

**AN AEOLIC INSCRIPTION FROM AIGAI IN AEOLIS:
POST MORTEM HONOURS TO DIAPHENES, SON OF MITHRODATES***

The structure known as the Grave Monument of Diaphenes, named after the inscription discussed below, is a late Hellenistic funerary monument situated west of the ancient road running through the Necropolis northeast of Aigai and it was excavated in 2015¹. The structure is set on a circular crepidoma with at least two steps. The lowermost step was found in situ and its diameter is 6.85 m. The andesite architectural elements of the monument's superstructure were found in fragments scattered over and around the structure. These blocks suggest that on the circular crepidoma there was a structure with three concave façades. These façades were decorated with an architrave which contains three fascias and a frieze of bucrania connected with garlands. Over the architrave there were dentils. Concave exedras were set in front of the façades. In general, the edifice resembles the Small Monument² at the so-called Lion harbour at Miletos. Findings recovered from the preserved parts of the original architectural filling of the structure provide a terminus post quem for the building. Based on the architectural features of the structure and the findings unearthed in the filling, the Grave Monument of Diaphenes is dated to the end of the 2nd or the 1st century B.C.

Six cist graves and an urn were found beneath the monument. The cist graves were built with andesite slabs. They are arranged side by side on a north-south axis passing approximately through the center of the structure. The northernmost grave is filled with stones composing the foundation of the crepidoma and must have been damaged before or during the construction of the monument. The other five graves have a filling which contains Byzantine ceramics and fragments of the architectural blocks of the edifice. These graves, as well as the monument itself, must have been exposed to the acts of lead and marble gathering and tomb robbing of the Byzantine period. The urn, which was formed as a small cist grave resting against the northeast corner of the third grave on the south, revealed the remains of a cremation brought from elsewhere. The workmanship qualities of the cist graves as well as the relations of their lids and side slabs suggest a construction in chronological order from north to south and it is possible that the last graves were swiftly formed after a sudden incident. Three more graves with the same features as the graves inside the edifice were found to the north of the structure. Their lids were preserved and the graves were completely sealed. All three graves contained no more than shattered skeleton remnants and potsherds, stone grits and earth which leaked through the gaps of the lids. This situation indicates that no grave goods, or at least goods that could survive to our day, were placed inside the graves; perhaps they were placed outside them. A Roman cremation

* H. Malay wishes to record his sincere thanks to Professors G. Petzl and L. Dubois for their advice on the interpretation of Γλαύκηον.

1 For an announcement of this monument and the inscription see Y. Sezgin and S. Aybek, A Group of Portrait Statues from the Bouleuterion of Aigai: a Preliminary Report, in Ralf von den Hoff, François Queyrel & Éric Perrin-Saminadayar (eds.), *Eikones. Portraits en contexte. Recherches nouvelles sur les portraits grecs du V^e au I^{er} s. av. J.-C.*, Archeologia Nuova Serie: 3, Osanna edizioni, 2016, 27, note 32.

2 For the Large and Small naval victory monuments at the Lion Harbour at Miletos see H. Brückner *et al.*, On the lion harbour and other harbours in Miletos: recent historical, archaeological, sedimentological, and geophysical research, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens*, n. 7, Aug. 2014, 64–68.

found above these three graves was made on site and constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the graves (Fig. 1).

The inscribed andesite architectural block was a *spolium* placed face down in a wall situated at a higher level, to the north of the Grave Monument of Diaphenes. The inscription is engraved on the concave front face of the block. The dimensions of the block are: height 0.506; width 0.821; thickness 0.13 m. Letter height varies between 0.029 and 0.031 m (Fig. 2).

ὁ δᾶμος
 Διαφένην Μιθροδάτα
 Γλαύκηον ἄνδρα πά-
 4 σας καλοκαγαθίας
 καὶ ἀρέτας καὶ τᾶς
 εἰς ἑαυτον εὐνοί-
 ας ἔννεκα.

2 The edge of the left leg of the final *alpha* is preserved.

7 For the form ἔννεκα see F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* I (1921), 14–15; A. Thumb – A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* II (1959), 93–94 and W. Blümel, *Die aiolischen Dialekte* (1982), 85: “Hyperaiolismus” (reference kindly supplied by Prof. W. Blümel).

The People (honoured) Diaphenes from Glauke, son of Mithrodates, a man of all quality and virtue, also on account of his goodwill towards itself.

The dimensions and the concave shape of the block make it obvious that it belongs to the wall of the funerary monument described above. This attribution is also supported by the letter forms pointing to the late Hellenistic period to which the funerary construction is archaeologically dated (see above). Therefore the honours paid to Diaphenes³, son of Mithrodates⁴, should be regarded as *post mortem*.

Diaphenes the honorand was probably a citizen of the Ionian city of Glauke, located at the promontory of Mykale (Samsun or Dilek) mountain⁵. For the ethnic’s form Γλαύκηον of the present inscription, L. Dubois has kindly supplied the following commentary:

3 For the name Diaphenes cf., e.g., P. Frisch, *Ivillion* (I.K. 3), no. 40.¹⁻²: Ἐπειδὴ Διαφένης Πολλέως Τημνίτης, etc. (on the identity of this Diaphenes see SEG 39, 1322). The name Diaphenes also appears on two of the six honorific statue bases unearthed during the excavations at the *bouleuterion* of Aigai. All the six bases are supposed to have been placed on another long base in a niche on the north side of the *bouleuterion*. Onomastic data make it clear that all the honorands belong to one of the leading families of the city while the honorand Diaphenes, son of Antiphanes (Διαφένης Ἀντι[φ]άνεος) was the nephew of another Diaphenes, son of Apollonidas (Διαφένης Ἀπολλωνίδα): see Y. Sezgin and S. Aybek, *op. cit. supra* note 1, 26–27 with a provisional stemma of the family, cf. also E. Doğer et alii, “Aigai”, in *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Kazıları* (eds. A. Çilingiroğlu, Z. Mercangöz, G. Polat), 2012, 189.

4 For another occurrence of the spelling Mithrodates, instead of its common forms Mithra- or Mithri-, cf. e.g. SEG 27, 250.

5 See Thucydides VIII.79.2: οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ Σάμου ναυσὶ δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ ἔτυχον ἐν Γλαύκῃ τῆς Μυκάλης ὀρμουσαι (διέχει δὲ ὀλίγον ταύτη ἢ Σάμος τῆς ἠπείρου πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην) (*But the Athenians, with the eighty-two ships whose base was at Samos and which happened then to be lying at Glauke on the promontory of Mycale – where Samos is only a short distance from the mainland, in the direction of Mycale –...*[Loeb transl.]); *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967), p. 809, s.v. “Glauke” (5) and *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World: Map-by-map Directory*, p. 941

“Il est certain que Γλαύκηον est le résultat de l'érosion de Γλαύκηιον qui ne peut être que l'ethnique de Διαφένης (R. Hodot, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie* [1990], p. 74 pour l'éolien; F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* III [1924], p. 42 pour l'ionien). Le suffixe d'ethnique -ηιος pourrait, par des non-ioniens, avoir été automatiquement créé sur le nom de la petite cité ionienne de Γλαύκη (Thuc. VIII 79). Mais la forme en -ηιος a pu aussi évoluer en -ειος et aboutir au Γλαύκιος chez Stephanus⁶. Nous aurions donc affaire à deux traitements phonétiques: un traitement éolo-ionien -ηιος > -ηος et un traitement pangrec -ηιος > -ειος pour un ethnique de la cité de Γλαύκη, seule bien attestée.”

The ethnic Γλαύκηος of our inscription calls our attention to some Ephesian inscriptions where we find Γλαύκηος⁷ employed as the name of a *chiliastys*, a subdivision of the *phyle* Euonymoi at Ephesos⁸. This may reflect an earlier migration of Glaukeans to Ephesos or point to the possibility that a formerly independent city Glauke later became a part of Ephesian territory.

Özet

Aigai antik kentinin kuzeyindeki nekropolde 2015 yılında yapılan kazılarda, 6.85 m. çapındaki bir mezar anıtının kalıntıları bulundu. “Diaphenes Anıtı” olarak adlandırılan bu yapının, en azından iki basamakla çıkılan bir platform (krepidoma) üzerinde yükseldiği anlaşılmaktadır. İ.Ö. 2. ya da 1. yüzyıla tarihlene bu yapı, Miletos'daki Aslanlı Liman'ında yer alan ve Küçük Anıt diye bilinen yapı ile benzeşmektedir. Diaphenes Mezar Anıtı'nın tabanında, yan yana dizilmiş 6 adet boş sanduka ve bir kül muhafaza kabı (*urna*) ortaya çıkmış olup, bu anıtın ve mezarların Bizans devrinde soyguncular tarafından yağmalandığı düşünülmektedir.

Diaphenes Mezar Anıtı'nın duvarlarından birinde dolgu malzemesi olarak kullanılan ve içbükey yontulmuş ön yüzünde Grekçe bir yazıt yer alan andezit blok, hiç kuşku yok ki mezar anıtının duvarına monte edilmişti. Mezar anıtı ile aynı döneme (geç Hellenistik) tarihlenmesi mümkün olan ve Aiol lehçesinde kaleme alınan bu yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

Halk, Mithrodates oğlu Glauke'li Diaphenes'i yüksek nitelik ve erdem sahibi olması ve halka gösterdiği iyi niyetten dolayı (onurlandırdı).

Aigai Halkının bu onurlandırma kararını Diaphenes'in ölümünden sonra (*post mortem*) almış olması büyük bir olasılıktır. Mithrodates'in (= Mithradates ya da Mithridates) vatanı olan ve adı yalnızca Thukydides ile Stephanos Byzantios tarafından zikredilen Glauke adındaki Hellenistik yerleşim, Dilek Yarımadasının en uç kısmında ve Samos adasının karşısında yer alan küçük bir liman kentiydi. Bazı Ephesos yazıtlarından anlaşılmaktadır ki, Ephesos'daki Euonymos kabilesinin (*phyle*) bir alt birimi (*khiliastys*) Glaukeos adını taşımaktaydı. Bu belki, Glauke halkının en azından bir bölümünün bilmediğimiz bir devirde Ephesos'a göç ettiğine ya da bir zamanlar bağımsız bir şehir-devlet olan Glauke'nin daha sonraları Ephesos'un arazisine katılmış olabileceğine işaret etmektedir.

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with Map 61. For a report on intensive research in the Mykale mountain and the localisation of “Glauke *limen*” at Dipburnu see H. Lohmann, *Ist. Mitt.* 57, 2007, 59ff.

⁶ Steph. Byz., s.v. Γλαυκία: πόλις ἰωνίας, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Γλαυκιεύς καὶ Γλαυκιώτης, βέλτιον δὲ Γλαύκιος etc.

⁷ The Index volume (VIII, 2) of *IvEphesos* registers only the form Γλαύκεος referring to six instances. But in reality four inscriptions in the corpus have Γλαύκηος (nos. 906, 1006, 1578, 2950d) and one has Γλαόκεος (no. 1419), while no. 1462 is fragmentary.

⁸ On the derivation of some names of Ephesian *chiliastyses* from toponyms see U. Kunnert, *Bürger unter sich. Phylen in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Ostens*, 2012, 110.



Fig. 1. The grave monument of Diaphenes (excavated in 2015)



Fig. 2. The Aeolic inscription recording *post mortem* honours to Diaphenes