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A. CHANIOTIS

NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM OLD BOOKS
INSCRIPTIONS OF AIGION, DELPHI AND LESBOS COPIED BY
NICHOLAS BIDDLE AND STAVROS TÁXIS*

The significance of reports of early travellers and geographers for classical studies has been widely recognized by classicists, especially epigraphers¹ and archaeologists².

* I would like to express my warm thanks to Professor Peter Funke (Münster) for providing information on the data banks mentioned in note 2, to Oliver Hoover, MA (New York) for proof-reading this manuscript, and to Charalambos Kritzas (Epigraphical Museum, Athens) for valuable bibliographical assistance.

1. On the significance of old copies of (now lost) inscriptions see most recently G. Petzl, Vom Wert alter Inschriftenkopien, in: J. H. M. Strubbe - R. A. Tybout - H. S. Versnel (eds), *Ἐνέργεια. Studies on Ancient History and Epigraphy Presented to H. W. Pleket*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 35-55. The first two volumes of the series of the Archaeological Society at Athens Ἄρχαιον τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς (APMA), whose aim is to register the mentions of ancient monuments in travellers reports, newspapers, and books of the 19th century (V. N. Bardani - G. E. Malouchou, APMA 1. Εὐρετήρια τῶν περιοδικῶν Ἀθηναίων [1872-1881] καὶ Φιλίστωρ [1861-1863], Athens 1992; G. E. Malouchou-Dailiana, APMA 2. Εὐρετήρια Α΄. Ludwig Ross, Die Deme von Attika [[Halle 1846]. Β΄. Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν [1855-1876, 1879-1880]. Γ΄. Ἐφημερίς Ὠρα [1875-1889], Athens 1993) contain ca. 30 otherwise unrecorded inscriptions.

2. The reports of early travellers have been widely exploited, e.g., for the antiquities of Crete; see B. Rutkowski, Les antiquités crétoises vues par un voyageur polonais au XVIe siècle, *BCH* 92, 1968, pp. 85-96; St. Alexiou, Ἀρχαιολογικά καὶ ἱστορικά στοιχεία στὴν "Περιήγηση τῆς Κρήτης" τοῦ Buondelmonti, in: *Φίλια Ἑπη Γ΄*, Athens 1989, pp. 342-349; K. G. Tsiknakis, Ἐνα ἄγνωστο κείμενο τοῦ Onorio Belli γιὰ τὶς ἀρχαιότητες τῆς Κρήτης (1591), *Palimpseston* 9/10, 1989/1990, pp. 179-238; N. Tomadakis, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ περιήγηση εἰς Ἀνατολικὴν Κρήτην Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλη (1469), in: *Ἀρόμ. Τιμητικὸς τόμος στὸν καθηγητὴ Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο*, Thessalonike 1991, vol. 3, pp. 1895-1899; D. Gondica, Οἱ ξένοι ταξιδιωτὲς στὴν Κρήτη (12ος-17ος αἰῶνας), *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Α1, Rethymno 1995, pp. 163-172. For Argos see M. Sève, *Les voyageurs français à Argos*, Athens-Paris 1993; for Chios see A. Mazarakis (ed.), *Ξένοι ταξιδιωτὲς στὴ Χίο. Πρακτικὰ Γ΄ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Χίου γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὸν πολιτισμὸ τοῦ νησιοῦ*, Athens 1991. See also E. Aggelomati-Tsougaraki, *Travel Manuscripts: Proposals for their Utilization by Modern Research*, in: L. Droulia (ed.), *On Travel Literature and Related Subjects: References and Approaches*, Athens 1993, pp. 443-450. A data bank

In this article I present several inscriptions, which were seen in the 19th century by the American traveller Nicholas Biddle and the Lesbian scholar and priest Stavros Taxis, but, in the most part, have remained hitherto unrecorded in epigraphical corpora.

Nicholas Biddle, an important American financier and politician, visited Greece in the spring and summer of 1806³. The letters he sent to his brother and friends and the journals he kept on his three month journey to the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese, Delphi, Thermopylai, Thebes, and Athens were published recently by R. A. McNeal⁴ and are of great interest for periegetic studies. Among other monuments, Biddle copied a dedicatory inscription at Aigion (no. 1) and an honorific inscription at Delphi (no. 2); the latter inscription had also been seen by other travellers. On the basis of their reports August Boeckh reproduced the text in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (vol. 1, no. 1716); however, Biddle's text differs in a few points from the text edited by Boeckh.

Stavros Taxis composed a short history of Lesbos (Συνοπτική ιστορία της Λέσβου και τοπογραφία αὐτῆς) in the late 19th century. Its first edition (Cairo 1874) contained a detailed geographical description of the island and an analysis of its contemporary state. The second edition (Cairo 1909) was substantially enlarged to include descriptions of ancient monuments and inscriptions seen by the author at various sites (pp. 55-142, here nos 3-12). Only two Greek archaeologists took notice of Taxis' work. Serapheim Charitonides, who prepared a supplement to the inscriptions of Lesbos

("Hellas") compiled under the direction of P. Funke (University of Münster) and H.-J. Gehrke (University of Freiburg) contains a list of ca. 3,000 relevant works; another data bank ("HiLaG"), compiled under the direction of the same scholars, collects references to ancient sites and monuments in the works of ca. 200 travellers of the 18th and 19th century. For these projects see M. Fell, HILANG. Datenbank zur "Historischen Landeskunde des antiken Griechenland", in: M. Fell - Chr. Schäfer - L. Wierschowski (eds), *Datenbanken in der Alten Geschichte*, St. Katharinen 1994, pp. 134-145; M. Fell, Hellas. Bibliographische Datenbank der nachantiken Reiseberichte über Griechenland bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Fell-Schäfer-Wierschowski, o.c., 146-152.

3. Cf. R. A. McNeal, Nicholas Biddle and the Literature of greek Travel, *Classical Antiquity* 12, 1993, pp. 65-88.

4. Nicholas Biddle in Greece: *The Journals and Letters of 1806*. Edited by R. A. McNeal, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1993.

(published posthumously), refers occasionally to Táxis' research⁵, however, without including in the volume those texts which are known only from Táxis' reports (here, nos 4, 5, 7, and 11). I. D. Kontis⁶ made extensive use only of the geographical and demographical information contained in Táxis' work. Neither Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, who edited a supplement to the Lesbian inscriptions in 1939 (IG XII Suppl.), nor R. Hodot, who commented on the inscriptions of the island⁷, had access to Táxis' book. The recent reprinting of the second edition of Táxis' book⁸ provides an opportunity to discuss the texts which escaped the notice of earlier epigraphers.

Six of the inscriptions mentioned by Táxis (1909) had already been published earlier: Five texts had been included by William R. Paton in the corpus of inscriptions of Lesbos published in 1899 (IG XII 2, 271, 272, 446, 485, 516; here, nos 6, 8-10, 12); another text, published in 1909, had been erroneously attributed to Peparethos/Skopelos (IG XII 8, 643; here, no. 3). The independent tradition of some of the texts enables us to check the reliability of Táxis' reports. Táxis' copies of the texts are occasionally inaccurate (see nos 6 and 12; cf. no. 4), but he usually gives the exact location of the stones (see nos 3, 6, 9, 10, and 12); in one case he probably saw more letters on a stone than other scholars (no. 6; cf. no. 11).

In one case Táxis refers to an inscription without giving the text. Among the antiquities of Eresos he saw (p. 55) two well preserved blocks (“λίθοι ὀρθογώνιοι δύο”) which according to him contained a decree of Alexander the Great about exiles from Eresos (“δεικνύουσι ψήφισμα τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀφορῶν τοὺς διὰ πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρεσσοῦ ἔξορισθέντας πολίτας”).

5. S. Charitonides, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου*. Συμπλήρωμα, Athens 1968, p. 75 (here no. 8), pp. 77 f. no. 115 (here no. 3).

6. I. D. Kontis, *Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατικὴ τῆς περιοχῆ* (Ἀρχαῖες Ἑλληνικὲς Πόλεις, 24), Athens 1975.

7. R. Hodot, Notes critiques sur le corpus épigraphique de Lesbos, EAC 5, 1976, pp. 17-81 (SEG XXVI 873-941).

8. Στ. Τάξι, *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Λέσβου καὶ τοπογραφία αὐτῆς*, δευτέρα ἔκδοση, Κάιρο 1909. Ἐπανέκδοση: Ἐπιμέλεια Βασ. Ἰ. Ἀναστασιάδη - Σπ. Καράβα, Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Αἰγαίου, Μυτιλήνη 1994. The first edition, which contains no inscriptions, has also been reprinted: Στ. Τάξι, *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Λέσβου καὶ τοπογραφία αὐτῆς*, Κάιρο 1874. Ἐπανέκδοση: Ἐπιμέλεια Βασ. Ἰ. Ἀναστασιάδη - Σπ. Καράβα, Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Αἰγαίου, Μυτιλήνη 1996.

This seems to be an inaccurate reference to the dossier of texts concerning the tyranny at Eresos during the first years of Alexander's campaign and the later punishment of the tyrants and their relatives; this dossier (decrees of Eresos and letters of Philippos Arrhidaios and Antigonos) is, indeed, written on two blocks⁹. The possibility that Taxis saw an otherwise unknown inscription should be ruled out, given the size of the stones and the importance of the text. Eresos had been visited by such travellers as Charles Newton (1852) and Alexander Conze (1858), who looked very carefully and passionately for inscriptions there (see below). The misunderstanding may be explained in view of the repeated mention of Alexander and his *diagraphē* in these texts (A 6, 14, 34-39; C 24; D 2, 10, 18, 25), the reference to φυγάδες (C 22-27), and possibly the existence of a decree of Mytilene about the return of exiles (324 BC?)¹⁰.

At Eresos, again, villagers informed Taxis (p. 55) that another inscription had been removed at the beginning of the 19th century (“ἕτερος δὲ τοιοῦτος παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτόθι, οὗ ἡ ἀξία ποῦ ἐνέκειτο ἡμῖν μὲν ἄγνωστον, τοῖς δὲ ξένοις γνωστόν, ἀφηρέθη νυκτὸς ἐκεῖθεν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν κατοίκων ἀναφέρεται”). The villagers had reported a similar (or the same) incident to Charles Newton in 1852: “I arrived at Eresos full of hope, expecting, from the remote situation of this place, to find some remains of the ancient city. But I was told that about fifteen years ago there had been many sculptures, some of which had been carried away by a French traveller, and that the monks of a neighbouring monastery had taken the inscriptions and ground their colours with the inscribed surface till there was nothing left”.¹¹

Taxis heard of a lost inscription also at Brisa, site of an important sanctuary of Dionysos. According to information given to him (p. 119) the name Βῤῥῖσα was read until a few years before his visit on a stone at that site

9. See the reconstruction of A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks. The Epigraphic Evidence*, Norman 1980, pp. 27-78. Cf. *IG XII 2*, 526; *IG XII Suppl.*, pp. 65-67; *OGIS 8*; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, vol. II*, Oxford 1948, no. 191; Charitonidis, o. c., p. 83.

10. *IG XII 2*, 6; *OGIS 2*; Heisserer, o. c., pp. 118-139.

11. Ch. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*. Vol. 1, London 1852, pp. 94 f.

(“κατά τινας μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε αὐτόθι μέχρι πρό τινων ἐτῶν πλάξ φέρουσα τὴν λέξιν Βρίσα ὡς ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως”). This place name, from which the epithet of Dionysos Brisaios derives, is directly attested only in the work of Stephanos of Byzantion (see below note 26).

I have transcribed the majuscule texts given by Biddle and Tάxις and provided some commentary. The form of the letters and, in several cases, the form of the monuments and the division of lines are not known; as indicated above, Tάxις’ readings are not very reliable. Unpublished texts are marked with an asterisk (nos 1, 4, 5, 7, and 11).

Aigion

*1. Dedication of Eurylon (Euryleon?).

In an entry in the ‘First Greek Journal’ written at Χρυσό (ancient Krisa) on May 15th, 1806 Biddle describes briefly the antiquities of Βοστίτσα, which he identified correctly with Aigion (p. 93): “There is however nothing antique except I think some masses of stone on the sea shore which have the appearance of ruins... The only antiquity is an inscription on a stone making part of a wall. It is thus: ΕΥΡΥΛΩΝ / ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ” (p. 94).

Εὐρύλων

ἀνέθηκεν.

1 Possibly Εὐρυλ<έ>ων.

The name of the dedicant, Eurylon, is not attested in this form. The name Εὐρυλέων is, however, widely attested¹², and in Aigion itself¹³. We cannot exclude the possibility that Biddle’s copy is inaccurate. The recipient of the dedication and the date are not known.

12. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. (Chalkis); vol. IIIa, s.vv. Euryleon (Achaia, Sparta, Aigion) and Euryleonis (Sparta). Cf. W. Pape - G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1863-1870 (3rd edition), s.v.; F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 180.

13. *IG* IX 12 29, l. 27; *Syll* 3 585 l. 29, 3rd cent. BC.

Delphi

2. Honorific inscription for Lucius (?) Marius Nepos Aigialeinos, 2nd/3rd cent. (CIG 1716).

In a letter sent from Delphi to his brother on May 16th, 1806 Biddle describes in some detail the ruins he saw at Καστρὶ (Delphi). A priest guided him to a field, where he copied the following inscription:

ΛΜΑΡΙΟΝΝΕΠΩΤΑΑΙΓΙΑΛΕΙΝΟΝΤΕ
 2 ΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝΑΠΟΤΗΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ
 ΒΟΥΛΗΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΑΙΣΚΑΙ
 4 ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΚΑΙΣΑΜΑΡΙΟΣΝΕΠΩΣ
 ΠΑΤΗΡΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣΚΑΠΟΥΛΙΑΑΙΓΙΑΛΗ
 6 ΔΕΛΦΗΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΙΟΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
 ΠΥΘΙΟΙ

The inscription was also seen by other travellers¹⁴ and published by A. Boeckh (CIG 1716) in the following form:

A. folium Μάριον Νέπωτα Αἰγιαλεῖνον, τε-
 2 τεμημένον ἀπὸ τῆς Κορινθίων
 βουλῆς τειμαῖς βουλευτικαῖς καὶ
 4 ἀγορανομικαῖς, Α. Μάριος Νέπως
 πατὴρ Κορίνθιος καὶ Ἰουλία Αἰγιάλη
 6 Δελφῆ τὸν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνι
 Πυθίωι.

Both Biddle and Köhler, whose notes were used by Boeckh (cf. CIG, vol. I, p. xi), read the first letter as a Λ, i.e. Λ(ούκιος); however, they gave different readings of the abbreviated praenomen on line 4: Biddle read an A (Αὔλος), Köhler a Λ Λ(ούκιος). Boeckh assumed that father and son shared the same praenomen, which he restored as Aulus. This is, however, not certain, since

14. Cf. McNeal, o.c., 98 note 140. The inscription is obviously complete, and not a fragment as McNeal writes. McNeal also corrects the initial Λ into an Α (for Aulus).

both Biddle and Köhler read the first letter as a Λ. In addition to that, all the Marii attested in Korinth have the praenomen Lucius.¹⁵

The Korinthian Lucius (?) Marius Nepos and his wife Iulia Aigiale dedicated a statue of their son to Apollon Pythios, in Aigiale's native city, Delphi. Their son, Lucius (?) Marius Nepos received as a second cognomen a named deriving from his mothers cognomen (Aigiale>Aigialeinos). An important Korinthian family of Marii is known from an early 2nd cent. AD honorific inscription for C. Iulius Severus, proconsul of Achaia in AD 135 (PIR, vol IV2, pp. 277f. no. 573). This inscription was set up by L. Marius Piso, quaestor and praetor at Rome, and his sons L. Marius Florus Stlaccianus and L. Marius Piso Resianus.¹⁶

The expression τετειμημένον ἀπὸ τῆς Κορινθίων βουλῆς τειμαῖς βουλευτικαῖς καὶ ἀγορανομικαῖς is the translation of the Latin *decurionalibus et aediliciis ornamentis decreto decurionum honorato*.¹⁷ Nepos Aigialeinos received the ornamenta of the offices of a decurio and an aedilis in the Roman colony of Korinth¹⁸ probably on the basis of his family's benefactions.¹⁹ These services were rather modest, since they did not entitle him to the ornamenta of the higher municipal magistracies (*ornamenta duumviralia, agonotheticia, quinquennialicia*).²⁰ This inscription should be dated in the late 2nd or early 3rd cent. AD.

Lesbos

Mytilene and territory of Mytilene

3. Dedication to Dionysos, Hiera, imperial times (IG XII 8, 643).

The following dedication to Dionysos and his cult association had been

15. A. B. West, *Corinth VIII.II. Latin Inscriptions 1896-1926*, Cambridge, Ma. 1931, nos 56 and 146.

16. West, o.c., pp. 38-40 no 56.

17. Cf. West, o.c., no. 107: *decurionalibus et aediliciis ornament(is) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) honorato*.

18. For other *aediles* in Korinth see West, o.c., nos. 80, 81, 93, 104 b, 132; for other *decuriones* see *ibid.*, nos 103, 108, 115, 125.

19. Cf. West, o.c., nos 4. 105-107, 220 and p. 88.

20. Cf. West, o.c., no. 105.

previously attributed to Skopelos (IG XII 8, 643). We owe the correct attribution to S. Charitonides, who found the stone built in the wall of the church of Παναγία τοῦ Ψύρρα at Gera (Hiera, territory of Mytilene; preserved height 61 cm; width 61 cm).²¹ Tάxις (p. 57) had already given the correct location (site Κουρκοῦτα) and an accurate copy of the text (in majuscules):

Γάιος Κοίλιος Πάνκαρος
 2 θεῶ Διονύσω καὶ τοῖς ἐν
 τῷ τόπῳ μύσταις ἀνέθ-
 4 ηκε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν πρό αὐ-
 τοῦ τόπον.

The cult of Dionysos is well attested on Lesbos.²² Charitonides provides two other examples of dedications addressed to Dionysos and his *mystai*, from Abdera and Thasos.²³

The word *τόπος* has a broad semantic field in Greek inscriptions: ‘area’ (often ‘sacred area’), ‘building’ (often ‘sacred building’), and ‘space’, particularly space reserved for associations, artisans, or tradesmen.²⁴

*4. Dedication to Dionysos, Brisa.

An inscribed marble block (“ἐπιγραφή ἐπὶ μαρμαῦρου”) was seen by Tάxις (p. 119) at the site Βρῖσιᾶ, Βρησᾶ or Βρησα (ancient Βρῖσα, territory of Pyrrha, later territory of Mytilene), near the Cap of Agios Phokas. Tάxις read the text

21. Charitonides, pp. 77-78 no. 115 (with reference to Tάxις).

22. E. L. Shields, *The Cults of Lesbos*, Wisconsin 1917, pp. 56 f.; Charitonides, o.c., p. 78; Kontis, o.c., pp. 409-415; G. Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, Rome 1994, pp. 29-36. See also below no. 4. Cf. the evidence provided by theophoric names: Bakchios (11 attestations in various cities), Bakchos (2 attestations in Eresos and Mytilene), Bakchon (2 attestations in Methymna and Mytilene), Dionysios (23 attestations in various cities on Lesbos), Dionysodoros (5 attestations in Methymna and Mytilene), Dionysia, Dionysikles, Dionysiphaes, Dionysiphanes, and Dionysophanes (isolated attestations in Mytilene): see LGPN, vol. I, s.vv.

23. Charitonides, o.c., p. 78 (*SEG* XVII 320; *IG* XII Suppl. 397). Analogous dedications are addressed to other gods and the associations of their worshippers. See, e.g., *SEG* XLIII 472 (Vergina): Μητροὶ θεῶν καὶ συντελήται; *MAMA* X 304 (Kotiaion): Διὶ καὶ τοῖς Βεννεῖταις.

24. See most recently E. Bernand, *Topos dans les inscriptions grecques d’Egypte*, *ZPE* 98, 1993, pp. 103-110 (on the use of the word in the inscriptions of Egypt).

as follows: ΔΙΟΝΝΗΣΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΒΑΚΧΩΙ. His reading is not accurate. The text can be restored as a dedication to Dionysos Bakchos.²⁵

Διονν<υ>σ{I}ω τῷ Βάκχῳ.

The inscription was found near the ruins of an ancient temple (“ἑρείπια ἀρχαίου ναοῦ”), certainly the important shrine of Dionysos Brisaïos.²⁶

*5. Dedication to Artemis Thermia, Thermé.

The ruins of Therme (territory of Mytilene), the site of an important sanctuary of Artemis, are described briefly by Tάxις (p. 93: “κάτωθι τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Θερμνῆς πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς θαλάσσης, εὐρίσκονται τὰ θεορὰ ἱαματικὰ ὕδατα τῆς Θερμνῆς, τὰ καὶ Σὰρ-Λίτζα καλούμενα, ἐν χρήσει ὄντα καὶ παρ’ ἀρχαίους, ὡς τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθι ἀρχαίων οἰκοδομῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν καταδεικνύεται”); he also gives (in majuscules) the text of the following dedication, written on a stone (“ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς ἐκεῖσε”):

Ἄρτέμιδι τῇ Θερμίᾳ.

Artemis Thermia (Thermia Euakoos, Megala Thea) was widely worshipped on Lesbos, not only at Therme, the site of her sanctuary, but also at Methymna.²⁷

6. Beginning of an honorific (?) inscription, Mytilene (IG XII 2, 485).

Between Gera (Hiera) and Plomari (territory of Mytilene), at the site Μέτιο, in the ruins of a fortress (φρούριον), Tάxις (p. 101) saw on a broken marble

25. Theoretically, a restoration as the grave inscriptions of Dionysios, son of Bakchos (Διον{N}<υ>σίῳ τῷ Βάκχῳ) would also be possible: For grave inscriptions, in which the name of the deceased is in the genitive, followed by the article and the name of the father, cf. IG XII 2, 394 (Διονυσίας / τᾶς Μουσαίῳ). Dionysios and Bakchos are well attested as personal names on Lesbos (see note 22). The finding place (the shrine of Dionysos) excludes this option.

26. Steph, Byz., s.v. Βρῖσα, ἄκρα Λέσβου, ἐν ἣ ἴδονται Διόνυσος Βρῖσαῖος. On Dionysos Brisaïos see Kontis, o.c., pp. 364 f.; Casadio, o.c., p. 34 note 49. On the cult of Dionysos on Lesbos see above note 22.

27. Kontis, o.c., pp. 235-238, 419-423. Epigraphic evidence: IG XII 2, nos 67, 101, 103, 105, 106, 108 (= SEG XXVI 891), 242, 246-252, 270, 275, 514; IG XII Suppl. 26; Charitonides, p. 26 no. 30, p. 31 no. 36.

block (“μαρμαρίνη τεθραυσμένη πλάξ”) an inscription published by H. G. Lolling in 1886.²⁸ Lolling saw the stone, broken into three pieces, in a church (“einen aus 3 Fragmenten bestehenden Block in der Kapellenruine auf der Höhe des Kastro”). The text was subsequently published as IG XII 2, 485 (height 39 cm; width 1.20 m), together with a facsimile made by Ioannis Kalesperis:

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ Lolling; ΤΥΧΗΑΓΑΘΗ Τάξισ.

After Τύχη Ἄγαθῆ (which should be corrected to Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη) Τάξισ saw other letters (καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ), not recorded by Lolling and Kalesperis. In Mytilene, this invocation serves very often as the heading of honorific inscriptions.²⁹ The large size of the letters (12 cm) and the form of the stone, which looks like the upper part of a statue base, suggest that the rest of the text - now lost - may have been an honorific inscription (rather than a dedication), probably of the imperial period.

*7. Grave inscription of Stratonike, Brisa.

In a private house at Brisa (cf. no. 3) Τάξισ (p. 119) saw an inscribed marble block (“λίθος ὀρθογώνιος μαρμάρινος”), obviously a grave stele, with the following inscription:

Στρατονίκη χρηστή χαῖρε.

Grave inscriptions consisting in the name of the deceased followed by the adjective χρηστὸς/χρηστή and χαῖρε are very common in Mytilene.³⁰ The name Stratonike is attested in Mytilene.³¹

28. H. G. Lolling, *Lesbische Inschriften*, *MDAI(A)* 11, 1886, p. 293 no. 62.

29. *IG XII 2*, 11, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 256, 263. Cf. *IG XII 2*, 100 (altar?), 263 (dedication?); *IG XII Suppl.* 11 (building regulations).

30. E.g., *IG XII 2*, 2, 421-436; Charitonides, o.c., p. 64, n. 94, p. 66 no. 98, p. 67 no. 101 (= *SEG XXVI* 932), p. 68 no. 104 (= *SEG XXVI* 933), pp. 71 f. nos 108-109, p. 80 no. 119 (= *SEG XXVI* 936), p. 83 no. 121.

31. See *LGN*, vol. I, s.v. (unpublished, Stratonike, daughter of Soterichos); cf. the name Stratonikos, also attested in Mytilene (*LGN*, vol. I, s.v.).

8. Christian epitaph of Maria, near Mystegna (IG XII 2, 446)

In a ruined Byzantine church northwest of Mystegna Táxis (p. 94) saw a Christian grave inscription, which was published as IG XII 2, 446 (preserved height 26 cm; width 23 cm):

Cross
Μνήμη
Μαρίας.

I MNHMHι Tάxis.

The location given by Tάxis is the village Μπαλτζικι. The stone was found again by S. Charitonides, who specified its exact location as the church Agios Nikolaos in Κάλαμος.³²

9. Horos of an association of fullers, Moria, imperial times (IG XII 2, 271)

On the road which leads from Mytilene to Moria the geographers Ch. T. Newton (1852)³³ and Heinrich Kiepert³⁴ saw an inscription carved on a rock (height of letters 26 cm), which was published as IG XII 2, 271:

T
2 Τῶν γναφέων
ὄρ(ος)

2 κναφέων Kiepert; γναφέων Newton, Paton, Tάxis.

Tάxis (p. 58) read only the second line, but gave its precise location as the site Ἀχλιά, opposite a source of hot water called θερμάκια.³⁵ The palaeography suggests a date in the imperial period. Besides the association of fullers, that

32. Charitonides, o.c., p. 75 with older bibliography and reference to Tάxis' report.

33. Newton, o.c., vol. I, p.62.

34. H. Kiepert, ap. *CIG* addenda, 2171 c.

35. Cf. the more detailed description of Newton, o.c., p. 62: "Returning to Mytilene by Morea, I noticed at the distance of about ten minutes from that village a place by the roadside called Achlea. Here is a warm spring with a bath vaulted over. On the opposite side of the road the face of the rock is scraped, and on it, in very large letters now nearly effaced, may be read the words ΤΩΝ ΓΝΑΦΕΩΝ, - "of the fullers"-, which is evidently part of a dedication by a company of fullers who made use of the water of this warm spring".

of the shoemakers (οἱ τὴν σκυτικὴν τέχνην ἐργαζόμενοι) is attested at Mytilene.³⁶

10. Prohedria for Potamon, Mytilene, 1st cent. BC/AD (IG XII 2, 272).

Táxis (p. 57) gives the text of a well known inscription (IG XII 2, 272 with further bibliography):

Ποτάμωνος
2 τῷ Λεσβώνακτος
προεδρία.
1 Ποτάμωνος Τάξις; 2 τοῦ Τάξις.

According to Táxis the stone was excavated in 1736. The stone, originally kept in the courtyard of the cathedral of Ag. Athanasios, has been transported to the Museum of Mytilene (inv. 2475).³⁷ The numerous inscriptions pertaining to the life and the family of Potamon, a prominent statesman of Mytilene (75 BC-AD 15), have been studied most recently by R. W. Parker.³⁸ Another honorific decree for Potamon was found in 1987.³⁹

*11. Building inscription or mason's graffito (?), aqueduct at Moria.

One of the most impressive monuments of Mytilene is the Roman aqueduct, which is best preserved in the vicinity of the village Moria.⁴⁰ On one of the three well preserved arches Táxis (p. 56 note 4) read the word ΔΑΜΟΣ and inferred that this text was referring to the construction of the aqueduct at the expenses of the community of Mytilene (“ ἐπὶ μιᾶς τῶν ὁποίων [sc. ἀψίδων] ἀναγινώσκειται ἡ λέξις ΔΑΜΟΣ, δεικνύουσα τὴν δι’ ἐξόδων τοῦ Δήμου τῆς πόλεως ἀνέγερσιν αὐτοῦ ”). This is quite possible, although one cannot rule out the possibility of a graffito (the personal name Δᾶμος, attested

36. *SEG* XXVI 891 (= *IG* XII 2, 108 + 109): Dedication to Artemis Thermia and Aphrodite.

37. Charitonides, o. c., p. 50.

38. "Potamon of Mytilene and his Family", *ZPE* 85, 1991, pp. 115-129.

39. L. Acheilara, *ArchDeltion* 42 B2, 1987 [1992], p. 481 (*SEG* XLII 756).

40. See I. D. Kontis, *Λεσβιακό πολύπτυχο*, Athens 1973, 117-122.

in Mytilene).⁴¹ The latter assumption is supported by the report of an earlier visitor of the aqueduct, Ch. T. Newton (1852), who probably saw the same inscription:⁴² “On a stone in one of the pillars I noticed the letters DMO, probably a mason’s mark.”

Methymna

12. Honorific inscription for Adobogiona, Methymna, 1st cent. BC? (IG XII 2, 516).

In the church of Agios Ioannis, one hour east of Mantamados (territory of Arisbe, later Methymna), on a slab used as pavement Τάξις (p. 127: “μαρμαρίνη πλάξ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστρωμένη”) read the following text, without indicating the division of lines:

ΔΑΜΟΣ ΒΟΓΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΔΩΡΩι ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗι ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΝΑ ΤΗΝ
ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΑΣ
ΕΑΥΤΑΝ.

This is a desperately inaccurate copy of a published inscription (IG XII 2, 516, with full bibliography; cf. SGDI 296; OGIS 348; IGR vol. 4, 3):

Ὁ δᾶμος

- 2 Ἄδοβογιῶναν Δηϊοτάρω εὐεργετήκοισαν
τὰν πόλιν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἀρετᾶς ἔννεκα
4 [κ]αὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς ἑαύταν.

The stone had been seen by St. Anagnostou (ca. 1850) and A. Conze (ca. 1865) in the church of Agios Stephanos, near Mantamados.⁴³ Τάξις must have copied the honorific inscription sometime later, after it had been transported to the church of Agios Ioannis. But the adventures of this *pierre*

41. For the personal name Damos see *LGPN* I, s.v. (one attestation in Mytilene, three attestations in Methymna). A name was inscribed, e.g., on the wall of the aqueduct of Lyttos: A. Chaniotis, *Kretische Inschriften, Tekmeria* 1, 1995, p. 15 no. 1.

42. Newton, o.c., vol. 1, p. 58.

43. St. Anagnostou, *Ἡ Λεσβιάς ᾠδή*, Smyrne 1850, p. 184 (non vidi); A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, Hannover 1865, pl. X no. 1 (non vidi). For references to Anagnostou and Conze see IG XII 2. p. 109.

errante did not end there. Later, the stone was broken into two pieces, one of which - preserving the last 12 letters of ll. 2-3 and the last letter of l. 4 - was seen by W. R. Paton (ca. 1899) in yet another church, that of Taxiarches.⁴⁴ The other piece is probably lost.

G. Hirschfeld recognized that the benefactress honored by the people of Methymna and her father bear Galatian names (Adobogiona, Deiotaros).⁴⁵ He identified Adobogiona with a member of the dynastic family of the Trokmoi (cf. Strab. 13,4,2 C 625: τοῦ τετραρχικοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν γένους), sister of Brogitaros, the tetrarch of the Trokmoi⁴⁶, wife of the Pergamene Menodotos, and mother of Mithridates, later tetrarch of the Trokmoi (Strab. 13,4,2 C 625). Adobogiona is also known from a list of dedications to Apollon found at Didyma, according to which she and her brother Brogitaros dedicated silver phialae during the stephanephorate of Aristanor.⁴⁷ A. Rehm has suggested a date around 100 BC (certainly before 89 BC) for this dedication.⁴⁸

It should be noted, however, that the honorific inscription of Methymna makes no reference to the relation of Adobogiona to the Galatian tetrarch, as one would expect, and this makes her identification with the sister of Brogitaros uncertain. The names Adobogiona and Deiotaros are not uncommon among members of the various Galatian dynastic families.⁴⁹

The nature of Adobogiona's benefactions to Methymna is not known. If the identification with the sister of Brogitaros is correct, her contacts to a city

44. *IG* XII 2, p. 109.

45. G. Hirschfeld, Die Abkunft des Mithridates von Pergamon, *Hermes* 14, 1879, pp. 474 f.

46. B. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, Paris 1902, p. 211; cf. *OGIS* 349.

47. Haussoullier, o.c., p. 209 f. no. 10 = A. Rehm, *Didyma. II. Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958, p. 277 no. 475 lines 35-41: ἄλλαι (sc. φιάλαι) δύο ἐπιγρο/φήν ἔχουσαι· Βρογίταρος Δηιοτάρου Γαλατῶν Τροκμῶν τετράρχης καὶ ἡ ἀδ/ελφή αὐτοῦ Ἀβαδογιῶνα (sic) Ἀπόλλωνι / Διδυμῆϊ Πατρῶϊοι χαριστήριον ἐμῆ· / καὶ ἄλλη<ν> ἀπὸ δραχμῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων / ἔξακισχιλίων.

48. Rehm, *Didyma*, p. 278; cf. id., in: G. Kawerau - A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, Berlin 1914, p. 253 note 1.

49. See B. Niese, s.v. Deiotarus, in *RE* IV, col. 2401 f. (4 entries); another Adobogiona was the mother of Deiotarus Philadelphos, a dynast in Paphlagonia (1st cent. BC.): Rosenberg, s.v. Deiotarus, in *RE* Suppl. 3 (1918), col. 328.

on Lesbos may be explained in view of the friendly relations of Pompey both to Lesbos, where he was honored as σωτήρ και εὐεργέτης και κτίστης⁵⁰, and to Brogitaros; Pompey gave Brogitaros the fortress Mithradation (Strab. 12,5,2 C 567). The latter married a daughter of the famous Galatian king Deiotaros (ca. 120-40 BC)⁵¹, who supported Pompey in his war against Caesar and probably followed the defeated Roman to Lesbos (49 BC).⁵²

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50. See e.g., *IG XII 2*, 140-149, 163-165, 202.

51. Hirschfeld, o.c., p. 475; cf. *OGIS* 349 notes 2-3.

52. Niese, o.c., s.v. Deiotarus 2, col. 2401 f.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Νέες ἐπιγραφές σὲ παλιὰ βιβλία.

Ἐπιγραφές ποὺ ἀντέγραψαν στὸ Αἴγιο, τοὺς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴ Λέσβο
οἱ Nicholas Biddle καὶ Σταῦρος Τάξης

Στὸ ἄρθρο αὐτὸ παρουσιάζονται καὶ σχολιάζονται 12 ἐν μέρει ἄγνωστες ἐπιγραφές ποὺ ἀντέγραψαν τὸν 19ο αἰώνα οἱ N. Biddle καὶ Σταῦρος Τάξης. Οἱ ταξιδιωτικὲς ἐντυπώσεις τοῦ Ἀμερικανοῦ N. Biddle, ποὺ ἐπισκέφτηκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ 1806, δημοσιεύθηκαν τὸ 1993. Περιλαμβάνουν μιὰ ἄγνωστη ἀναθηματικὴ ἐπιγραφή ἀπὸ τὸ Αἴγιο (1) καὶ μιὰ τιμητικὴ ἐπιγραφή στοὺς Δελφοὺς (2)· ἡ τελευταία εἶναι δημοσιευμένη (IG 1716), ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντίγραφο τοῦ Biddle ἐπιτρῆπει τὴν διόρθωση τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τιμωμένου προσώπου. Ὁ Λέσβιος λόγιος καὶ ἱερέας Στ. Τάξης δημοσίευσε τὴ μελέτη *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Λέσβου* (2η ἔκδοση, Κάϊρο 1909· ἀνατύπωση, Μυτιλήνη 1994), ἡ ὁποία περιλαμβάνει περιγραφές ἀρχαιοτήτων, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ 10 ἐπιγραφές. Ἐξὶ ἀπὸ αὐτὲς εἶναι δημοσιευμένες: ἀνάθημα στὸ Διόνυσο (3=IG XII 8, 643, Ἱερά), ἀπόσπασμα τιμητικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς (6=IG XII 2, 485, Μυτιλήνη), ἐπιτύμβιο τῆς Μαρίας (8=IG XII 2, 446, Μυστεγνὰ), ὄρος συντεχνίας γναφῶν (9=IG XII 2, 271, Μόρια), προεδρία τοῦ Ποτάμωνος (10=IG XII 2, 272, Μυτιλήνη), καὶ τιμητικὴ ἐπιγραφή γιὰ τὴν Γαλάτιδα Ἀδοβογιῶνα (12=IG XII 2, 516, Μήθυμνα). Τὰ ἀντίγραφα τοῦ Τάξης ἔχουν ἀρκετὰ λάθη, ἀλλὰ οἱ πληροφορίες γιὰ τὸν τόπο εὕρεσης τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν εἶναι ἀκριβεῖς. Τέσσερις ἐπιγραφές εἶναι ἀδημοσίευτες: ἀνάθημα στὸν Διόνυσο Βάχχο (4, Βρῖσα), ἀνάθημα στὴν Ἀρτέμιδα Θερμία (5, Θερμὴ), ἐπιτύμβια ἐπιγραφή τῆς Στρατονίκης (7, Βρῖσα) καὶ χάραγμα (;) στὸ ὕδραγωγεῖο τῆς Μόριας (11). Ὁ Τάξης παρέχει ἐπίσης πληροφορίες γιὰ τὶς ἐπιγραφές ποὺ εἶχαν χαθεῖ πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπίσκεψή του στὴν Ἑρεσὸ καὶ στὴ Βρῖσα.