschbarkeit beider Begriffe dürfte sich so aus dem Umstand ergeben haben” (see fn. 26), he does not make a substantial judgement; because for instance in case he affirms that *Grammateus* = *Lykiarkhes*, that the *Lykiarkhes* is not a separate official will result. In a new inscription from Olympos, Marcus Aurelius Arkhepolis also known as Hoplon is honoured as Ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματέα, Λυκίαρχην ἀξιολογώτατον (see above fn. 11). Here, it will be accepted either that Arkhepolis undertook three offices at the same time and thus the hypothesis regarding to the separateness of *Lykiarkhes* will be confirmed, or that the word *Lykiarkhes* contained both offices. That there is not καὶ between Γραμματέα and Λυκίαρχην doubtless strengthens the second hypothesis (see below option “e”).

c) *Lykiarkhes* is the honorary title which a retired *Arkhierous*, not an *Arkhierous* in charge, held for life: this proposition relies on the principle of the identicalness of the *Lykiarkhes* and the *Arkhierous* mentioned in option a. But; that the office of the *Lykiarkhes* and the *Arkhierous* are given with the participles of γεγονώς or γενόμενος (see fns. 24 and 26) in many inscriptions certainly indicates that these titles remained in the past, namely it did not continue for life. An inscription from Sidyma²⁸ contains a decree of the People and Council about the conveyance of the decision taken for the foundation of a *Gerousia* institution in the city to the governor in charge, Pomponius Bassus and dated ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Διογένους γ' τοῦ Μητροδώρου (Commodus, between 185 and 192). The decision was delivered to the governor by Tib. Cl. Telemakhos, a citizen of Ksanthos and Sidyma: τὸ ψήφισμα, ὃ καὶ ἀναδοθῆναι αὐτῷ (to the governor) ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου Λυκίαρχου πολέιτου ἡμῶν Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Τηλεμάχου Ξανθίου καὶ Σιδυμέος. The governor stated that he approved the decision in his letter in response (there l. 10 ff.) addressed to the city administrators. This letter of approval was sent to Sidyma ἐκομίσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λυκίαρχου. This expression was accepted as a second dating in modern research²⁹ and it is understood as meaning, “while the same person is *Lykiarkhes*”, namely “while *Arkhierous* Diogenes III is *Lykiarkhes*” as eponymous (for literature see the reference in fn. 31; see also fn. 23). Conversely, Behrwald (fn. 29) agrees on the identicalness and that a second dating was applied, but accepts the *Lykiarkhes* as an independent official, stating that this was a gesture of respect for *Lykiarkhes* (eine ehrende Geste) and saying “sinnvoll wird es wohl nur gewesen sein, wenn die *Lykiarchie* ein jahresamt darstellte”. H. Engelman points out another meaning for the preposition ἐπὶ used for the *Lykiarkhes* in the inscription and proposed that it should be understood as “in the presence of” instead of “in the time of” or “while”³⁰, as I believe, this is the right explanation³¹. In this case, understanding the last sentence not as “(response) while the same was *Lykiarkhes*” but “(letter of response) was sent in the presence of the same *Lykiarkhes*” seems to be the more likely solution. However, both Engelman and modern research (lastly see Reitzenstein 2011, 214) accept that the person referred to by ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ is Telemakhos, but they take him as a person, who became a legate for a duty towards his homeland with the honorary title of *Lykiarkhes* after he undertook the archpriesthood

²⁸ TAM II,1 175.

²⁹ Behrwald (2000, 214) presented an inscription from Ksanthos as an example for double dating (TAM II, 2 497). In the inscription, Λυκίων τὸ κοινόν states that it took a decision concerning an honorary inscription λυκιαρχούντος τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου Μ. Αὐρ. Κυρέϊνα Λαίτου τοῦ καὶ Παίτου. Whereas also here λυκιαρχούντος does not indicate a third office, but rather an individual who undertook both offices simultaneously; namely it does not contain only *Arkhierous*. On that the *Grammateus* held the title of *Lykiarkhes* like *Arkhierous* see below option “e”.

³⁰ Engelman 2005, 181-182.

³¹ Reitzenstein (2011, 12, fn. 6) argues against this opinion only by stating “überzeugt nicht”.

at an earlier time. This cannot be the right view, because the inscription does not provide the least indication to suggest that Telemakhos was a retired *Lykiarkhes*³² nor that he accompanied a legation. Therefore we should accept that the *Lykiarkhes* mentioned in the inscription was either, an independent active official besides *Arkhiereus* (option b)³³, or as a title used instead of *Grammateus* in charge. That the first case mentioned has less possibility was pointed out above (p. 1 ff.). In the hypothesis of option “e” will be given that the second case is stronger, even only in terms of probability.

d) *Lykiarkhes* is a higher concept that only honoured those who undertook the two highest magistracies of the administration, namely *Arkhierosyne* and *Grammateia* simultaneously, could hold.

Brought forward firstly by H. Engelman³⁴, the origin of this hypothesis is in the reading of an honorary inscription, newly found in Patara and inscribed for Dionysios II³⁵ and the Lycian Confederacy praises Dionysios as ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμματεὺς Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ and φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὴν λυκιαρχίαν. With reference to this sentence, Engelmann stated that *Lykiarkheia* comprised both the offices of the *Arkhiereus* and the *Grammateus* together, claimed that this highest office was in principle undertaken by the same person synchronically and that only those persons in such a case could hold the title of *Lykiarkhes*. Although this opinion seems to be the most consistent one among the other hypotheses addressed so far, it does not seem possible to accept that it was a rule for both offices to be undertaken by the same person concurrently and this being a precondition for *Lykiarkheia*, because it is clearly shown from inscriptions that *Arkhiereus* and *Grammateus* are based on the rule of separate offices and that they had equivalent rights and powers with these qualifications. Consequently *Lykiarkheia* should be interpreted in this general frame (see below option “e”).

In the examples of explanations given above concerning the identity of the *Lykiarkhes*, he was combined with the *Arkhiereus*, was seen as a title of a retired but active for life *Arkhiereus* (a), it was accepted as a honorary title held for life by a retired *Arkhiereus* (c), was considered as a separate highest official independent from the *Arkhiereus* (b) and finally it is claimed that the offices of *Arkhierosyne* and *Grammateia* should be undertaken simultaneously and only such persons could hold the title of *Lykiarkhes* (d). Despite this entire debate, neither the identity of the *Grammateus*, who is the second important official of the highest administration of the Lycian Confederacy, nor his relation to the *Lykiarkhes* investigated.

The constant omission of the *Grammateus* and, as can be understood from the examples of solution given above, being unable to find an exact solution that everybody could agree upon for the identity of the *Lykiarkhes* forced D. Reitzenstein³⁶, who investigated this subject in detail in a monograph, to arrive at a nonsensical position, whereby reducing the *Grammateus* of the Lycian Confederacy to the role of an urban *Grammateus* (Tätigkeitsbereich städtischer Sekretäre)³⁷. Hence the relation between the *Grammateus* and the *Lykiarkhes* is addressed in the section below.

e) The hypothesis proposed by Engelmann in option “d” above, proposes that the offices of *Arkhierosyne* and *Grammateia* could be undertaken simultaneously. In response, S. Şahin refutes this presenting these as being two separate offices and, most probably, it being impossible to be candidate directly to the *Arkhierosyne*, they could be undertaken either in the order of *Grammateia* – *Arkhierosyne* consecutively, or simultaneously, based upon the customs inscription from Andriake and the examples provided by the Opramoas inscription³⁸.

³² Cf. Şahin 2006, 30, fn. 2.

³³ See the reference in fn. 24.

³⁴ Engelman 2006, 183-186.

³⁵ Şahin 2006, 37, no. 5 = Reitzenstein 2011, 187, no. 85.

³⁶ Reitzenstein 2011, 81.

³⁷ For detailed information see Şahin 2012, 121.

³⁸ Şahin 2006, 30-31.

e) Şahin, after analysing the inscriptions and views related to the matter, pointed out that there is no document or indication concerning a right for the *Lykiarkheia* that is peculiar to only the *Arkhierews*, retired or in charge, and to the exclusion of the *Grammateia*; on the contrary, existing documents can better support the identicalness of the *Grammateus* and the *Lykiarkhes*, compared to *Arkhierews* and *Lykiarkhes* (fn. 38). So Şahin claimed the *Lykiarkheia* started with the assignment to the *Grammateia*, most probably including the candidatedship for the *Arkhierosyne* in the following year, so that both *Arkhierews* and *Grammateus* had the right to denote themselves *Lykiarkhes* (see fn. 38). Reitzenstein, who wrote her monograph based only upon *communis opinio*, evaded by stating “Şahin 2006, 31 f. bezieht den Geltungsbereich der Ehrenbezeichnung auch auf die Grammateis, ohne schlüssige Belege zu liefern”³⁹ in an entirely trivializing superficial manner in a footnote, apparently not to impair the integrity of her work and to camouflage helplessness in respect to criticism. A sharp criticism came from a scholar, who reviewed Reitzenstein’s book in the electronic media, before me⁴⁰ and considered the situation, stating “die Zielrichtung der Autorin bleibt hier vage, ihre eigene Darstellung des *state of the art* ist bei weitem nicht so luzide wie jene in dem in Fußnote der Besprechung erwähnten Aufsatz - - Sencer Şahins rezenter jedenfalls sehr klar konturierter Lösungsvorschlag - - wird nicht mit der gebotenen Ausführlichkeit vorgestellt”⁴¹.

If we accept that *Lykiarkheia* is a term also including *Grammateus*, all of the ambiguities relating to the identification of *Lykiarkhes* created to date in the scholarly environment disappear. Before proving this with some examples, it is useful to mention some general inconsistencies in the common opinion concerning the matter of the *Lykiarkhes*, as a retired *Arkhierews*, undertaking an active role in the highest decisions of the state administration. Above all, the *communis opinio* defends an understanding making a retired *Arkhierews*, with the title *Lykiarkhes*, work under the control of an *Arkhierews*, who undertook the office after him and places the *Grammateus* in state of official nullity, a void official. This cannot belong to any normal state tradition. Many inscriptions show a retired *Arkhierews*’ role in urban activities, mainly in his homeland, for instance as *Agonothetes*, with the title of *Lykiarkhes*⁴². On the other hand, since both *Grammateus* and *Arkhierews* are yearly officials, it is certain that a contradiction of authority would arise, because every year a retired *Arkhierews* would be added to the administrative staff of κοινὸν Λυκίων in addition to the active *Arkhierews* and the active *Grammateus*. If it is required to objectify the situation, it is enough to have a look at the view put forward by Reitzenstein. This author firstly identifies the *Arkhierews* of 156 A.D., named Arkhepolis son of Teimarkhos, with Arkhepolis son of Teimarkhos, who was honoured because he bequeathed his possessions to the Lycian People through Dionysios II serving as *Lykiarkhes* between 198 and 209 A.D., and who did not have any title⁴³. Moreover she identifies the *Lykiarkhes* Dionysios II with M. Aur. Dionysios honouring in accordance with the decision of Confederacy Tib. Pollenius Peregrinus, who was *consul ordinarius* in A.D. 244 following his governorship of Lycia and Pamphylia; consequently she refuses⁴⁴ a third Dionysios⁴⁵ suggested by Şahin for M. Aur. Dionysios.

The first noteworthy point in this matter is the excessive time difference, one of over 40 years between the deeds of each *Lykiarkhai*, whom Reitzenstein states as being identical. Other than that, one appears as *Lykiarkhes*, while the other is a plain citizen. Therefore, these two Arkhepolis are relatives, but their

³⁹ Reitzenstein 2011, 12, fn. 5.

⁴⁰ See Şahin 2012, 120.

⁴¹ Martina Pesditschek at <http://ifb.bsz-bw.de/bsz34035285Xrez-1.pdf>.

⁴² See for instance Schindler 1972, no. 15: ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τοῦ ἀξιολογοτάτου γεγονότος λυκιάρχου. For other examples see Reitzenstein 2011, 56.

⁴³ Reitzenstein 2011, 205, no. 56.

⁴⁴ Reitzenstein 2011, 233, no. 85. On the contrary see Şahin 2013b, 40, fn. 7.

⁴⁵ Şahin 2006, 39-40, nos. 7 and 8.

Opramoas: Apollonios, the father of Opramoas, undertook the archpriesthood of the Confederacy (as *Arkhiereus*) on behalf of one of his two sons and the secretary of the Confederacy (as *Grammateus*): TAM II, 3, 905 doc. 20 V l. 94-97 (= Kokkinia 2000, doc. 21 l. 6-9): πάλιν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [καὶ] ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς τῶν υἱῶν ἀρχιερατεῦσ[α]ντος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμματεῦσαντος τοῦ κοινοῦ ὑπὲρ] ἄλλου υἱοῦ. The message of this phrase is clear: 1. *Grammateia* and *Arkhierosyne* could be held by the same person at same time (the father, Apollonios); 2. They can be shared by two separate individuals (two brothers, Apollonios and Opramoas); 3. Both offices are equivalent in terms of rights and authorities, because the father Apollonios discriminates between his two sons (Apollonios and Opramoas; Reitzenstein 2011, 181-182, no. 27 and 192-195, no. 43) against one another, namely that he preferred the *Arkhierosyne*, the highest office, for one, and *Grammateia*, which has a little value according to modern research (see above p. 7, with fn. 37), for another one is a very slim possibility. The offices he financed and undertook on behalf of his sons were equivalent. Probably he should have undertaken the *Grammateia* for his younger son (Opramoas), *Arkhierosyne* for the other (Apollonios). A portion of offices based on the principle of equivalence between two brothers is possible only if we accept that *Grammateia* is prerequisite for *Arkhierosyne* and the first step for *Lykiarkheia*. Thus, we can say that the post of *Grammateia* is a *sine qua non* for the honorary title of *Lykiarkhes*.

In regard to what was said in option “e”, explicating the documents employed as excuses for the options of “a”, “b”, “c” and “d” is much easier according to the formula *Lykiarkhes* = *Grammateus*, *Lykiarkhes* = *Arkhiereus*. For example, in the document recording: ἐπὶ [ἀρχιερέος Κ]λαυδ[ίου Ἀττάλου] [Δομίτιο]ς Σενέκα[ς Κλαυδίω Ἀττ]άλω ἀρχ[ιερεῖ Σεβ]αστῶν καὶ γ[ραμματεῖ] Λυκίων above (see p. 4) for the option “a”, Cl. Attalos undertakes the offices of *Grammateia* and *Arkhierosyne* simultaneously. That the governor Domitius Seneca addressed Attalos as *Arkhiereus*, but not as *Grammateus*, is only by force of protocol. Actually the one he addressed is Attalos with the identity of *Grammateus*, who is responsible for the executive functions of the state. Consequently, that Attalos was addressed with the identity of *Grammateus* in the document does not constitute any impediment to the title of *Lykiarkhes*.

Iason was famed as γεγωνῶς Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γραμματεὺς Λυκίων in the decision concerning the Myreans (II A) in the inscription that records the list of decrees in honour of Iason from Kyaneai (IGR III 704), but he was famed in the same inscription as δι’ ἧς ἐτέλεσεν λυκίαρχειας in the decision of the Patarans (II B), which Larsen takes to be contemporary with the former. Even though Larsen (see fn. 12) associates this fact with the identicalness of *Arkhiereus* and *Lykiarkhes*, what is ignored both in this and in the context of *Lykiarkheia* mentioned in the inscription from Sidyma (see in detail above option “c”) is the relation of *Grammateus* and *Lykiarkhes*, because the Patarans referred to Iason not only as *Arkhiereus* but also as *Grammateus*, with the word λυκίαρχειά in the section of II B of the mentioned inscription.

Reitzenstein, as an example serving this same hypothesis, in no. 54 cites this inscription: [ἐ]πὶ ἀρχι(ε-ρέος) Με[τ]ρίου Ἀνδροβίου [- - -] κα’ | ‘Ρουπίλος Σεουῆ[ρ]ος, Ἀνδροβίω λυκίαρχει χαίρε[ιν] (TAM II 905 XII B). As is seen, here Mettius Androbios is employed in dating as eponym *Arkhiereus*, but the governor Rupilius Severus addresses the same person as *Lykiarkhes*. It is clear that the word *Lykiarkhes* here stands for *Grammateus*. Reitzenstein, in order to defend the hypothesis of *Lykiarkhes* = (retired) *Arkhiereus*, as it were, pushes this situation beyond the limits of the meaning of the text: according to Reitzenstein, *Lykiarkheia* starts with *Arkhierosyne* at least at that time (150 A.D.). She explains the appearance of *Arkhiereus* Androbios as *Lykiarkhes* in the same letter, as follows: Androbios retired as *Arkhiereus*, but shortly after this, returning to active service, he acted on behalf of state affairs as *Lykiarkhes* and the addressee of the provincial governor (wenig später, d.h. kurz nach seiner Bundespriesterschaft, ist Androbios dann noch einmal Ansprechpartner des Statthalters Rupilius Severus). So the governor, in the same letter, on one hand presents him as *Arkhiereus* in charge, on the other hand ad-

dresses the same person as a retired *Arkhierous* but a *Lykiarkhes* in charge⁴⁹. However, there is no need to push the matter into ambiguity. The situation is clear and simple: Androbios held, likewise, two high offices together. The governor dates his letter to the year, month and day of the *Arkhierous* as is custom, but addresses him with the title of *Lykiarkhes* instead of *Grammateus* in the operational seat. Namely, the governor here preferred the style of Ἀνδροβίω λυκιάρχη that does not express an official context and, is shorter and easy on the ear for the people instead of Ἀνδροβίω γραμματεῖ Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ, the form of administrative address. This situation is similar to addressing an active or retired general with the word “paşa” in modern Turkish. The most controversial inscription concerning the identity of the *Lykiarkhes* in modern literature is that providing the identification of Telemakhos mentioned as *Lykiarkhes* in the Sidyman’s decision on the foundation of a *Gerousia* in their city. TAM II, 1 no. 175, l. 1 : ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Διογένης γ’ τοῦ Μητροδώρου (Commodus, between 185 and 192 A.D.) - - - l. 9-11: τὸ ψήφισμα, ὃ καὶ ἀναδοθῆναι αὐτῷ (to the governor) ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου Λυκιάρχου πολείτου ἡμῶν Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Τηλεμάχου Ξανθίου καὶ Σιδυμέος. Πομπώ(νιος) Βάσσοσ ἀνθύ(πατος) Σιδυμέων ἄρχουσι - - χαιρεῖν. - - - l. 12-13: ἐκομίσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λυκιάρχου - -.

Each of the defenders of options “a”, “b” and “c” tried to answer the question as to who the *Lykiarkhes* is in the last line in order to defend their own hypotheses (for details see the explanation in the option “c”). Whereas here if not the temporal meaning of the preposition ἐπί (while, when, during etc.), but the locative meaning (in the presence of, in the hearing of, in the company of etc.) is to be considered, thus the last sentence should be understood as “(response letter) was sent in the presence of the same *Lykiarkhes*”. In this case, αὐτὸς Λυκιάρχης should neither be identified with Diogenes III who is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, nor be taken as a separate official, nor be accepted as the honorary title of a retired *Arkhierous* functioning as an envoy to the governor for a special need concerning his homeland. αὐτὸς Λυκιάρχης here is the very person mentioned in the previous sentence, namely ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος - - Λυκιάρχης Τι. Κλ. Τηλέμαχος and so likewise, the title of *Lykiarkhes* here stands for *Grammateus* in charge. Thus, it is concluded that Telemakhos undertook at first only the office of *Grammateia*, but not the office of *Arkhierosyne* at a time prior to that of Diogenes III (“Marc Aurel/Commodus”) as Reitzenstein claims⁵⁰, on the contrary he undertook it right after Diogenes III (“186/187”). As I stated formerly⁵¹, the identification of the *Lykiarkhes*, not only with the *Arkhierous*, but also with the *Grammateus* will require a reinvestigation of the service years of those who undertook these two highest official positions.

As a conclusion; evidence concerning the supposed life-long interference of *Lykiarkhes*, namely a retired *Arkhierous*/*Grammateus*, in state affairs, is entirely presumptive and conjectural (see above for the examples of Arkhepolis and Dionysios II with fns. 43-45). There is no evidence showing the *Grammateus* did not have the title of *Lykiarkhes*, amongst the documents known to date. Conversely, all the documents conform with the understanding that the *Lykiarkheia* begun with the office of *Grammateia*, continued with the *Arkhierosyne* and was held for life, only as an honorary title.

Abbreviated Literature

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| Adak – Tüner 2004 | M. Adak – N. Tüner, Neue Inschriften aus Olympos und seinem Territorium I, Gephyra 1, 2004, 53-65. |
| Balland 1981 | A. Balland, Fouilles de Xanthos VII. Inscriptions d’époque impériale du Létoon, Paris 1981. |
| Behrwald 2000 | R. Behrwald, Der lykische Bund. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Ver- |

⁴⁹ About this matter cf. Şahin 2012, 121.

⁵⁰ Reitzenstein 2011, 214, no. 73 (Telemakhos) and 216-217, no. 76 (Diogenes III).

⁵¹ Şahin 2012, 122-123.

- fassung, Bonn 2000 (Antiquitas. Reihe 1, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 48).
- Benndorf – Niemann 1884 O. Benndorf – G. Niemann, Reisen in Lykien und Karien. Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien, Vienna 1884.
- Deininger 1965 J. Deininger, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Munich 1965 (Vestigia 6).
- Engelmann 2005 H. Engelmann, Archiereis und Lykiarch (Zu TAM II 1, 175), ZPE 154, 2005, 181-182.
- Engelmann 2006 H. Engelmann, Zur Lykiarchie, ZPE 158, 2006, 183-186.
- Jameson 1980 Sh. Jameson, The Lycian League: Some Problems in its Administration, ANRW II 7/2, Berlin – New York 1980, 832-855.
- Kokkinia 2000 C. Kokkinia, Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis. Euergetismus und soziale Elite in Lykien, Bonn 2000 (Antiquitas. Reihe 3, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 40).
- Larsen 1945 J. A. O. Larsen, Representation and Democracy in Hellenistic Federalism, Clas. Phil. 40, 1945, 65-97.
- Magie 1950 D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor II, Princeton 1950.
- Mommsen 1900 Th. Mommsen, Volksbeschluss der Ephesier zu Ehren des Kaisers Antoninus Pius, Öjh 3, 1900, 1-8.
- Reitzenstein 2011 D. Reitzenstein, Die lykischen Bundespriester. Repräsentation der kaiserzeitlichen Elite Lykiens, Berlin 2011 (Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Beihefte. Neue Folge, vol. 17).
- Şahin 2006 S. Şahin, Der Disput der „viri docti“ über die Lykiarchie gelöst? Dokumente von Lykiarchen aus der Familie der Dionysii aus Neisa, Gephyra 3, 2006, 29-47.
- Şahin 2012 S. Şahin, Nochmal über die Lykiarchie, Gephyra 9, 2012, 119-123.
- Şahin 2013a S. Şahin, Parerga zum Stadiasmus Patarensis (9): Kaunisch-lykische Frage, Gephyra 10, 2013, 32-37.
- Şahin 2013b S. Şahin, Parerga zum Stadiasmus Patarensis (10): Teimarchi aus Arneai, Gephyra 10, 2013, 38-49.
- Şahin 2014 S. Şahin, Stadiasmus Patarensis. Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae. Likya Eyaleti Roma Yolları, Istanbul 2014.
- Schindler 1972 F. Schindler, Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien), Vienna 1972 (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 278).
- Schuler 2004 Chr. Schuler, Der Archiereus Embromos aus Arykanda und seine Familie, in: T. Korkut (ed.), Anadolu'da Doğdu. Festschrift für Fahri Işık zum 60. Geburtstag, Istanbul 2004, 691-699.
- Takmer 2007 B. Takmer, Lex Portorii Provinciae Lyciae. Ein Vorbericht über die Zollinschrift aus Andriake aus neronischer Zeit, Gephyra 4, 2007, 165-188.
- Tietz 2003 W. Tietz, Der Golf von Fethiye. Politische, ethnische und kulturelle Strukturen einer Grenzregion vom Beginn der nachweisbaren Besiedlung bis in die römische Kaiserzeit, Bonn 2003 (Antiquitas, Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 50).
- Wörrle – Wurster 1977 M. Wörrle – W. W. Wurster, Dereköy: Eine befestigte Siedlung im nordwestlichen Lykien und die Reform ihres dörflichen Zeuskultes, Chiron 27, 1997, 393-469.
- Zimmermann 2007 M. Zimmermann, Die Archiereis des lykischen Bundes. Prosopographische Überlegungen zu den Bundespriestern, in: Chr. Schuler (ed.), Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz (Akten des int. Kolloquiums, München, 24-26. Februar 2005) (ETAM 25), Vienna 2007, 111-120.

Özet “Lykiarkhes” Sorunu

Bu yazı, yazarın ölümünden kısa bir süre önce yayına hazırladığı bir makaledir. Yazıda, pek çok bilim insanı tarafından uzun zamandır tartışılan *Lykiarkheia* makamının içeriğinden bahsedilmektedir. Bu bağlamda yazarın görüşü *Lykiarkheia* sürecinin *Grammateia* makamı ile başladığı, *Arkhierosyne* ile devam ettiği ve sadece onursal bir unvan olarak yaşam boyu korunduğu yönündedir. Yazar bu görüşünü daha önceki yazılarında da (Şahin 2006; Şahin 2012) belirtmiş ve modern çalışmalarda *Grammateus*'un sürekli göz ardı edildiğine vurgu yapmıştır. Bu yazısını ise çok daha detaylı ve geniş içerikli tutup, yakın zamanlarda D. Reitzenstein (2011) tarafından destek bulan *communis opinio* karşıtı uzun bir inceleme-ye yer vermiştir.

Çevirenin Notu: Bu makale, hocamız merhum Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin'in hazırlamakta olduğu pek çok çalışma arasında olup, üzerine birçok not alınmış şekilde evindeki çalışma masasının üzerinde bulunmaktaydı. Eşi Prof. Dr. N. Eda Akyürek Şahin'in izni doğrultusunda İngilizceye çevirmeye karar verdim. Belki de Sencer hocamız bu makaleye daha ekleme yapacaktı bunu bilemiyoruz, fakat makale bitmiş ve neredeyse yayın için hazır görünüyordu. Hocamızın yarım kalan diğer çalışmaları da tarafımızdan yayımlanacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Lykia; Lykia Birliği; *Lykiarkhes*; *Arkhierous*; *Grammateus*.