

New readings from Oinoanda (SEG 44, 1200), Olbasa (SEG 48, 1536) and Maionia

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1. Aurelius Aisim[os] *pleistonikes*¹

The late Alan Hall and Nicholas Milner (Hall – Milner 1994, 42 no. 36 = SEG 44, 1994, 1200) published an inscribed, fragmentary statue-base that had been re-used in (a presumed repair to) a wall in an Imperial peristyle building immediately west of the Agora at Oinoanda, a Graeco-Roman city site in northern Lycia (fig.1).²



Fig. 1) Photo N. P. Milner.

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² [----- ἐπιτε|λουμένη]ς ἀ[πὸ οὐσίας | Μελεα]γρίδος [ἀγωνοθε|τοῦν?]τος Αὐρη[λίου Ἀν|⁵τι?]χάρους Ἀ[πολλων]ίου τοῦ κα[ὶ] Φ[ι]λ[ώ]του | Ἀπολλωνίου Ὀρ[θαγό]ρου, Αὐρήλιος Λις υἱὸς | Λις τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμαίου Θό||¹⁰αντος, ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενος ἀνδρῶν | πανκράτιον εἰκ[οστ]ῆ | [θ]έμιδι κα[ὶ] στεφθε[λι]ς | τρις, δις ἱερονείκης [τὸν ἀν||¹⁵δριά]γτα ἀνέστη|σεν τῆ πατρίδι *vacat*.

The last two lines (14-15) are on a separate fragment in the wall beside the main fragment, immediately to the right of it. I was able to study the fragments in situ in 2011-12, and after reconsideration of the evidence further study has led to the amendments here proposed.

There are two unclear passages in the text, at lines 8-9 and in line 14. In the original publication, the reading of lines 8-9 -ρου, Ἀυρήλιος Λις υἱὸς[ς] | Λις τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμαίου Θό- involved the name Ἀυρήλιος Λις(?), “Aurelius Lis”, where it was suggested that the cognomen “Lis” was related to the final element in other epichoric Lycian names such as Moaleis, Toalis, and which coincided with λῖς, an epic word for a lion. However, such a name for a man has continued to be unparalleled despite the rather extensive evidence of the Lycian onomasticon, and it now appears unconvincing. If it is not a complete name, therefore, one must extend the reading to the subsequent letters, whilst if necessary revising

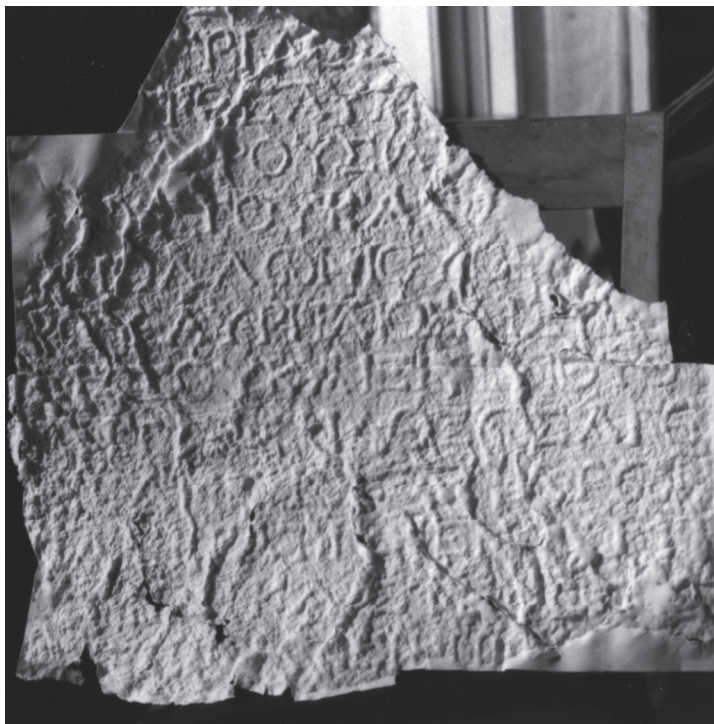


Fig. 2) Photo Alan Hall, lines 3-14,
reprinted from Hall – Milner 1994, Plate 2.10.1
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the reading of the doubtful first letter Λ , in the light of a much improved resource for the Greek onomasticon, thanks to the Oxford Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN) (fig. 2, 3).

It immediately becomes clear that upsilon is not the most likely letter after $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ -. This fourth letter certainly has a vertical hasta in its lower part (destroyed above), and we can start by considering eta, iota, kappa, pi, tau, as well as upsilon. We can see from LGPN vols I-Vc that upsilon produces no plausible name after $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ -, and neither does pi or tau. If it were part of a letter having two upright hastae, there is no sign of the crossbar of an eta, where the surface appears intact. Further, no plausible Greek name is known to start Λiota -, or indeed Δiota -, and $\Delta\text{ίσκος}$ is ruled out by the lack of visible arms for the kappa, where the surface appears intact. $\Delta\text{ίσυρος}$, on the other hand, is vanishingly rare, with only one example in LGPN vols I-Vc. Then, if $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ - were $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ -, plus upsilon, only an exceptionally rare pair of names, Αἴσυμνος and Αἴσυμῶης comes to the fore, which for lack of space left in line 8 (there is room only for another 2-3 letters) cannot be considered here. On a balance of probabilities, therefore, iota is more likely than any other letter, so that *ex hypothesi* iota will be a continuation of a name beginning with $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ -.

Then, as line 9 starts with a new name being a patronymic in the genitive case, the previous name in Λiota - must end at the right edge of line 8, so that a maximum of only seven letters is available for it. We thus arrive at the class of Λiota - and Λiota - names, such as $\Lambda\text{ισίας}$, $\Lambda\text{ισίων}$, Αἴσιος , $\Lambda\text{ισι}$ -



Fig. 3) Photo N. P. Milner, lines 3-14.

γένης, Αἰσιμένης, Αἰσιμίδης, all referring in one way or another to Αἴσα, Fate. After Αἰσι- the evidence of the fifth letter also beginning with a vertical hasta would point to one of the three compound names listed above, but they are too long. The vertical hasta after iota could belong to several different letters, but the combination of the previous letters points to mu. It should be added that the sixth letter should not be read with the *editio princeps* as a possible omicron; examination of the stone suggests that what appears in the squeezes is in fact damage at the break, where the original surface of the stone is missing, and hence this letter should be treated as wholly in a lacuna.

The proposed solution to the observed traces is Αἰσιμ[ος], meaning “appointed by fate”, a name from an intersecting set with the above group which arose particularly in the Hellenistic period, of names taken directly from an epithet naming a moral quality (see Bechtel 1917, 29, 502). Aisimos has the advantage of being substantially commoner than the older Αἰσι- names, with 26 examples in LGPN I-Vc including 9-10 examples from Mysia or Troas (LGPN Va), as compared with very isolated cases of the other Αἰσιο- and Αἰσι- names except Αἰσιμίδης which has 12 examples in LGPN I-Vc. Yet Aisimos is a relatively rare name, with no previously recorded example from Lycia.

In the next line (9) previously read as beginning Αἰσι τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμῆϊου, the first six letters are now read as ΑΡΑΤΟΥ. The second letter previously read as I is now seen to have a loop at the top right, and so will be a rho. At the third letter the loop of the preceding rho and extended left horizontal hasta of the following tau were previously misread as together forming the top bar of (four-barred) sigma, where the letter can now be read as alpha. Thus, the line can be seen to start with Ἀράτου <τοῦ> καὶ Ἐρμῆϊου with a haplography of ΤΟΥ. Aratos, meaning “prayed for,” by contrast with Aisimos, is reasonably common across the Greek world with 71 examples in LGPN I-Vc, including one from neighbouring Tlos (TAM 2.2.608, Imperial).

At the start of line 14 the reading of the *editio princeps*, τρίς, δις ἱερονείκης needs to be corrected. For this reading one would have to accept that several letters were crowded together, which is

contrary to the mason's expansive style in this inscription, where he spaced them out elegantly (fig. 3, 4, 5). The last line (line 16) is approximately centred (fig. 5).

Furthermore, τρις is problematic as syntactically it goes with στεφθε[i]ς, "crowned", at the end of the previous line; yet στεφθε[i]ς was one of the terms used to indicate the athletic victory that was being commemorated by the statue on the base. The victory in this case was in the men's *pankration*; the honorand could not be "three times crowned" for this one event, and to translate it "crowned for the third time" seems inapplicable to a many-times winner such as this honorand, whether a *hieronikes* or a *pleistonikes* (on which, see below).

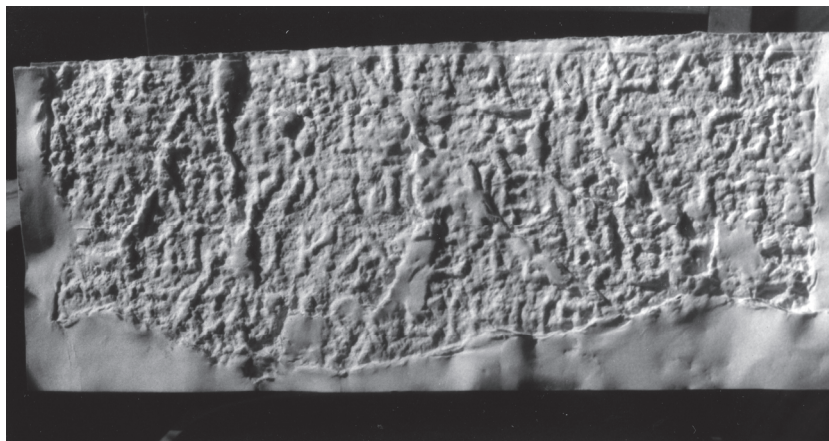


Fig. 4) photo Alan Hall, lines 10-14, reprinted from Hall – Milner 1994, Plate 2.10.3,

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What was read from the squeeze as ΤΠΙ are the abraded parts of letters immediately above a break in the block, where pi plus an unidentified letter (Π .) is an equally plausible rationalisation of the traces. What was previously thought to belong to "iota" is the lower, vertical, part of a meandering, mainly diagonal

crack in the stone, running down from line 12; this area occupies the space of illegible lambda. Then comes Σ which is now read as Ε, and what was read from the squeeze as Δ is now seen to be a hole in the surface at another diagonal crack rising from left to right. The following iota is confirmed, placed to the right of the crack. Then, contrary to the mason's usual practice, the letters read ΣΙ in the *editio princeps* are seen to occupy the space of one square letter, where there is another broad roughly vertical vein and crack in the surface. The "iota" is now explained as merely part of the crack, and the horizontal arms of the sigma (traces of whose pointed angles are visible on the left), which are now eroded away must have continued over this space, if it was a normal-sized sigma.

The following curved trace previously read as the letter epsilon would have meant a lunate letterform, contrary to the style used in the rest of the inscription. No middle crossbar is visible. The following letter is now read as a probable tau, not rho, as what was read as its "loop" is not completed down to the vertical hasta in the squeezes. It appears, then, that the lunate letterform, which runs into the left top hasta of the tau, is a curved piece of damage to the surface, which could have been induced by the erosion into one another of apices at the left end of tau and the two horizontal right ends of a four-bar sigma.

The amended reading Π[Λ]ΕΙΣΤ- results in a reduction of 10 crowded letters to 6 elegantly spaced ones, which accords better with the *ductus litterarum* of the other lines, so that line 14 now has 18 letters; compare lines 12 and 13 which have 17 letters each. Thus, the original reading τρις, δις ἱερονεικης, translated "[crowned] thrice, twice sacred victor," is abandoned and replaced with

π[λ]ειστονείκης, “multiple victor,” “victor on very many occasions,” a title that was also bestowed on another Oinoandan pancratiast, L. Septimius Flavianus Flavillianus (SEG 44, 1169).

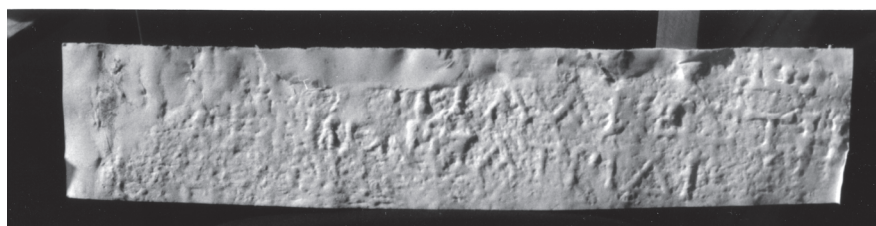


Fig. 5) Photo Alan Hall, lines 15-16, reprinted from Hall – Milner 1994, Plate 2.10.4, ©British Institute at Ankara.

The corrected text reads then as follows:

<p>[----- ἐπιτε]- [λουμένη]ς ἀ[πὸ οὐσίας] [Μελεα]γρίδος [ἀγωναθε]- [τοῦν?]τος Αὐρη[λίου Ἄν]- 5 [τι?]χάρους Ἀ[πολλω]- [ν]ίου τοῦ κα[ὶ] Φ[ιλώ]του Ἀπολλωνίου Ὀρ[θαγό]- ρου, Αὐρήλιος Αἰσιμ[ος]</p>	<p>Ἀράτου (τοῦ) καὶ Ἑρμαίου Θό- 10 αντος, ἐνδόξως ἀγω- νισάμενος ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον εἰκ[οσ]τῆ [θ]έμιδι κα[ὶ] στεφθε[ῖ]ς, π[λ]ειστονείκης [τὸν ἄν]- 15 [δριά]ντα ἀνέστη- νν σεν τῆ πατρίδι ^{vacat}</p>
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Translation: “When Aurelius Antichares, son of Apollonios *alias* Philotas, son of Apollonios, son of Orthagoras, was *agonothetes* of the ... celebrated from the fund of Meleagris, Aurelius Aisim[os], son of Aratos *alias* Hermaios, son of Thoas, having taken part with distinction in the men’s *pankratium* in the twentieth *themis* and having been crowned (winner), multiple victor, set up the statue for the city.”

If the amendments proposed above are accepted, the statue on this inscribed base was that of Aurelius Aisim[os], a local pancratiast of highly respected status as a *pleistonikes*, “multiple victor,” a title which was bestowed on athletes who had won numerous victories. On the evidence of this single base, however, and unlike L. Septimius Flavianus Flavillianus (SEG 44, 1195-1196), he was not a *hieronikes*—“victor in Sacred games,” that is, crowned at an international crown-games which enjoyed the title *hieros*, “sacred”, on which see further Remijsen 2015, 120, 209-10, 242; Robert 1970, 9-10. Contrast too a victor who boasted success in the Olympic games in Elis among his victories, SEG 64, 1431 col. ii (Τλος) ὀλυμπιονείκης | πλειστονείκης | παράδοξος, “Olympic victor, multiple victor, brilliant (victor)”; see further Robert 1957, 229-231.

Date: ca. A.D. 225-264 (Hall – Milner 1994, 42-43).

2. Manius Petronius Protes³

In Milner 1998, 64 no. 142 = SEG 48, 1998, 1536 I published an inscribed altar to the Sebastoi found by Alan Hall in 1985 at Belenli, which is the site of the Graeco-Roman city, Olbasa. The

³ I am grateful to Prof. Thomas Corsten for discussion of this inscription. I would no longer accentuate the name discussed as Πρώτης, cf. LGPN Vc s.v.

brief text had been imperfectly erased, so that one could still read the letters recording the dedication by a Roman citizen of Greek descent, with *tria nomina* of which the first two names are Latin men's names, followed by a Greek *cognomen* (fig. 5).⁴

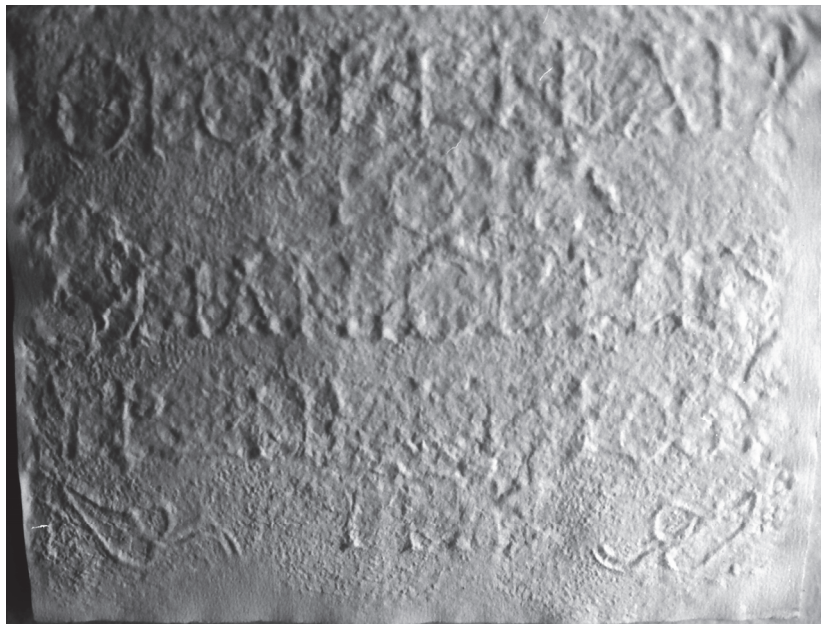


Fig. 6) Photo Alan Hall, "PH15290", Digital Collections and Archives,
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In lines 4-5 the *cognomen* was read [[Πραῦ]-της]]. This being a feminine abstract noun meaning "gentleness" always seemed unlikely for a male, and further study has convinced me that this is a misreading of the squeeze, where αυ should be corrected to ω, thus [[Πρω]-της]]. The trace of omega is visible, as an arcuated letter form with two large in-turned volutes. Πρωτης, according to LGPN I-Vc attested 10 times in total,

5 in Asia Minor, is an Ionic contracted form of the much commoner Πρωτέας. A contemporary example of Proteas comes from nearby Yeşilova (Horsley 2007, 88 no. 119, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.). Protes/Proteas is derived from the group of names denoting "prince" or "first", including Protos, Protogenes, etc., cf. Pape – Benseler 1911, s.v. Πρωτέας, Πρώτος.

The corrected text reads then as follows:

[[Θεοῖς Σεβασ]-
vac [[τοῖς] vacat
leaf [[Μάνιος Πε]- leaf?
[[τρώνιος Πρω]-
5 leaf [[τῆς] leaf

Translation: "To the *theoi Sebastoi* (deified Augusti), Manius Petronius Protes (dedicated it)."

3. Curing a broken leg in Maionia⁵

Malay – Petzl 2017, 79 no. 44, a confession relief-stele dedicated to Artemis Anaeitis and Meis Tiamou records a cure for one Aur. Tatianos son of Rhesonianos, who was "smitten in the leg",

⁴ [[Θεοῖς Σεβασ | vac τοῖς vacat | Μάνιος Πε|τρώνιος Πραῦ | leaf της]] leaf.

⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Petzl for earlier discussion and assistance with this inscription.

where informed by the associated reliefs of a leg with the foot, I translate πόδα “leg” rather than “foot” (cf. LSJ s.v. πούς for this possibility).⁶

Two passages in this text are unclear. The second crux in lines 3-4 reads πληγείς πόδα ΕΙΣΟΜΕ|[1-2]ΓΙΣ κὲ θαραπευθεῖς... Building on a suggestion of the editors, “One could perhaps consider [ἀ]γίς, or ἐ|[α]γίς, broken, from ἄγνυμι. We would still be left with the unexplained letters and an unclear syntax,” I suggest the crux may be read εἰς ὄν ἐ|[α]γίς, “in which I having been broken,” where the gamma seems clear in the photograph. The photograph also shows that the nu of ὄν can be read as corrected by the mason from a mu. A parallel for the syntax εἰς ὄν ἐ|[α]γίς may be found in κολασθεῖσα εἰς τὸν πόδαν, “having been punished in the leg/foot” (Petzl 1994, 1-177, no. 89). Compare also the formulae, κολασθεῖσα καὶ θεραπευθῖσα, “having been punished and cured,” κολασθεῖσα καὶ σωθεῖσα, “having been punished and saved,” at Petzl 1994, nos. 94 and 114, which support a reading ἐ|[α]γίς κὲ θαραπευθεῖς, “having been broken and cured,” as a pair of co-ordinate aorist participles passive. The phonetic spelling of the ending of ἐ|[α]γίς for ἐ|[α]γ<ε>ίς paired with another participle spelled correctly is paralleled in κολασθεῖσα καὶ θεραπευθῖσα at no. 94.

Then, if we read the first crux of line 3 [.]ΞΟΜΗΝ with Malay’s proposed [ἐ]ζόμεν, “I was sitting,” the whole confession text makes quite consistent sense with minimal editorial intervention:

Ἄρτέμιδι Ἀναεῖτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τει-
 αμου Αὐρ. Τατιανὸς Ῥησωνιανοῦ
 [ἐ]ζόμεν πληγείς πόδα εἰς ὄν ἐ-
 4 [α]γίς κὲ θαραπευθεῖς εὐξάμε-
 νος στήλῃν ἀνέθηκα

“I, Aurelius Tatianos, son of Rhesonianos, was sitting down after having been smitten in my leg; in which I having had a break and having been cured, put up the stele -having made a vow- to Artemis Anaëitis and Meis Teiamou.”

The significance of his sitting down is that he was unable to walk before his cure. There seems little reason to conclude that he suffered two broken legs from the fact that the relief shows that the dedicant put up two colossal images of a leg. A double votive was more valuable than a single.

⁶ Ἄρτέμιδι Ἀναεῖτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τει|αμου Αὐρ. Τατιανὸς Ῥησωνιανοῦ | [.]ΞΟΜΗΝ πληγείς πόδα ΕΙΣΟ-
 ΜΕ|[1-2]ΓΙΣ κὲ θαραπευθεῖς εὐξάμε|νος στήλῃν ἀνέθηκα.

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Oinoanda (SEG 44, 1200), Olbasa (SEG 48, 1536) ve Maionia'dan Yeni Okumalar**Öz**

Bu makalede antik Oinoanda (no. 1), Olbasa (no. 2), ve Maionia (no. 3) kentlerinden üç adet yayımlanmış yazıt için düzeltmeler önerilmektedir. 1 numaralı yazıtta zafer kazanmış bir atletin adı ve baba adları Thoas oğlu Hermaios olarak da bilinen Aratos'un oğlu Aurelius Aisimos olarak önerilmiş ve *hieronikes*, ("kutsal galip") yerine *pleistonikes* ("çok kere galip") olarak övülmüştür. 2 numaralı yazıtta *Sebastoi* için adanan yazıtlı bir altarı adayan kişinin *cognomeni* Protes olarak yeniden okunmuştur. Son olarak, kırık bacağı için şifa bulan birinin kefarete steli olan 3 numaralı yazıtta metnin cümle yapısı düzenlenmiş ve bir harfin değiştirilmesiyle metin netliğe kavuşturulmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Oinoanda, Olbasa, Maionia, atlet yazıtı, Sebastoi, ex-voto (adak yazıtı), Artemis Anaëitis, Meis Teiamou.

New readings from Oinoanda (SEG 44, 1200), Olbasa (SEG 48, 1536), and Maionia**Abstract**

This article offers corrections to three published inscriptions, from ancient Oinoanda (no. 1), Olbasa (no. 2), and Maionia (no. 3). In no. 1, the name and patronymics of an athletic victor are proposed to be Aurelius Aisimos, son of Aratos alias Hermaios, son of Thoas, and he is acclaimed with the title *pleistonikes*, "multiple victor" rather than *hieronikes*, "sacred victor". In no. 2, the *cognomen* of the dedicant of an inscribed altar for the *Sebastoi* is re-read as Protes. Finally, in no. 3, a confession stele for a man cured of a broken leg, the syntax of the text is restored and elucidated by the emendation of a single letter.

Keywords: Oinoanda, Olbasa, Maionia, athletic inscription, Sebastoi, ex-voto, Artemis Anaëitis, Meis Teiamou.