

HASAN MALAY

A PRAISE ON MEN ARTEMIDOROU AXIOTTENOS

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A PRAISE ON MEN ARTEMIDOROU AXIOTTENOS*

To the memory of Peter Herrmann

The volcanic area (Kakatekaumene) around Kula continues to yield interesting evidence about social and economic life in Roman Lydia. In fact, our rescue-excavations (at Toma Dağı¹ and at Mağazadamları²) and systematic surveys in the field have provided rich epigraphic material. Part of the discoveries from surveys as well as from various museums and private collections has already been published in my *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, ETAM 23, Wien 1999. Some finds will be made known in a joint book with Professor Peter Herrmann who sadly died in 2002, while some others, as the one presented here, will be published in separate articles.

The present inscription was in a house at *Kepez Mevkii* when we found it, and, as we were told, it was unearthed at a place called Mağazadamları located N of Ayazviran/Ayazören (Iaza)³ and NW of Hamidiye (Dima? Kerbia?)⁴. According to the information by P. Herrmann *per. epist.*, the text is identical with the one announced by himself in *TAM* V,1, 525, comm. on lines 1–2 “. . . in tit. piaculari inedito a Drew-Bear a. 1978 descripto” and quoted by G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*, EA 22, 1994 (hereafter: Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*), no. 56⁵ and *op. cit. infra* note 17, p. 21, note 33.

Marble stele with flat pediment and tenon. Above the inscription there are preserved the remnants of a moon-crescent in high relief. The stone is now in the Manisa Museum. Measurements: Height 1.46, width 0.58, thickness 0.07, letters 0,02.

Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Μηνὸς Ἀξιοττη-
νοῦ· Μηνὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Μηνὶ Ἀρτεμι-
δώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντι Γλύ-
4 κων Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Μύρτιον Γλύ-
κωνος εὐλογίαν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν
σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων·
Σὺ γάρ με, κύριε, αἰχμαλωτίζόμε-
8 νον ἠλέησες. Μέγα σοι τὸ ὄσιον,

* It is a pleasure to thank G. Petzl for his kind help and advice during the preparation of this article.

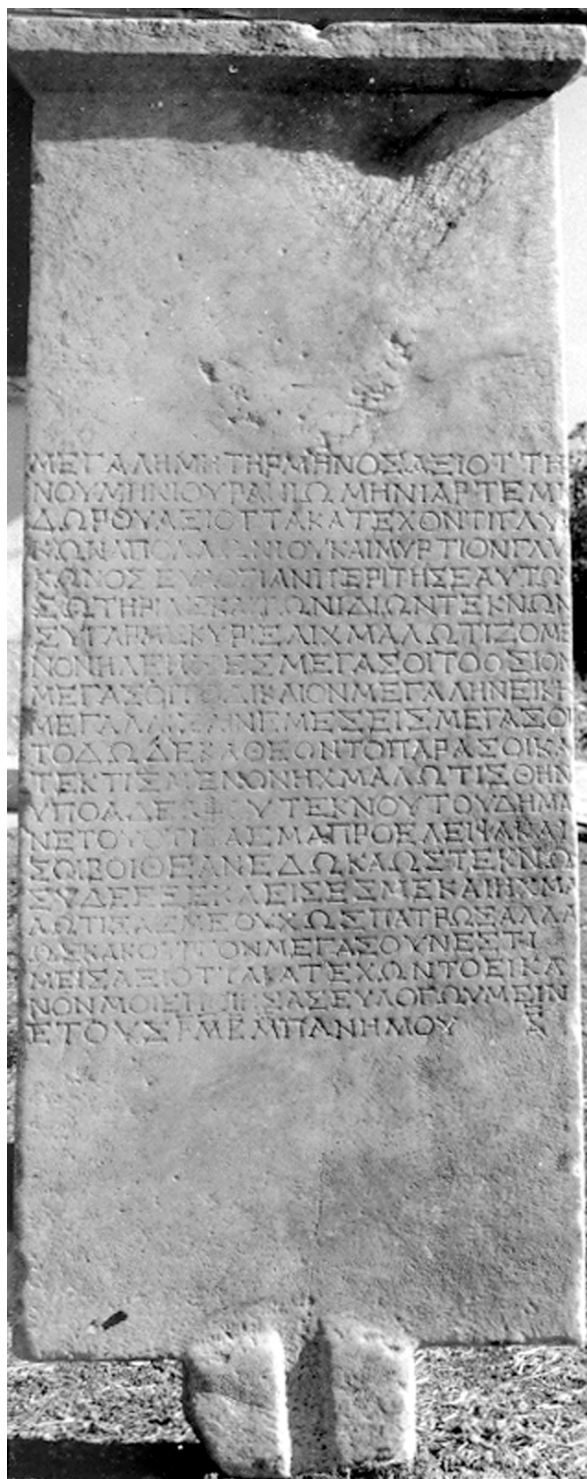
¹ The excavation carried out in 1995 made it clear that the sanctuary at the top of Mt. Toma belonged to Meter (Thea) Larmene.

² The finds through a short dig (1998) enabled us to locate the sanctuary of Μῆν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχων and Μήτηρ Μηνός at Mağazadamları.

³ For the settlement see *TAM* V, 1, 468a and 475. A new discovery informing us that the *Iazanoi* were organized as a *katoikia* will be published separately.

⁴ *TAM* V,1, 488–489. For a dedication by οἱ ἐν Αλκιλευροις κάτοικοι Σαρδιανοί from Hamidiye see H. Malay, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis* (ETAM 23 (1999), 124.

⁵ After the allusion Μηνὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντι Petzl wrote “Die Inschrift datiert aus dem Jahre 142 der sullanischen Ära (= 57/58 n. Chr.) und ist damit das älteste datierte Exemplar der in diesem Corpus vorgelegten Sühnetexte” (cf. also p. VII).



- μέγα σοι τὸ δίκαιον, μεγάλη νείκη,
 μεγάλοι σοὶ νεμέσεις, μέγα σοι
 τὸ δωδεκάθεον τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κα-
 12 τεκτισμένον. Ἦχμαλωτίσθην
 ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ τέκνου τοῦ Δημαι-
 νέτου, ὅτι τὰ ἐμὰ προέλειψα καὶ
 σοι βοίθεαν ἔδωκα ὡς τέκνῳ·
 16 σὺ δὲ ἐξέκλεισές με καὶ ἡχμα-
 λώτισάς με οὐχ ὡς πάτρω, ἀλλὰ
 ὡς κακούργον. Μέγας οὖν ἐστι
 Μεῖς Ἀξιοττα κατέχων· τὸ εἰκα-
 20 νόν μοι ἐποίησας· εὐλογῶ ὑμεῖν.
 Ἔτους ρμβ', μηνὸς Πανήμου β'.

“Great is the Mother of Men Axiottenos!
 Glykon, son of Apollonios, and Myrtion
 the wife of Glykon (set up this) praise to
 heavenly Men, Men Artemidorou ruling
 over Axiotta because of the safety of
 themselves and of their own children.
 Because you showed mercy upon me, o
 Lord, when I was imprisoned. Great is
 your quality of holiness, great is your
 quality of justice, great is your victory,
 great are your acts of revenge, great is
 the Dodekatheon which is located next to
 you! I have been imprisoned by Demai-
 netos, son of (my) brother, because I
 abandoned (sold ?) my property and gave
 you my support as if you had been my
 child. But you locked me out and
 imprisoned me as if I were not (your)
 uncle, but a criminal. Great is, therefore,
 Meis ruling over Axiotta: you satisfied
 me! I praise you! In the year 142, on the
 2nd day of the month Panemos.”

1–2 Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Μηνὸς Ἀξιοττη-
 νοῦ⁶: Regarding several unpublished
 instances, the mention of Men’s Mother⁷
 in acclamations is a peculiarity of the

⁶ For Ἀξιοττηνῶν κατοικία see C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Vestigia 50), 1998, 297 with bibliography.

⁷ For Men’s Mother see E. Schwertheim, *Ist. Mitt.* 25, 1975, 358–65 (*Bull. ép.* 1976, 628) and I. Diakonoff, *BABesch* 54 (1979), 168–9, cf. also E. Lane, *CMRDM* II, 174, no. A8.

dedications from Mağazadamları. This fact would lead one to attribute at least two published dedications starting with Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Μηνὸς Τεκούσα⁸ and Μηνὶ Ἀξιοττηνῶ καὶ Μηνὸς Τεκούση⁹ to this sanctuary. Obviously, these acclamations refer, as G. Petzl has already stated¹⁰, to *one* and the *same* goddess, and not two separate goddesses as some scholars are inclined to believe¹¹.

2–3 Μηνὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Μηνὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντι¹²: In some of the dedications from this sanctuary (see above), as in the case of the present inscription, Men is specified as Οὐράνιος¹³. Here as well as in some unpublished inscriptions the name of the god is followed by singular forms which refer to it. This confirms G. Petzl's suggestion *loc. cit.* that the adjective οὐράνιος does not refer to a separate cult; it specifies the *heavenly* character of Men¹⁴.

5 εὐλογίαν and 20 εὐλογῶ: The terms εὐλογεῖν and εὐλογία are frequent in the context of confession inscriptions (see L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, 28ff.; CRAI 1978, 249 and Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. XV with note 40). On the claim that these terms were borrowed from Jewish communities see notably H. W. Pleket, *op. cit.* note 15, 183–189 and S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor II* (1993), 37.

7 On the epithet κύριος applied to gods in votive inscriptions see H. W. Pleket, *op. cit.* note 14, 174ff.

7 αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον, 12 ἡχμαλωτίσθην and 16–17 ἡχμαλώτισας: In an unpublished confession inscription from Kollyda, we have ἐκράτησαν describing a comparable treatment¹⁵. Cf. also Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 33: ἐνποδισθ[ί]σα.

8 The verb ἐλέεω, a popular Christian term, is rare in pagan context¹⁶. For its occurrence in a dedication to Theos Hypsistos see Th. Drew-Bear – Ch. Naour, *ANRW II*, 18.3 (1990), 2039, no. 33 (*SEG* 40, 1188): ἐλεηθεὶς ἀπ' ὅλλων τῶν παθημάτων (Aizanoi). However, its derivations ἔλεος and ἐλεημοσύνη now occur in an unpublished confession inscription quoted here in note 15 (see also Petzl's commentary on *Beichtinschriften*, 95.7ff.).

⁸ E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 13, 1989, 46, no. 4; *SEG* 39, 1989, 1278; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 55 and M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften* (Asia Minor Studien 36), 1999, 39.3 (now in the Uşak Museum).

⁹ E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 13, 1989, 46, no. 1; *SEG* 39, 1275; M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, 39.4 (also in the Uşak Museum).

¹⁰ *Beichtinschriften*, p. 66: "Mutter, die Meis geboren hat".

¹¹ Μεγάλη Μήτηρ, Μηνὸς Τεκούσα both by E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 13 (1989), 45, no. 4 and *SEG* 39, 1989, 1278.

¹² For gods possessing (κατέχων, βασιλεύων) a village see H. Malay, *EA* 12, 147 with note 3 with bibliography.

¹³ Dedications recording Μῆνα Οὐρ[άνιον] Ἀρ[τεμιδώρου] Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντα (Ayazviran) and Μέγας Μεῖς Οὐράνιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχων (Esenyazi) will be published separately.

¹⁴ On the term οὐράνιος see E. Lane, *CMRDM III*, p. 76 and H. W. Pleket, Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World, in *Faith, Hope and Worship* (ed. H. S. Versnel), 1981, 166–7.

¹⁵ . . . ἐρωτῶντες . . . ἵνα ἐλέου τύχωσιν ἐπ(ε)ὶ ἐκολάσθησαν οὗτοι ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἐκράτησαν . . . καὶ ἐλ(ε)ημοσύνην μὴ λαβόντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν . . . (the inscription, which is preserved in the Manisa Museum, will be published separately).

¹⁶ The usual term appearing in dedications is σῶζεσθαι for which see my *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (ETAM 19), p. 75, note 123 with bibliography.

8ff. It is not quite clear whether Hosion, Dikaion, Nike and Nemeseis are to be taken (like *dodekatheon*) as individual divinities apart from Men Artemidorou Axiotta *katechon* or, perhaps more appropriately, as his qualities (ὅσιον, δίκαιον) and achievements (νίκη, νέμεσις). The cult of the pair “Holy” and “Just” is well attested also in NE Lydia¹⁷. The best parallels to our acclamation come from Aizanoi (Ἦς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ, Μέγα <τὸ> Ὅσιον, μέγα τὸ Δίκαιον¹⁸), from Thasos (Μέγα τὸ Ὅσεον, μ[έ]γα τὸ Δίκαιο[ν]¹⁹) and from Ephesos (Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, μέγα τὸ ὅσιον, μέγα τὸ ἀγαθόν²⁰). On acclamations with μέγας see H. W. Pleket, *op. cit.* note 14, 180: “‘Megas’ acclamations as cultic practice are late. They belong to the Oriental Gods and later to Greek deities orientalized in the hierarchical structure of society.”

9 μεγάλη νείκη (probably a haplography for μεγάλη ἡ νείκη): Epigraphic attestations of the cult of Nike in Lydia are scant (numismatic evidence is much richer). For three attestations see M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit. supra* note 8, p. 19, note 82, and nos. 40.6 (Saittai), 3.22 (Kula) and 1.2 (Philadelphia).

10 μεγάλοι σαὶ νεμέσεις (probably a haplography for μεγάλοι αἱ σαὶ νεμέσεις²¹): At the end of a *confessio* from the Katakekaumene the sinner, having been made hopeful by Tyche (ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ Τύχη ἐλπίδαν ἔδωκε), likewise shouts the acclamation Μεγάλοι Νεμέσεις ἐν Πέρκῳ²². For two other attestations of Nemeseis in Lydia see *TAM* V,1, 591 (a funerary inscription from Maionia)²³; M. Riel, *EA* 19, 1992, 95, note 102 and M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, no. 40.26 (an extract from an unpublished text probably from the Katakekaumene)²⁴, cf. also Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, index, s.v. νεμεσάω, νέμεσις).

10–12 μέγα σοι τὸ δωδεκάθεον τὸ παρὰ σοι κατεκτισμένον: A funerary inscription from Saittai records the following curse: εἰ δέ τις προ[σαμάρ]τη τῇ στήλῃ, τὸν Ἀξιοττην[ὸν ἐν] τῷ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην²⁵ καθήμ[ενον? ἀ]νεξείλαστον τέκνα τέκν[ων] ἔξει²⁶. The supplements ἐν] τῷ ἐκεῖ . . . καθήμ[ενον(?) have been rejected by J. Strubbe who offers the restoration τὸν Ἀξιοττην[ὸν κὲ²⁷?] τὸ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην καθήμ[- which excludes Men Axiottenos from the

¹⁷ On the cult see notably M. Riel in *EA* 18, 1991, 1–70 (Catalogue); 19, 1992, 71–103 (Analysis) and 20, 1992, 95–100 (new finds), cf. also S. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 25–26 and G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften in Kleinasien und der Fromme und Gerechte Gott*, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vorträge G 355, Düsseldorf 1998 (*SEG* 1998, 2165). More finds attesting this cult will be published separately.

¹⁸ See M. Riel, *EA* 20, 1992, 100, note 16. The opinion of Cl. Brixhe and A. Panayotou, *Bull. ép.* 1994, 559 that the divine names are both in accusative (cf. *SEG* 42, 1992, 1192) is rejected by G. Petzl, *art. cit. supra* note 17, p. 21, note 33.

¹⁹ M. Riel, *EA* 18, 49, no. 111 (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 88, note 2).

²⁰ M. Riel, *EA* 18, 47, no. 105 (= *IvEphesos* VII.1, I.K. 17, 3100).

²¹ However, for employing personal pronouns without article cf. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, p. 123 with reference to Cl. Brixhe, in *Hethitica* VIII (1987), 45–80 (*non vidi*).

²² H. Malay, *EA* 12, 1988, 150, no. 4 (*SEG* 38, 1236; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 7; M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, 43.2), cf. also M. Riel, *EA* 19, 1992, 95, note 102.

²³ . . . χαίροις, πᾶς πάροδε, τὰς Νεμέσεις σοι, μή τίς μοι τὴν στήλην ἀδικήσεις (cf. also *SEG* 34, 1202).

²⁴ . . . εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῷ καὶ Νεμέσεσι προκαθημέναις καὶ ἱεραῖς Νύμφαις (the inscription is preserved in the Uşak Museum).

²⁵ δωδεκάθην represents probably δωδεκάθην < -θιον < -θειον < -θειον.

²⁶ S. Bakır Barthel – H. Müller *ZPE* 36, 1979, 182–183, no. 36 (*SEG* 29, 1979, 1179).

²⁷ One would prefer καὶ which occurs four times in preceding lines of the same text.

twelve gods²⁸. This suggestion is now confirmed by our inscription which clearly separates Men Artemidorou Axiottenos from the group of *dodekatheon*.

The verb κατακτίζω has already been attested in this context: A confession-inscription from Börtlüce records the cult of Ζεὺς ἐκ διδύμων δρυῶν κατεκτισμένος “*des aus Zwillings-eichen gegründeten Zeus*”²⁹. In our case it is reasonable to suppose that the cult of Men Artemidorou Axiottenos was located next to that of δωδεκάθεον³⁰.

15 βοίθεαν for βοήθειαν: For examples of the usages of ι for η and ε for ει in this region see Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 163–4.

14–18 Interestingly, the dedicant here starts to address his nephew!

19–20 τὸ εἰκάνον μοι ἐποίησας: For the expression τὸ ἱκάνον ποιεῖν cf. *IvEphesos* 1a (I.K. 11.1), 43.28 (an imperial rescript): τὸ ἱκάνον ποιοῦντας τῷ νόμῳ. The usual form in this context is ἱκανοποιεῖν³¹.

20 εὐλογῶ ὑμῖν: The plural probably refers to the divinities named in lines 1–3. For εὐλογέω + Dat. see Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 37.9 with commentary (on the verb εὐλογεῖν see the commentary on line 5).

21 The date 142 on the basis of the Sullan era corresponds to 57/8 A.D.

The document concerns a praise composed by a certain Glykon to Men Artemidorou ruling over Axiotta who saved him from captivity. The dedicant complains that he supported his nephew by abandoning (some parts of ?) his possession. Demainetos was not yet satisfied and arrested and imprisoned his uncle, probably in order to get more out of him. How then could Demainetos gain from such an illegal act ? It was either an act of arbitrary punishment in reaction to a slight, or, more likely, he intended to keep his uncle from a transaction concerning a possible bequest to a god or to somebody else³². Clearly, he was hoping more than the “help” which he had already got from his uncle.

The fact that Men Artemidorou Axiottenos helped Glykon to his satisfaction shows implicitly that the god must have punished the nephew. As the content of the text contains only the complaints of an oppressed person, it can hardly be qualified as confession-inscription. G. Petzl, however, comparing the present inscription with the short *eulogia* in his *Beichtinschriften*, 97, may be right in his claim *per. epist.* that “there are keywords which point to a close relationship of the inscription with proper confession texts”. The same is also for *Beichtinschriften*, 47 as a close parallel to the case narrated in our inscription: “Menophila

²⁸ See *Arai Epitymbioi* (I.K. 52), 46–47, no. 51 with earlier bibliography to which now also add M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, p. 58 and no. 39.17.

²⁹ G. Petzl, *ZPE*, 30, 1978, 255, no. 2 (cf. also *SEG* 28, 1978, 913; *TAM* V,1, 179a; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 9; M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, 61.22 and *Bull. ép.* 1979, 434). For three other confessions to Μέγας Ζεὺς ἐκ διδύμων δρυῶν, all omitting the participle κατεκτισμένος, see Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, 10–12 and M. Paz de Hoz, *op. cit.*, 61.23–25 (a new example of this series will be published separately).

³⁰ Unfortunately, a relief representing twelve gods has not yet been discovered in Lydia. For reliefs showing the twelve gods of Lycia see Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, *Die lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* (with epigraphic contribution by G. Petzl), *Asia Minor Studien* 13, 1994.

³¹ On the verb see *TAM* V,1, 318 and G. Petzl – H. Malay, *GRBS* 28, 1987, 466, note 34, cf. also Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, index, s.v. ἱκανοποιέω (also ἱκανοδότης).

³² On some religious texts recording problems of inheritance see A. Chaniotis, *Symposion* 1995 (1997), 357 (with note 21) and 375.

had been provoked to anger by her son Polychronios and prayed to the gods to help her to satisfaction. After he had been punished and had propitiated the gods, he (i.e. probably Men) ordered her to write down on a stele the power of the gods”³³. Though there is no detail about the act of Polychronios, there must be a question of maltreatment, as in the case of our inscription. This inscription too, which does not speak of any crime committed by the dedicant, has likewise to be separated from standard confession texts.

The closest parallel to the act of Demainetos is recorded in an unpublished *confessio* from Kollyda (quoted above note 15): It records two brothers who consult some gods and institutions “in order to obtain pity after they were punished because they arrested their father”. In spite of some difficulties to understand what follows, it is quite possible that the reason for their unjust treatment was again a claim on property.

İzmir

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Özet

Makalede, Kula yakınındaki Mağazadamları Mevkii’nde bulunan yeni bir adak yazıtı incelenmektedir. Metinde, Glykon adındaki birinin, kendini esaretten kurtaran Men Artemidorou Axiottenos’a ettiği dua yer almaktadır:

“Men Axiottenos’un Anası yücedir! Apollonios oğlu Glykon ile karısı Myrtion bu duayı göklerin tanrısı, Axiotta’ya hükmeden Men Artemidorou’ya kendilerinin ve çocuklarının selameti için sundular. Çünkü, ey efendim, hapsedildiğim zaman bana merhamet ettin. Senin kudsiyetin, senin adaletin, senin zaferin, senin intikam alma gücün eşsizdir. Senin yanbaşıda yer alan 12 Tanrı da büyüktür! Mülkümü satıp da öz çocuğum gibi desteklediğim yeğenim Demainetos beni hapsedmişti. Ama sen (Demainetos), sanki senin amcan değil de bir suçluymuşum gibi, beni hapsedtin. Bu nedenle Axiotta’da hüküm süren Men yücedir: Çünkü sen (Tanrı) beni hoşnut ettin, sana şükrediyorum. 142 yılında (İ.S. 57/8), Panemos ayının 2. gününde.”

Çeviride, yazıttaki Hosion (“aziz”), Dikaion (“adil”), Nemesis (“intikam”) sözcükleri Men Axiottenos’un sıfatları olarak değerlendirilmiş olmakla birlikte, bunların tanrısal adlar olma ihtimali de mevcuttur. Çünkü özellikle Hosion ve Dikaion adlı yerel tanrılar bu bölgede yaygın olarak tapım görmekteydiler.

Demainetos’un, amcası Glykon’u hapsedmesinin nedeni kuşkusuz ondan daha fazla para ya da mülk istemesiydi. Belki anlık bir öfke ile onu cezalandırmak istemiş, belki de amcasının malını satmasına ya da birine bağışlamasına bu yolla engel olmayı ummuştur. Glykon’un “beni hoşnut ettin” şeklindeki sözlerinden, günahı işleyen Demainetos’un Tanrı tarafından cezalandırılmış olduğu sonucunu çıkarmak mümkündür.

³³ . . . Μηνοφίλα ὑπὸ Πολυχρονίου τοῦ υἱοῦ χολιασθεῖσα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνευξαμένη ἰς τὸ εἰκονοποθεῖναι αὐτήν . . .” (probably from W of Silandos).