

MARIJANA RICL

VARIA EPIGRAPHICA

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1. A Sanctuary's Patrimony – the Case of Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου in Northeastern Lydia

In the 28th volume of *Epigraphica Anatolica*¹ G. Petzl published an inscription allegedly found in the area of Silandos (modern Selendi) in northeastern Lydia and kept in E. U. Walter's collection in Leutwitz near Bautzen (Germany). The text is engraved on a white-marble pedimental stele with akroteria and tenon (dim. 1.22 x 0.47–0.41 x 0.05; ll. 0.015). On the shaft above the inscription is a relief of a moon-crescent. Here is the text of the inscription as published by Petzl:

| | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Ἔτους ρπγ', μη(νός) Περειτίου | January 11, AD 99 |
| | ιη'. Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου κολά- | |
| | σας [[ΑΣ]] τοὺς ἰδίους περὶ τῶν ἰ- | |
| | δίων ὑπαρχόντων ἵνα μηδεν[ῖ] | |
| 5 | ἐξὸν εἶναι μήτε πωλεῖν μή- | |
| | τε ὑποθήκην τίθειν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ | |
| | τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονομεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅσα | |
| | ἐπιζητεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γείνεσ- | |
| | θαι αὐτῶ. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθήσῃ χω- | |
| 10 | ρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου συνχωρήσεως, | |
| | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπανήσας εἰλάσαι- | |
| | ται αὐτὸν μετὰ Μηνὸς Λαβανα. | |

Due to its excellent state of preservation, the inscription presents no problems in reading. In line 3 the stonemason corrected the dittography ΣΑΣΑΣ. The stone is slightly chipped at the end of line 4. In line 7 an omikron is carved instead of theta in the infinitive οἰκονομεῖσθαι.

This is Petzl's translation: "Im Jahr 183, am 18. des Monats Peritios. – Meis von Attalos hat seine eigenen Leute wegen seiner eigenen Besitztümer bestraft: Niemandem soll es erlaubt sein, weder (sc. etwas aus des Gottes Besitz) zu verkaufen noch zu verpfänden, sondern (der Besitz) soll von (des Gottes) eigenen Leuten verwaltet werden, und wieviel er von seinen Leuten fordert, (soviel) soll er erhalten. Wenn aber einer ohne jenes (d.h. des Gottes) Einverständnis nicht den (aufgeführten) Bestimmungen entsprechend handelt, wird er mit Aufwendungen aus dem eigenen Vermögen ihn (d.h. den Meis von Attalos) zusammen mit Meis Labanas gnädig (zu) stimmen (haben)."

Petzl's translation shows that he takes the genitive τῶν ἰδίων in line 7 (ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονομεῖσθαι) to refer to the god's ἴδιοι in line 3; in the second prohibition (lines 7–9) he sees the god as the subject of the finite verb ἐπιζητεῖ, and again takes the genitive τῶν ἰδίων in the following phrase ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γείνεσθαι αὐτῶ to refer to οἱ ἴδιοι in line 3: "In diesem zweiten Gebot wird gefordert, daß alles, was Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου von seinen eigenen Leuten fordert, ihm zuteil werden soll."

¹ EA 28, 1997, p. 70 no. 2 (ph. Taf. 1–2) = SEG 47, no. 1654.

The new inscription is more a *lex sacra* than a confession inscription.² An unspecified transgression committed by a group of people entrusted with the task of managing his property induced Meis ex Attalou to publicize the new rules regulating the maintenance and management of his sacred property. Vaguely referred to as the gods ἴδιοι in line 3, the unnamed transgressors suffered an unspecified punishment and thereupon, completing the atonement procedure, erected a stele to make known the new prohibition against the selling and mortgaging of god's patrimony.³

Regarding the god's ἴδιοι, Petzl envisages three possibilities, considering the last one as the most probable: 1. They are the complete population of the area "ruled" by Meis ex Attalou; in that case, the phrase τὰ ἴδια ὑπάρχοντα in lines 3–4 would refer to all the movable and immovable property in the region standing under the god's authority. Petzl rejects this interpretation and proposes to see in the god's ἴδιοι either: 2. a group of persons selected from the members of the temple personnel and appointed managers of sacred property, or: 3. tenants of temple-land who resorted to illegal sale and mortgage of leased plots to overcome a difficult financial situation. He concludes: "Die Affäre war Anlaß, folgendes zu unterstreichen: des Gottes Eigentum durfte weder verkauft noch verpfändet werden, die Verwaltung oblag ausschließlich den vom ihm Abhängigen; das οἰκονομεῖν („verwalten .., bewirtschaften .., eine vermögensrechtliche .. Handlung .. vornehmen“) schloß also Verkauf oder Verpfändung nicht ein."

The language of the new inscription with its elliptical constructions is far from clear. Particularly confusing is the use of the adjective ἴδιος. I will first analyse the phrases one by one and then propose a new translation and interpretation of this important text.

Line 2: As Petzl observes, Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου is a new addition to the known forms of this widely popular divinity in northeastern Lydia. His "epithet" ἐξ Ἀττάλου is most probably derived from the name of the sanctuary's founder, one Attalos. The indices of TAM V 1 show that this name was very popular in the region.

Lines 2–4: The elliptical phrase Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου κολάσας τοὺς ἰδίους περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων serves to explain the sequence of events transpiring prior to the erection of the stele: the god first chastised the offenders and then announced the new regulations concerning

² A more developed parallel for similar bipartite formulation is found in a confession text from the sanctuary of Meter Tarsene [G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (EA 22), 1994, 70 no. 58 = Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*] that couples the concrete offence against the goddess with the general rules for expiating this and related transgressions.

³ It is not impossible that the god had in mind not only the land and other immovable property, but also the people attached to his sanctuary. In the sanctuary of the Indigenous Mother of the Gods in Macedonian Lefkopetra [Ph. M. Petsas – M. B. Hatzopoulos – L. Gounaropoulou – P. Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra (Macédoine)* (Μελετήματα 28), Athens 2000; cf. M. Riel, *Tyche* 16, 2001 [2002], pp. 127–160] numerous inscriptions recording donations of slaves to the goddess contain the clause ensuring the protection of donated slaves and their appurtenance to the goddess alone. The most explicit statement of this sort, found in inscription no. 13 (October AD 173: μηδενὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος πωλεῖν ἢ ἀποαλλοτριῶν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον) discloses that the essence of this prohibition-clause was that the slave was not to be alienated from the goddess, his sole master, and that no one would be empowered to sell or alienate him in the name of the goddess. This proviso, aimed more at protecting the rights of the goddess than those of the donated slave, brings to mind Strabo's description of the condition of numerous ἱεροδούλοι in the sanctuary of Ma in Pontic Komana (XII 3, 34, p. 558 C): the priest was their master, except that he was not empowered to sell them (τούτων [sc. τῶν ἐνοικούντων] μὲν οὖν ἡγεμὼν ἦν (sc. ὁ ἱερεὺς) καὶ τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων ἱεροδούλων κύριος πλὴν τοῦ πιπράσκειν).

his property. Obviously, a finite verb is missing here, and since the missing verb's subject should be the god himself, we can look for it in the group of verbs meaning "to order, instruct, decide, announce", and place it after the phrase *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων*: e.g. *Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου κολάσας* [[ΑΣ]] *τοὺς ἰδίους, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων* (*λέγει/κελεύει/ἐπικρίνει*⁴/*προαγγέλλει*⁵). Petzl, on the other hand, connects the participle *κολάσας*⁶ with the phrase *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων* ("Auslöser der Bestrafung war unrichtiges Verhalten 'in Bezug auf das Eigentum'"), but authors of Lydian and Phrygian confession inscriptions, when they elaborate on the offence that caused divine punishment, construct the verb in question with *διὰ*⁷ and *ὑπέρ*,⁸ not *περί*.⁹

Line 3: This line originally contained the letters ΣΑΣΑΣΤΟΥΣΙΔΙΟΥΣ. Of these fifteen letters, the first three belong to the participle *κολάσας*. The next syllable (ΑΣ) was intentionally erased as a dittography of the last syllable of *κολάσας* (Petzl). Is it possible that the original text read *κολάσας ἄστοὺς ἰδίους*? An inscription from Didyma praises Apollo for saving his own citizens from thirst by producing a well: *ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν σῶσεν ἐοὺς ἄστοὺς ποτ' Ἀπόλλων δῖψῃ τειρομένους τήνδ' ἀναφηνάμενος*.¹⁰ It would not be completely unexpected to find that the addressees of the new sacred law are the citizens of Silandos, since it was they who looked after the shrines on their territory by appointing among themselves priests,¹¹ *neokoroi*,¹² *epimeletai*,¹³ *hieroi*,¹⁴ etc. In any event, even if we assume that the dittography in question was a real one corrected by the original stonecutter, the god's ἴδιοι would still be the citizens of Silandos connected with his sanctuary and involved in its management. In a confession inscription referring to an unpaid loan of sacred wheat belonging to Meis Axiottenos¹⁵ the person who mediated between the god and the debtor was a

⁴ Cf. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 70 no. 58.

⁵ Cf. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 17 no. 7.

⁶ He thinks that the participle is identical in meaning to the finite verb *ἐκόλασεν*.

⁷ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 16–17 no. 9; pp. 52–53 no. 43; p. 115 no. 98; p. 125 no. 107; p. 126 no. 108; p. 127 no. 109; p. 134 no. 113; p. 134 no. 114;

⁸ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 19 no. 11.

⁹ Another, less likely possibility, would be to identify the missing finite verb as *κελεύω* followed by *στηλογραφήσαι* or *στήσαι*, both common in confession texts: e.g. *Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου κολάσας* [[ΑΣ]] *τοὺς ἰδίους* (*ἐκέλευσε στηλογραφήσαι/στήσαι στήλην*) *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων*.

¹⁰ *I. Didyma* no. 159 II.

¹¹ Cf. *TAM V* 1, nos. 9, 70, 80, 148, 193, 241, 246, 247, 282, 331, 363, 432, 433, 449, 473c, 483a, 484, 490; Chr. Naour, *EA* 5, 1985, p. 69 no. 21 = *SEG* 35, no. 1261; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 11–12 no. 6; pp. 38–39 no. 33; p. 79 no. 62; pp. 92–93 no. 71; H. Malay – G. Petzl, *EA* 6, 1985, p. 57 no. 2 = *SEG* 35, no. 1233; M. Riel, *EA* 18, 1991, p. 5 no. 6.

¹² *TAM V* 1, nos. 179, 269.

¹³ *TAM V* 1, no. 242.

¹⁴ *TAM V* 1, nos. 182, 423, 681; P. Herrmann – E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 3, 1984, 15 no. 10 = *SEG* 34, no. 1219; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 7–8 no. 5; H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum, Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 237 (*ETAM* 19), Wien 1994, p. 85 no. 234.

¹⁵ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 80–82 no. 63.5–8: *δανισαμένη παρὰ Εὐτυχίδος πυρῶν μόδιον τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Ἀξιοτηνοῦ*.

certain Eutythis, presumably one of the god's ἴδιοι, his priestess or *neokoros*. We already know of two cases of (*hierodouloi*) punished by Lydian gods for their offences.¹⁶

Lydian sanctuaries possessed arable land,¹⁷ woods and groves,¹⁸ vineyards,¹⁹ uncultivated plots,²⁰ and probably also meadows and gardens. Inscriptions supply abundant evidence of the important part played by the rural population in the acquisition of these possessions, proving that sanctuaries and their upkeep were to a very high degree dependent on the private generosity of locals.²¹ Moreover, gods often made open demands upon worshippers'/ transgressors' landed property, addressing themselves even to the heirs of the deceased ones and coming into possession of tracts of land, woods, vineyards, houses, plots, etc. Although we do not have any information about the purchase of land by sanctuaries, it is a reasonable supposition that this also occurred. I have already mentioned a confession inscription²² that represents a rural sanctuary of Meis Axiottenos as the local granary and storehouse: people came to the temple to borrow corn – advances which they repaid with interest if they defaulted. In addition to cultivated and uncultivated land, local sanctuaries in Lydia owned houses or parts of houses (within and outside their sacred precincts). “Ordinary” villagers and members of the temple personnel occupied these houses on unknown terms. The new *lex sacra* forbids the temple personnel to sell and mortgage any of the assets owned by the sanctuary of Meis ex Attalou.

Lines 6–9: I think that the subject of this part of the text (ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονομεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιζητεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γείνεσθαι αὐτῷ) is not the god, but the person(s) identified as his ἴδιοι in line 3. If we take a closer look at the position of this part of the text, we perceive that it stands much closer to the pronoun μηδεγ[ί] in line 4 than to the theonym in line 2. The members of the senior temple personnel were already forbidden to sell or mortgage any of god's possessions, and now they are instructed to provide for themselves from their own means (ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονομεῖσθαι) and to satisfy their needs in the same

¹⁶ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 7–8 no. 5; p. 100 no. 77. For the cases of punished *hieroi* and *hierai* active in the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, cf. Petzl, *ibid.*, p. 127 no. 109; p. 136 no. 117; pp. 137–138 no. 118; p. 141 no. 123. We should not forget the solitary occupant of a house belonging to Meis Labana (Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 46 no. 37, second-third century AD: Ἀπολλώνιος οἰκῶν ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ), who possibly belonged to the lower personnel of an unknown rural shrine in the Hermos valley and committed an unspecified transgression.

¹⁷ Chr. Naour, *Travaux et recherches en Turquie II*, Paris 1984, pp. 59 no. 17 = G. Petzl, *EA* 6, 1985, pp. 72–73 = *SEG* 34, no. 1207; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 81 no. 63.

¹⁸ *TAM* V 1, no. 590; P. Herrmann – E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 3, 1984, pp. 4–5 no. 2 = *SEG* 34, no. 1211; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, nos. 7, 9–10, 69, 76.

¹⁹ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 27 no. 18; pp. 92–93 no. 71; Chr. Naour, *Travaux et recherches en Turquie II*, p. 59 no. 17 = G. Petzl, *EA* 6, 1985, pp. 72–73 = *SEG* 34, no. 1207: . . . Δία εὐίλατον τῷ κληρονόμῳ, κὲ δωρηὰν χώραν κὲ ἀμπέλους τῷ Διεὶ ἀνάφερε τὰ πρὸς Τιλλῶ.

²⁰ *TAM* V 1, no. 538; P. Herrmann – E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 3, 1984, pp. 4–5 no. 2 = *SEG* 34, no. 1211.

²¹ The cult of the emperors seems to have been even more dependent on private generosity, at least in the countryside. We find individuals ceding the usufruct of their lands to their fellow-villagers to provide funds for the celebration of this cult [J. Keil – A. v. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, Denkschr. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 53,2, 1908, p. 30 no. 43 = *IGR* IV, nos. 1615 (Philadelpheia); *ibid.*, no. 1666 = R. Meriç – R. Merkelbach – J. Nollé – S. Şahin, *IK* 17,1 (Ephesos), Bonn 1981, no. 3245 (Tire)].

²² Note 15.

manner. Should anybody disobey and act contrary to the new *lex sacra* without a god's permission, he will appease Meis ex Attalou and Meis Labanas only after having made restitution from his own private funds.

This is the final version and translation of the new *lex sacra* from Silandos:

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| <p>Ἔτους ργ', μη(νός) Περειτίου ιη'. Μεῖς ἐξ Ἀττάλου κολά- σας [[ΑΣ]] τοὺς ἰδίους περὶ τῶν ἰ- δίων ὑπαρχόντων ἵνα μηδεν[ὶ]</p> <p>5 ἐξὸν εἶναι μήτε πωλεῖν μή- τε ὑποθήκην τίθειν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονομεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιζητεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γείνεσ- θαι αὐτῷ. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθήσῃ χω-</p> <p>10 ρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου συνχωρήσεως, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπανήσας εἰλάσαι- ται αὐτὸν μετὰ Μηνὸς Λαβανα.</p> | <p>In the year 183, on Pereitios 18. Meis ex Attalou, having pu- nished his own people, (says) about his own possessions, that no one be allowed to sell or mortgage them, but to provide for himself from his own possessions, and what he desires let him come from his own means. If someone disobeys without his (= the god's) permission, he will make restitution from his own funds and appease him (= the god) and Meis Labanas.</p> |
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2. Glass Objects Stolen from a Rural Shrine in Northeastern Lydia

In the tenth volume of *Epigraphica Anatolica* J. Nollé published a confession inscription from the territory of Lydian Saittai registering a case of theft in the sanctuary of Apollo Axyros.²³ The editor read the following text: Ἔτους τ', μη(νός) Ξανδικοῦ δωδεκάτη, διὰ τὸ ἀ|μάρ-
 τημα τὸ ἐποίη|σαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἐκ|λεψαν Εἰα λίνα κὲ ἕ|τερά τινα τὰ κίμενα, κολασ-
 θέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ Μελίτη καὶ ὁ Μακ|εδών, ἠρώτησαν οἱ γονίς |¹⁰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλω-
 να Αἰζυρον,²⁴ ἠρώτησαν, εὐχαριστοῦντες ἀνέθηκαν. The inscription is dated in AD 215/6.

In lines 5 and 6 Nollé translates: “Und zwar stahlen sie der Eia Netze (?)”. He also envisages the possibility to understand the word λίνα as “zum Trocknen ausgelegten Flachs”. In his edition of the same inscription, instead of Nollé's Εἰα λίνα G. Petzl cautiously prints ΕΙΑΛΙΛΙΑ (“statt ΛΙ kann jeweils auch Ν gelesen werden”), and offers the following sugges-
 tions: “Möglicherweise sind die Buchstaben anders aufzufassen (etwa ἕκλεψαν βῆα λίνα?,
 <ν>εἶα [= νέα] λίνα?, εἰ(ερ)ὰ λίνα?, εἰαννα?, vgl. Hesych ἰανά· τὰ βαλλόμενα· ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἰέναι, 55 K. Latte; ἰανόν· <λεπτόν> ἰμάτιον, 62 Latte”.

I suggest to read the letters ΕΙΑΛΙΛΙΑ as εἰά|λινα, i.e., ὑά|λινα, and to connect this adject-
 ive with the substantive τὰ κίμενα in line 6. The children²⁵ Melite and Makedon had stolen
 some glass objects and other unspecified items from a local sanctuary of Apollo and suffered
 an unknown punishment. Their parents addressed themselves to the god and received
 instructions to erect a stele reporting on the transgression and divine punishment. Many
 inscriptions refer to glass objects stored in sanctuaries, mostly vessels used in cult ceremonies,

²³ EA 10, 1987, pp. 102–104 no. 2 = SEG 37, no. 1737; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 31 no. 22.

²⁴ H. Malay has in the meantime published another inscription from the same sanctuary (EA 20, 1992, p. 75–
 76 = Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 30 no. 21) showing that the god's epithet is Αἰζυρος.

²⁵ Cf. the neuter form κολασθέντα in lines 6–7.

such as glass pitchers, drinking-horns, bowls, cups, and altar-shaped vessels.²⁶ Moreover, some texts mention votive gifts made of glass: unguent-boxes, stones for rings, necklaces, bracelets, votive ears, etc.²⁷

Another case of theft in the sanctuary appears in a confession inscription from an unknown shrine of Meis Axiottenos.²⁸ It records a case of forcible seizure of victims' hides from the temple: Μηνὶ Ἀξιοττηνῶ Ἀ[ρ]τέμων καὶ Ἀτειμήτος, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῖς δορὰς ἦρεν βίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ· κολασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐλογοῦσιν. While Melite and Makedon seem to have committed their transgression secretly, Artemon's and Atimetos' father took the hides of sacrificed animals openly, using force against the members of the temple personnel (?) who opposed his action.

3. The Verb ἡμεροδανίζω in a Lydian Confession Inscription

Inscription no. 79 in Petzl's corpus of confession inscriptions²⁹ contains the rare verb ἡμεροδανίζω, unrecognized by the first editor³⁰ and Petzl himself. The text belongs to the category of confession inscription registering conflicts between humans settled by gods.³¹ In this case, the "sinners" are a married couple – Gaios and Aphphia – who defrauded their creditor, a woman named Tatia: Μέγας Μῖς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξ[ι]οττη κατέχων καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ. Ἐπὶ Τατια Νεικηφόρου Μοκαδδηνῆ ἐδάνεισε Γα[ί]ο καὶ Ἀφφια τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Μ[ο]κ[α]δδηνοῖς χαλκὸν προειποῦσα | [".]ΤΗ[]ΠΟΝ δανίζω", ὁ Γάιος οὖν ἐχρ[ε]οκ[]όπησεν αὐτήν· ἡ Τατιας οὐ[]ν χρεοκ[]οπηθεῖσα ἐπεκαλέσεται[ο κατ' αὐ]τοῦ τὸν θεόν. Μέγας οὐ[]ν - - | - - - τ]ὸν Γάιον καὶ Ε[] - - - | - - - χ]αρκὸν Ο[] - - - | - - -.

Judging by the manuscript copy of this text made by A. Philippson in 1901 (the stele is lost today), at the beginning of line 7 stood the verb ἡμεροδανίζω. Diogenes Laertios (VI 99–100) preserves the noun ἡμεροδανειστής "one who lends on daily interest" in his paragraph on the Cynic philosopher Menippos: Φησὶ δ' Ἐρμῖππος (FHG III 45) ἡμεροδανειστήν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικῶ τόκῳ δανείζειν καὶ ἐξενεχυρίαζειν, ὥστε ἀμπλειστα χρήματα ἀθροίζειν· τέλος δ' ἐπιβουλευθέντα πάντων στερηθέναι καὶ ὑπ' ἀθυμίας βρόχῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάττει. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίξασμεν εἰς αὐτόν (App. Anth. V. 41)· Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ Κρητικὸν κύνα, | ἡμεροδανειστήν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπεκλήζετο | οἷσθα Μένιππον ἴσως. | Θήβησιν ο τος ὡς διωρύγη ποτὲ | καὶ πάντ' ἀπέβαλεν οὐδ' ἐνόει φύσιν κυνός, | αὐτὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν.

²⁶ IG II 2², no. 1425 face A, col. I.117; *ibid.*, 1485 face B, col. I.62–63; *ibid.*, 1534 face B, fr. a–k.179; M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, vol. I, Athens 1993, ED 149, III 3.155–156; *I. Delos* no. 1412 face B 1, col. I.15; *ibid.*, no. 1429 face A, col. II.24–25. Cf. E. M. Stern, *Journal of Glass Studies* 41, 1999, pp. 19–50 (M. Sève, *Bull. épigr.* 2000, no. 177), on glass vases in the Asklepieion of Athens and in the Parthenon (non vidi).

²⁷ IG II 2², no. 1388 face B.90; *ibid.*, no. 1534 face A, fr. a–1.40; *ibid.*, 1534 face B, fr. a–k.192; *ibid.*, 1534 face B, fr. n–o.315; *I. Delos* no. 1414 fr. a, col. II.10; *ibid.*, no. 1417 face B, col. II.70.

²⁸ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 82 no. 64, AD 177/8.

²⁹ Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 102 no. 79.

³⁰ P. Herrmann, in: S. Şahin – E. Schwertheim – J. Wagner (eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für F. K. Dörner (ÉPRO 66)*, Leiden 1978, pp. 417–420 = TAM V 1, no. 525.

³¹ Cf. M. Riel, *Asia Minor Studien* Bd. 13, Münster 1995, pp. 67–76.

Warned beforehand by Tatia that she lends money on daily interest,³² Gaios and his wife accepted these harsh terms and then defrauded their creditor, whereupon Tatia ceded the case to Meis Axiottenos, who thus became involved in the lawsuit. The concluding part of the inscription is lost, but there can be no doubt that Tatia was successful in her complaint and managed to recover the money she lent, together with interest.

4. A New Corpus of Inscriptions from Southeastern Phrygia

In his recently published corpus of inscriptions from southeastern Phrygia,³³ Lloyd Jonnes presents a collection of 236 published and unpublished texts from Philomelion, Hadrianopolis and Tyr(i)asion on the eastern slope of the Sultan Dağı mountain range. In an appendix, he republishes sixty-five already known inscriptions from Neapolis on the west side of the Sultan Dağı. Commending the editor for his efforts on locating the known and finding new epigraphic monuments from this border region of Phrygia, I would like to offer some suggestions on a few of the texts from this corpus.

The chapter devoted to Philomelion embraces ninety-two numbers (fifty-six previously published and thirty-six new ones). In inscription no. 23 from Akşehir (anc. Philomelion) I propose to read the name in the first line as Κρατίλλις (shortened from Κρατίλλιος) Αύξιβίου,³⁴ instead of the editor's Κράτιλλις Αύξιβισι.

The corpus of Hadrianopolis (?Argithani) embraces fifty-two inscriptions (thirty-seven published and fifteen new ones). In no. 210 from Koças the editor transcribes the first line as ΟΣΟΥΕΓΓΝΜΟΥ. It is possible that these letters represent a name: - -ος Ουεγγνου. The dative form Ουεγγνω is on record in no. 201 from the same site.

The chapter on Tyr(i)asion embraces ninety-two inscriptions (seventy-two previously published and twenty new ones). Since the exact site of Tyriaion is still disputed,³⁵ a part of the material collected in this chapter probably belongs to other ancient sites in the vicinity of Tyriaion, namely Lageina (mod. Ilgın), Hadrianopolis, and Andeira (?Adaras near Balkı).

Inscription no. 304, coming from a field 5 km east of Ilgın, is inscribed on a marble sarcophagus. Its understanding is made difficult by later additions to the original text. This is the editor's transcription:

Αὐρ. Μεννέας Τα 'Α-
 νενκλήτου καὶ Αὐρ.
 σύνβιον Δοδα ζῶντες
 ἑαυτοῖς κατέ-

³² The maximum legal interest rate on loans during the Roman period was 1% a month (τόκος δραχμιαῖος), as abundantly proven by inscriptions and papyri (e.g. *IG* XII 5, no. 860.25; *MAMA* VI, no. 180, II.15; *BGU* I, nos. 272.6, 301.8; *BGU* III, nos. 710.28; 911.13; *Chr.Mitt.* no. 136.12–13; *POxy* LV, no. 3798 r.22). I thank Dr. Klaus Maresch (Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde) for his advice on this matter.

³³ *IK 62: The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I*, Bonn 2002.

³⁴ For the names Κρατίλλιος and Αύξιβιος, cf. *IG* IX 1, no. 20.2; *IG* IX 2, no. 21.9; *I. Delos* no. 354.79; *CIL* VI, no. 15145; *CIL* XII, no. 1010; *Année épigr.* 1969/1970, no. 413.

³⁵ Cf. my commentary in *EA* 29, 1997, p. 7. I still hold the opinion expressed there, namely that the ancient city occupied the site of Durağan, some 12 km southeast of Mahmuthisar, the find-spot of inscription no. 393 recording the grant of the polis-status to Tyriaion by Eumenes II (see below).

- 5 ΣΑΝ θέντο σορόν
 ἄριστεῖαν? μνήμα ΠΣ
 ΑΠετος μετὰ τέκνων.

The original text can be restored as follows:

- Αὐρ. Μεννέας Τα ἼΑ-
 νενκλήτου καὶ Αὐρ.
 Δοδα ζῶντες
 ἑαυτοῖς κατέ-
 5 θεντο.♥

The leaf at the end of line five marked the end of the original text. At a second stage, the word σύνβιον was engraved to the left of line three to explain the relationship between the original owners of the sarcophagus. On the same occasion more text was squeezed in smaller letters around and below the last line, crossing over to the moulding of the tabula ansata. Unfortunately, the photograph of the stone does not permit a verification of all the readings proposed by the first editor. What seems certain is that a person named Πε . . τος gained access to the tomb (μνήμα) and the sarcophagus together with his children.

Inscription no. 365 from Argithani can easily be restored. It is engraved on two fragments of a limestone base, which the editor mistook for two sides of the same base. The photographs of both fragments show that they fit together and provide the complete text of an honorific inscription for an Imperial freedman.

L. Jonnes published the two fragments separately, as fragments a. and b.:

a. (39³⁶ x 55 x 47; ll. 3.5)

- ἸΑδραϊνοπολεϊτῶν ἡ
 [β]ουλή καὶ ὁ³⁷ δῆμος ἐ-
 [τεῖ]μησαν Πούπλιον
 [-----]δου ἔντεινον
 5 [-----]υ ἀπελευθε-
 [-----]κιπ[-----]

b. (73 x 45 x 47; ll. 3.5)

- [-----]
 βε[-----]
 τεια [-----]
 Αἴλιον [-----]
 σεβαστο[-----]
 5 ρον ἀνδρι[-----]
 της ἔνεκα κλ[-----]
 ε[.]θιας καὶ γῆς φ[-----]
 ριας τῆς εἰς τὴν π[-----]

³⁶ It seems that the editor's notes got mixed up, since he attributes to the fragment a. the height of 73 cm, and to the fragment b. the height of 39 cm, whereas one clearly sees on his photographs that the second fragment is higher than the first one.

³⁷ The definite article was omitted and inserted later.

- [. . .]ον[.] ἄνδρα ἐπι[-----]
 10 [. . . .]ενον [ἐ]πι[-----]
 [-----]

This is how the original text should be restored:

- Ἄδριανοπολιτῶν ἡ
 βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐ-
 τεύμησαν Πούπλιον
 Αἴλιον Ἀουεντεῖνον
 5 Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθε-
 ρον ἀνδρι[ά]γι[α] [ἀρε]-
 τῆς ἕνεκα κα[ὶ] φιλα-
 γ[α]θίας καὶ τῆς ε[ὐ]ν-
 οῖας τῆς εἰς τὴν π[όλ]-
 10 [ιν ἡμ]ῶν, ἄνδρα ἐπι[. . .]
 [?γενόμε]νον [.]ΠΙ[. . .]

This inscription records honours bestowed on an Imperial freedman by the council and the assembly of Hadrianopolis. The freedman's name is Publius Aelius Aventinus. His cognomen – his former slave name Aventinus – is rare but attested in Latin inscriptions.³⁸ Judging by his praenomen and nomen, he was a freedman of Hadrian, and his sojourn in Hadrianopolis can be connected with the (second?) foundation of the city under Hadrian. Grateful for his goodwill towards them, the citizens of Hadrianopolis honoured him with a statue, laying stress in their decree on his excellence, good services and general benevolence.

Lines 10 and 11 are more difficult to restore. They obviously contain more praise of Aventinus and his deeds. At the end of line 10 one could restore ἐπί[σημον] or ἐπί[εικῆ], but there does not seem to be enough space on the stone for either of these restorations. At the beginning of line 11 I think we should read [γενόμε]νον.

The small corpus of inscriptions from the village of Çavuşçu Köy on the west shore of the homonymous lake north of Ilgın consisted of four Christian inscriptions and two simple “pagan” epitaphs (nos. 370–375). Editor's visit to the village has nearly doubled this corpus. In addition to one more Christian epitaph (no. 378), he was able to see three altars dedicated in a local rural sanctuary of Zeus Megistos (nos. 376–377, 379). All three have similar decoration and texts, and one (no. 376) had been dug up during recent (1997) construction in the village. The cult of Zeus Megistos is on record in the villages of Eldeş and Mezarlık south of Mahmuthisar (nos. 396, 418), and Meydanlı northeast of the same village (MAMA VII, no. 1). We are thus given another addition to the already long list of Phrygian rural shrines identified in the field.

Close to Ilgın lay another local sanctuary, dedicated to Meter Andeirene (no. 381 from Ağalar and no. 404 from the near-by village of Eldeş). This Mother goddess had her principal shrine in the community of Andeira, mentioned only by Stephanus of Byzantium in his

³⁸ *CIL* II, nos. 501 (freedman), 2406; III, nos. 4207, 5412, 5688, 7563; VI, no. 3175 (Aelius Aventinus); X, no. 2843; XII, nos. 1469, 1607, 1671, 1718, 1756, 2015 (libertus); XIII, nos. 1862, 3277, 5192, 7028; *Année épigr.* 1904, no. 50 [Aventinus Aug. lib. p(er)p(etuus?) tabellar(ius)]; 1914, no. 293; 1938, no. 27; 1955, no. 210; 1978, no. 564; 1989, no. 873; 1990, no. 696 (liberta); 1996, no. 995.

paragraph on the homonymous Troadic city τὰ Ἴνδαιρα: ἔστι καὶ Ἴνδαιρα θηλυκῶς, Φρυγίας. Two kilometers west of the village Balkı and about 20 km southwest of Iğın lay a village with ancient remains called Adaras, presently deserted. W. M. Calder suggested that this toponym preserved the name of Hadrianopolis,³⁹ but perhaps we should recognise it as a deformed variant of the ancient toponym Andeira. In another inscription mentioning the same community⁴⁰ we find the form Ἰνδαιρηνῆς κόμης, which is even closer to the modern name Adaras.

The new dedication no. 404 from Eldeş was not completely understood by the editor who read the first two lines as ερκυ | ΚΠΙΟΚΛΟ. These lines can easily be restored and the whole text read as follows:

[Ἰπ]ἔρ κυ[ρίου]
 [Λ.?] Κ(αλπουρνίου) Πρόκλο[υ]
 σωτηρίας
 Εὐκαρπος
 5 οἰκονόμος
 Μητρὶ Ἰνδαι-
 ρηνῆ εὐχίην.

This inscription supplies new evidence of major estate-owners in the area. L. (?) Calpurnius Proculus featuring in the dedication is probably identical to L. Calpurnius Proculus of Ancyra (?), previously attested as estate-owner near Laodikeia Katakekaumene through the slaves and freedmen administering his property.⁴¹

The most important piece of the whole corpus is the dossier of three royal letters addressed to the inhabitants of Tyriaion by Eumenes II (no. 393), originally published by L. Jonnes and this author in EA 29, 1997, pp. 1–30. I have seen the reactions of Ph. Gauthier⁴² and Chr. Schuler⁴³ to our transliteration and my commentary. I accept their important correction ἐγχωροίοις instead of ἐν χωροίοις (lines 26–27: συνχωρῶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν συνοικοῦσιν ἐγχωροίοις), and their interpretation of the adjective ἐπιτήδειος in lines 31 as referring to laws, not people/officials (lines 30–32: διασαφήσατε καὶ δώσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ βουλῆν καὶ ἀρχ[ὰς] καθιστάνα καὶ δῆμον νέμειν εἰς φυλὰς καταμερισθέντα . . .). On the other hand, I still prefer to read the phrase in line 30 as ἐναντίον τοῖς ὑμῖν συμφέρουσι, and not ἐναντίον τοῖς ἡμῖν συμφέρουσι, as suggested by Ph. Gauthier. The first version would be

³⁹ *AJA* 36, 1932, p. 456.

⁴⁰ *MAMA* VII, no. 373 from Sarı Kaya north of our region.

⁴¹ *MAMA* I, no. 41: Κόμοδος Λ. Κ. Πρόκλου δούλος Ζωτικ[ῶ] υἱ[ῶ] γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ Μικκα γυναικὶ καὶ ἑαυτῶ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν. In an inscription from Akören south of Ikonion (*MAMA* VIII, no. 66: Συμφέρων Μ. Κ. δούλος Ἀθηνᾶ Μουρσιέων εὐχίην) we find another member of the same family. Other *Calpurnii* in southeastern Phrygia are on record in the region of Lâdik and Kadınhanı [*MAMA* I, nos. 42 (*Calpurnius Proculus*), 35, 230, 297], Kestel (*MAMA* VII, no. 12), Kunderaz (*ibid.*, no. 14), Balkı (*ibid.*, no. 175), Doğanhisar (Jonnes, no. 251), Akşehir (*ibid.*, no. 33), and Salir in the territory of Anaboura (*ibid.*, no. 603). The family had strong connections in Galatia and southwestern Anatolia. Cf. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, vol. I, Oxford 1993, p. 153, with references and bibliography.

⁴² *Bull. épigr.* 1999, no. 509, pp. 680–682.

⁴³ *ZPE* 128, 1999, pp. 124–132.

more in accord with the whole style of the royal letter showing a benevolent and generous king eager to please his new subjects.

5. A New *sevir augustalis* from Alexandria Troas

In his article “Zur Gründung der römischen Kolonie in Alexandria Troas”⁴⁴ E. Schwertheim published a marble fragment found at Gülpınar, the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus.⁴⁵ The text records a dedication to the god made by a *sevir augustalis*.⁴⁶

This is the editor’s reading:

Apollini Zminthi[o]
C(aius) Sueius C(ai) lib(ertus) princip(i)s
VI vir Augustal[is].

In his commentary E. Schwertheim expressed the opinion that “Der Freilasser ist offenbar *princeps coloniae* gewesen”. I would like to suggest another possibility, namely that at the end of the second line we have the *cognomen* of the newly attested *sevir augustalis*. His full name would be *C(aius) Sueius C(ai) lib(ertus) Principis*. Obviously, the form *Principis* stands for the usual *Princeps*. This name is attested in numerous Latin and Greek inscriptions and papyri,⁴⁷ and many of its bearers are *servi* or *liberti*. If we are allowed to judge by the form of the name *Principis* (Greek Πρίνκιψ), the freedman dedicator came from a Greek-speaking region, perhaps Alexandria Troas itself.

University of Belgrade

Marijana Riel

⁴⁴ In: E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Die Troas. Neue Forschungen III*, Bonn 1999 (*Asia Minor Studien* Bd. 33), p. 100 no. 2.

⁴⁵ On this shrine and its territory, attached to Alexandria Troas since its foundation by Antigonos Monophthalmos, cf. M. Riel, *IK* 52 (Alexandria Troas), Bonn 1997, pp. 6, 189–194.

⁴⁶ Inscription no. 1 in Schwertheim’s edition, set up by - - - *Psalmus VI vir aug(ustalis)*, appeared independently in my edition in the Greek periodical *Τεκμήρια* 5, 2000, p. 127 no. 1.

⁴⁷ E. g. *Année épigr.* 1908, no. 107; 1909, no. 26 (slave); 1939, no. 99; 1941, no. 71; 1962, no. 176b (freedman); 1974, no. 287 (freedman); 1976, no. 157 (freedman); 1977, no. 236 (freedman); 1980, no. 205; 1982, no. 380 (freedman); 1988, no. 214; *MAMA* V, no. 236; *MAMA* VII, no. 84; *MAMA* VIII, no. 216; *BGU* IV, no. 1172.