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ΔΑΡΡΩΝ AND ΔΑΙΜΟΝ: A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MYLASA

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ΔΑΡΡΩΝ AND ΔΑΙΜΩΝ: A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MYLASA*

Wolfgang Blümel has recently published many new inscriptions from Mylasa and its surroundings, several of which are of interest for the study of religion in Karia.¹ I wish to offer here a commentary on only one of these, no. 20, “Ehreninschrift einer Phratrie”. The inscription, recently unearthed and now in the Milas Museum, is cut on the vertical surface of a round marble altar, near the upper rim. It consists of two lines:



Ἡ φρατρία τῶν Δαρρωνιστῶν
δαίμονι Δημοκρίτης

The script is described as “frühhellenistisch” and Blümel added the following comment: “Die Vokabel (Berufsbezeichnung, Götter-, Orts- oder Personennamen), von der der Name der Phratrie abgeleitet ist, ist offenbar im Griechischen bisher nicht belegt”.

In fact, it is possible to identify an origin for the name of the phratry. The word Δαρρωνιστῶν is highly reminiscent of the names of cult associations which often end in -ασταί or -ισταί (e.g. Hermaístai). Such cult associations usually took their names from the gods or heroes whom they worshipped.² The name here could be expected to be formed in a similar fashion, that is, from the name of a deity called Δαρρῶν. A suitable candidate is to be found in Hesychius s.v. Δάρρων· Μακεδονικὸς δαίμων, ᾧ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσοῦντων εὐχονται (“a Macedonian god, to whom they pray on behalf of those who are sick”). It has long been hypothesised that the name is a Macedonian form of Θάρσων, an incarnation or an epithet of Asklepios, albeit an absolutely unattested one.³ Recently, an inscribed dedication to Δάρρῶν brought to light by the excavations at Pella has cast the figure into greater relief.⁴ The context of the discovery of the inscription is

* Drafts of this article were read individually by Riet van Bremen and Robert Parker. I am grateful to both of them for their valuable criticisms and enlightening suggestions. Wolfgang Blümel kindly advised me and has supplied a photograph of the squeeze. All infelicities of interpretation and of style remain my own. I use standard abbreviations for epigraphical corpora from Asia Minor and *LSAM* for F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Travaux et mémoires de l'École française d'Athènes 9 (Paris 1955).

¹ W. Blümel, *Neue Inschriften aus Karien II: Mylasa und Umgebung*, *EA* 37 (2004) 1–42.

² On the construction of these names, cf. esp. L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques: types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie* (Geneva and Paris 1967) 12: “Ces noms en -ισταί et -ασταί sont issus de verbes en -ίζεῖν et -άζεῖν désignant la célébration de cérémonies et de fêtes, ἐμαίζεῖν [etc.]”. He discusses further Rhodian examples at pp. 12–13.

³ Cf. *RE* (1901) [Tümpel] s.v. Δάρρῶν, with references to earlier scholarship on Hesychius' gloss.

⁴ M. Lilibaki-Akamati, *Ανασκαφική έρευνα του καναλιού της Πέλλας κατά το 1988–1991*, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 5 (1991) 83–95 (with a photograph). The editor proposes to date the text to the first half of the 2nd c. BCE (adopted by *SEG* 44.546). The text is as follows: [Ἰ]μφίπολις Δάρρῶνι εὐξαμένη ἐπηκόωι. Lilibaki-Akamati speculates, unconvincingly, that the name Δάρρῶν may be etymologically connected with ‘healing bread’.

viewed as particularly significant by M. B. Hatzopoulos.⁵ Since it was found in the ruins of a sanctuary southwest of the city “manifestement consacré à une divinité guérisseuse”, Hatzopoulos adopts the long-standing interpretation of Δάρρων as a Macedonian god who was assimilated to Asklepios: “Il s’agit sans doute de l’épithète d’un dieu guérisseur local absorbé par la figure panhellénique d’Asclépios”.⁶

Hatzopoulos’ conclusion is unconvincing, if only because a definitive analysis of the characteristics of Δάρρων is impossible given the current evidence.⁷ Further results may be expected from the excavations at Pella and the new evidence for Δάρρων provided by the Mylasa text will doubtless provoke discussion among experts in Macedonian religion. For these reasons, it seems better not to qualify Δάρρων as a local god ‘absorbed’ by Asklepios and to leave the matter unresolved. Yet before turning to an investigation of the importance of the text in a Karian context, I wish to suggest that two aspects of Δάρρων warrant further consideration. First, it is significant that he is called a δαίμων in Hesychius. The term δαίμων, certainly by the Hellenistic period, designated a figure of intermediate status between men and gods and could be used to refer to the immortal ‘guiding spirit’ of an individual.⁸ Indeed, Hesychius almost exclusively employs δαίμων when referring to figures of non-standard divine status.⁹ The Mylasian text, itself a dedication to a δαίμων, may be particularly appropriate given the daimonic status of Δάρρων. Second, the name Δάρρων seems perhaps linguistically comparable with that of another Macedonian δαίμων, Μάκρων.¹⁰ There is also perhaps a connection to be made with Ἡρών, the Thracian rider-god.¹¹ These possible similarities between Δάρρων and two figures of daimonic or heroic status may support Hesychius’ conception of Δάρρων as a δαίμων, a numinous figure not quite a θεός.

If my explanation of the text is correct so far, we therefore have a phratry at Mylasa named after Δάρρων. Yet the appellation of this group as a phratry is rather surprising not only because no phratries are otherwise attested at Mylasa, but also because the name of the phratry is, as I have shown, formed like that of a cult association. The latter observation is odd because associations are by definition voluntary groups of worshippers, whereas one is usually born into a

⁵ M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Épigraphie et philologie: récentes découvertes épigraphiques et gloses macédoniennes d’Hésychius*, CRAI (1998) 1189–1207, here: 1200–1202 (reprising the text and the photograph).

⁶ Hatzopoulos, *ibid.*, 1200 with n. 38.

⁷ Hatzopoulos himself points out that Asklepios is well attested in Macedonia (*ibid.*, 1200–1202). This could lend support to his thesis but could also constitute a possible criticism of the equation of Δάρρων with the ‘panhellenic’ healing god. Indeed, the fact that Δάρρων was comparatively obscure could entail that he was distinctive and not entirely ‘absorbed’ by the more popular figure of Asklepios.

⁸ Cf. e.g. the summary remarks in M. Detienne, *La notion de daimon dans le pythagorisme ancien, de la pensée religieuse à la pensée philosophique* (Paris 1963) 31–37.

⁹ Cf. especially the glosses on: Alastor, Halcyon, Harpies, Berekyndai, Gello, Genetyllidai, Erinys, Thrasos, Ialemos, Keleutheiai and Chruso. Hesychius does not seem to use δαίμων as another word for θεός, although contrary examples may include Plouton (often called θεός, cf. e.g. *S. Ant.* 1199–1200, Artem. 5.93) and the Praxidikai (called goddesses by Paus. 3.22.2 and 9.33.3). The ‘chthonic’ character of all of these Hesychian δαίμονες is also worth noting.

¹⁰ D. R. Jordan, *New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)*, *GRBS* 41 (2000) 5–46, no. 31 (Pella, mid 4th c. BCE): παρακαττίθειαι Μάκρωνι καὶ [τοῖς] δαίμοσι. I am grateful to S. Okada for this reference.

¹¹ On the cult of the Thracian rider-god see E. Will, *Le relief cultuel grec* or the article by the same author in *LIMC* s.v. Interestingly, the cult is known to have spread to Egypt, doubtless as a result of Alexander’s conquests. There is also evidence of the cult in Macedonia, but dating primarily to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE: cf. *IG* X(2,1) 64 (= *SEG* 26.736), *SEG* 33.524 and 538, *SEG* 40.539a–b.

phratry, and particularly because no phratries are, to my knowledge, named like cult associations. All of these unusual facts call for a careful consideration of what exactly is meant by ‘phratry’ in this text.

The phratry was until recently a notion alien to Karia, where *phylai* are for the most part subdivided into units called *syngeneiai*.¹² These subdivisions were thought to be roughly equivalent to the phratries found in other areas of the Greek world.¹³ Any interpretation of phratries in Karia must now take into account the recently published inscription recording a *synoikismos* between the Latmioi and the Pidaseis which took place under the rulership of Asandros (ca. 323–313 BCE).¹⁴ The text mentions ΦΠΑΤΟΡΙΩΝ as civic subdivisions of the synoikised cities. The gender of the word is uncertain but clearly some sort of brotherhood or phratry is meant. As M. Wörrle has cautiously commented, however, the status of these phratries with respect to the *phylai* of Latmos and Pidasa is unclear.¹⁵ The text nonetheless allows that some Karian cities were divided into phratries, not *syngeneiai*.

The new Mylasian inscription only contributes to making the issue of Karian phratries more complicated. The phratry of the Δαρρωνιστάι cannot readily be seen as a part of Mylasa’s organizational structure, composed as far as we know solely of *phylai*, *syngeneiai* and *patrai*. But if the phratry is instead a cult association then one must assume that the word ‘phratry’ has changed its meaning here to something like *thiasos*, *koinon* or *eranos*. Such an assumption can only be provisional, given that Karia has not yielded more than a few comparable cult associations. The only possible parallel for the present text comes in fact from an unfortunately fragmentary Mylasian decree which mentions a similarly named group:] τῶν Δικτυνναϊστῶν [.¹⁶ The text cannot help to elucidate the phratry of the Δαρρωνιστάι, but it is possible that the new text explains the older one. Indeed, we may well be tempted to suppose that we have here a φρατρία τῶν Δικτυνναϊστῶν and perhaps even a decree of this phratry. Some caution is warranted: the Δικτυνναϊσταί may instead have constituted a *thiasos* or even a *koinon*. It is interesting to note, however, that, as the only other cult association known from Mylasa, the Δικτυνναϊσταί, are also named after a foreign (namely Kretan) deity.¹⁷ The question remains: why was the word ‘phratry’ used when other, more common designations for cult associations were available? Only further evidence from Mylasa and the rest of Karia will help to resolve the issue.¹⁸

¹² On *syngeneiai* in Karia, cf. N. F. Jones, *Public Organisation in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 327–332, and A. Bresson and P. Debord, *Syngéneia*, *REA* 87 (1985) 191–211. One also finds divisions called *patrai*. Cf. at Olymos, *I. Mylasa* 863.3, 11, and probably at Mylasa itself: *I. Mylasa* 176.3.

¹³ See esp. Bresson and Debord, *ibid.*, 193.

¹⁴ W. Blümel, Vertrag zwischen Latmos und Pidasa, *EA* 29 (1997) 136–142.

¹⁵ M. Wörrle, Inschriften von Herakleia am Latmos III: Der Synoikismos der Latmioi mit den Pidaseis, *Chiron* 33 (2003) 121–143. He surveys the controversy on the term ΦΠΑΤΟΡΙΩΝ at pp. 126–128. For his commendable caution, cf. esp. p. 128: “Wie sich in Latmos (und Pidasa) die *Phratrien zu den Phylen verhielten, wissen wir wiederum überhaupt nicht, vor der Vereinigung so wenig wie danach.”

¹⁶ *I. Mylasa* 179.4. The inscription is undated, although perhaps a date in the imperial period can be supposed on the basis of *I. Mylasa* 418 (a *paidonomos* Tib. Tullus) written just above it on the same stele.

¹⁷ Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d’Amyzon en Carie* (Paris 1983) 14, for an *archiereus* of Zeus Kretagenes and Diktynna and the commentary *ad loc.* for the impact of Kretan cults on this part of Karia. Diktynna is classified among the “dieux helléniques” (viz. non-indigenous gods) of Mylasa by A. Laumonier, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris 1958) 140 n. 3.

¹⁸ It is worth adding that phratries are not, as far as I know, attested in Macedonia and that there is therefore no obvious reason why a Macedonian group would want to call itself a phratry. Cf. the absence of phratries in M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions Under the Kings I–II*, Meletemata 22 (Athens and Paris 1996).

The derivation of the phratry's name from a Macedonian deity helps in dating the text, providing a *terminus post quem* of c. 334 BCE. From what can be read on the photograph, the letterforms look to me to be characteristic of inscriptions of the mid to late 4th century.¹⁹ A date of c. 330–300 seems probable. This period of Macedonian rulership at Mylasa is not well documented. We may be dealing with the years 323–313/2, when Asandros was ruling over this area of Karia and had his headquarters in Mylasa.²⁰ It is interesting in this regard to note that the Macedonian context of the inscription finds distant echoes in a few of the funerary inscriptions published concurrently by Blümel, several of which unusually pertain to Greek foreigners (nos. 34–37). These texts are dated by F. Rumscheid to the late 4th or early 3rd century, according to the form of the funerary monuments.²¹ All of the ethnics given in the texts are previously unattested at Mylasa.²² The Δαρρωνισταί inscription seems to antedate slightly nos. 34–35, the funerary inscriptions of two Achaians, and is perhaps contemporaneous with no. 37, which concerns an individual (the name is lost) from Ainis, a region of western Thessaly.²³ These men may have constituted some of the foreigners who resided in the city after the passage of Alexander and may even have formed a part of Asandros' army or entourage. Of course, all of these suggestions must be treated as tentative since our understanding of Mylasa in the last third of the 4th century is far from perfect. Yet this new group of texts at least confirms an expected presence of Macedonians and other Greeks at Mylasa during this time.²⁴

It may further be noted that the Δαρρωνισταί inscription contains a name that is unattested in Karia: Δημοκρίτης, the genitive of the female name Δημοκρίτη (on the case see further below). In fact, the name is attested epigraphically only once in the rest of Asia Minor.²⁵ It is far more frequent in central and northern Greece.²⁶ Δημοκρίτη, then, is likely to have been a foreigner. She must have been related to the phratry of the Δαρρωνισταί, although how exactly is uncertain.

All of these foreign links are suggestive, yet it must be admitted that it is unclear whether the Δαρρωνισταί were originally a Macedonian phratry or simply a Mylasian cult association set up in honour of a Macedonian deity. Some sort of Macedonian influence must, I think, be assumed. It would otherwise be extremely odd for a Karian group to spontaneously name itself after Δάρρων. To decide the issue definitely, however, would require further information than the text itself provides. For the moment, I propose that the derivation of the phratry's name, the

¹⁹ In particular, *omicron* and *omega* are strikingly diminutive and there is virtually no seriation apparent.

²⁰ For Asandros' headquarters at Mylasa cf. J. and L. Robert, (above n. 17) 99–100. Cf. also Blümel, *I. Mylasa* II at p. 10.

²¹ Rumscheid, in Blümel, (above n. 1) 23. The letterforms seem to agree with this dating.

²² As the indices of *I. Mylasa* reveal, non-Karian ethnics, with the exception of Kretan ethnics, are a rarity at Mylasa.

²³ No. 36, the funerary inscription of Perdikkas from Epeiros, is probably to be dated to the end of the 3rd century, if not later. Perhaps comparable with the Δαρρωνισταί text is no. 38, the funerary inscription of one Kleopatra the daughter of Kleon, who must have been a foreigner. The context is probably not Ptolemaic, as the letterforms here again seem to indicate a date in the late 4th century.

²⁴ I thank Riet van Bremen for drawing my attention to these funerary inscriptions and their possible implications.

²⁵ *I. Didyma* 526.4. Searches in the relevant corpora did not reveal any other instances of the name.

²⁶ Five instances, gleaned from the volumes of the *LGN* and personal searches: *IG* II(2) 7236 (Plotheia, 4th c. BCE), *IG* VII 374 and 375 (Oropos, mid 3rd c. BCE), *IG* XII(9) 142 (Eretria, 2nd c. BCE), *SEG* 29.515 (Gonnoi, 200–150 BCE), *IG* IX(2) 1225 (Eurymenai, date unknown).

date of the inscription, and the non-native name Δημοκρίτη all support the idea that the Δαρρωνισταί were foreign both in origin and, at least to some extent, in constitution.

I turn finally to the function of the text as a dedication to a δαίμων. The round marble altar itself must be the object of the dedication and this implies that libations and/or sacrificial worship were intended. The δαίμων is followed by a female name in the genitive, Δημοκρίτης. We therefore have a third case of a δαίμων of a person from early hellenistic Karia and the first from Mylasa. The two other known examples come from cult regulations: 1) an inscription from Halikarnassos codifying the foundation of a cult Τύχηι Ἀγαθῆι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Ποσειδωνίου ... καὶ Δαίμονι Ἀγαθῶι Ποσειδωνίου καὶ [Γορ]γίδος;²⁷ and 2) a recently published inscription from Lagina/Koranza, which prescribes the setting up of an altar to the (Ἀγαθός?) δαίμων of another couple: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ βω[μὸν c. 10] - δαίμονος Λερῶ καὶ [Κοσιν]ας.²⁸ The cult of δαίμονες of persons has long been recognised as a particularly Karian phenomenon, but has been little studied.²⁹

Personal names in the genitive are also found following the names of gods in Lydia and Phrygia. These have been interpreted, probably correctly, to refer to the person who founded the cult privately or on behalf of a cult association.³⁰ The Halikarnassian inscription clearly stems from the context of a private cult foundation, and perhaps the text from Lagina is to be viewed in the same way. It could be that the genitive Δημοκρίτης refers to the woman who founded the

²⁷ LSAM 72.35 (see also lines 9–10 of the text for the same expression). The conventional dating of the text varies between c. 350 and 250 BCE.

²⁸ M. Ç. Şahin, New Inscriptions from Stratonikeia, *EA* 34 (2002) 1–22, no. 1.6–7 (late 4th c. BCE). Λερῶ is probably to be treated as a ‘Karian genitive’ of a nominative Λερῶς, as the editor suggests. I restore the name Κοσιν]ας here based on the occurrence of the same word in line 9 of the text. Κοσιν]ας is probably not a noun as Şahin suggests, but a Karian anthroponym: cf. *I. Mylasa* 223.12, 17; 336.2 (in the latter case certainly female). Another religious regulation, LSAM 56 (Hyllarima, lines 5–23: 197/196 BCE), records the sale of the priesthood of the δαίμονες of two individuals, cults which probably hark back to the beginning of the hellenistic period. A dedication to ἄγαθοὶ δαίμονες, *I. Mylasa* 350, certainly dates to the 4th century and perhaps antedates all of the aforementioned texts. Given the fragmentary character of the inscription, however, it is not absolutely certain that it referred to δαίμονες of individuals (yet it is tempting to connect the [patronymic?] genitive Ἐκατόμω in line 2 with the δαίμονες). Furthermore, δαίμονες ἄγαθοί are regularly invoked in the genitive singular or plural on funerary altars and inscriptions from Mylasa, cf. *I. Mylasa* II p.174 s.v. and now Blümel, (above n. 1) nos. 41–48, 53, 61–62. The same formula is less frequently found at Iasos (*I. Iasos* 370, 397, 405 and 408) and in the Rhodian Peraia, cf. P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977) 73. All of these inscriptions appear to date to the 2nd c. BCE or later (Blümel, n. 1 no. 46 may be an earlier exception), with a large proportion dating to the early imperial period. The δαίμονες in these texts may, by analogy with the earlier documents, have pertained to individuals whose names appear in the genitive following or preceding the invocation of the δαίμονες; cf. the remarks of Blümel at *I. Mylasa* 428–429.

²⁹ A confused and disjointed discussion in Laumonier, (above n. 17) 139, 639. Reference can temporarily be made to G. Sfameni Gasparro’s essay, Daimôn and Tuchê in the Hellenistic Religious Experience, in: P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle eds., *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 8 (Aarhus 1997), 67–109, esp. 77–78, 89. I am preparing a comprehensive study of the phenomenon.

³⁰ E.g. Zeus Ariou, Men Artemidorou, Men Pharnakou. The idea that the name represents the founder of the cult goes back to J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Zweite Reise in Lydien*, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 54 (Vienna 1911) 104. For a list of examples and the most complete study so far (yet without any reference to δαίμονες in Karia), see F. Gschnitzer, Eine persische Kultstiftung in Sardes und die ‘Sippengötter’ Kleinasiens, in: W. Meid and H. Trenkwalder eds., *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients, Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes: Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 24 (Innsbruck 1986), 45–54. Add now: H. Malay, Dedication of a Herm to Zeus Ariou, *EA* 37 (2004) 179–180.

cult of the δαίμων that the Δαρρωνισταί worshipped: the eponymous Δάρρων. But if this is the case, it is odd that Δάρρων is not explicitly named.

We might instead understand the δαίμων to pertain to Δημοκρίτη herself. Given that δαίμων is a concept which can designate the immortal ‘guiding spirit’ of an individual, the name(s) in the genitive may, beyond referring to the founder(s) of the cult, also have had a stronger possessive (or even partitive) connotation. In particular, it would be artificial to interpret the genitives in the Halikarnassian cult foundation as having had a strictly ‘foundational’ meaning. The Τύχη Ἀγαθῆ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Ποσειδωνίου can hardly mean that the cult was founded by the father and mother of Poseidonios.³¹ The genitives must instead indicate that the individuals were more directly associated with their respective Τύχη or δαίμων. The worship of δαίμονες of individuals could therefore, I suggest, represent a local form of heroisation, or more properly ‘daimonisation’, of the person(s) named. In this particular case, the dedicated altar would indicate that libations and/or sacrificial worship were directed at a ‘daimonised’ Δημοκρίτη.

To summarise, the new inscription appears to reveal an intriguing mix of Karian and non-Karian religious elements. It gives evidence of a phratry at Mylasa that was named after a Macedonian δαίμων, Δάρρων. This phratry, the Δαρρωνισταί, is probably to be thought of as a cult association rather than as a civic subdivision of Mylasa. The Δαρρωνισταί dedicated an altar to the δαίμων of Δημοκρίτη, thereby adopting a specifically Karian mode of worship.

Özet

Yazar bu makalesinde, W. Blümel tarafından yayınlanan (EA 37, s. 15, no. 20) Mylasa kökenli bir adak yazıtını yeniden incelemektedir. Yazara göre bu yazıt, Karia ve Karia dışı unsurlar içermektedir. Yazıtta sözü geçen *Darronistai* adlı birlik (*phratría*), Mylasa’daki bir politik örgüt olmayıp, adını Makedonia’da tapınılan (yarı)tanrı (*daimon*) Darron’dan alan bir dinsel dernekti. Eldeki yazıtta göre bu dernek, adını Demokrite adındaki bir kadından alan bir *daimon*’a (ya da Demokrite’nin *daimon*’una ?) bir altar adamıştı.

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³¹ In fact, it is unclear if Poseidonios’ parents were alive at the time of his cult foundation.