

A New Confession-Inscription from the Katakekaumene

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WE PUBLISH HERE a Greek inscription, probably of the second half of the second century or the first half of the third, preserved in the museum of Manisa. It is reported to come from “the region of Kula.” The corpus of inscriptions from this area was published in 1981 by P. Herrmann.¹ Since then much new epigraphical evidence has been published,² to which the following item is a further addition.

The inscription is a dedication, and the detailed story it tells shows that it is to be classified with the confession or propitiatory inscriptions. The great majority of these originate from the same area in which the new text is reported to have been found, Maeonia, the ‘Katakekaumene’; other confession-texts have been found elsewhere, especially in the Phrygian sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos (*MAMA* IV 279–90). Their chronological range extends from the early second century A.D. to the third quarter of the third.³

Since there is great variety in the causes given for divine wrath, in how punishment came about, and in how the gods were placated, the following is only a rough outline of the usual pattern. A person is stricken with misfortune and somehow finds out, or is informed by the god or the god’s messenger, that the cause is a sin, some offense

¹ *TAM* V.1, “Tituli Lydiae . . . regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens.” There is increasing evidence for the mixed Lydian, Phrygian, and Mysian character of the population in the northeastern area, covered by this corpus. We shall not address the appropriate nomenclature for this part of Asia Minor (northeast Lydia or southern Mysia Abbaitis); a bibliography on this problem is found in Herrmann, *AnzWien* 122 (1985) 249f.

² See Herrmann (*supra* n.1) 250 n.4. Add G. Manganaro, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 199–203; H. Malay and G. Petzl, *EpigrAnat* 6 (1985) 55–68; N. Tanyeri, *EpigrAnat* 6 (1985) 79–81; G. Çelgin and H. Malay, *EpigrAnat* 7 (1986) 103–05.

³ According to the dated documents: *TAM* V.1 317 (A.D. 114/5); L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 516 (*SEG* XXXIII 1013: year 348 of the Sullan era = 263/4, erroneously put one year earlier by the editors).

which he or she has committed. To be released from his adversity, the sinner must do away with the offense against the god, must propitiate him; and the only way to do this is by erecting a stele inscribed with a confession of the wrongdoing. Many of these stelae conclude by calling on the reader to acknowledge the power of the god and not to slight him.

A careful investigation of this category of inscriptions, with a consideration of their place in the history of religion, was published by F. Steinleitner in 1913.⁴ Despite a remarkable increase of material and of scholarly discussion since then,⁵ Steinleitner's remains the basic study. An up-to-date revision or replacement is desirable, but would be premature before the appearance of some important texts still awaiting publication. The present paper is meant as a contribution towards that task.

Stele of white marble, height 1.03 m., width 0.51 (top) to 0.54 (bottom), thickness 0.065; letter height 0.015 to 0.017. At top center, representation of a crescent moon. Said to come from the area of Kula; now in the Archaeological Museum at Manisa (inv. 5414).
PLATE 3.

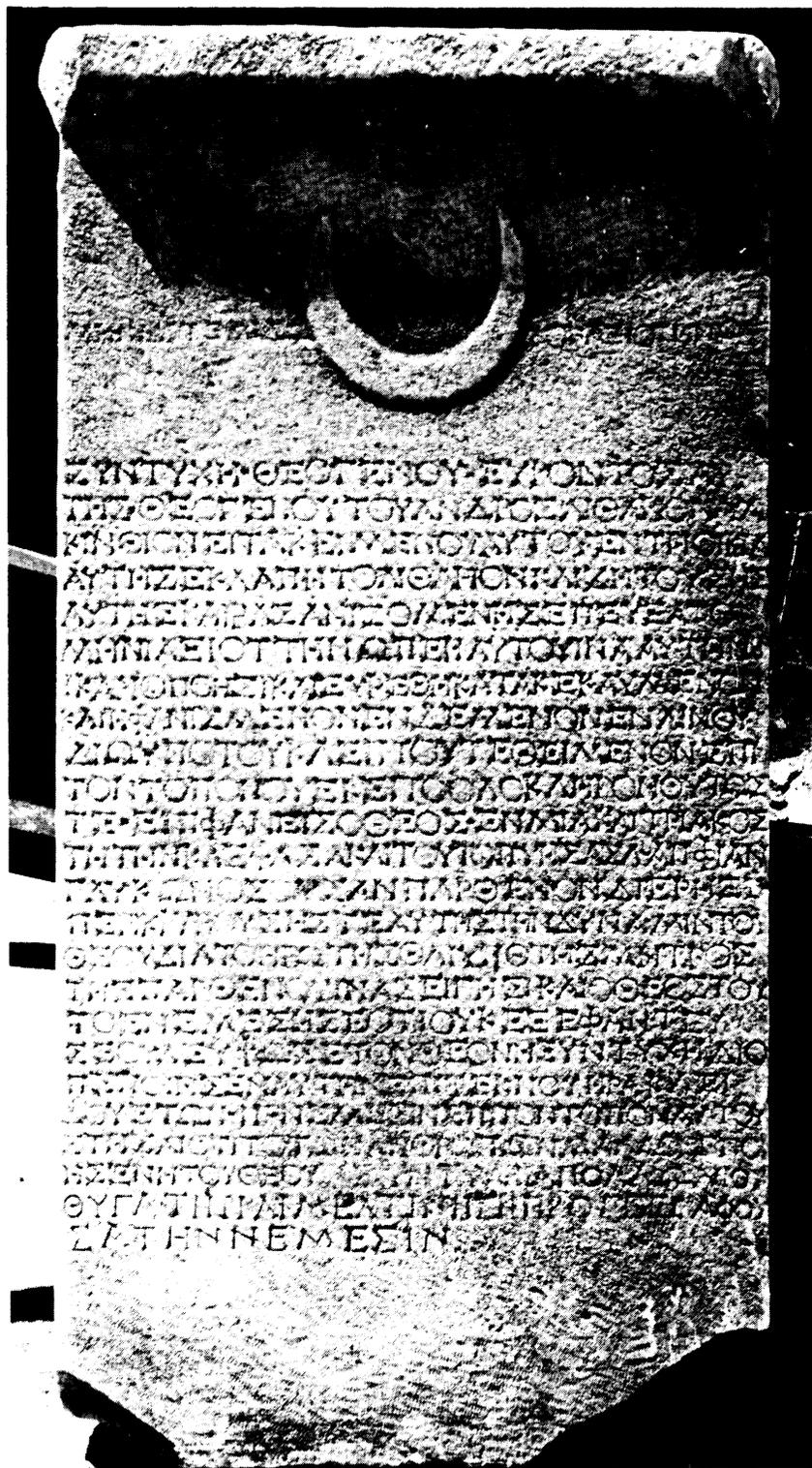
Μηνὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοτηνῶ

vacat of three lines

- Συντύχη Θεογένου· εὐρόντος ἀ-
 τῆς Θεογένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λιθάριον ὑα-
 4 κίνθιον, εἶτα κειμένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ
 αὐτῆς ἐκλάπη τὸ λιθάριον, καὶ ζητούσης
 αὐτῆς καὶ βασανιζομένης ἐπέυξατο
 Μηνὶ Ἀξιοττηνῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὴν
 8 ἱκανοποιήσι, καὶ εὐρέθη κατακεκαυμένον
 καὶ ἠφανισμένον, ἐνδεμένον ἐν λινο-
 δίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλέπτου τεθειμένον ἐπὶ
 τὸν τόπον, οὗ ἔκειτο ὀλόκληρον· οὕτως
 12 τε ἐπιφανείς ὁ θεὸς ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τριακοσ-
 τῇ τὴν κλέψασα(ν) καὶ τοῦτο πυήσασα(ν) Ἀπφίαν
 Γλύκωνος οὔσαν παρθένον διέρηξε·
 περι<σ>υρούσης τε αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ
 16 θεοῦ διὰ τὸ ἠρωτῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς

⁴ *Die Beicht im Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike* (Leipzig 1913).

⁵ See the references at Herrmann (*supra* n.1) 251 n.5; cf. 258, "mir sind einschliesslich der unedierten (sc. einschlägigen Texte) über 80 Exemplare bekannt, während Steinleitner . . . über 21 verfügte." Manganaro (*supra* n.2) and Malay/Petzl (*supra* n.2) 60–64 nos. 4–5, provide three more.



Confession-Inscription from Maeonia

τῆς παρθένου, ἵνα σειγῆσι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ-
 το ἐνεμέσησε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξεφάντευ-
 σε οὐδὲ ὑψωσε τὸν θεὸν ἢ Συντύχη· διό-
 20 τι ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τέκνου Ἑρακλεί-
 δου ἑτῶν ἱγ' νέμεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ
 στήσαι, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐπό-
 ησεν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ. v Συντύχη Ἀπολλωνίου
 24 θυγάτηρ καὶ Μελτίνης ἢ προγεγραφοῦ-
 σα τὴν νέμεσιν.

2–3: the stone has dots before Θεογένου in both lines and before εἰρόντος. 13: ΚΛΕΨΑΣΑ, ΠΥΗΣΑΣΑ· lapis. 15: ΠΕΡΙΚΙΥΡΟΥΣΗΣ lapis. 19–20: the stone seems to have ΔΙΟ/ΠΙ.

Syntyche, (wife) of Theogenes, (made this dedication) to Men Artemidorou Axiot(t)enos.

After her husband Theogenes had found a hyacinth stone, then (later) while it was lying in her house the stone was stolen, and when she was searching for it and being interrogated she prayed to Men Axiottenos to help her to satisfaction in regard to it; and it was found burned and disfigured, wrapped in a linen shirt, put by the thief in the place where it was lying when (still) undamaged. And so the god, having appeared [*i.e.* shown his power] on the thirty-first day, destroyed Glycon's daughter Apphia, who was (still) a girl, who had committed the theft and done this. And because she [*i.e.* Syntyche] slighted (?) the god's power, since she had been asked by the girl's mother to keep silent, the god also became angry at this, (namely) because Syntyche did not make known and exalt the god. Therefore he made her set up the (report of the) punishment at his place at the time when (her) child Heracleides was thirteen years old, because she acted in men's interest rather than in that of the god. It is Syntyche, the daughter of Apollonius and Meltine, who has brought to public knowledge the punishment.

The text consists of two main parts. The first (2–14) gives an account of how Men Axiottenos successfully brought about the solution of a case of theft; he was asked to do so by Syntyche, who found herself under suspicion of having stolen a precious stone. The god made the true thief, a girl, return the object and then probably put her to death as punishment. The second part (15–23) focusses on a religious wrong of which Syntyche made herself guilty: influenced by a request of the thief's mother, she kept silent. The allusive description of events makes a full reconstruction impossible. The mother perhaps hoped that no one would notice the connection between Apphia's death and the theft and therefore asked Syntyche not to reveal that the daughter had suffered for a crime. At any rate, the god, feeling deprived of his deserved glorification, became angry with Syntyche; in

order to placate him she had to set up not only a report of his detection of the thief but also of his *νέμεσις*, that is, of how his wrath was stirred up. We are not told how this was manifested, but the unexpected mention of Syntyche's thirteen-year-old son might suggest that he was threatened.

1: The stele is dedicated to *Μῆν* (or *Μεῖς*)⁶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοτ(τ)η-*νός*. Set apart from the rest of the text, the name of the god is given as a heading; it frames the representation of a crescent moon carved in relief in the middle of this line. The letters are smaller than in the following lines and less deeply cut; yet there seems to be no evidence of an attempted deletion.

The testimonies for the worship of Men Axiottenos come from 'northeast Lydia', mainly the area around Gölde (Collyda). Herrmann has demonstrated that the ethnic Ἀξιοττηνός derives from the toponym Ἀξιοττα; *Μῆν* Ἀξιοττηνός may have been the ruler and patron of this place.⁷ The addition Ἀρτεμιδώρου may suggest that Men's cult in Axiotta went back to a foundation made by a certain Artemidorus. This interpretation is not certain, however: most inscriptions offer simply Men Axiottenos, without Ἀρτεμιδώρου;⁸ moreover, *Μῆν* Ἀρτεμιδώρου and *Μῆν* (Ἀρτεμιδώρου) Ἀξιοττηνός are also mentioned as holding other places than Axiotta.⁹ And we find Men Axiottenos followed by *ἐκ* and persons other than Artemidorus;¹⁰ like the latter, these persons may have been recognized as founders of local sanctuaries of Men or as initiators of cults maintained by families or associations.¹¹

⁶ For instances of the nominative *M(ε)ῖς* rather than *Μῆν* see J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien* (= *DenkschrWien* 54 [1911]) 103. In inscriptions containing only oblique cases one cannot say which nominative form is implied; for the sake of simplicity we shall use *Μῆν* in such instances.

⁷ See P. Herrmann, "Men, Herr von Axiotta," in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens I* (= *EPRO* 66.1 [1978]) 415–23, *TAM* V.1 525 with commentary, 526 (instances of *Μῆν/Μεῖς* Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχων). For another possible mention of Men Artemidorou, without local specification, see P. Herrmann and E. Varinli-oğlu, *EpigrAnat* 3 (1984) 16 n.60.

⁸ Also simply Axiottenos, cf. *TAM* V.1 p.283 s.v.; new instances have since been published.

⁹ *TAM* V.1 460.9f, *Μῆνα* Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττηνὸν Κορεσα κατέχοντα; 461.1–5, *Μήτηρ Ταξη]νή* καὶ *Μεῖς* Λαβάνας κ[αὶ] *Μεῖς* Ἀρτεμιδώρου Δόρου κώμην βασιλεύοντες. Without Ἀρτεμιδώρου: 159, *Μεῖς* Ἀξιοττηνὸς Ταρσι βασιλεύων; in an unpublished propitiatory inscription, *Μηνι* Ἀξιοττηνῶ Περκον βασιλεύοντα (*sic*; A.D. 238/9).

¹⁰ *TAM* V.1 253, *Μηνι* Ἀξιοττηνῶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίου; 344, *Μηνι* Ἀξιοττηνῶ ἐκ Ἐπικράτου, cf. 345; 343, [*Α*]ξιοττηνῶ ἐξ Ἐπικρ[ά]του. Cf. 254, *Μῆνα* ἐγ Διοδότου; cf. G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 251 n.15 (the testimony for Ἀναειτῖς ἐγ Μητρώ quoted there as unpublished has since been edited by H. W. Pleket, *Talanta* 10–11 [1978/9] 88–90 no. 13 [*SEG* XXIX 1174]).

¹¹ Keil/von Premerstein (*supra* n.6) p.104; see Herrmann (*supra* n.7) 421–23 for a

The new inscription can perhaps help to answer the question about the relation between the appellations *Μῆν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττηνός* and *Μῆν Ἀξιοττηνός*. When Syntyche finds herself under suspicion of theft, she prays to *Μῆν Ἀξιοττηνός* (7) that he prove her innocence. In what follows (12, 15f, 17, 19, 23) he is referred to as *ὁ θεός*, and it is said that he made Syntyche dedicate to him the present stele with the report of the punishment (20–22, *cf.* 17f, 24f). Since line 1 names *Μῆν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοτ(τ)ηνός* as recipient of the dedication, it is clear that *Μῆν Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοτ(τ)ηνός* and *Μῆν Ἀξιοττηνός* are designations for one and the same god, the latter being an abbreviated form. Therefore the shortened rendering of the god's title is a possibility to be reckoned with in inscriptions giving only *Μῆν Ἀξιοττηνός* or *Ἀξιοττηνός*. But it would certainly be rash to take this for granted in every instance.¹²

2–3: The usage *Συντύχη Θεογένου*, *sc.* *γυνή* rather than *θυγάτηρ*, is the less common.¹³ The names of Syntyche's parents are given in lines 23f. *Θεογένου*: s-stem nouns in *-ης* often follow the first instead of the third declension.

2–14, the report of the theft and recovery of a valuable stone (*λιθάριον ὑακίνθιον*): the thief—a girl—is convicted and punished by Men Axiottenos, to whom Syntyche had made appeal when suspected herself. A fair number of Maeonian propitiatory inscriptions attest to divine punishment for theft or illicit appropriation of property. In Tarsi, a place belonging to Saittai, the god *Μεῖς Ἀξιοττηνός Ταρσι βασιλεύων* was asked to prosecute any theft of clothes that might occur in a public bath (*TAM* V.1 159):¹⁴ “then a shirt was stolen, and the god punished¹⁵ the thief and made (him) bring the shirt after a

detailed discussion of the material and of the problems connected with the nomenclature.

¹² A survey of all dated texts mentioning this god does not enable us to trace any development in the nomenclature. If it were in fact correct in principle to recognize *Μῆν Ἀρτεμιδώρου* wherever the simple (*Μῆν*) *Ἀξιοττηνός* occurs, we would be left with the problem of the personal names linked by *ἐκ* (see *supra* n.10). What would be the meaning, for instance, of *Μῆν (Ἀρτεμιδώρου) Ἀξιοττηνός ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίου*? How did Apollonius' rôle (as cult-founder?) differ from that of Artemidorus?

¹³ *Cf.* Kühner/Gerth I 334 §414.2; Blass/Debrunner 107 §162.4.

¹⁴ The prosecution had been delegated to him by means of the “erection of the sceptre”; for the procedure see most recently Chr. Naour, *EpigrAnat* 2 (1983) 119–22; Robert (*supra* n.3) 518–20. On the name of the god see *supra* n.9.

¹⁵ *ἐνεμέσησε*, which in normal usage would mean ‘became angry with’. Since the anger of a divinity led inevitably to punishment, *νεμεσᾶν* is sometimes found for the more common *κολάζειν* in these texts; *cf.* *ἐνεμεσήθη*, Malay/Petzl (*supra* n.2) 63f no. 5.3 (Topuzdamari/Saittai), with nn.17f. It was a “Poetic Verb . . . rare in good Prose” (LSJ), but appears more frequently in later prose. In our text it occurs at 18, *cf.* *νέμεσις* at 21 and 25 and *TAM* V.1 460 (n.70 *infra*).

time to the god, and (the thief) made a confession.” Later, according to the god’s command conveyed by an “angel,” the shirt was sold, and the divine power manifested in these events was written on the stele.¹⁶ Neither the victim nor the thief is named; the thief apparently was a child.¹⁷ In the present inscription too, Apphia, punished for robbery, seems to have been a child.¹⁸

Theft of money or the refusal to repay a loan are sometimes cited as occasioning the divinity’s intervention,¹⁹ or the disappearance of important documents.²⁰ And it is not surprising in this largely agricultural area that we hear of the surreptitious appropriation of livestock: *e.g.* three pigs of Demaenetus and Papias had escaped and become mixed with the herd of Hermogenes and Apollonius, whose herdsman was a five-year-old child.²¹ While Demaenetus and Papias attempt to track down their pigs, Hermogenes and Apollonius claim to know nothing about them. Then the gods Anaitis and Men Tiamou are

¹⁶ κλαπέντος οὖν εἰματίου ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμέσῃσε τὸν κλέπτην καὶ ἐπόησε μετὰ χρόνον τὸ εἰμάτιον ἐνεγκῖν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐξωμολογήσατο. ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευσε δι’ ἀγγέλου πραθῆναι τὸ εἰμάτιον καὶ στηλλογραφῆσαι τὰς δυνάμεις. In his commentary on the first edition P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien* (=DenkschrWien 80 [1962]) 31, wrote: “der Gott befiehlt dem Kleiderdieb δι’ ἀγγέλου, das Kleidungsstück zu verkaufen und—offenbar doch von dem dabei erzielten Erlös—die Stele mit der Darstellung der δυνάμεις des Gottes zu errichten.” One might, however, suggest that the god ordered his clergy to sell the shirt and thus finance the stele for his glory. It is even possible that it was the victim himself to whom the god’s messenger gave the command. In *TAM* V.1 257 the wife of a certain Agathon from whom money had been stolen—and not the thief—dedicates a stele to Meter Aliane in return for its recovery. Usually, however, the sinner or his relatives see to the dedication.

¹⁷ This assumption is based on the smaller of the two reliefs: Herrmann (*supra* n.16) 30, “stehende Figur (Knabe?) mit erhobenen Händen” (photograph pl. VIII.2), *cf.* 31, “Sicher ist (der Täter) in dem kleineren Relief . . . dargestellt, und man kann danach annehmen, dass er noch ein Knabe gewesen ist.” The larger relief shows the god with his sceptre and the stolen εἰμάτιον (*cf.* E. N. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis* I [=EPRO 19.1 (1971)] no. 69 with pl. xxix; Robert [*supra* n.3] 519).

¹⁸ παρθένος (14, 17); *cf.* *TAM* V.1 596, Μητρόδωρος Γλύκωνος παιδίον ὦν ἀκουσίως κατεάξας στηλλάριον τῆς θεοῦ ἐπεζήτησε ἀνασταθῆναι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο (*cf.* n.21 *infra*).

¹⁹ *TAM* V.1 257, dedication to Meter Aliane ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλαπέντος ἀργυρίου (δηναρίων) υἱβ’ . . . καὶ εὐρεθέντος παρὰ Κρήσκεντι κτλ. (*cf.* in the present text 5 ἐκλάπη, 8 εὐρέθη); further instances at 440, 443, 510, 525.

²⁰ *TAM* V.1 231, two orphan children victims of ἐνίων ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀρόντων ἔνγραφα καὶ ἕτερα εἶδη ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶν λαθραίως. αἴρω is used similarly in 362, a curse against τὸν βεβληκότα τὸ π[ι]νακίδιον καὶ ἡρκότα καὶ σύστορα (*i.e.* probably συνίστορα) τῆ ἀπολεία. Too little is preserved of the propitiatory inscription 180 to clarify the exact meaning of the words ἐπειδὴ ἀρθ[έν]των μου ὀπλαρίω[ν ὑ]πὸ Ἀνδροεικού ε[ἰρη]νάρχου. See also n.29 *infra*.

²¹ *TAM* V.1 317. Here again (*cf. supra* nn.17f) a child—even if only indirectly—is involved in a crime; probably he is identical with τὸ τέκνον mentioned at the end of the inscription (line 21) as participating at the propitiation and eulogy of Anaitis. *Cf.* J. Zingerle, *Jahresheft* 23 Beibl. (1926) 5–16 no. 1, with n.3.

entrusted with the investigation. As Hermogenes and Apollonius persist in their denial, the latter is put to death; finally his relatives arrange to placate the divinity.

3–4: The theft that occasioned the present affair had as object a λιθάριον ὑακίνθιον, probably a gem of hyacinth stone or else a small stone whose color was that of a hyacinth stone. According to Pliny this stone resembled the amethyst in some ways, though more watery in its violet color.²² Elsewhere its color is compared to the water of the sea as it appears near the coast in a shallow place.²³ This is not what we now call the precious ‘hyacinth’; it has been supposed rather that in antiquity the term designated a subspecies of amethyst²⁴ or a bluish aquamarine²⁵ or else a blue corundum (sapphire).²⁶

The λιθάριον of our text probably had this characteristic violet or bluish color, or was of the species of stone described by Pliny. The adjective ὑακίνθιος in this context is not elsewhere attested; its meaning here is ‘consisting of/belonging to the hyacinth-stone’.²⁷ Apparently the words λίθοι ὑακίνθιοι in a papyrus of the fifth century are to be understood in a similar way.²⁸

²² HN 37.125: *multum ab hac (sc. amethysto) distat hyacinthos, ab vicino tamen colore descendens. differentia haec est, quod ille emicans in amethysto fulgor violaceus diluitur hyacintho; cf. 37.122; Isid. Etym. 16.9.3, hic in Aethiopia invenitur, caeruleum colorem habens.*

²³ Heliod. *Aeth.* 2.30, (ὑάκινθοι) ἀπεμιμῶντο χροῖαν ἀκτῆς θαλαττίας ὑπ’ ἀγχιβαθεῖ σκοπέλω μικρὸν ὑποφριττούσης καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἰαζούσης.

²⁴ “Abart des Amethyst,” H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste* III (Leipzig 1884) 252, with references to further testimonia.

²⁵ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* III (Leipzig/Berlin 1900) 393 with n.2, where he rejects the identification with the sapphire put forth by C. W. King, *The Natural History* (London 1865) 199.

²⁶ D. E. Eichholz in the Loeb Pliny *NH* (X 266). On the magical effect of the λίθος ὑάκινθος worn in a ring see Socrates and Dionysius *Περὶ λίθων* 27 (R. Halleux and J. Schamp, *Les lapidaires grecs* [Paris 1985] 166; we are indebted for this reference to E. Livrea, Florence), reporting that a ring-stone of this sort is usually engraved Ποσειδῶν ἔχων δελφίνα τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ καὶ τρίαιναν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ. For gems of hyacinth-stone cf. *Anth.Gr.* 9.751; Dessau, *ILS* 4422; cf. n.28 *infra*.

²⁷ For the ending, expressing belonging or relation to, see E. Schwyzer, *Gr.Gram.* I³ (1959) 466. In our inscription ὑακίνθιος may well stand for an (unattested) ὑακίνθειος; for this ending, indicating ‘consisting of’, see Schwyzer 467f. M. Leumann postulated a Greek ὑακίνθειος on the basis of Latin *hyacintheus*, attested in Venant. Fort. (*Carm.* 8.3.270, 8.4.20); see *TLL* VI 3126 s.v.

²⁸ *PSI* III 183.5, with Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste* I 392 (‘hyazinthenfarbig’, Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v.). At Candace’s court wine is offered to Alexander ἐν ποτηρίοις σμαραγδίνοις καὶ ὑακινθίνοις (Ps.-Callis. *Hist.Alex.Magn.* rec. λ, ed. H. van Thiel [Bonn 1959] 63.21, cf. 63.33; we owe this reference to an Ibycus word-search of the TLG records kindly made by David Packard). See also Aponius *Comm.Cant.Cant.* 8 (Bottino/Martini 159), *animas . . . quas velut hyacinthinas gemmas Christus offert patri; Passio Thomae* p.142.2 Bonnet, *tota fabrica (sc. palatii caelestis) ex lapidibus zmaragdinis et iacintinis (iacinctis Q, iacinctinis R) . . . instructa est (cf. TLL VI 3126.25–29).*

4–6: Syntyche’s husband Theogenes had found the gem; later it was lying “in her house” and was stolen. She tried to recover it and found herself exposed to questioning. Although the verb *βασανίζω* does not necessarily refer to torture, Syntyche’s appeal to the god seems to point to painful trials.²⁹ The present participles *ζητούσης* and *βασανιζομένης* show that searching and interrogation occupied some length of time. Syntyche’s house is mentioned explicitly (*ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῆς*). Therefore Theogenes’ precious find was kept either in a house owned by his wife, or we must assume that *οἰκία αὐτῆς* is equivalent to *γυναικωνίτις*, Syntyche’s own apartment.³⁰

6–8: In her distress Syntyche has recourse to Men Axiottenos and asks him to prove her innocence and to rehabilitate her: *ἐπέυξατο . . . περὶ αὐτοῦ* (*sc. τοῦ λιθαρίου*) *ἵνα*³¹ *αὐτὴν ἱκανοποιήσι* (*i.e. -ση*). Some inscriptions of this sort mention the transfer of the investigation to the gods. So for instance in the “sombre histoire villageoise”³² in which a certain Tatias, suspected by all of having given her son-in-law Iucundus a *φάρμακον* that drove him out of his mind, set up a sceptre³³ and deposited curses in the temple in order to clear herself:³⁴ *ἡ δὲ Τατίας ἐπέστησεν σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀράς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ ναῶ ὡς ἱκανοποιούσα περὶ τοῦ πεφημισθαι αὐτῆν*.³⁵

One could also entrust the god with the investigation of a case by ‘giving the *πιττάκιον*’³⁶ or by ceding a claim to the god.³⁷ To call down a curse upon someone likewise meant to transfer him to the jurisdic-

²⁹ This is the most common use of *βασανίζω*, to ‘examine to find out the truth’, *e.g.* Thuc. 7.86.4, 8.92.2; *cf.* Preisigke *s.v.* In *P.Oxy.* VI 903 (c. IV) a man is accused by his wife of having tried by means of torture (*μαστιγούμενοι*) to learn from the slaves *τί ἦρκεν* (*sc. the wife*) *ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου . . . βασανιζόμενοι οὖν εἶπαν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σῶν ἦρκεν κτλ.*

³⁰ *Cf.* Lys. 1.9, *οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν.*

³¹ For *ἐπέυχεσθαι* with *ἵνα* instead of the infinitive see Blass/Debrunner 240 §392.1c.

³² So Robert (*supra* n.3) 518.

³³ See *supra* n.14.

³⁴ *ὡς ἱκανοποιούσα*, rendered by Zingerle (*supra* n.21) 17 “um . . . sich Genugtuung zu verschaffen,” adding (23) “mit vulgärer Genusvermischung das Aktivum statt des vom Sinne geforderten Mediums”; by LSJ Suppl. “defend oneself against an imputation”; see Herrmann *ad TAM* V.1 318.11. As in our inscription Men Axiottenos helps Syntyche, God occurs in a Christian context as *ἱκανοδότης*: in his will the testator Fl. Phoebammon promises the person who is to care for his orphaned sons, *καὐτὸς ὁ ἱκανοδότῃ[ς] θεὸς ἀντὶ τῶν πόνων [τούτων] ἀμείψηται αὐτῷ πλουσία χειρὶ* (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151.255, A.D. 570). An unpublished confession inscription contains: *Μηνοφίλα . . . τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνευξαμένη ἰς τὸ εἰκανοποιηθῆναι αὐτῆν.*

³⁵ *TAM* V.1 318; in this instance, Tatias happened to turn the divine wrath upon herself and her son.

³⁶ *πιττάκιον* ἔδωκεν, *TAM* V.1 251.6f with Herrmann’s commentary; *cf.* Steinleitner (*supra* n.4) 100–05.

³⁷ *παρεχώρησεν τῇ θεῷ*, *TAM* V.1 440.10f with Herrmann’s commentary.

tion of the god.³⁸ Thus Rhodia made a dedication to Meter Aliane because money stolen from her husband was recovered.³⁹ She presumably had acted just as Syntyche does here: she had handed over the investigation to the goddess, who proved successful and therefore received the stele.

8–11: The inscription goes on to report that the gem was found wrapped in a linen shirt,⁴⁰ put back by the thief⁴¹ in the same place it had been before.⁴² Yet it proved to be no longer ‘whole, undamaged’ (ὀλόκληρον, 11),⁴³ but disfigured by fire. ἠφανισμένον (9) probably means that it had lost its colour and had become in appearance inconspicuous and ordinary. According to mediaeval tradition, which presumably goes back to ancient mineralogy, the blue hyacinth-stone, unlike the red, suffers upon exposure to fire.⁴⁴

A modern reader might wonder whether in fact a thief returned the damaged gem: the burnt, scarcely recognizable object could have been a different stone. The claim in the inscription, that the thief had wrapped up and returned the stone, would have been hard to prove.

11–14: The god’s appearance “on the thirty-first day” is ambiguous: reckoned from the theft or—if this happened on a different day—from the god’s taking up the investigation? The chronological indication seems to be related *apo koinou* to ἐπιφανείς as well as to διέρηξε: Apphia’s violent death was an immediate consequence of the god’s appearance. We are not told however whether this event coincided with the rediscovery of the gem. Men Axiottenos both freed Syntyche from her difficult situation and punished Apphia, daughter of Glycon,⁴⁵ τὴν κλέψασα(ν) καὶ τοῦτο πνήσασα(ν);⁴⁶ this last phrase refers to

³⁸ For ἀραί in propitiatory inscriptions see *supra* n.35 (lines 10, 25f), and *TAM* V.1 525.9f, 492.2 (?); Herrmann/Varinlioglu (*supra* n.7) 6f no. 3.3 with n.20, 13 no. 9.2; cf. Steinleitner (*supra* n.4) 100–08.

³⁹ *TAM* V.1 257, cf. *supra* n.19.

⁴⁰ For ἐνδεμένον instead of ἐνδεδεμένον compare συνδεμένον in a Sethianic curse-tablet: Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* 155.a.36, b.6; K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1898) 215f.

⁴¹ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλέπτου is to be related *apo koinou* to both ἐνδεμένον and τεθειμένον.

⁴² Compare the report (quoted *supra* n.16) in which the thief is compelled by the god to bring the stolen shirt to the temple.

⁴³ Dedications and propitiatory inscriptions of this region normally use ὀλόκληρος/ὀλοκληρία in the sense of ‘healthy/health’, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (Paris 1955) 97–103; *TAM* V.1 238.7, 323.3; H. Malay, *EpigrAnat* 6 (1985) 121 no. 38.2.

⁴⁴ H. Lüschen, *Die Namen der Steine*² (Thun 1979) 241f.

⁴⁵ For children as sinners in such texts see *supra* nn.17, 18, 21; cf. the fragmentary *TAM* V.1 269.4 (with Buckler’s supplements) [τὴν] παρθένον καὶ ναυ[κόρον] (the context is obscure).

⁴⁶ For the omission of final *nu* see Dieterich (*supra* n.40) 88–91; F. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan 1976–81) I 111f.

the damage to the stone, as distinct from the theft. Both actions are instances of the god's manifestation, his epiphany. Compare a dedication from Saittai, offered to θεός "Υψιστος and μέγα Θεῖον ἐπιφανές;⁴⁷ an altar from Saraçlar (A.D. 20/1) was set up to Ἀπόλλωνι Νισυρείτη ἐπιφανεί (*TAM* V.1 427). The attribute ἐπιφανής seems to be attested also in a very fragmentary confession inscription from Ayazviran.⁴⁸

Apphia seems to have atoned for the wrongdoing with her life: the god smashed her, διέρηξε.⁴⁹ Describing how Heracles killed Busiris, Dio Chrysostom writes τὸν δὲ Βούσιριν . . . διέρρηξεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καταβαλὼν (8.32). The death penalty inflicted by the god is not at all extraordinary in the reports of the propitiatory inscriptions; it can strike the sinner himself, his relatives, or his livestock.⁵⁰ Strabo (12.8.9 [574f]) tells the story of the 'gangster' Cleon, who a month⁵¹ after being ordained a priest at Comana in Pontus died of a disease; those who belonged to the sanctuary interpreted this as a punitive reaction of the goddess,⁵² since Cleon had blatantly disregarded the taboo against pork.

The remainder of the inscription focusses upon Syntyche, who apparently had become guilty, probably after the god's investigation of the theft, of a wrongdoing.

15–16: She acted in a way that was interpreted by the god as showing disrespect to his power. So too the sinner Stratonicus, at the end of his confession inscription, urges the reader "not to slight the god's

⁴⁷ L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 112 (= *Op. Min. Sel.* I 411; *TAM* V.1 186): "l'épithète marquant la puissance et le secours, d'Épiphane", appliquée à qui se manifeste de façon sensible dans des apparitions" (113=412).

⁴⁸ *TAM* V.1 463; the supplement [ἐπιφα]νεῖ was proposed by the first editors Keil/von Premerstein (*supra* n.6) 106 no. 206 (Steinleitner [*supra* n.4] 15–21 no. 2 with commentary). [μ]εγάλῳ θεῷ [ἐπιφαν]εῖ occurs in a dedication from Asarcik, Naour (*supra* n.14) 112 no. 4.1 [*SEG* XXXIII 1001]. Steinleitner discusses the testimonies for ἐπιφάνεια/ἐπιφανής/ἐπιφανέστατος. Cf. F. Pfister, *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) s.v. "Epiphanie," esp. 298–301; A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*⁴ (Tübingen 1923) 320; C. M. Danoff, *ARW* 33 (1936) 168 n.3 (on *IGBulg* II 670); J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI (Paris 1948) 51 with n.6; K. Garbrah, "On the Θεοφάνεια in Chios and the Epiphany of Gods in War," *ZPE* 65 (1986) 207–10.

⁴⁹ For the single rho cf. Gignac (*supra* n.46) II 246.

⁵⁰ The sinner(s): *TAM* V.1 231.15 (ὁ θεός . . . διέφθειρε), 317 (τελευτήσαντος; cf. *supra* 465), 326 (ἀπετελέσεται, for which see *infra*), 440 (κολασθέντος . . . ἰς θανάτου λόγου), cf. 492.5, 527.8, Herrmann/Varinlioglu (*supra* n.7) 9. The sinner and her son: *supra* n.35. Relatives: Herrmann (*supra* n.1) 255–58 no. 2, ἀπετελέσεται αὐτοῦ Εἰούλιον τὸν υἱὸν καὶ Μαρκίαν τὴν ἑκγονον αὐτοῦ ("brachte der Gott seinen Sohn Iulius und seine Enkelin Marcia zu Tode"). A relative and livestock: *TAM* V.1 464.10ff, ζημίας αὐτῷ ἐπόησεν ἀποκτίνας αὐτῷ τὰ κτήνη βοῦν κὲ ὄνον ἀπιθοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐρμογένου ἀπέκτινεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα.

⁵¹ ἐντὸς μηνιαίου χρόνου: cf. here 12f, ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τριακοστῇ.

⁵² ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, κατὰ μῆνιν τῆς θεοῦ; cf. Zingerle (*supra* n.21) 45f.

power.”⁵³ A number of texts of this category show how sensitive the gods were about persons who did not believe in their might or were even contemptuous of it. In principle, any deliberate transgression of divine order is a sign of contempt of the divinity; but sometimes the inscriptions stress explicitly that the god has not been respected.⁵⁴ If we correct the meaningless ΠΕΡΙΚΙΥΡΟΥΣΗΣ to περι<σ>υρούσης, Syntyche “ridiculed” the power of the god. In the *Odyssey* (17.217ff) the goatherd Melantheus addresses mocking and provocative words to Eumaeus and Odysseus; in his commentary, Eustathius (1816.46) points out that Odysseus’ anger is stirred up διὰ τὸ τοῦ λόγου . . . ψογερὸν καὶ περισῦρον· ἐπεὶ τοι τὴν κωμωδίαν ψόγον καὶ περίσυρμα ὠρίζοντο οἱ παλαιοί.⁵⁵

16–19: The consequence of Syntyche’s fault is divine punishment: “the god also was wroth at this.”⁵⁶ Although the preceding genitive absolute gave the reason for the god’s *nemesis*, it is explained again in a following ὅτι-clause, “because Syntyche did not show the god (*sc.* in his eminence) or praise him.” ἐκφαντεύω is not attested elsewhere; Ps.-Dionysius has ἐκφαντεία,⁵⁷ and other formations on ἐκφαντ- show that its meaning here is ‘reveal, make known’.⁵⁸ It is perhaps relevant to

⁵³ TAM V.1 179b.11f [SEG XXVIII 914]: αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐγ Διδύμων Δρυῶν) τὰς δυνάμεις μὴ τίς ποτε κατευτελήσει (*i.e.* κατευτελίση); κατευτελίσασα Μῆνα Λαβανα is said to have been the sin of one Elpis, see Herrmann (*supra* n.1) 251 no. 1.2f, with 253 and n.9 on the verb.

⁵⁴ Cf. Malay/Petzl (*supra* n.2) 60 no. 4.2–5, μεγαλορημονήσας Μῆνα Ἀξιεττηνόν (Kalburcu, A.D. 159/160); cf. the preceding note, and the urging at TAM V.1 179a.11–13 [SEG XXVIII 913], ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καταφρονεῖν το[ῦ θε]οῦ (similarly the Phrygian inscriptions MAMA IV 279, 280, 282–285). Disbelief or disobedience is also taken as a punishable sin: TAM V.1 464.11 ἀπιθοῦντος, Herrmann (*supra* n.1) 255 no. 2.5 ἐπ(ε)ῖ ἠπίθησεν, Robert (*supra* n.3) 520 [SEG XXXIII 1012.2f] μὴ πιστεύουσα τῷ θεῷ.

⁵⁵ LSJ *s.v.* περισύρω I.2. The verb occurs in a different context in the confession inscription TAM V.1 231.10: περισυρομένων αὐτῶν (two orphans) ὑπὸ δανιστῶν. There the precise meaning is not clear: had the creditors maltreated them (so Zingerle [*supra* n.21] 42, “hart zugesetzt”)? Or had they even confiscated their property? Cf. Herrmann (*supra* n.16) 51 n.201. By letter Herrmann suggests that the letters might be a corruption of περικρουούσης. The meaning would then probably be, “because she put the god’s power to the test”; for περικρούω meaning ‘strike all round’ (a vessel to test if it is cracked) cf. Pl. *Phlb.* 55c, *Iamb. Myst.* 8.5; see LSJ *s.v.* 2. In Lucian’s *Podagra* the deified disease emphasizes how angrily she reacts if someone tests her strength (176–81): τοῖς . . . πειρώσῃ με εἴωθ’ ἀπαντᾶν μᾶλλον ὀργιλωτέρα. . . ὁ γὰρ μεταλαβὼν τῶν ἐμῶν μυστηρίων πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς εὐστομείν διδάσκειται. By εὐστομείν one is reminded of εὐλογεῖν, a verb often used in propitiatory inscriptions (see n.60 *infra*).

⁵⁶ νεμεσάω is here construed with the accusative of respect τοῦτο; on its meaning see *supra* n.15.

⁵⁷ *De cael. hier.* 2.1 (Migne, *PG* 3.136D); “elucidation, explanation,” Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon s.v.*

⁵⁸ See LSJ and Lampe *s.vv.* ἐκφανσις, ἐκφαντικός, ἐκφαντορία (=ἐκφανῶς φανερῶσαι, *Suda*), ἐκφαντορικός, ἐκφαντος, ἐκφάντωρ.

recall the *θεοφάντης* mentioned in a Smyrnaean inscription.⁵⁹ The epexegetic *ὑψωσε* makes clear how the god expected Syntyche to ‘reveal’ him: by praise. The eulogy of the god’s *dynamis* is a central theme in confession inscriptions.⁶⁰ The present text is the first of this category to express this exaltation or praise with the verb *ὑψόω*.⁶¹ In the Septuagint *ὑψόω* is often nearly synonymous with *ὑμνῶω* and *δοξάζω*, whereas in non-biblical contexts it occurs only rarely and in late texts.⁶² It is tempting to take *ὑψόω* in the Maeonian inscription as testimony for the influence of Jewish vocabulary. Of *εὐλογέω/εὐλογία*, whose meaning is close to that of *ὑψόω*, it has already been suggested that they were chosen under such influence.⁶³

Syntyche made herself guilty of slighting (*περισύρειν*) the god’s power by failing to reveal him with an act of praise. The text indicates the reason: the mother of the thief asked her to keep silent (16f).⁶⁴ The description is too elliptical to reconstruct the events with certainty. Probably after the theft was resolved and Syntyche was obliged to reward the god for his resourcefulness, Apphia’s mother undertook to keep the affair concealed. Presumably she was concerned for the reputation of her dead daughter; perhaps no one would have known

⁵⁹ Petzl, *I.Smyrna* 728.1 with commentary.

⁶⁰ *εὐλογοῦμεν στη λογογραφησαντες τας δυναμεις των θεων* (*TAM* V.1 318.32–34), and similarly many other instances; for *εὐλογεῖν/εὐλογία* as supposedly reflecting Jewish influence see *infra*; (to Meter Anaitis) *μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν* (*TAM* V.1 317.23f); *μαρτυροῦντες τας δ[υναμεις] των θεων* (319.5f); *ἀνέστησε τὸ μαρτύριον* (179a [*SEG* XXVIII 913]); *θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν Περειύδω μαρτύρειν* (presumably = *μαρτύριον*; Herrmann/Varinlioglu [*supra* n.7] 6f no. 3.1f with n.19); *ἀνέγραψα τὴν ἀρετὴν* (*TAM* V.1 264); *ἐνεγράφομεν τας δυναμεις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐλογοῦμεν* (464); *ἀνέγραψα τας δυναμεις τοῦ θεοῦ* (Robert [*supra* n.3] 516 [*SEG* XXXIII 1013.7f]).

⁶¹ Steinleitner (*supra* n.4) 112f n.2 compares Babylonian usage, in which the sinner at the end of his expiation praises and extolls the divinity.

⁶² Exod. 15.2, *δοξάσω (τὸν θεόν) . . . καὶ ὑψώσω αὐτόν*; 2 Esdr. 19.5, *εὐλογήσουσιν ὄνομα δόξης σου, καὶ ὑψώσουσιν ἐπὶ πάσῃ εὐλογία καὶ αἰνέσει*; Ps. 144.1, *ὑψώσω σε, ὁ θεός μου . . . καὶ εὐλογήσω τὸ ὄνομά σου*; Dan. 3.51, *ἐδόξαζον καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐξύψουν τὸν θεόν*; cf. G. Bertram, *RAC* 6 (1966) 22–43 s.v. “Erhöhung,” and G. Kittel, *Theol. Wörterb.z.Neu.Test.* 8 (1969) 604–11 s.v. *ὑψόω, ὑπερυψόω*, with further references (esp. 605.1–3); G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde 1987) no. 89.

⁶³ L. Robert, *CRAI* 1978, 249 n.47: “Quant aux nombreux exemples de la Méonie . . . je n’exclus pas . . . une influence du vocabulaire juif, tant les Juifs ont été nombreux et influents en Asie Mineure à l’époque impériale.” H. W. Pleket, in *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden 1981) 184–89, on the other hand assumes that *εὐλογέω/εὐλογία* in Maeonia had no direct connection with Jewish usage; rather the LXX and the Maeonians chose *εὐλογ-* independently because “it was the non-secularized Greek word for ‘praise’ and, moreover, a term which had been used in situations of great awe and respect for the god” (187). For the borrowing of terms in western Anatolian cults from Hellenistic Jewish communities of the area see also A. R. R. Sheppard, “Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia,” *Talanta* 11–12 (1980/1) 77–101.

⁶⁴ For the *ἵνα* construction see Blass-Debrunner §392.1c.

about the connection between the reappearance of the gem and Ap-
phia's death if Syntyche did not reveal it in an ex-voto. This was what
the mother tried to prevent, and Syntyche yielded to the request,
acting "in men's interest rather than the god's" (22f). The diction here
becomes solemn,⁶⁵ and one might deduce that these words are quoted
from the temple authorities' characterization of Syntyche's wrongdo-
ing.

The human sphere is strongly contrasted with the divine by the op-
position τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων/τοῦ θεοῦ.⁶⁶ A fragmentary propitiatory text
from Philadelphia reflects the idea of the powerless inferiority of
human beings: a woman set up a declaration, presumably of the
salvation brought about by the god, "after she had been severely
punished (by the god) and given up by mankind" (κολασθεῖσα [π]ουνη-
ρῶς [κ]αὶ ἀφελπισθοῦσα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων).⁶⁷

19–22: "Therefore⁶⁸ he made her set up the (report of his) anger."
As in many similar inscriptions, we read that the god forced⁶⁹ the
sinner to erect a stele narrating the whole affair, νέμεσις (cf. line 25)
here meaning the report itself. We are not told, however, exactly what
the punishment consisted of. In the only other instance found of
νέμεσις in confession inscriptions, the word means the report of sin,
divine punishment, and relief from it.⁷⁰

A precise statement is made concerning when the νέμεσις, i.e. the
present stele, was set up: when Syntyche's son Heracleides was thir-
teen years old. This way of specifying the date is strange; the τέκνον
Heracleides had not been mentioned before. That the deadline for

⁶⁵ Some of the propitiatory inscriptions tend to a somewhat hieratic, elevated style.
So for instance TAM V.1 318.14–23, οἱ θεοὶ αὐτὴν ἐποίησαν ἐν κολάσει, ἣν οὐ διέφυγεν·
ὁμοίως καὶ . . . ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς παράγων τὴν ἴσοδον . . . δρέπανον κρατῶν ἀμπελοτόμον, ἐκ τῆς
χειρὸς ἔπεσεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν πόδα, καὶ οὕτως μονημέρῳ κολάσει ἀπηλλάγη (cf. Zingerle
[supra n.21] 21, "geschraubte Wendungen und Worte"); 440.11–13, κολασθέντος . . .
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἰς θανάτου λόγον. These words on the base of a statue of Men have the
air of quoting a divine answer (Manganaro [supra n.2]): Ἀμύνταν πεποσχότα . . . κε-
χαρισμένον εἶναι Μηρὶ Ἀξιττηνῷ καθίσε (probably=καθίσαι: κάθισε, "ha innalzato," ed.)
ἀφίδρυσμα (A.D. 118/9). Unpublished inscriptions supply further instances of this
tendency.

⁶⁶ One is reminded of Ev.Luk. 20.25, ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ
θεῷ.

⁶⁷ A.-E. Kontoleon, REG 12 (1899) 385 no. 8 (Steinleitner [supra n.4] 46 no. 19); cf.
IGUrbRom I 148.8, 11, Ἰουλιανῷ ἀφηλιπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησμάτισεν ὁ
θεός (Asclepius) κτλ. (early III A.D.).

⁶⁸ For this meaning of δι' ὅτι see Schwyzer, Gr.Gram. II³ (1950) 661, "'weshalb',
auch mit 'relat. Anschluss' . . . 'deshalb.'"

⁶⁹ With ἐποίησεν here compare the text quote supra n.16, ἐποίησε κτλ.

⁷⁰ TAM V.1 460: ἐπ(ε)ὶ Τροφίμη . . . κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰς ὑπηρεσίας χάριν μὴ
βουληθοῦσα ταχέως προσελθεῖν, ἐκολάσето αὐτὴν καὶ μανῆναι ἐποίησεν ἠρώτησε οὖν
Μητέρα Ταρσηνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τάρσιον καὶ Μῆνα Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττηνὸν Κορεσα
κατέχοντα, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν στηλλογραφθῆναι νέμεσιν καὶ καταγράψαι ἑμαυτὴν ἰς ὑπηρεσίαν
τοῖς θεοῖς. For νεμεσῶ see supra n.15.

completing the expiation is defined by his age may suggest that he was somehow involved in the events, perhaps affected in some way by Men's *νέμεσις*. It is natural that when a god ordained the erection of a stele, he wanted it executed as quickly as possible; delay roused his anger.⁷¹ Yet for the indication of an exact date by which the work was to be completed, the only parallel seems to be in an unpublished text from Selendi, where apparently the god says: *εἰλεος εἶμαι ἀναστανομένης τῆς στήλλην (for -λης) μου ἢ ἡμέρα ὤρισα*.⁷²

Presumably all confession stelae were set up in the sanctuaries of the respective gods; it is a peculiarity of this text that it specifies that the *νέμεσις* must be erected "at his (surely the god's) place."⁷³

23–25: The closing remark states that it was Syntyche who "set forth as a public notice"⁷⁴ the record of the divine punishment. Her name stands in a worn part of the stone; but it is sufficiently legible and shows no sign of intentional deletion. Lines 24 and 25 are written—probably by a different hand—in larger and less elaborate letters. Here her parents are named, but it seems that the persons mentioned in this affair, whose names have little or nothing to distinguish them, cannot be securely identified with homonyms occurring in other texts; *TAM* V.1 656 is an undated tombstone from Daldis erected by a Meltine for her husband Apollonius.⁷⁵

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⁷¹ In the inscription from Kalburcu (*supra* n.54), the god demands a relief or sculpture of Men Tiamou and Anaitis, and postponement caused punishment (see Herrmann's commentary on lines 8f).

⁷² Compare *TAM* V.1 536 (Maeonia, A.D. 171/2): *κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν ἱερός δοῦμος εὐχὴν Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῶ καὶ Μηνὶ Τιαμου καὶ Μηνὶ Τυράννω ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ'* ("votum intra nundinum solvendum esse" J. Keil, quoted by Herrmann *ad loc.*): *εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσι, ἀναγνώσεται τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διός*.

⁷³ Cf. *TAM* V.1 465.2f, [*ἀνέστησεν*] *τὴν στήλλην ἰς τὸν θεόν*. The god's place presumably corresponds to what is elsewhere called *ὁ χορός* (*TAM* V.1 238.3f); cf. the *χωρίον* in the confession inscriptions of the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos in Phrygia, *MAMA* IV 279–289.

⁷⁴ Cf. *LSJ s.v. προγράφω* II; for *-οῦσα* rather than *-υῖα* in a perfect participle see Dieterich (*supra* n.40) 207.

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