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ΔΑΡΡΩΝ AND ΔΑΙΜΟΝ: A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MYLASA

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ΔΑΡΡΩΝ AND ΔΑΙΜΩΝ: A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MYLASA

Wolfgang Blümel has recently published many new inscriptions from Mylasa and its surroundings, several of which are of interest for the study of religion in Karia.\(^1\) I wish to offer here a commentary on only one of these, no. 20, “Ehreninschrift einer Phratie”. The inscription, recently unearthed and now in the Milas Museum, is cut on the vertical surface of a round marble altar, near the upper rim. It consists of two lines:

\[ \text{HN fratr¤a t«n Darrvnistvn} \\
\text{da¤moni Dhmokr¤thw} \]

The script is described as “frühhellenistisch” and Blümel added the following comment: “Die Vokabel (Berufsbezeichnung, Götter-, Orts- oder Personenname), von der der Name der Phratie abgeleitet ist, ist offenbar im Griechischen bisher nicht belegt”.

In fact, it is possible to identify an origin for the name of the phratry. The word \(\text{Darrvnistvn}\) is highly reminiscent of the names of cult associations which often end in -\(\text{ista¤}\) or -\(\text{asta¤}\) (e.g. \(\text{Hermaïstai}\)). Such cult associations usually took their names from the gods or heroes whom they worshipped.\(^2\) The name here could be expected to be formed in a similar fashion, that is, from the name of a deity called \(\text{Darrvn}\). A suitable candidate is to be found in Hesychius s.v. \(\text{Dãr-}\text{rvn}\): MakedonikÚw da¤mvn, ï Íp¢r t«n nosoÊntvn eÎxontai (“a Macedonian god, to whom they pray on behalf of those who are sick”). It has long been hypothesised that the name is a Macedonian form of \(\text{Yãrsvn}\), an incarnation or an epithet of Asklepios, albeit an absolutely unattested one.\(^3\) Recently, an inscribed dedication to \(\text{Dãrrvn}\) brought to light by the excavations at Pella has cast the figure into greater relief.\(^4\) The context of the discovery of the inscription is

\(^1\) Drafts of this article were read individually by Riet van Bremen and Robert Parker. I am grateful to both of them for their valuable criticisms and enlightening suggestions. Wolfgang Blümel kindly advised me and has supplied a photograph of the squeeze. All infelicities of interpretation and of style remain my own. I use standard abbreviations for epigraphical corpora from Asia Minor and \(\text{LSAM}\) for F. Sokolowski, \(\text{Lois sacrées de l’Asie Mineure, Travaux et mémoires de l’École française d’Athènes 9}\) (Paris 1955).

\(^2\) On the construction of these names, cf. esp. L. Robert, \(\text{Monnaies grecques: types, légendes, magistrats monétaires et géographie}\) (Geneva and Paris 1967) 12: “Ces noms en -\(\text{ iotaç}\) et -\(\text{ aîote}\) sont issus de verbes en -\(\text{izein}\) et -\(\text{ aizein}\) désignant la célébration de cérémonies et de fêtes, \(\text{ermaîizein}\) [etc.]”. He discusses further Rhodian examples at pp. 12–13.

\(^3\) Cf. \(\text{RE}\) (1901) [Tümpel] s.v. \(\text{Dãrrvn}\), with references to earlier scholarship on Hesychius’ gloss.

\(^4\) M. Lilibaki-Akamati, \(\text{AnaskafikÆ °reuna tou kanalioÊ thw P°llaw katã to }\) 1988–1991, \(\text{To Arxaiologiko Ergo sth Makedonia kai Yrakh }\) 5 (1991) 83–95 (with a photograph). The editor proposes to date the text to the first half of the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) c. BCE (adopted by \(\text{SEG}\) 44.546). The text is as follows: “ι\(\text{ληψιολας ΔΩΡΩΝ} \) ευζομενη \(\text{επηκοοι}\). Lilibaki-Akamati speculates, unconvincingly, that the name \(\text{Dãrrvn}\) may be etymologically connected with ‘healing bread’.
viewed as particularly significant by M. B. Hatzopoulos. Since it was found in the ruins of a sanctuary southwest of the city “manifestement consacré à une divinité guérisseuse”, Hatzopoulos adopts the long-standing interpretation of Δάρρον as a Macedonian god who was assimilated to Asklepios: “Il s’agit sans doute de l’épithète d’un dieu guérisseur local absorbé par la figure panhellénique d’Asclépios”.

Hatzopoulos’ conclusion is unconvincing, if only because a definitive analysis of the characteristics of Δάρρον is impossible given the current evidence. Further results may be expected from the excavations at Pella and the new evidence for Δάρρον provided by the Mylasa text will doubtless provoke discussion among experts in Macedonian religion. For these reasons, it seems better not to qualify Δάρρον as a local god ‘absorbed’ by Asklepios and to leave the matter unresolved. Yet before turning to an investigation of the importance of the text in a Karian context, I wish to suggest that two aspects of Δάρρον warrant further consideration. First, it is significant that he is called a δαιμόνιον in Hesychius. The term δαιμόνιον, certainly by the Hellenistic period, designated a figure of intermediate status between men and gods and could be used to refer to the immortal ‘guiding spirit’ of an individual. Indeed, Hesychius almost exclusively employs δαιμόνιον when referring to figures of non-standard divine status. The Mylasian text, itself a dedication to a δαιμόνιον, may be particularly appropriate given the daimonic status of Δάρρον. Second, the name Δάρρον seems perhaps linguistically comparable with that of another Macedonian δαιμόνιον, Μάκρον. There is also perhaps a connection to be made with Ηρόν, the Thracian rider-god. These possible similarities between Δάρρον and two figures of daimonic or heroic status may support Hesychius’ conception of Δάρρον as a δαιμόνιον, a numinous figure not quite a θεός.

If my explanation of the text is correct so far, we therefore have a phratry at Mylasa named after Δάρρον. Yet the appellation of this group as a phratry is rather surprising not only because no phratries are otherwise attested at Mylasa, but also because the name of the phratry is, as I have shown, formed like that of a cult association. The latter observation is odd because associations are by definition voluntary groups of worshippers, whereas one is usually born into a

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6 Hatzopoulos, ibid., 1200 with n. 38.

7 Hatzopoulos himself points out that Asklepios is well attested in Macedonia (ibid., 1200–1202). This could lend support to his thesis but could also constitute a possible criticism of the equation of Δάρρον with the ‘panhellenic’ healing god. Indeed, the fact that Δάρρον was comparatively obscure could entail that he was distinctive and not entirely ‘absorbed’ by the more popular figure of Asklepios.

8 Cf. e.g. the summary remarks in M. Detienne, La notion de daimon dans le pythagorisme ancien, de la pensée religieuse à la pensée philosophique (Paris 1963) 31–37.

9 Cf. especially the glosses on: Alastor, Halcyon, Harpies, Bereklyndai, Gello, Genetyllidai, Erinys, Thrasos, Ialemos, Keleuthiaei and Chruso. Hesychius does not seem to use δαιμόνιον as another word for θεός, although contrary examples may include Plouton (often called θεός, cf. e.g. S. Ant. 1199–1200, Artem. 5.93) and the Praxidikai (called goddesses by Paus. 3.22.2 and 9.33.3). The ‘chthonic’ character of all of these Hesychian δαιμόνιες is also worth noting.


11 On the cult of the Thracian rider-god see E. Will, Le relief cultuel grec or the article by the same author in LIMC s.v. Interestingly, the cult is known to have spread to Egypt, doubtless as a result of Alexander’s conquests. There is also evidence of the cult in Macedonia, but dating primarily to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE: cf. IG X(2,1) 64 (= SEG 26.736), SEG 33.524 and 538, SEG 40.539a–b.
phratry, and particularly because no phratries are, to my knowledge, named like cult associations. All of these unusual facts call for a careful consideration of what exactly is meant by ‘phratry’ in this text.

The phratry was until recently a notion alien to Karia, where phylai are for the most part subdivided into units called syngeneiai. These subdivisions were thought to be roughly equivalent to the phratries found in other areas of the Greek world. Any interpretation of phratries in Karia must now take into account the recently published inscription recording a synoikismos between the Latmioi and the Pidaseis which took place under the rulership of Asandros (ca. 323–313 BCE). The text mentions ΦΡΑΤΟΠΙΩΝ as civic subdivisions of the synoikised cities. The gender of the word is uncertain but clearly some sort of brotherhood or phratry is meant. As M. Wörre has cautiously commented, however, the status of these phratries with respect to the phylai of Latmos and Pidasa is unclear. The text nonetheless allows that some Karian cities were divided into phratries, not syngeneiai.

The new Mylasian inscription only contributes to making the issue of Karian phratries more complicated. The phratry of the Darrvnista¤ cannot readily be seen as a part of Mylasa’s organizational structure, composed as far as we know solely of phylai, syngeneiai and patrai. But if the phratry is instead a cult association then one must assume that the word ‘phratry’ has changed its meaning here to something like thiasos, koinon or eranos. Such an assumption can only be provisional, given that Karia has not yielded more than a few comparable cult associations. The only possible parallel for the present text comes in fact from an unfortunately fragmentary Mylasian decree which mentions a similarly named group: [ ] τῶν Δικτυνναῖστῶν [. The text cannot help to elucidate the phratry of the Δαρυνοσταϊ, but it is possible that the new text explains the older one. Indeed, we may well be tempted to suppose that we have here a φρατρία τῶν Δικτυνναῖστῶν and perhaps even a decree of this phratry. Some caution is warranted: the Δικτυνναῖσταϊ may instead have constituted a thiasos or even a koinon. It is interesting to note, however, that, as the only other cult association known from Mylasa, the Δικτυνναῖσταϊ, are also named after a foreign (namely Kretan) deity. The question remains: why was the word ‘phratry’ used when other, more common designations for cult associations were available? Only further evidence from Mylasa and the rest of Karia will help to resolve the issue.


13 See esp. Bresson and Debord, ibid., 193.


16 I. Mylasa 179.4. The inscription is undated, although perhaps a date in the imperial period can be supposed on the basis of I. Mylasa 418 (a paidonomos Tullus) written just above it on the same stele.

17 Cf. J. and L. Robert, Fouilles d’Amyzon en Carie (Paris 1983) 14, for an archiereus of Zeus Kretagenes and Diktynna and the commentary ad loc. for the impact of Kretan cults on this part of Karia. Diktynna is classified among the “dieux helléniques” (viz. non-indigenous gods) of Mylasa by A. Laumonier, Les cultes indigènes en Carie (Paris 1958) 140 n. 3.

18 It is worth adding that phratries are not, as far as I know, attested in Macedonia and that there is therefore no obvious reason why a Macedonian group would want to call itself a phratry. Cf. the absence of phratries in M. B. Hatzopoulos, Macedonian Institutions Under the Kings I–II, Meletemata 22 (Athens and Paris 1996).
The derivation of the phratry’s name from a Macedonian deity helps in dating the text, providing a *terminus post quem* of c. 334 BCE. From what can be read on the photograph, the letterforms look to me to be characteristic of inscriptions of the mid to late 4th century. A date of c. 330–300 seems probable. This period of Macedonian rulership at Mylasa is not well documented. We may be dealing with the years 323–313/2, when Asandros was ruling over this area of Karia and had his headquarters in Mylasa. It is interesting in this regard to note that the Macedonian context of the inscription finds distant echoes in a few of the funerary inscriptions published concurrently by Blümel, several of which unusually pertain to Greek foreigners (nos. 34–37). These texts are dated by F. Rumscheid to the late 4th or early 3rd century, according to the form of the funerary monuments. All of the ethnics given in the texts are previously unattested at Mylasa. The Δαρρφονισταῖ inscription seems to antedate slightly nos. 34–35, the funerary inscriptions of two Achaians, and is perhaps contemporaneous with no. 37, which concerns an individual (the name is lost) from Ainis, a region of western Thessaly. These men may have constituted some of the foreigners who resided in the city after the passage of Alexander and may even have formed a part of Asandros’ army or entourage. Of course, all of these suggestions must be treated as tentative since our understanding of Mylasa in the last third of the 4th century is far from perfect. Yet this new group of texts at least confirms an expected presence of Macedonians and other Greeks at Mylasa during this time.

It may further be noted that the Δαρρφονισταῖ inscription contains a name that is unattested in Karia: Δημοκρίτης, the genitive of the female name Δημοκρίτη (on the case see further below). In fact, the name is attested epigraphically only once in the rest of Asia Minor. It is far more frequent in central and northern Greece. Δημοκρίτη, then, is likely to have been a foreigner. She must have been related to the phratry of the Δαρρφονισταῖ, although how exactly is uncertain. All of these foreign links are suggestive, yet it must be admitted that it is unclear whether the Δαρρφονισταῖ were originally a Macedonian phratry or simply a Mylasian cult association set up in honour of a Macedonian deity. Some sort of Macedonian influence must, I think, be assumed. It would otherwise be extremely odd for a Karian group to spontaneously name itself after Δάρρφον. To decide the issue definitely, however, would require further information than the text itself provides. For the moment, I propose that the derivation of the phratry’s name, the

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19 In particular, *omicron* and *omega* are strikingly diminutive and there is virtually no serification apparent.
21 Rumscheid, in Blümel, (above n. 1) 23. The letterforms seem to agree with this dating.
22 As the indices of *I. Mylasa* reveal, non-Karian ethnics, with the exception of Kretan ethnics, are a rarity at Mylasa.
23 No. 36, the funerary inscription of Perdikkas from Epeiros, is probably to be dated to the end of the 3rd century, if not later. Perhaps comparable with the Δαρρφονισταῖ text is no. 38, the funerary inscription of one Kleopatra the daughter of Kleon, who must have been a foreigner. The context is probably not Ptolemaic, as the letterforms here again seem to indicate a date in the late 4th century.
24 I thank Riet van Bremen for drawing my attention to these funerary inscriptions and their possible implications.
25 *I. Didyma* 526.4. Searches in the relevant corpora did not reveal any other instances of the name.
26 Five instances, gleaned from the volumes of *LGPN* and personal searches: *IG* II(2) 7236 (Plotheia, 4th c. BCE), *IG* VII 374 and 375 (Oropos, mid 3rd c. BCE), *IG* XII(9) 142 (Eretria, 2nd c. BCE), *SEG* 29.515 (Gonnoi, 200–150 BCE), *IG* IX(2) 1225 (Eurymenai, date unknown).
date of the inscription, and the non-native name Δημοκρίτη all support the idea that the Δαι-
μονισταὶ were foreign both in origin and, at least to some extent, in constitution.

I turn finally to the function of the text as a dedication to a δαιμόνιον. The round marble altar
itself must be the object of the dedication and this implies that libations and/or sacrificial wor-
ship were intended. The δαιμόνιον is followed by a female name in the genitive, Δημοκρίτης. We
therefore have a third case of a δαιμόνιον of a person from early hellenistic Karia and the first from
Mylasa. The two other known examples come from cult regulations: 1) an inscription from Ha-
likarnassos codifying the foundation of a cult Τύχη Αγαθή πατρός καὶ μητρός Ποσε|ιδινίου
... καὶ Δαιμονί Αγαθοῦ Ποσειδονίου καὶ [Γοργίδος;27 and 2) a recently published inscription
from Lagina/Koranza, which prescribes the setting up of an altar to the ('Αγαθός?) δαιμόνιον of
another couple: ιδρύσασθαι δὲ βοημῶν c. 10 - δαιμόνος Ἀρω καὶ [Κοσινάς.]28 The cult of
δαιμόνες of persons has long been recognised as a particularly Karian phenomenon, but has
been little studied.29

Personal names in the genitive are also found following the names of gods in Lydia and Phrygia. These have been interpreted, probably correctly, to refer to the person who founded the
cult privately or on behalf of a cult association.30 The Halikarnassian inscription clearly stems
from the context of a private cult foundation, and perhaps the text from Lagina is to be viewed
in the same way. It could be that the genitive Δημοκρίτης refers to the woman who founded the

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27 LSAM 72.35 (see also lines 9–10 of the text for the same expression). The conventional dating of the text
varies between c. 350 and 250 BCE.

28 M. Ç. Şahin, New Inscriptions from Stratonikeia, EA 34 (2002) 1–22, no. 1.6–7 (late 4th c. BCE). Λερω is
probably to be treated as a ‘Karian genitive’ of a nominative Λερος, as the editor suggests. I restore the name
Κοσινα here based on the occurrence of the same word in line 9 of the text. Κοσινας is probably not a noun as
Şahin suggests, but a Karian anthroponym: cf. I. Mylasa 223.12, 17; 336.2 (in the latter case certainly female).
Another religious regulation, LSAM 56 (Hyllarima, lines 5–23: 197/196 BCE), records the sale of the priesthood
of the δαιμόνες of two individuals, cults which probably hark back to the beginning of the hellenistic period. A
dedication to Ἀγαθὸς δαιμόνες. I. Mylasa 350, certainly dates to the 4th century and perhaps antedates all of the
above mentioned texts. Given the fragmentary character of the inscription, however, it is not absolutely certain that it
referred to δαιμόνες of individuals (yet it is tempting to connect the [patronymic?] genitive ‘Εσκόρμιον in line
2 with the δαιμόνες). Furthermore, δαιμόνες Ἀγαθοῦ are regularly invoked in the genitive singular or plural on
funerary altars and inscriptions from Mylasa, cf. I. Mylasa II p.174 s.v. and now Blümel, (above n. 1) nos. 41–48,
53, 61–62. The same formula is less frequently found at Iasos (I. Iasos 370, 397, 405 and 408) and in the Rhodian
Peraia, cf. P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monuments (Oxford 1977) 73. All of these inscriptions appear to date
to the 2nd c. BCE or later (Blümel, n. 1 no. 46 may be an earlier exception), with a large proportion dating to the
early imperial period. The δαιμόνες in these texts may, by analogy with the earlier documents, have pertained
to individuals whose names appear in the genitive following or preceding the invocation of the
δαιμόνες, cf. the remarks of Blümel at I. Mylasa 428–429.

29 A confused and disjointed discussion in Laumonier, (above n. 17) 139, 639. Reference can temporarily be
made to G. Šamani Gasparro’s essay, Daimôn and Tuchê in the Hellenistic Religious Experience, in: P. Bilde,
T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle eds., Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks, Studies in
Hellenistic Civilization 8 (Aarhus 1997), 67–109, esp. 77–78, 89. I am preparing a comprehensive study of the
phenomenon.

30 E.g. Zeus Ariou, Men Artemidorou, Men Pharmakou. The idea that the name represents the founder of the cult
goes back to J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine Zweitete Reise in Lydiaen, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen
Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 54 (Vienna 1911) 104. For a list of examples and
the most complete study so far (yet without any reference to δαιμόνες in Karia), see F. Gschnitzer, Eine persische
Kultstiftung in Sardes und die ‘Sippengötter’ Kleinasiens, in: W. Meid and H. Trenkwalder eds., Im Bannkreis des
Alten Orients, Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes: Karl
cult of the δαιμόνιον that the Δαρρωνισταῖ worshipped: the eponymous Δάρραν. But if this is the case, it is odd that Δάρραν is not explicitly named.

We might instead understand the δαιμόνια to pertain to Δημοκρίτη herself. Given that δαιμόνια is a concept which can designate the immortal ‘guiding spirit’ of an individual, the name(s) in the genitive may, beyond referring to the founder(s) of the cult, also have had a stronger possessive (or even partitive) connotation. In particular, it would be artificial to interpret the genitives in the Halikarnassian cult foundation as having had a strictly ‘foundational’ meaning. The Τύχη Ἀγάθη πατρός καὶ μητρός Ποσειδόνιου can hardly mean that the cult was founded by the father and mother of Poseidonios. The genitives must instead indicate that the individuals were more directly associated with their respective Τύχη or δαιμόνια. The worship of δαιμόνια of individuals could therefore, I suggest, represent a local form of heroisation, or more properly ‘daimonisation’, of the person(s) named. In this particular case, the dedicated altar would indicate that libations and/or sacrificial worship were directed at a ‘daimonised’ Δημοκρίτη.

To summarise, the new inscription appears to reveal an intriguing mix of Karian and non-Karian religious elements. It gives evidence of a phratry at Mylasa that was named after a Macedonian δαιμόνιον, Δάρραν. This phratry, the Δαρρωνισταῖ, is probably to be thought of as a cult association rather than as a civic subdivision of Mylasa. The Δαρρωνισταῖ dedicated an altar to the δαιμόνια of Δημοκρίτη, thereby adopting a specifically Karian mode of worship.

Özet

Yazar bu makalesinde, W. Blümel tarafından yayınlanan (EA 37, s. 15, no. 20) Mylasa kökenli bir adak yazıtını yeniden incelmektedir. Yazara göre bu yazıt, Karia ve Karia dışı unsurlar içermektedir. Yazıtta sözü geçen Δαρρωνισταῖ adlı birlik (phratria), Mylasa‘daki bir politik örgüt olmayıp, adını Makedonia‘da tapılan (yarıtanrı) Δαρρά‘dan alan bir dinsel dernekti. Eldeki yazıtta göre bu dernek, adını Demokrite adındaki bir kadımdan alan bir daimon’a (ya da Demokrite’nin daimon’una ?) bir altar adadımsı.

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31 In fact, it is unclear if Poseidonios’ parents were alive at the time of his cult foundation.