

CHAPTER XXIV

KOLLYDA

81 DEDICATION TO METER TARSENE AND APOLLON TARSIOS

[Fig. 81]

Gölde (now İncesu [Kollyda]). Left, middle piece of a marble stele. In a recess above the inscription are preserved the back feet of a horse (?) moving right. 18×15×5, L 1.5 to 1.8. Date: 160- 169 Sulla = between 75 and 85 A. D.

horse (?)
 Ἔτους ρξ[.´, μη(νὸς) month]
 ε´· Ἰουλία Γ[patronym]
 Μητρὶ Ταρσ[ηνῆ καὶ Ἀπόλλω]-
 4 νι Ταρσίφ []
 ΣΙΝ κατ´ ἐπ[ιταγήν]

4-5 Perhaps τὴν ἀνάθε/σιν or τὴν καθιέρω/σιν ? The traces after Ταρσίφ make [θεοῖς ἐπακούσα]/σιν improbable.

5 κατ´ ἐπ[ιταγήν would have been followed by τῶν θεῶν or εὐχήν or ἀνέθηκεν or ἀπέδωκεν.

Μήτηρ Ταρσηνή (perhaps identical with Τασζηνή¹⁹⁶, Τασηνή¹⁹⁷ and Ταζηνή¹⁹⁸) and Apollon Tarsios¹⁹⁹, worshipped both separately and jointly²⁰⁰, are known from several dedications from the Katakekaumene. The epithet is supposed to be connected with the name of the Ταζηνῶν κατοκία, perhaps located at Kavaklı (cf. also *infra* no. 87)²⁰¹.

82 DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS

[Fig. 82]

Gölde (now İncesu [Kollyda]). Lower part of marble stele with tenon. 21×27×5, L 2. Date: 168 Sulla = 83/4 A. D.

Ἔτους ρξη´· Ἀσκλη-
 πιῶ Μίθρης Διογ-
 ένου εὐχήν.

2 On the name Μίθρης see above no. 14 (cf. also no. 16).

“In the year 168, Mithres, son of Diogenes, made a vow to Asklepios”.

For another dedication to Asklepios see *supra* no. 33 (Daldis).

¹⁹⁶TAM V, 1, 501 (Gölde).

¹⁹⁷TAM V, 1, 353-4 (Gölde).

¹⁹⁸TAM V, 1, 461 ? (Ayazviran), 499 (Kavaklı) and our no. 87.

¹⁹⁹ TAM V, 1, 195-7 (Tabala), 240 (Kula) and 448 (Ayazviran), cf. also our no. 66.

²⁰⁰For dedications mentioning both divinities see TAM V, 1, 202 (Körez), 460 (Ayazviran) and SEG 37, 1735 (probably from NE Lydia).

²⁰¹See TAM V, 1, 231; PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, pp. 42-3 and SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 300, no. 44.

83 CONFESSION TO METER ANAEITIS, MEIS TIAMOU AND MEIS OURANIOS

[Fig. 83]

Gölde (now İncesu [Kollyda]). Upper piece of a marble stele with triangular pediment. The top acroterion is missing. 35×31×5, L 1.2 to 1.5. Date: Roman imperial period.

Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Ἀναεῖτις
καὶ Μεῖς Τιαμου καὶ Μεῖς
Οὐράνιος Κόλλυδα κατέχον-
4 τες καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν·
Τρύφαινα Βαβυλωνίας δού-
λη εἰσῆλθεν ἄθετος καὶ
ἐκολάσθη καὶ ἐξομολογη-
[σ-]

1 The letter Σ at the end is engraved above the line.

2-3 On the epithet οὐράνιος (“heavenly”) applied to Men see H. MALAY, *EA* 36, 2003, 15 with note 14 with bibliography, cf. also our no. 55. -The letter N at the end is inserted above the line.

4 On the power (δυνάμεις) of the gods see above no. 51, cf. also 52, 55 and 66.

5 The toponym or ethnic Βαβυλωνία does not seem to be attested as a personal name (cf. Βαβυλών in *TAM* V, 1, 511).

7 A form of ἐξομολογέομαι (e.g. ἐξομολογη/σαμένη ἐστηλλογράφησε). For the term (ἐξ)ομολογεῖν (“acknowledge, confess”) in this context see H.W. PLEKET in *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 180, note 135 and 191, cf. also our no. 85.

“Great (are) Meter Anaeitis and Meis Tiamou and Meis Ouranios, who rule over Kollyda, and their power! Tryphaina, a slave of Babylonia, entered unsuitably and was punished and (now) acknowledging ...”.

Tryphaina, a slave of Babylonia, was punished because she was ἄθετος, “unsuitable” when she entered a sacred place. Another confession from the same region records a similar transgression of a certain Polion: ἐπί με ἔλαθεν κὲ ὑπερέβην τὸν ὄρον ἄθετος “without paying attention to notices, he crossed the boundary unsuitably”²⁰². In our case the verb εἰσέρχομαι would point to a ἱερόν or ναός or a part of it (e.g. βωμός).

Divinities “possessing” or “ruling” (κατέχων, βασιλεύων) villages in the Katakekaumene are well known (cf. above nos. 51, 52 and 55)²⁰³. Here it is interesting to see that some deities appear to possess even a polis like Κόλλυδα.

84 CONFESSION TO MEN MOTYLLEITES

[Fig. 84]

Gölde (now İncesu [Kollyda]). Lower part of a huge stele of marble with tenon. Above the inscription is preserved a moulded platform. It is now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 8345). Dimensions omitted. Date: 282 Sulla = 197/8 A. D.

platform
Μηνὸς Μοτυλλεῖτου ἰορτῆς γε-
νομένης, ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ

²⁰²PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 6.

²⁰³See H. MALAY, *EA* 12, 1988, 147 with note 3 with bibliography.

τῆς ἰορτῆς, συνῆλθεν ὄχλος ἐπὶ τ-
 4 ἦν βασιλικὴν ἔχοντες ξίφη καὶ ξύλα
 καὶ λίθους, συντρίψαντες τοὺς ἱερο-
 δούλους καὶ τὰ ἀφυδρίσματα τῶν θεῶν,
 καὶ μηδενὶ χρῶμα τηρηθῆναι μήτε τῷ[ς]
 8 θεοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἱεροδούλοις· εὐρε-
 θεῖς δὲ Ὀνίσμος Λάθυρος ἐν αὐτοῖς
 καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς τὴν μάχην ἀνακρ-
 οῦσαι διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ἐ' (ἐ)κολάσ-
 12 θη ἰς τὸν ὤμον καὶ δυσσαπιστῶν τῷ θε-
 ῶ καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δυνάμενος θαρα-
 πευθῆναι ἐ(θ)αραπεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ·
 δευτέρῳ οὖν κολάσει ἐδράχθη κατὰ
 16 τῶν ἀπαλῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς
 καὶ ὥρας τρεῖς· σωθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 κατὰ τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος εὐλογῶν ἀνέθηκα.
 Ἔτους σπβ', μη(νὸς) Δαισίου κ'.

1 For Men's epithet Motyll(e)ites and its possible connection with a toponym see the following *lemma*.

2 It is not clear to whom the pronoun αὐτοῦ is referring. Most probably it was Onesimos Lathyros (line 9) of whom it is said that he was coming from the festival. But there are other alternatives: maybe the god Men Motylleites was referred to (this would be the most natural interpretation as far as the word order is concerned). When he (i.e. a person who performed the role of the god [cf. lines 7f.]) came from his festival the crowd attacked him and his company. –If αὐτοῦ is referring to ὄχλος, the present text would stand instead of a 'correct' phrasing like ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἰορτῆς συνῆλθεν ὄχλος.

1 and 3 On ἰορτή (= ἐορτή) see K. DIETERICH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1898), 45f. and ROBERT, *Noms indigènes*, 284 ("la fête") with attestations of related personal names.

3-5 συνῆλθεν ὄχλος ... ἔχοντες ..., συντρίψαντες: *constructio ad sensum*.

4 The building βασιλική (*basilica*) with ἱερόδουλοι and ἀφυδρίσματα is probably the sanctuary of Men Motylleites.

5-6 For ἱερόδουλοι in rural sanctuaries see M. RICL, *EA* 35, 87-90.

6 For ἀφίδρυ(σ)μα (here we have ἀφυδρίσματα) see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* XIII, 120-5 ("statue divine en général" or "statue divine copiée sur un modèle") and PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 67 ("die Kopie der kanonischen Kultstatue eines Gottes"), cf. also *Kernos* 14 (2001), 227 (A. CHANIOTIS).

7 The words χρῶμα τηρηθῆναι are enigmatic. The intended meaning was probably that the situation was very dangerous both for the gods and for the sacred slaves. One may wonder how 'the gods' could be threatened, along with their personnel, by the crowd. It is known that persons could play the role of a god (cf. PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 5.18-19 and our no. 85). Maybe there was a procession returning from the festival which consisted –apart from the sacred slaves– of gods (i.e. of persons representing them), for instance of Men Motylleites (see *supra* on line 2) and the *Dodekatheon* (see H. MALAY, *EA* 36, 2003, 16f.)²⁰⁴; but this assumption is hypothetical. –There seems to be no alternative for the supplement τῷ[ς] (= τοῖς). Though the interchange between οἱ and υἱ is frequent during this period²⁰⁵, the only instance in this text can hardly be regarded as only orthographic. Because of the insufficient space at the end, the mason who probably paid attention also to syllabic division, seems to have preferred such a reduction (cf. PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 73 and 74, dated to the same day and written by the same mason, where we have both Φοῖβος and Φῦβος [twice]).

8ff. Onesimos Lathyros was found "amongst them" (i.e. probably the members of the crowd, not the ἱερόδουλοι). Contrary to what he was apparently supposed to do "he was not able to push back the fight" and was,

²⁰⁴For priests impersonated the gods see R. MERKELBACH, *Isis regina - Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (1995), 172ff., cf. CHANIOTIS, "Divine Justice", 29.

²⁰⁵On the usage of υἱ for οἱ see GIGNAC, *Grammar* I, 197-8.

as a consequence of that, later punished (by the god) in his shoulder. If one takes the lines 11-12 in the form διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ἐκολάσθη, “*after years had passed he was punished*”, the expression would be strangely unprecise (contrast lines 16-17). It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that -either by haplography or by giving and unaugmented aorist one E was omitted²⁰⁶, and that the punishment affected Onesimos “*after five years*”.

9 The name Ὀνήσιμος, which was pronounced ‘Onisimos’ at that time, has here lost its second *Iota* (cf. the spelling Ὀνίσχου instead of Ὀνησίχου: G. PETZL, *EA* 32, 2000, 198, no. 1, line 20 with commentary). –Λάθυρος (“*the pulse*”, “*the chick pea*”) was the nick-name of Onesimos. For another occurrence of the name see PETZL, *IvSmyrna*, 326: ΤΙ. Κλαυδιος Λάθυρος (“*Bohenschote*”) with the mention of Ptolemy IX Soter II who was more commonly called Λάθυρος.

12 ἰς for εἰς (for the usage of ι for ει see *supra* no. 48 (προκιμέν[ω]), cf. also 53 (ἰς), 74 (ὀρύξι, ἰς) and 85 (πάρισιν, ἐπί for ἐπεί).

13-14 ΕΑΡΑΠΕΥΘΗΝ *lapis*. On the form θαραπ- instead of θεραπ- (cf. also the preceding θαραπευθῆναι) see PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 94 (θαραπευθῆσα) with bibliography on p. 112.

17 For bibliography on σώζεσθαι by the god(s) see MALAY, *Manisa Museum*, p. 75, note 123, cf. also *Researches*, 118 and 137.

18 On the terms εὐλογεῖν and εὐλογία see above no. 55, cf. also nos. 71 and 85.

“*After the celebration of a festival of Men Motylleites, when he came from the festival, a crowd gathered towards the basilica, the participants being armed with swords, sticks and stones and crushing the sacred slaves and the images of the gods, and for nobody (was it possible ?) to save his own skin (??), neither for the gods nor for the sacred slaves. Ones(i)mos the ‘Chick-pea’ was found amongst them and being unable to stop the fight he was punished in his shoulder after five (?) years had passed. And as I was disobedient towards the god and could not be cured by anybody, I was (eventually) cured by the god. As a second punishment I was gripped (by a disease) on the soft parts (of my body) for three days and three hours. After having been saved by the god, for my own part I set up this stele by praising. In the year 282, on the twentieth day of the month Daisios*”.

This is the first epigraphic evidence concerning a movement of a discontented group against a rural sanctuary. It is obscure what reason the ὄχλος had for attacking the sacred slaves and the images of the gods. It could be the spontaneous reaction of a crowd of drunk persons, who, like Onesimos the sinner, were also returning from a festival (ἰορτή). But the mention of swords (ἔχοντες ξίφη) carried at least by some of the aggressors, leads one to suppose that the attack may well have been organized by some persons who were discontent with the policy of the sanctuary (or sanctuaries, in general). In fact, there is enough evidence in the confession-inscriptions to support the consideration that the people living in the Katakekaumene must indeed have had strong reasons for being wrathful towards some rural sanctuaries which obviously established a severe control over the villages and even small cities (see the preceding *lemma*). There are indeed many confession-inscriptions with the mention of minor and individual disobediences or sacrileges towards sacred personnel or property possessed by sanctuaries²⁰⁷; but an attack on a sanctuary has not yet been attested. However, a similar, but about five centuries earlier, attack is narrated in the famous “Sacrilege Inscription” discovered at Ephesos: forty-five Sardians, whose names are listed below the text, were sentenced to death (οἱ προήγοροι ὑπὲρ τῆς

²⁰⁶See also the instances adduced in the index of PETZL’s *Beichtinschriften*, p. 166 (“*Verben, Augment, ausgefallen*”).

²⁰⁷Cf. for instance G. PETZL, “Ländliche Religiosität in Lydien” in *Asia Minor Studien* 17: *Forschungen in Lydien* (1995), 43-46 and *Beichtinschriften*, 7, 10, 37, 106 (disobedience), 71 (omission of paying the share of the god), 57, 108 (refusing to offer service to the god or to initiate the *mysteria*), 9, 10 (cutting down sacred trees or purchasing wood from sacred grove), 50 (catching doves of the gods), 49 (scorning a sacred slave), 63 (omission of paying a debt to priestess), 114 (leading soldiers to the sanctuary), cf. also our nos. 70 (embezzling the property of the god) and 66 (capture of a pig which was requested by the priest).

θεοῦ κατε[δι]κάσαντο θάνατον) because they had attacked a sacred embassy (τά τε ἰ[ε]ρά) ἡσέβησαν καὶ τοὺς θεωροὺς ὕβρι[σαν]) after their arrival at Sardeis. It is generally accepted that all the offenders were executed by the Ephesians²⁰⁸.

Onesimos carefully separates himself from the *crowd* by praising and setting up the stele “for my own part” (κατὰ τὸ ἑμὸν μέρος). Obviously, his apology that his presence there was merely a coincidence (ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰορτῆς and εὐρεθεὶς ... ἐν αὐτοῖς) and that he was not able to stop the fight (μὴ δυνηθεὶς τὴν μάχην ἀνακροῦσαι) was not enough to convince the god (i.e. the priests) of his innocence²⁰⁹. However, considering that to crush divine images and sacred personnel should deserve a much heavier punishment (i.e. death)²¹⁰, the disease afflicted in his shoulder (ὤμος), a comparatively light punishment, may be connected with his earnestness to prevent the offenders.

Because of his disobedience to the god (δυσσπιστῶν τῷ θεῷ), Onesimos had probably first applied to physicians, and only after they failed to cure him (ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δυνάμενος θαραπευθῆναι) he sought out the sanctuary and was healed by the god (ἐ(θ)αραπεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ)²¹¹. His application first to physicians seems to be the reason for the second punishment (δευτέρῃ οὖν κολάσει) on soft parts of his body (κατὰ τῶν ἀπαλῶν), which probably means his genitals²¹². This is now confirmed by our no. 46 recording a woman who had to mitigate the divine wrath because she “applied to the god only after the doctors had come to her”.

85 CONFESSIONS TO MEN MOTYLLITES, ZEUS SABAZIOS AND ARTEMIS ANAEITIS

[Fig. 85]

Gölde (now İncesu [Kollyda]). Lower part of a huge stele of marble with tenon. On a platform above the inscription is represented a man fallen to his knees, who seems to have dropped his shield. On the right is an animal which is perhaps attacking him (for possible connection between the relief and the text see below). The stone is now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 8346). 151×66×13, L 2. Date: 290 Sulla = 205/6 A. D.

relief

Ἔτους σγ', μη(νὸς) Περιτίου Ἀμμι-
ανὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης Τρύφω-
νος πάρισιν ἐρωτῶντες το-
4 ὑς θεοὺς Μῆνα Μοτυλλίτ-
ην καὶ Δία Σαβάζιον καὶ Ἄρτε-

²⁰⁸*IvEphesos*, 2, cf. notably O. MASSON, *REG* 100, 1987, 225ff. (*SEG* 36, 1011).

²⁰⁹For examples of extenuating causes set forth by some sinners see PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 6 (ἐπί με ἔλαθεν), 10 (διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν), 55 (παιδίον ὦν ἐτῶν ἕξ), 58 (μήπω οὐσα ἐνήλιξ), 68 (παιδίου αὐτῶν βόσκοντος πενταετοῦς), 78 (παιδίον ὦν ἀκουσίως), 114 (ἐχθρὸν θέλουσα ἀμύνασθαι), cf. also CHANIOTIS, “Tempeljustiz”, 360-1 and “Divine Justice”, 24-5.

²¹⁰For persons responsible for minor offences who were put to death by gods see our no. 51 (theivery of 4 denarii) and PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 35 (disobedience of one’s father), 37 (disobedience of one’s father and the grandfather), 54 (break a promise), 72 (disobedience).

²¹¹See CHANIOTIS, “Illness and Cures”, 332-3 referring to *TAM* V, 1, 432, a funerary inscription where a doctor honours his teacher Lucius who was a priest (Λούκιον τὸν εἰρηῆ ... Τατιανὸς ὁ ἱητρὸς τὸν μαθητήν). Also a dedication to Meter Phileis (PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 94), which records a woman who was perhaps cured by the hand of a priestess (?), may point to a medical practise: θαραπευθῆσα διὰ τῆς Εὐνύας χιρὸς. Similarly, *TAM* V, 1, 331 speaks of a woman who was freed from a magic spell by the priests.

²¹²For health problems appearing in confession-inscriptions and dedications see CHANIOTIS, “Illness and Cures”, 338-341 (Tab. 1-3), cf. also F.T. VAN STRATEN in *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 105-151.

μιν Ἀναεῖτιν καὶ μεγάλην συ-
 νάτος καὶ σύνκλητον τῶν θε-
 8 ῶν, ἐρωτῶντες τὴν κατοικία[ν]
 καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν δοῦμον, ἵνα ἐλέ-
 ου τύχωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐκολάσθη[σ]-
 αν οὔτοι, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἐκρά-
 12 τησαν ἐξομολογούμενον
 τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐλη-
 μοσύνην μὴ λαβόντος τοῦ πα-
 τρός αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀποτελεσθεῖ-
 16 ντος αὐτοῦ “μὴ τίς ποτε παρευ-
 τελίσι τοὺς θεοὺς” διὰ τὰς π[ρ]-
 ώτας προγραφὰς αὐτοῦ ἔγρα[ψ]-
 αν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν εὐλογοῦντε[ς]
 20 τοῖς θεοῖς.

3 πάρισιν for πάρεισιν²¹³. Here the verb has an administrative meaning well attested in the papyri: “appear to an authority” (suggestion by A. CHANIOTIS), cf. also PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 112.6: παρήμη εἰς τὴν κώμη.

9-10 and 13-14 On the terms ἔλεος and ἐλημοσύνη (= ἐλεημοσύνη) see H. MALAY, *EA* 36, 2003, 15 with note 15 where also the present discovery has been announced (cf. also R. MERKELBACH, *EA* 20, 1992, 55 [SEG 42, 1680]: ... εὐ[ξ]α[μένη] καὶ ἐλ[ε]η[θ]ίσα ἀνέθη[κεν]).

10 ἐπί for ἐπεῖ²¹⁴

12 On the term (ἐξ)ομολογεῖσθαι see above no. 83.

16-18 παρευτελίσι for παρευτελίση (see below)

19 On the terms εὐλογεῖν and εὐλογία see above no. 55, cf. also nos. 71 and 84.

“In the year 290, in the month Peritios, Ammianos and Hermogenes, sons of Tryphon, appear (at the temple) asking the gods Men Motyllites and Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis and the great Senatus and the Council of the Gods, asking also the village and the Hieros Doumos in order that they will find mercy as they were punished because they overcame their father, while he was acknowledging the power of the gods; and their father did not obtain pity, but after his death, on account of his first (primary) written declarations they wrote ‘nobody at any time should disparage the gods’ on a stele and set it up praising the gods”.

This is a confession of two brothers who maltreated their father. We know from some other inscriptions in this context that such insolent acts towards family-elders were subject to divine punishment: Polychronios provoked his mother to anger²¹⁵; Apolloni(o)s was cursed by his mother²¹⁶; Trophimos disregarded his mother-in-law²¹⁷; Glykon raised up his hand to his foster-mother and maltreated her²¹⁸ and Demainetos arrested and imprisoned his uncle²¹⁹.

²¹³On the usage of ι for ει see our no. 48 (προκιμέν[ω]), cf. also 53 (ίς), 74 (ὀρύξι, ίς) and 84 (ίς).

²¹⁴See the preceding note.

²¹⁵PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 47: ... Μηνοφίλα ὑπὸ Πολυχρονίου τοῦ υἱοῦ χολιασθεῖσα κτλ.

²¹⁶*Ibid*, 17: ... ἐπεὶ με ἡ μήτηρ ἐπικατηράσето κτλ.

²¹⁷*Ibid*, 21: ... Ἀμμίαν τ[ὴν] πενθεράν παριδ[-] (παρίδε οἱ παριδών) κτλ.

²¹⁸*Ibid*, 44: ... Θεοδότη Γλύκω[νι ἐπηράσατο] θρεπτῶ, ἐπιδή ἀράμ[ενος] τὰς χίρας αὐτῆ ἐκα[κώσα]το κτλ.

²¹⁹H. MALAY, *EA* 36, 2003, 14: ... ἡγμαλωτίσθην ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ τέκνου τοῦ Δημαινέτου κτλ.

It is difficult to know why Ammianos and Hermogenes overcame (ἐκράτησαν) their father who is referred to as ἐξομολογούμενον τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν θεῶν. They might have intended to keep him from a transaction of selling or bequeathing a property²²⁰. Or, perhaps more reasonably, they kept him because he was about to make a confession of a sin in which they might have played a role in some way which they disliked. This seems to be supported by πρῶται προγραφαὶ αὐτοῦ: “his first (primary) declarations” from which the sons now excerpt the warning μή τίς ποτε παρευτελίσει²²¹ τοὺς θεοὺς in their confession.

It is a well-known fact that some sinners consulted the gods in order to get an answer about how they should absolve a sin or mitigate their wrath²²². In our case, apart from the gods Men Motyllites, Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis, the transgressors consulted also the “Great Senatus and Council of the Gods”, asking furthermore the κατοικία and the ἱερός δοῦμος in order to obtain mercy. The term συνᾶτος (= *senatus*) is a latin borrowing²²³ which is here employed without taking notice neither of its case nor of its gender. One might understand the συνᾶτος and the σύγκλητος as two different corporations but there is little probability to this: While of the σύγκλητος it is explicitly said that it consisted of θεοί, one would be left with the question of who the members of the συνᾶτος were. It rather seems that the original correct wording ... καὶ μεγάλην σύγκλητον τῶν θεῶν was later senselessly extended by the latin version of the title of the gods’ assembly (like a gloss): συνᾶτος καί. If this assumption is correct, there would be only one corporation at stake, namely the Great Senate of the Gods. In PETZL, *Beichtinschriften* 5.22, a god speaks after having been asked “by the Senate (ὑπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου)”, certainly the very assembly of the present text. G. PETZL (*EA* 12, 1988, 164) supposed that it consisted of priests (“*priesterliches Gremium*”) but we can now be sure that its members were regarded as gods²²⁴. It is perhaps not an improbable assumption that their roles were played by human beings (priests ?)²²⁵. Regarding that Meis Ouranios Artemidorou Axiottenos is specified as κριτῆς ἀλάθητος ἐν οὐρανῷ in our no. 51, one would arrive at the conclusion that the people of Roman Lydia believed in the existence of divine Councils and that divine trials took place in heaven.

It is of much interest to find here that Ammianos and Hermogenes consulted also their κατοικία which might be identical with the village whose name (e.g. Motyla ?) is connected with Men’s epithet Motylleites²²⁶. The sinners probably applied to some leading persons or one of the organs of the village²²⁷ and asked for advice about the sin which they had committed. The function

²²⁰H. MALAY, *ibid*, 17-18.

²²¹The compound παρευτελίζω does not seem to be attested so far. However, its synonym κατευτελίζω occurs twice in this context: see PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 10: παραγγέλλω δέ, αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις μή τίς ποτε κατευτελήσει (= κατευτελίση) καὶ κόψει δρῶν and 36: ἡ Ἐλπὶς κατευτελίσασα Μῆνα Λαβανα κτλ.

²²²Cf. the instances in PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, index, s.v. ἐρωτάω.

²²³Cf. H. J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, pp. 6 and 84.

²²⁴See already CHANIOTIS, “Divine Justice”, 27f. with note 83 where also the present text is mentioned.

²²⁵Cf. also the preceding inscription.

²²⁶The epithet Μοτυλείτης is already known from *TAM* V, 1, 457 (Ayazviran). A dedication from Kollyda (*TAM* V, 1, 348), on the other hand, records Μῆν Μοτελλεΐτης which lead L. ROBERT to combine it with the toponym Motella in Phrygia (*Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* I [1964], 36 with note 6). The epithet Motyl(e)ites appearing both in the present inscription and in the one in the preceding *lemma*, seems to be in connection with the name of a village (e.g. Motyla) located around Kollyda (see already L. ROBERT, *loc. cit.* and ZGUSTA, *Ortsnamen* § 846).

²²⁷On organization of Lydian villages and their magistrates see MITCHELL, *Anatolia* I, 181ff. and SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 217-272.

of the villages in such rituals is unknown. However, a dedication to Men Axiottenos, recording a ransom (λύτρον) “composed of three parts, one of which to go to the village”, may be accepted as an indication that at least some villages played a role in expiation processes²²⁸.

It is said in lines 13-16 that the father of Ammianos and Hermogenes did not obtain mercy but was brought to his end, i.e. he was killed (for ἀποτελεσθέντος see PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 72.8). The damaged relief above the inscription may perhaps show the crucial moment: a man has partly collapsed beside an animal which is attacking him from the right side. He has given up defending himself and has thrown to the side the shield which he holds with his right hand (unless he was represented from behind). If this interpretation is correct, it would show that such an accident could be understood by the people as a lack of divine mercy, as an ordeal (cf. the note on our 51.10-11).

It is not surprising to find in this region a ἱερὸς δοῦμος, a religious association, here to give advice to the sinners who wished to appease the gods²²⁹. The majority of the attestations of the word *doumos* in the Katakekaumene²³⁰ seem to support the hypothesis that it could have had a Maionian origin²³¹. No doubt, also *hieroi doumoi*, like many other cultic associations, must have engaged in cult practices.



²²⁸MALAY, *Researches*, 111 (cf. *Kernos* 15, 2002, 148 [A. CHANIOTIS]): ... ἐφ' ᾧ γίνεται τὰ λύτρα μέρη τρία: ἐν τῶν θεῶν, ἐν τῇ κόμῃ, ἐν τοῖς εἰερίσι κτλ. On the influence of villages compare also PETZL, *Beichtinschriften*, 48: Kallistos διέταξεν ὡς ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸς ἄτερ τῆς κατοικίας and was punished for this by the gods.

²²⁹For religious associations in Roman Lydia, Phrygia and Pisidia and their roles see M. RICL, *EA* 35, 2003, 92-93 with bibliography.

²³⁰See *TAM* V, 1, 179, 449, 470a, 483a and 536, cf. also our no. 56.

²³¹O. MASSON, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 41, 1987, 145-152, cf. also *LSJ*, *Rev. Suppl.*, s.v. For its attestations outside Lydia see M. RICL, *loc. cit.*