

PHILIA

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

VOLUME 6 • 2020

EDITORS

MUSTAFA ADAK

RIET VAN BREMEN

THOMAS CORSTEN

KORAY KONUK

KONRAD STAUNER

BURAK TAKMER



 **KABALCI**

P H I L I A

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

VOLUME VI • 2020

EDITORS

Mustafa ADAK
Riet VAN BREMEN
Thomas CORSTEN
Koray KONUK
Konrad STAUNER
Burak TAKMER

PHILIA is a peer-reviewed journal published once a year. The journal is independent from any institution, and is owned collectively by the editorial board.

Philia is indexed in L'Année philologique and SOBIAD.
For submission guidelines, please visit philiajournal.com

Scholarly Advisory Board

Christof Berns, Angelos Chaniotis, Madalina Dana, Denis Feissel, Patrice Hamon, Musa Kadioğlu,
Christina Kokkinia, Christian Marek, Sophie Minon, Selene Psoma, Denis Rousset,
Olli Salomies, Ivana Savalli-Lestrade, Peter Thonemann

Manuscripts are requested to one of the following addresses:

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Adak
Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü
Kampüs 07058 Antalya - TURKEY madak@akdeniz.edu.tr

Dr. Riet van Bremen
University College London, Department of History
Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT – UK r.vanbremen@ucl.ac.uk

Prof. Dr. Thomas Corsten
Universität Wien, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik,
Universitätsring 1 1010 Vienna - AUSTRIA thomas.corsten@univie.ac.at

Dr. Koray Konuk
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Institut Ausonius, Université Bordeaux Montaigne
33607 Pessac - FRANCE koraykonuk@gmail.com

Dr. Konrad Stauner
FernUniversität in Hagen Historisches Institut 58084 Hagen - GERMANY
konrad.stauner@fernuni-hagen.de

Dr. Burak Takmer
Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü
Kampüs 07058 Antalya - TURKEY buraktakmer@akdeniz.edu.tr

Editorial staff: Erkan Kurul, Fatih Yılmaz

English Proofreading: Robert Booker, MA

ISSN 2149-505X

Copyright 2020 © All Rights reserved.

Sorumlu Yazışleri Müdürü: Murat Ceyişakar

KUZGUN YAYINEVİ DAĞITIM PAZARLAMA LTD. ŞTİ.
Abbasağa Mah. Yıldız Cad. Emek İş Hanı No: 51 Kat: 4 Beşiktaş
34353 İstanbul Tel.: (0212) 236 6234-35 Faks: (0212) 236 6203
yayinevi@kabalci.com.tr www.kabalci.com.tr
internetten satış: www.kabalci.com.tr

Baskı: A: Ertem Basım Yayın Dağıtım San. Ltd. Şti
Tel.: (0312) 284 18 14 www.ertem.com.tr info@ertem.com.tr
Eskişehir Yolu 40. km. Başkent Org. San. Böl. 22. Cad. No. 6
Malıköy-Sincan-Ankara - Sertifika No. 48083

Table of Contents

Mustafa ADAK – Peter THONEMANN	
Teos und Abdera in hellenistischer Zeit: Der Jahreskalender, Kulte und neue Inschriften	1
Ferit BAZ	
Two New Milestones of Nerva and Trajan/Carus on the Road from Caesarea to Melitene ..	34
Marcus CHIN – Leah LAZAR	
Antipatros of Derbe, Akmonia and Rome in a notebook of William Mitchell Ramsay	42
Thomas CORSTEN	
Der Gutsbesitzer Ligys im phrygisch-pisidischen Grenzgebiet	53
Altay COŞKUN	
Was Pednelissos a ‘Galatian Polis’? A Note on SEG II 710 and the Debate on the Location of Paul’s <i>Galatians</i>	62
Vera HOFMANN	
Neue Inschriften zum Artemision von Ephesos I: Zwei Grenzsteine der Artemis aus dem Kaystros-Tal	74
Christopher P. JONES	
Altars of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesarion at Teos	85
Nikos LITINAS	
Ostraca and Postcards. Secrets in Private Letters Written on Ostraca from Egypt	93
Mehmet OKTAN – Mustafa ADAK	
Neue Kaiserweihungen und Ehrungen aus Aspendos	99
Aşkıñ ÖZDİZBAY – Hamdi ŞAHİN	
New Inscriptions from Perge 2: The Funerary Inscriptions of the Tomb Buildings Dis- covered in Parcel 169 of the Western Necropolis	116
Christoph SAMITZ	
Aus der Arbeit an den Tituli Asiae Minoris I: Neue Grabinschriften aus Antiphellos (Lykien)	135
Hacer SANCAKTAR	
Coins Found on Aedilicus Hill of Pisidian Antioch	151
Diether SCHÜRR	
Die lykische <i>ēni mahanahi</i> : griechisch, luwisch oder ‚anatolisch‘?.....	169
Konrad STAUNER	
Der <i>optio bandi tertii Armeniorum</i> Theodotos aus Prusias ad Hypium	180

Altay COŞKUN*

Was Pednelissos a ‘Galatian *Polis*’? A Note on SEG II 710 and the Debate on the Location of Paul’s *Galatians*

ABSTRACT: Scholarship is divided whether Paul’s *Letter to the Galatians* addresses ethnic Galatians in or around Ankyra (North Galatian hypothesis) or other inhabitants in the south of the Roman province (South Galatian hypothesis). The South Galatian hypothesis, so it is argued, should no longer draw on a *lex sacra* from Pisidian Pednelissos, which was traditionally dated to the 1st century (BC or AD), though should rather be considered early-Hellenistic. In this, citizens allegedly self-identify as πόλις Γαλατῶν (SEG II 710, l. 9). Γαλατῶν is neither an ethnic nor a compliment of πόλις, but defines the ten candidates that the community is to preselect from among the sanctuary’s *neokoroi* (Γαλατῶν δε[κ]άδ[ος συναχθείσης]). A lot was then to decide which of them would be the next Galato, the most prominent sacred official of Pednelissos, probably the priestess of the (Eleusinian) triad Pluto(s), Kore and Demeter.

KEYWORDS: Apostle Paul, Letter to the Galatians, North- and South-Galatian hypothesis, Pednelissos, Galato, Pluto(s), Demeter, Kore, neokoroi.

I. Introduction: the Controversy on Paul’s *Galatians*

One of the most heatedly debated historical questions of New Testament studies pertains to the addressees of Paul’s *Letter to the Galatians*. When Judaizing missionaries were trying to persuade the young Christian community of Galatia to undergo circumcision and accept the Torah, the apostle wrote his most fervent letter in response. He exhorted the young Christian community to preserve the principles to which also the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem (AD 49) had agreed: that gentile Christians did not have to be circumcised. Traditionally, the addressees were identified as the descendants of the Galatian invaders who began conquering the areas around Ankyra and Pessinus as of 278 BC. On this account, Paul would have converted some Galatians on his second and perhaps also third mission, which briefly led him through the ‘Galatian countryside’ (Luke, *Acts* 15.6 and 16.6) in AD 50 and 53 respectively; his letter would then have followed around AD 54.¹

This interpretation was challenged by Georges Perrot in the 1860s: he regarded even the Galatians of the mid-1st century AD as too uncivilized to attract Paul’s interest. Instead, he located the apostle’s churches in the southern districts of the Galatian province established by Augustus in 25 BC, i.e. in Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia Paroreios and Lykaonia. Paul is known to have visited some cities in these areas during his first mission (Luke, *Acts* 13–14), which is traditionally dated to AD 46/48.² This ‘South-Galatian’ hypothesis was made popular mainly through the publications of Sir William Ramsay, and it became the standard view in Anglophone scholarship with the investigations of F. F. Bruce (1970).³ According to this

* Prof. Dr. Altay Coşkun, University of Waterloo, Department of Classical Studies, ML 228, Waterloo ON, N2L 3G1 (acoskun@uwaterloo.ca | ORCID: 0000-000 2-4672-6195).

I would like to thank my friends Mustafa Adak and Felix John for their constructive feedback on this paper and their generous help with completing my bibliography. For further acknowledgments, see below, n. 15.

¹ For recent accounts of Galatian history, see Mitchell 1993; John 2016, 33–132; also Coşkun 2009 (Roman period); 2019 (Hellenistic period). For a new exhaustive research survey, see below, n. 7. For scholarship on Paul’s Galatians, see the next notes.

² I shall soon suggest a date later in AD 49, see below, n. 7.

³ Perrot 1867, 42–48; Ramsay 1900, 81–85; Bruce 1970; Mitchell 1993 II, 3–4; Hardin 2008, 3–4; 18; Jervis 2011,

opinion, *Galatians* is the oldest extant Pauline letter (ca. AD 48). German scholars insisted for a long time on a North Galatian context, but have finally given up their resistance to a South Galatian location, while still preferring a date around AD 54 for the most part.⁴

Previous generations of scholars had mainly attacked the terminological weakness of the South Galatian theory. Most compellingly, Karl Strobel formulated the concern that Paul would not have addressed his fellow Christians of Pisidian Antioch or else in the south as ‘churches of Galatia’ (*Galatians* 1.2) and even ‘foolish Galatians’ (*Galatians* 3.1); it is not Roman administrative terminology that Paul mostly drew on, but geographical notions that reflect Hellenistic ethno-political entities.⁵

In an attempt to respond to such concerns, South Galatianists have collected near-contemporary evidence for the extended use of Galatian geographical and ethnic terminology. As far as I see, the most pertinent source they could come up with is Pliny the Elder (AD 70s), who includes the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia into the territory of Galatia (*Natural History* 5. 25 [95] and 42 [146]).⁶ Ultimately, this reference shows how precarious the South Galatian cause is: the best proof for Paul potentially using Roman administrative terminology comes from a former Roman administrator about one generation after the composition of Paul’s letter.

It is not my intention to dive deeper into the complex Galatian debate, which I shall soon pursue elsewhere.⁷ I would rather like to address one particular piece of evidence which has been adduced in support of an early extension of ‘Galatians’ to the inhabitants of the province also in the south. It deserves a broader discussion for its potential implications on Pisidian and Galatian history. I am talking about the epigraphic fragment of a *lex sacra* from Pednelissos in southern Pisidia.

II. Does πόλις Γαλατῶν in a Sacred Law from Pednelissos attest Galatians?

The law (which will be quoted in the next section) seems to mention a πόλις Γαλατῶν in line 9. As such it was first put forward in the debate of Paul’s *Galatians* by Colin Hemer (1989). He suggests a very low date around the mid-1st century AD, which would make the text roughly contemporary to Paul’s *Galatians*, although all editors of the inscription who were unconcerned with Pauline scholarship have so far opted for the 1st century BC. Hemer’s argument has now found wide acceptance, whether or not the earlier or later chronology is preferred. In fact, to judge from the letter shape and the mention of the Persian *siglos*, an early-Hellenistic date would be even more convincing, and thus probably date to a time prior to the arrival of the Galatians in Asia Minor. But, to avoid the impression of circularity, I shall not draw on this chronological argument, but rather build my case on a close reading of this text, which has so far been highly underexplored.⁸

Independent of the theological debate, the *lex sacra* has been ascribed to a ‘city of Galatians’ since its first publication. As the text exhibits some peculiarities from a Greek perspective, Comparetti qualifies ‘lo spirito che anima questa singolare iscrizione’ as ‘certamente gallico, e non greco’. Knowing that Pednelissos was a Pisidian city, he shied away from equating it with πόλις Γαλατῶν.⁹ More recent

8–15; Wilson 2016.

⁴ Riesner 1994, 245–49; Witulski 2000, 13–45; Schäfer 2004, 294–97; Marek 2010, 652; Sängler 2016, 201–74; John 2016; ca. 2021; Breytenbach – Zimmermann 2018, 60–61, 65–71. Pilhofer 2011, 79–80 remains undecided, though slightly favours the South Galatian hypothesis.

⁵ Strobel 1996, 117–22; cf. Stähelin 1907, 47, n. 3.

⁶ Sängler 2016, 242; John 2016, 142.

⁷ Coşkun ca. 2021, responding to John ca. 2021.

⁸ Hemer 1989, 301. Cf. Breytenbach 1996, 149–59; Schäfer 2004, 313–14; Sängler 2016, 241; John 2016, 146–47, preferring a date towards the end of the 1st century, when all of Pisidia formed part of the Roman province of Galatia. For a Hellenistic date, see below, ns. 14–15.

⁹ Comparetti 1916/20, 148; cf. 146. Note the question mark in Riel 2011, 10 n. 21.

interpreters have abandoned this hesitation and added some tentative historical context. For instance, Ralf Behrwald and Hartwin Brandt inferred from the characterization of Pednelissos as πόλις Γαλατῶν that the Attalid war in Pisidia around 160 BC involved Galatian mercenaries ‘beyond doubt’.¹⁰

But the source basis for this assumption is problematic. The *Prologues* of the now-lost *Historia Philippica* of Pompeius Trogus only attest that king Eumenes II waged war against Selge around the same time as against the Galatians. A letter by his brother Attalos (by ca. 160 BC) to the citizens of Amlada may shed some more light on the conflict: the addressees had apparently joined the Galatians in their fight against the Attalids, but were defeated and punished.¹¹ It is hard to believe that the royal brothers would not have expelled a Galatian garrison – if only there had been one.¹²

Not much is to be gained from the existence of potentially Celtic personal names in Selge in the epigraphic evidence from late Hellenistic or early Imperial times. Behrwald and Brandt regard this as ‘Langzeitfolgen’ of the Attalid-Pisidian war involving Galatians, whereas Johannes Nollé and Friedrich Schindler, the editors of the according inscription, prefer to relate the names to a garrison established by king Amyntas. In fact, the latter is known to have ruled over Pisidia thanks to a grant by Mark Antony. On closer inspection, however, not one of the adduced names should be accepted as Celtic.¹³

The testimonies from Amlada and Selge are obviously insufficient to support the view that either of them might be seen as a ‘city of Galatians’ at any time. The case of Pednelissos thus entirely hinges on the interpretation of the aforementioned *lex sacra*, to which we are now turning.

¹⁰ Carbon – Peels 2016/20, Commentary (first section): ‘The designations of the priestess as “Galato” and of Pednelissos as “the polis of the Galatai” (Galatians) are significant, indicating that we are dealing with a community of foreign origins. Yet the Gauls of Pisidia were manifestly hellenized in their language, their religion and culture.’ And Behrwald – Brandt 2016, 149: ‘Diese Kriege, in denen fraglos auch galatische Söldner zum Einsatz gekommen sind, könnten den Hintergrund darstellen für die singuläre Bezeichnung von Pednelissos als “Polis der Galater” in einer späthellenistischen oder frühkaiserzeitlichen *lex sacra*.’

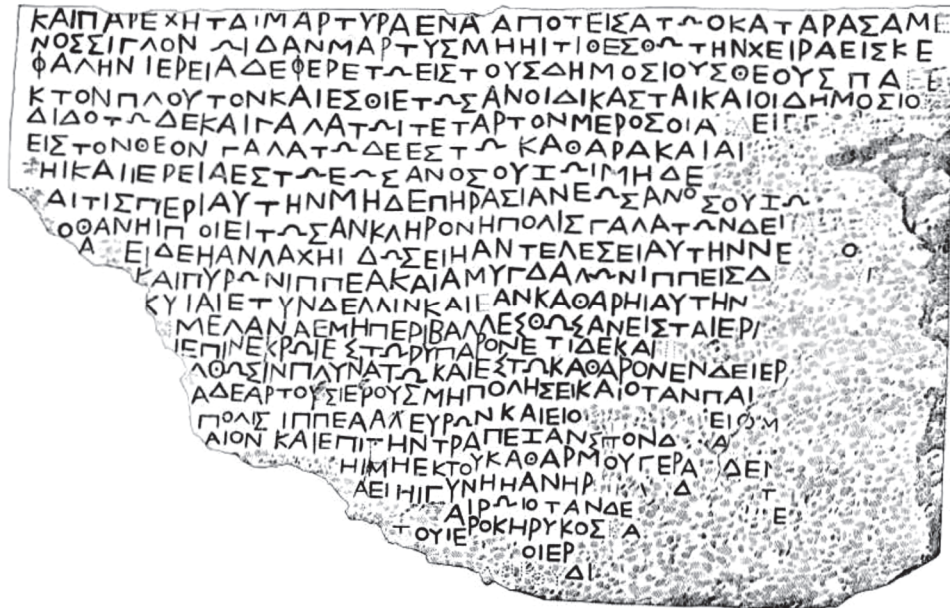
¹¹ Behrwald – Brandt 2016, 149, n. 10 with Pompeius Trogus (*Prologi* 34.2: *Bellum regis Eumenis cum Gallograecis et in Pisidia cum Selegensibus*) and n. 12 with the inscription from Amlada (OGIS 751 = RC 54, cf. Brandt 1992, 43; Kosmetatou 1997, 25–26), which attests a lessening of the punishment imposed on the Amladeis.

¹² Kosmetatou 1997, 25–26 explains the war with Selge as a response to piracy, and she assumes the same rationale for the renewed war after the succession of Attalos II in 159 BC. But Mitchell 1993 I, 26 (though without reference to Trogus) connects the wars involving Amlada and Solovettios, king of the Tolistobogioi (Liv. 44.34.12), with some less specific engagement of Selge. It is quite plausible that the Tolistobogioi and various Pisidians allied against the overbearing dynasty of Pergamon, especially since the Galatians had been weakened through heavy losses in the Third Macedonian War. For the Galatian cause, though without consideration of Pisidian matters, see Coşkun 2010/16 and Payen ca. 2021.

¹³ Behrwald – Brandt 2016, 149, n. 10 with I.Selge (=Nollé – Schindler 1991) no. 28 (ca. 1st century BC: ‘Kendemaras and Okkos (honour) [.]jellous, son of Bardaerdis, their brother.’ Nollé – Schindler offer a learned and largely balanced commentary for each of these names and admit that there are alternative indigenous interpretations for all names but *Okkos*. But we are rather required to accept *Bardaerdis* and *Kendemaras* as Pisidian (or Anatolian). In addition to the arguments put forward by Nollé – Schindler, the several names beginning with *Bar-* in Phrygia and Pisidia, besides one instance of *Bard-* from Lykaonia (LGPN V.C 85) point into this direction, as do the 45 men named *Kendeas* in Pisidia (LGPN V.C 216–17, with further derivatives and compounds). In a Galatian context, *Okkos* would certainly be compared with similar names from the European Gauls; there is, however, not a single parallel from Galatia, whereas we know one *Oknos* from Lykaonia, one *Oka* from Isauria, one *Okodamotes* from Oinoanda and one *Okkonoetes* from eastern Phrygia (LGPN V.C 325). But even without these parallels, a *Lallname* is barely significant; cf. LGPN V.C xxiv with n. 173 on their – predominantly – Anatolian character. [*B*]ellos (though not *Bellous*) is known from Galatia, but so it is from most other areas of Asia Minor. Only a significant proportion of Celtic names in Selge might make me reconsider my classifications, but I.Selge does not seem to offer a single instance that is clearly Celtic. – On Amyntas, see Strabo 12.6.1–6. 5 (567–569C), with Mitchell 1994 and Coşkun 2008, 135–36; 2015, 176–77.

III. Text and Translation of the *lex sacra* from Pednelissos

I here reproduce a reworked photograph of the squeeze prepared by Nicola M. Ferteklis (fig. 1), which Domenico Comparetti published together with the *editio princeps*. The letter shapes suggested a 1st-century-AD date to him, whereas most later editors suggested the 1st century BC. However, many of the now-leading epigraphists of Asia Minor strongly prefer a very early Hellenistic date in the late-4th or early-3rd century BC.¹⁴ The inscription comprises some twenty legible lines and a few words or syllables of the five subsequent lines. The first twelve lines quoted here largely follow J.J.E. Hondius (SEG II 270), whereas the most recent edition by Jan-Mathieu Carbon and Saskia Peels (CGRN 213) mostly reinstates Comparetti's less refined text:¹⁵



- καὶ παρέχεται μάρτυρα ἓνα, ἀποτεισάτω ὁ καταρασάμε-
 νος σίγλον· ὧ δ' ἂν μάρτυς μὴ ᾗ, τιθέσθω τὴν χεῖρα εἰς κε-
 φαλήν, ἱερεῖα δὲ φερέτω εἰς τοὺς δημοσίους θεοὺς πα[ρῆ]-
 κ τὸν Πλούτον, καὶ ἐσθιέτωσαν οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ οἱ δημόσιοι,
 5 διδότη δὲ καὶ Γαλατῶι τέταρτον μέρος, οἷα δεῖ ἐπ[ιφέρειν]
 εἰς τὸν θεόν. Γαλατῶ δὲ ἔστω καθαρὰ καὶ αἴ[σι]ο[ς] ἀεὶ τῆι βιο-
 τῆι,¹⁶ καὶ ἱερεῖα ἔστω, ἕως ἂν ὄσου ζῶι, μηδὲ [αἴσχος ἐχέτω λέ]-

¹⁴ See Comparetti 1916/20, 143–44 for the credits, the photograph and first edition; he addresses the chronological implication in his final sentence (p. 148) only in passing, suggesting an early-imperial date.

¹⁵ Hondius (SEG II 710) has a more realistic allocation of supplements and specifies fragmentary letters, in contrast to Comparetti 1916/20. Sokolowski 1955, no. 79 is closer to Hondius, but has a few modifications of his own (besides some grammatical annotations). Chaniotis 1997, 372, n. 102 and Weiß 2004, 231 no. 278 quote ll. 1–6 after SEG (Chaniotis with German translation). Carbon – Peels 2016/20 = CGRN 213 offer an English and French translation plus commentary. The most relevant discrepancies are indicated in the subsequent notes. All listed editors agree on a date in the 1st century BC. However, Riet van Bremmen (*via* email) now suggests the 4th or 3rd century, based on letter shapes and the use of the Persian *siglos*. Mustafa Adak, Thomas Corsten and Peter Thonemann concur with her (also *via* email). Thonemann specifies that Persian weight standards were used in Pamphylia and Pisidia well into the 3rd century, though not beyond (cf. Ashton 2013, 195; Thonemann 2015, 53–55), and further that the inscription from Pednelissos may well be the latest evidence for this denomination to be called *siglos*. I am very grateful for the this expert advice generously shared with me by the editorial team of *Philia* (May to November 2020).

¹⁶ My reading, based on Hondius: καὶ αἴ[εἰ] ὄ[σ]ία τῆι βιο]-. Comparetti: καὶ αἴ[σι]ο[ς] ἀεὶ μὲν αὐ[τῆ]ι. Carbon – Peels translate: ‘let there [always be a good omen for her]’. Comparetti’s beginning is admittedly better than Hondius’ καὶ αἴ[εἰ], since the adverb is spelt ἀεὶ in l. 20, but Comparetti’s μὲν hangs in the air, and αἴσιος followed by the (non-

- [ξ]αι¹⁷ τις περὶ αὐτὴν μηδ' ἐπιρασίαν, ἕως ἂν ὅσου ζῶ[ι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ]
 [ἀπ]οθάνη, ποιείτωσαν κλήρον ἢ πόλις Γαλατῶν δε[κ]άδ[ος συναχθεῖ]-
 10 [σης].¹⁸ Α[-]ἰ¹⁹ εἰ δὲ ἢ ἂν λάχη, δώσει, ἢ ἂν τελέσει αὐτήν,²⁰ νε[ωκ]ό[ροις μὲν]
 [κριθῶν]²¹ καὶ πυρῶν ἰπέα²² καὶ ἀμυγδάλων ἰππεῖς δ' [καὶ θῦμα]
 [τῆι τεθνη]κυῖαι ἔτυν δέλλιν²³ ...

A tentative translation of the first eight and a half lines (until πόλις) may run as follows:

And (who?) will provide one witness, shall swear an oath and pay one *siglos*.²⁴ But who will not have a witness, shall lay his hand upon his head and offer sacrifices to the gods of the people, except for

reflexive) dative pronoun αὐτῆι sounds awkward in a sentence in which *Galato* is the subject. Also feasible is Sokolowski's ἀγ[νεύ]ο[υσα τῆι βίω]-.

¹⁷ Hondius, followed by Sokolowski. Of equal value is Comparetti: [ᾄειδος ἑάτω λέ]-.

¹⁸ Hondius, followed by Sokolowski: δε[κ]άδ[ος συναχθεῖ][σης]. Α[ῖ]εἰ δέ. Comparetti: δε[κάδι ὧν καταβ]α[λ]εῖ δέ. Carbon – Peels translate: ‘the city of Galatians will cast lots for a group of ten (women) and among them the one to whom the priesthood falls by lot’. The notion that the lottery happens *for* rather than *from among* the group of ten is weird, and ὧν is quite confusing: since it cannot refer to the (assumed) Galatian citizens, one has to refer it to an imagined group of women (see next note), but also its connection with καταβαλεῖ is difficult; in addition, the position of δέ after the relative clause is unusual. In contrast, Hondius' supplement is clear, although his claim of 10 letters at the end is perhaps overly optimistic (7–9 are likelier), whereas 3–4 letters have been lost before Α at the beginning of l. 10. For the ensuing textual problem, see next note; for the interpretation of δεκάς, see below, section V.

¹⁹ The sentence begins with Α[-]ΕΙΔΕ, unless another letter is lost before Α, see previous note. Hondius' spelling Α[ῖ]εἰ is unconvincing (see above, n. 16), and the lacuna after Α is large enough for two letters. Probably, an immediate action of the new *Galato* is prescribed with future (as δώσει). Only a theoretical solution (*exempli gratia*) might be Α[ῖ]εἰ: ‘she will lift (the lot?)’, though future of ἀείρειν should be ἀρεῖ.

²⁰ Carbon – Peels translate: ‘when they will initiate her’. It is unclear whom the two scholars understood to be the subject (which should be singular); perhaps the *neokoroi* (on whom see next note)? Hondius took the *polis* as subject, though interprets Καὶ ἐὰν καθάρη αὐτήν in l. 13 as the cleansing of the *polis* by Galato. I would rather understand: ‘when she (sc. new Galato) will prepare / finish her (sc. the deceased one, cf. next line: τῆι τεθνη]κυῖαι) for the funerary (l. 11) and ‘when she (sc. new Galato) will cleanse her (sc. deceased Galato)’. For more on the purification rites, see below n. 28.

²¹ For the most part following Carbon – Peels: νε[ωκ]ό[ροις (?)] μὲν κριθῶν]. Hondius, followed by Sokolowski: νε[ωκ]ό[ροι μὲν | κριθῶν]. It is uncertain whether the new Galato had to pay a fee to a single temple warden or to a group of temple wardens, but the plural predicates of ll. 12–15 suggest plural of the fragmentary indirect object as well. In her study of *neokoroi*, Riel 2011 leaves open the number of *neokoroi* that could serve at temples, though all of her examples are male. For further evidence for *neokoroi*, see Talloen 2015, 121–22 with n. 242, although he regards Galato herself as a *neokoros* (n. 241). Even less convincing is Comparetti, who assumes that those who carried the corpse at the funeral were paid: νε[κρ]ο[φόροις ?] μὲν κριθῶν]. For more on the *neokoroi*, see below.

²² Here ‘ἰππεύς designates a (unique) local measure (or perhaps a Persian one?)’ according to Carbon – Peels ad ll. 8–12.

²³ Hondius, followed by Sokolowski, explaining ἔτυν as variant of ἔτειον, with an analogous derivation as πρέσβυς, and δέλλιν as variation of δέλλαξ, δελφάκιον. Comparetti: ἔτ' ὕν δέλλιν, translated by Carbon – Peels as ‘also a piglet’, thus omitting δέλλιν, on which they comment albeit that it ‘should probably contain an age qualifier here, and thus refer to a piglet’. They do not account for the lack of aspiration either (we should expect ἔθ' ὕν), and the late position of the adverb ἔτι (rather than before θῦμα) is further problematic.

²⁴ Conditional self-cursing is an essential part of swearing an oath, which may have been necessary for a litigant who could not produce more than only one witness, while the more elaborate procedure involving sacrifices to the whole pantheon was required if a litigant could not produce any witness on his behalf. Cf. Chaniotis 1997, 372, who speaks of ‘Vereidigung und Verfluchung’, although he translates (n. 102): ‘Wenn (?) er einen Zeugen stellt, soll der Verfluchende ein Siglum entrichten’. Weiß 2004, 36 speaks of ‘Klage in Form einer Verwünschung’. Not convincing is the translation of Carbon – Peels 2016/20, who seem to imply that the curse is the crime that is to be sanctioned: ‘The one who has pronounced curses must pay one siglos.’

Plutos (or Pluto?),²⁵ and the judges and public (slaves?)²⁶ shall eat (them). (5) However, he shall give the fourth part to Galato, as is due to sacrifice to the God. And Galato shall be pure and al[ways] ho[ly] in her li]fe, and she shall be priestess, as long as she will live, and no one shall have anything [shameful] or spiteful to [say] about her, as long as she will liv[e]. But when she] will die, a lot will be drawn by the *polis* ...

IV. Some Comments on the Structure and Meaning of the Sacred Law

The inscription provides instructions for the citizens (presumably of Pednelissos) and their priestess who is called by her generic name or title *Galato* (ll. 5, 6). A bit more than the first five lines relate to the procedures of jurisdiction, when shared between the *polis* and the temple. With l. 6, the focus shifts to Galato herself, who also appears to be the main object of this *lex sacra*. She is to receive a quarter of the sacrificial meat that is to be delivered by the legal party that cannot come up with a witness; his/her case is hence to be confirmed by sacrifices to the city's pantheon (ll. 2–6).²⁷ The next concern expressed is Galato's unstained reputation (ll. 7–8), ensued by the protocol to be adhered to after her death (ll. 8–15).²⁸ The last understandable rules are the ban of selling sacrificial bread (ll. 15–16) and the definition of the payments in kind that the *polis* owes Galato (ll. 16–18). Uncertain remain references to another purification rite (l. 19) and a special occasion (*kairos*, l. 21).

One of the most controversial questions pertains to the cult or sanctuary that Galato served. Comparetti takes her title to reflect her Gallic ethnicity, comparing her with 'le più santimoniali druidesse', although he cannot produce a single parallel of a female druid from Gaul or Galatia. Her 'ethnic' interpretation has been reiterated by Carbon and Peels regardless.²⁹ For the deity, Comparetti suggests Pluto, understanding that Galato received the quarter of the sacrifice intended for this god, if a litigant does not have witnesses (ll. 2–6).³⁰ But, more precisely, the *lex sacra* prescribes that half of it (probably half of one sacrificial animal) is to be 'sacrificed' to the rest of the pantheon in the regular way. This means that most of this half of the meat is to be consumed by the judges and the *demosioi*.

I suggest that Pluto(s) (l. 4) is singled out for two reasons: first, to exclude him, as the god of the Netherworld, from the banquet communion;³¹ second, his share is specified as a quarter in l. 6, for it

²⁵ The inscription names *Pluton* in accusative (thus Carbon – Peels 2016/20 in their translation, though not in their commentary), but the common assumption for this *lex sacra* is that he is here identical with *Hades Plouto* (cf. Comparetti 2016/20, 145), the husband of *Persephone / Kore*, rather than *Ploutos*, the son of Demeter. The two were already conflated occasionally in the Classical period, when sacrifices for Pluto, the 'Bringer of Wealth', are first attested in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries; in the Hellenistic period, the cult spread following the Athenian model. Cf. Burkert 1997, 318–20; Bremmer 2006; Parker 2006. Pluto's cult also gained importance in Pisidia, see Talloen 2015, 189; 198; 258; 267; 272. For more on Pluto(s), see below.

²⁶ Cf. Chaniotis 1997, 372, n. 102; Weiß 2004, 36 views them as personal servants of the public judges.

²⁷ See Behrwald – Brandt 2016, 150 and 152 on the city's pantheon, and below, n. 33.

²⁸ After ll. 9–10 specify the selection of the successor, the next lines (on which see also above, n. 20) refer to purification rites. It is controversial whether they pertain to the corpse of the deceased Galato (thus Connelly 2007, 255, though without discussing textual problems; cf. Comparetti 1916/20, 146–147) or to her successor herself (Carbon – Peels 2016/20 ad ll. 12–15, though with contradictions in their commentary; they admit that ll. 20–24 relate to the deceased Galato). More speculative is the suggestion of Talloen 2015, 121, n. 241 that this instruction is about washing the cult statue.

²⁹ Comparetti 1916/20, 148. Cf. Carbon – Peels 2016/20, Commentary, stating that 'the community is overly defined by its identity (Galatians, "Galato"), but expresses its ritual rules in Greek'.

³⁰ Comparetti 1916/20, 145. He further assumes that the pantheon of Pednelissos only comprised Demeter, Kybele, Kore and Pluto(s). This equation is rightly questioned by Carbon – Peels 2016/20, ad ll. 5–6, though not for a good reason, cf. ad ll. 1–4: 'The sacrifice needs to be made to the *δημόσιοι θεοί* excepting Plouton, presumably because oaths sworn to Plouton (Hades) were reckoned to be of a different character.'

³¹ Although we should be cautious not to claim a coherent system, chthonic deities were often treated differently,

would be the most obvious choice to identify Pluto(s) with the unnamed *theos*; he was thus entitled to the largest share among the deities of Pednelissos.

However, most interpreters after Comparetti have disconnected the anonymous *theos* from the previous sentence and regard someone other than Pluto(s) as the lord of the priestess. With a few exceptions,³² they further take a clue from her title. Hondius was thus induced to regard him as Apollo, for whom epithets like *Galatothremmon* ('Milk-Feeder'?) or *Galaxios* ('Milky-White'?) are attested. In his support, one may add that the evidence for a pre-eminent role of Apollo in Pisidia in general and in Pednelissos in particular is growing. But the epithets seem to be confined to Boeotia (with one possible exception for Delos). However, none of these epithets is attested or has left a trace in the personal names in Anatolia, so that there is not much to recommend Hondius' speculation.³³

Sokolowski therefore made the alternative suggestion that Galato, like the Galloi priests from Pessinus, stood in the service of Kybele Agdistis, the most prominent Phrygian version of the Anatolian Great Mother. He is followed by Angelos Chaniotis, whereas Carbon and Peels remain undecided between Pluto, the Mother of the Gods or even the whole pantheon.³⁴ We should not adduce against this interpretation that the *theos* of l. 6 is male, since this has to be Pluto and need not be connected with Galato. But since Kybele was normally served by male or eunuch priests, she does not seem to be a good guess either.

Be this as it may, it is plausible to attribute the female Galato to the same linguistic root as the eunuch Galloi. But it is worth mentioning that Wojciech Sowa has recently suggested Hittite, if not originally Sumerian roots, for the latter priests, with the original meaning 'Kultsänger' or 'Klagepriester'.³⁵ Sowa's explanation is neither gender-specific nor related to castration. It seems to point to a very old priesthood, possibly one that was more specifically concerned with the cult of death (and thus perhaps also rebirth and fertility). This would take us once more back to Pluto or Plutos.

Peter Talloen has most recently proposed Demeter as Galato's goddess, adducing the sacrifice of a pig (for the deceased Galato) and grain, besides Pluto's mention in her immediate context.³⁶ This is certainly the most likely direction, though Galato's exact role remains opaque: was she regarded as embodying Kore, with her cycle of death and rebirth? Or was she closer to Demeter and mourning the loss of her

and consumption of the sacrificial meat was rare, since it tended to be burnt completely (*holokausis*). Hades Pluto was the foremost chthonic deity, though his inclusion into the rites of Demeter and Kore may have affected the practice of his rites and sacrifices. See Pongratz-Leisten and Schlesier 2006; see also above, n. 25 for further references.

³² Riel 2011, 10 n. 21: 'For a comparable case of an ordinary personal name used as a title of a priest, in addition to Pythia, cf. the life-long priestess Galato from Pednelissos(?)'. Parker 2018, 77 speaks of a 'nickname'.

³³ Hondius, SEG II 710, though without translation of the epithets or references, but see the documentation in F. Böttke, *Galaxion* [1], RE 7.1, 1910, 571 and O. Jessen, *Galaxios* [1], RE 7.1, 1910, 571; cf. H. Bischoff, *Galaxion* [2], RE 7.1, 1910, 571 and L. Bürchner, *Galaxios* [2], RE 7.1, 1910, 572. Behrwald – Brandt 2016, 150 and 152 with n. 19 emphasize the prominent role of Apollo in the pantheon of Pednelissos, though there is only a single attestation for the epithet *Mamblasenos* (SEG LVIII 1561). For Apollo (*Klarios*) in Pisidia, see Talloen 2015, esp. 181–83. As to personal names, LGPN V.A–C reports no case of *Galaxi-*, and only a single attestation for *Galaktos* from Imperial Antioch *ad Pisidiam* (V.C 95).

³⁴ Sokolowski 1955, 180, who is undecided between Apollo and Kybele; Chaniotis 1997, 372 deciding for Kybele without argument; Carbon – Peels, Commentary (first section), regarding as a third option that Galato 'served many or all of the gods of the community'.

³⁵ Sowa 2008, 76–79, adducing Sumerian *gala* (Akk. *kalû*) 'priest' and Hittite ^{LU}*GALA* 'Kultsänger' among the parallels.

³⁶ Talloen 2015, 120 n. 237: 'The sacrifice of a piglet, the offerings of wheat, and the association with Plouto all seem to point in the direction of Demeter, although it has to be said that there is no other evidence for that cult at Pednelissos.' For Demeter elsewhere in Pisidia, see Talloen 2015, esp. 184–86. The aetiology for pig sacrifices is that they covered the traces of Kore after her abduction by Hades, see Burkert 1997, 286.

daughter, as the etymology of Galato might imply (just as Galloi had to lament the death of Attis)? The emphasis that the *lex sacra* of Pednelissos puts on the funerary rites of Galato’s predecessor may further point to the enactment of a cycle of death and rebirth, in which Galato was apparently a key player.

V. *Galatai* versus *Galatoi Neokoroi* in Pednelissos

Let us finally approach ἡ πόλις Γαλατῶν (l. 9). It is obvious that ἡ πόλις had to take action upon the passing of Galato. Without further specification of the reaction, most scholars now agree that the citizens of Pednelissos perceived of themselves as ‘Galatians’.³⁷ But it would be most peculiar that the only text that documents the title of a priestess *Galato* would also be the only source to attest a colony of *Galatai* in Pisidia and, in fact, the only city from antiquity known to denote itself as ἡ πόλις Γαλατῶν.

Such a term would be quite unusual as a self-descriptor in a law passed by the assembly of the same city. This becomes quite clear when one contrasts the assumed name with the typical way the Galatians (of Imperial times) would call themselves on their coinage: unless referring to themselves collectively as the ‘*koinon* of the Galatians’, they would normally use the more specific terminology *Sebastenoi Tolistobogioi*, *Sebastenoi Tektosages* and *Sebastenoi Trokmoi* respectively, with the first element referring to the imperial cult at Ankyra.³⁸

A generic reference to the *polis* or *politai* without ethnic would be fitting in a law of an autonomous city, or alternatively the mention of an executive organ such as a priest, priestess (like Galato!) or *archon*. An exception would only make sense in case of an ethnically divided community, say, if native Pisidians were living besides Greek, Galatian or Roman military settlers. We have sufficient evidence for the existence of heterogeneous communities in the cities of South Galatia, though not for a Galatian *politeuma* itself. In addition, Pednelissos is not known to have received any veteran soldiers under Seleukid or Attalid kings or under Caesar or Augustus respectively.³⁹

Accepting the sacred law as positive evidence for such a divided community in Pednelissos would be problematic also in other regards: which group would pass a binding law over the assumed *politeuma* of the Galatians? And why would Galatians be in charge of a sanctuary that appears more connected with indigenous Pisidian or Anatolian than with Celtic traditions? Note that the text of the law includes many words and morphemes that are rather typical for the Pisidian dialect of Greek.⁴⁰

I therefore discourage the assumption that citizens from Pednelissos, whether they represented a united community or an autonomous ethnic subdivision, ever perceived of themselves as ethnic Galatians or passed a religious law meant to bind a Galatian *politeuma*.

As we shall see, the fragmentary inscription does not require us to embrace such a historically nonsensical interpretation. If we maintain the emendations by Hondius as reproduced in SEG (ἐπειδὴν δὲ | ἀπ]οθάνηι, ποιείτωσαν κληῖρον ἡ πόλις Γαλατῶν δε[κ]άδ[ος συναχθεῖ¹⁰σης]), then the most plausible interpretation is to relate Γαλατῶν as a defining complement to δε[κ]άδ[ος], which would otherwise be hard to understand.⁴¹ I thus translate as follows: ‘but when she [sc. *Galato*] will have died, the *polis* shall draw a lot after gathering a group of ten *Galatoi*’.⁴² In other words: among all the priestesses or perhaps rather

³⁷ See above, ns. 8 and 10. However, many scholars avoid commenting on πόλις Γαλατῶν (Hondius, Sokolowski and Chaniotis above, n. 15, as well as Weiß 2004, 36; 231; Connelly 2007, 255; Talloen 2015, 120–123), while only few express uncertainty (see above, n. 9).

³⁸ See, e.g., Coşkun 2009, 185–99, for the evidence.

³⁹ Cf. Mitchell 1979; Valvo 2007; Esch 2008; Bru 2009; 2017; Kunnert 2012, 160–65; Filges 2011; 2019; Gagliardi 2014.

⁴⁰ See the notes by Hondius and Sokolowski, as above, n. 15.

⁴¹ Talloen 2015, 120 thinks that the ten candidates may represent each of (otherwise unattested) ten *phylai* (or major families?) of Pednelissos.

⁴² I wonder if Sokolowski 1955, 180 had a similar understanding: ‘que ce soit le nom des prêtres et des prêtresses

neokoroi – ‘temple wardens’ (l. 10) – who serve the same sanctuary as the principal *Galato*, ten suitable candidates should be pre-selected, before electing one of them by lot to become the one or leading *Galato*. This procedure is confirmed by the next sentence, which refers to the new *Galato* that is chosen by lot (l. 10 ἢ ἄν λάχῃ). The donations (δώσει) that she will be owing to the nine rival candidates or even the larger group of all *neokoroi* are then specified.⁴³

The only premise that needs to be granted is that all the *neokoroi* or at least a restricted group of ten could also be called *Galatoi*. The plural of the *Galloi* priests from Pessinus is admittedly only of limited argumentative force in support of my claim, since their high priest was called *Attis* after the consort of Kybele Agdistis (or perhaps also *Battakes*).⁴⁴ But there is nothing to exclude my hypothesis either, and, as far as I see, it is by now the only explanation that allows us to avoid the unacceptable terminological and historical difficulties implied in the identification of Pednelissos with a ‘polis of Galatians’ or with the location of a Galatian *politeuma* within the Pisidian city.

V. Epilogue

My interpretation obviously raises new questions, such as about the status of those other *Galatoi*, for which I have no firm answer. Further uncertainty is due to the fragmentary nature of the text. Regardless of these remaining problems, I do not see that any interpretation involving ‘Galatians’ might yield a better sense in our fragmentary inscription. Ironically, even if new evidence should one day come to light and prove the existence of a Galatian settlement or *politeuma* in Pednelissos, Selge or Amlada, this would not really support the South-Galatian hypothesis either: that theory depends on the extension of the Roman provincial name to urban centres in the south, including at least Antioch *ad Pisidiam*, if not also Perge in Pamphylia, Ikonion in Phrygia Paroreios as well as Lystra and Derbe in Lykaonia. I therefore suggest excluding the *lex sacra* mentioning *Galato* in Pednelissos from all future examinations of Paul’s *Galatians*.

Abbreviated Literature

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Ashton 2013 | R. Ashton, <i>The Hellenistic World: The Cities of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor</i> , in W. E. Metcalf (ed.), <i>Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage</i> , Oxford 2013, 190–206. |
| Behrwald – Brandt 2016 | R. Behrwald – H. Brandt, <i>Pednelissos in Pisidien. Notizen zu Geschichte, Stadtentwicklung und Verwaltung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit</i> , in: B. Takmer – E. Akdoğan – N. Gökalp Özdil (eds.), <i>Vir doctus anaticus. Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin – Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazıtlar (Philia Supplements 1)</i> , Istanbul 2016, 148–56. |
| Brandt 1992 | H. Brandt, <i>Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphylens und Pisidiens im Altertum (AMS 7)</i> , Bonn 1992. |
| Bremmer 2006 | J. Bremmer, <i>Hades</i> , BNP Online 2006. URL: < http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e501140 > (17 May 2020) |
| Breytenbach 1996 | C. Breytenbach, <i>Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien. Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f; 16,6; 18,23 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefs (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 38)</i> , Leiden 1996. |
| Breytenbach – Zimmermann 2018 | C. Breytenbach – C. Zimmermann, <i>Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas: From Paul to Amphilochius of Iconium (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 101)</i> , Leiden/Boston 2018. |
| Bru 2009 | H. Bru, <i>L’origine des colons romains d’Antioche de Piside</i> , in: H. Bru – F. Kirbihler – S. Lebreton (eds.), <i>L’Asie Mineure dans l’Antiquité. Échanges</i> , |

attachés au cult’.

⁴³ Parallels for lotteries to fill a vacant priesthood are given by Lupu 2005, 47–48.

⁴⁴ For most recent treatments of the Pessinuntine cult, see Coşkun 2018; Roller 2018; cf. Van Haepereen 2019.

- population et territoires. Regards actuels sur une péninsule (Actes du colloque international de Tours, 21-22 octobre 2005), Rennes 2009, 263–87.
- Bru 2017 H. Bru, *La Phrygie Parorée et la Pisidie septentrionale aux époques hellénistique et romaine. Géographie historique et sociologie culturelle* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 401), Leiden/Boston 2017.
- Bruce 1970 F. F. Bruce, *Galatian Problems. II: 'North or South Galatians?'*, *Tyndale Bulletin* 52, 1970, 243–66.
- Burkert 1997 W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten*, Berlin 1971, 2nd ed. 1997.
- Carbon – Peels, CGRN 213 J.-M. Carbon – S. Peels, *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, 213: Regulation Concerning the Priestess Galato at Pednelissos, 2016/20. URL: <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/213/> (15 May 2020).
- Chaniotis 1997 A. Chaniotis, "Tempeljustiz" im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Rechtliche Aspekte der Sühneinschriften Lydiens und Phrygiens, in: G. Thür – J. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas (eds.), *Symposion 1995. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Korfu, 1.–5. September 1995), Cologne 1997, 353–84.
- Comparetti 1916/20 D. Comparetti, *Iscrizione di Pednelissos (Pisidia)*, *ASAA* 3, 1916-1920, 143–48.
- Connelly 2007 J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton/Oxford 2007.
- Coşkun 2008 A. Coşkun, Das Ende der "romfreundlichen Herrschaft" in Galatien und das Beispiel einer "sanften Provinzialisierung" in Zentralanatolien, in: A. Coşkun (ed.), *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer* (2. Jh. v.Chr.–1. Jh. n.Chr.) (Inklusion/Exklusion 9), Frankfurt 2008, 133–64.
- Coşkun 2009 A. Coşkun, Der Ankyraner Kaiserkult und die Transformation galatischer und phrygisch-galatischer Identitäten in Zentralanatolien im Spiegel der Münzquellen, in: A. Coşkun – H. Heinen – S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Identität und Zugehörigkeit im Osten der griechisch-römischen Welt. Aspekte ihrer Repräsentation in Städten, Provinzen und Reichen* (In/Ex 14), Frankfurt 2009, 173–210.
- Coşkun 2010/16 A. Coşkun, *Solovettios* (2010/16), in idem (ed.), *Amici Populi Romani. Trier 2007–8 and Waterloo 2010–2019*. URL: <http://www.altaycoskun.com/apr>.
- Coşkun 2015 A. Coşkun, Die Tetrarchie als hellenistisch-römisches Herrschaftsinstrument. Mit einer Untersuchung der Titulatur der Dynasten von Ituräa, in: E. Baltrusch – J. Wilker (eds.), *Amici – Socii – Clientes. Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum* (Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 31), Berlin 2015, 161–97.
- Coşkun 2018 A. Coşkun, The Temple State of Cybele in Phrygian and Early Hellenistic Pessinus: A Phantom?, in: G.R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *Pessinus and Its Regional Setting I* (CollAnt 21), Leuven/Paris/Bristol 2018, 205–43.
- Coşkun 2019 A. Coşkun, *Galat Krallıkları / The Galatian Kingdoms*, in: O. Tekin (ed.), *Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluğu dönemlerinde Anadolu – Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods*, Istanbul 2019, 146–63.
- Coşkun ca. 2021 A. Coşkun, *Pauline Churches in the Galatike chora: A New Plea for the North-Galatian Hypothesis*, forthcoming in: idem (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early-Roman Periods* (Colloquia Antiqua 33), Leuven ca. 2021.
- Esch 2008 T. Esch, Zur Frage der sogenannten Doppelgemeinden. Die caesarische und augusteische Kolonisation in Kleinasien, in: E. Winter (ed.), *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosphorus. Kleinasien in der Antike. Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2 vols. (AMS 65) Bonn 2008 I, 199–216.
- Filges 2011 A. Filges, Lebensorte in der Fremde. Versuch einer Bewertung der römisch-kleinasiatischen Kolonien von Caesar bis Diokletian, in: F. Daubner (ed.), *Militärsiedlungen und Territorialherrschaft in der Antike* (Topoi: Berlin

- studies of the ancient world), Berlin 2011, 131–54.
- Filges 2019 A. Filges, *Anadolu'da Roma Kolonileri ve Sikkelerin*. Roman Colonies in Asia Minor and Their Coins, in: O. Tekin (ed.), *Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluğu dönemlerinde Anadolu – Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods*, Istanbul 2019, 400–11.
- Gagliardi 2014 L. Gagliardi, *Approche juridique des relations entre romains et indigènes*. Le cas des colonies romaines, in: É. Gojosso – D. Kremer – A. Vergne (eds.), *Les colonies. Approches juridiques et institutionnelles de la colonisation de la Rome antique à nos jours*, Paris 2014, 59–76.
- Hardin 2008 J.K. Hardin, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult. A Critical Analysis of the First-Century Social Context of Paul's Letter (WUNT II/237)*, Tübingen 2008.
- Hemer 1989 C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, ed. by C.H. Gempf (WUNT 49), Tübingen 1989.
- Hondius, SEG II 710 J.J.E. Hondius, *Pednelissos*. *Pednelissensium lex sacra, saec. I.*, SEG II, 1924, 710. Quoted after *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* online, http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a2_710 (10 Jan. 2020).
- Jervis 2011 L.A. Jervis, *Galatians (Understanding the Bible Commentary 9)*, Peabody, MA/Carlisle 1999, repr. 2011.
- John 2016 F. John, *Der Galaterbrief im Kontext historischer Lebenswelten im antiken Kleinasien (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 264)*, Göttingen 2016.
- John ca. 2021 F. John, *Pauline Churches in South Galatia*, forthcoming in: A. Coşkun (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early-Roman Periods (Colloquia Antiqua 33)*, Leuven ca. 2021.
- Kosmetatou 1997 E. Kosmetatou, *Pisidia and the Hellenistic Kings from 323 to 133 BC*, *AncSoc* 28, 1997, 5–37.
- Kunnert 2012 U. Kunnert, *Bürger unter sich: Phylen in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Ostens (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 39)*, Basel 2012.
- LGPN V.C J.-S. Balzat – R.W.V. Catling – É. Chiricat – T. Corsten (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Vol. V.C: Inland Asia Minor*, Oxford 2018.
- Lupu 2005 E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 152)*, Leiden/Boston 2005.
- Marek 2010 C. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, Munich 2010.
- Mitchell 1979 S. Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica. Two Double Communities in Roman Asia Minor*, *Historia* 28, 1979, 409–38.
- Mitchell 1993 S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule. II: The Rise of the Church*, Oxford 1993.
- Mitchell 1994 S. Mitchell, *Termessos, King Amyntas, and the War with the Sandaliôtai. A New Inscription from Pisidia*, in: D. French (ed.), *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia*, Ankara 1994, 95–105.
- Nollé – Schindler 1991 J. Nollé – F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge (IK 37)*, Bonn 1991.
- Parker 2006 R. Parker, *Pluto* [3], *BNP Online*. URL: <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e929020> (17 May 2020).
- Parker 2018 R.C.T. Parker, *Regionality and Greek Ritual Norms*, *Kernos* 31, 2018, 73–81.
- Payen ca. 2021 G. Payen, *When Galatians Unite? A Geopolitical Evaluation of the Impact of the Alleged Galatian Unity in the Second Century BC*, forthcoming in: A. Coşkun (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early-Roman Periods (Colloquia Antiqua 33)*, Leuven ca. 2021.
- Perrot 1867 G. Perrot, *De Galatia provincia Romana*, Dissertation, Paris 1867.
- Pilhofer 2011 P. Pilhofer, *Einer der 5984072? Zum römischen Bürgerrecht des Paulus*. In P. Pilhofer, *Neues aus der Welt der frühen Christen*, Stuttgart 2011, 63–76.
- Pongratz-Leisten – Schlesier 2006 B. Pongratz-Leisten – R. Schlesier, *Chthonic Deities*, *BNP Online*. URL: <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e234190>

- (17 May 2020).
- Ramsay 1900 W. M. Ramsay, A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 2nd ed., London 1900.
- Ricl 2011 M. Ricl, Neokoroi in the Greek World, Belgrade Historical Review 2, 2011, 7–26.
- Riesner 1994 R. Riesner, Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. Studien zur Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie (WUNT 71), Tübingen 1994.
- Roller 2018 L. Roller, Pessinus and the Phrygian Mother: the Sanctuary and Its Historical Context, in: G.R. Tsatskheladze (ed.), Pessinus and Its Regional Setting I (CollAnt 21), Leuven/Paris/Bristol 2018, 77–98.
- Sänger 2016 D. Sänger, Schrift – Tradition – Evangelium: Studien zum frühen Judentum und zur paulinischen Theologie, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2016.
- Schäfer 2004 R. Schäfer, Paulus bis zum Apostelkonzil: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in den Galaterbrief, zur Geschichte der Jesusbewegung und zur Pauluschronologie (WUNT II/179), Tübingen 2004.
- Sokolowski 1955 F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 9), Paris 1955.
- Strobel 1996 K. Strobel, Die Galater. I: Geschichte und Eigenart der keltischen Staatenbildung auf dem Boden des hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und historischen Geographie des hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien 1), Berlin 1996.
- Talloon 2015 P. Talloon, Cult in Pisidia. Religious Practice in Southwestern Asia Minor from Alexander the Great to the Rise of Christianity, Turnhout 2015.
- Thonemann 2015 P. Thonemann, The Hellenistic World: Using Coins as Sources, Cambridge 2015.
- Valvo 2007 A. Valvo, Origine e provenienza delle gentes italiche nella provincia di Galazia in età giulio-claudia, in: G. Urso (ed.), Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia minore. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 28–30 settembre 2006, Rome 2007, 151–63.
- Van Haepere 2019 F. Van Haepere, Étrangère et ancestrale: la mère des dieux dans le monde romain (Les conférences de l'École pratique des hautes études 12), Paris 2019.
- Weiß 2004 A. Weiß, Sklave der Stadt: Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 2004.
- Wilson 2016 M.W. Wilson, Saint Paul in Pamphylia: Intention, Arrival, Departure. Adalya 19, 2016, 229–50.
- Witulski 2000 T. Witulski, Die Adressaten des Galaterbriefes: Untersuchungen zur Gemeinde von Antiochia ad Pisidiam, Göttingen 2000.

Pednelissos Bir Galat Kenti miydi? SEG II 710 Üzerine Bir Not ve Paulus'un Galatları'nın Lokalizasyon Tartışması

Öz: Bilim dünyası Paulus'un Galatlara Mektubu'nun Ankyra veya çevresindeki etnik Galatlara mı (Kuzey Galat hipotezi) yoksa Roma eyaletinin güneyindeki diğer sakinlere mi (Güney Galat hipotezi) hitap ettiği görüşü temelinde ikiye bölünmüştür. Güney Galat olarak temellendirilen hipotez, yurttaşlarının kendilerini πόλις Γαλατῶν olarak kimliklendirdikleri iddia edilen Pisidia'daki Pednelissos kentinden MÖ 3. yüzyıl tarihli bir lex sacra'ya (SEG II 710, l. 9) artık dayanmamalıdır. Zira burada Γαλατῶν ifadesi bir πόλις'in etnik kökenini veya övgüsünü değil; topluluk tarafından tapınağın *neokor*'ları arasından ön seçim yapılacak on adayı (Γαλατῶν δε[κ]άδ[ος συναχθείς]) tanımlar. Şu halde Pednelissos'un en önemli dini görevlisi, olasılıkla da (Eleusis) üçlüsü Pluto(s), Kore ve Demeter'in rahibesi olan bir sonraki Galato'nun bu on adaydan hangisi olacağına kurayla karar verilmekteydi.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER: Havari Paulus, Galatlara Mektup, Kuzey ve Güney Galat hipotezi, Pednelissos, Galato, Pluto(s), Demeter, Kore, neokoroi.