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With the 14th issue of the Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion we present a selection of those epigraphic publications of the year 2001 which are connected with the study of Greek religion, but also contribute to the understanding of its cultural context (Oriental cults, Judaism, and Early Christianity); we have also filled some of the gaps from earlier issues (especially EBGR 1999 and 2000). As in earlier bulletins, we have included a small selection of papyrological publications, especially with regard to the study of performative ritual texts (n° 79 and 194), ancient mythology (n° 79 and 114), divination (n° 85) and magic (n° 85, 89-90, 108, 127). Despite some omissions, which we intend to cover in the next issue, we hope that the EBGR 2001 gives a representative picture both of new discoveries and of new interpretations.

In this issue we have summarized several regional corpora which were published in 2000 and 2001: we now possess corpora for Rhamnous (n° 142), the Ionian Islands (n° 74), Samos (n° 75), Pannonia (n° 101), and Side (n° 132). We should also mention the corpus of the Greek-Latin bilingual inscriptions of Asia Minor (n° 94), a corpus of Greek hymns (n° 62), and two further volumes of the very useful corpus of the epigrams from the Greek East (n° 120 and 121), which in the meantime has been completed with the publication of the fourth volume (R. MERKELBACH — J. STAUBER, Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Band 4: Die Südküste Kleinasiens, Syrien und Palästina, Leipzig, 2002). Current research trends emerge from the other epigraphic publications. We single out some of the highlights of this issue.

Cult regulations (leges sacrae) are the most important source of information for the study of rituals. The presentation of new Koan leges sacrae (cf. EBGR 2000, 151) continued in 2001 with the publication of six documents that concern the sale of priesthoods (n° 139). Another significant, but unfortunately fragmentary find, comes from Olympia (n° 170, c. 500 BC); it seems to regulate the presence of foreigners in the sanctuary of Zeus and damages caused by livestock; the geographical data in a passage of this text probably reflect the itinerary used by the spondophoroi of Olympia who announced the sacred truce. We also mention the new edition of a sacred law from the Cave of Pan at Marathon (n° 115) and a fragmentary epigram whose composer asserts that he did not worship an anonymous god with luxurious offerings and sacrifices of bulls, but with verses, offerings of oak and incense, and the customary sacrifices (n° 120).

A series of studies on the role of music in ancient cult and the valuable collection of Greek hymns (n° 62) will certainly increase the awareness of the aesthetic aspects of ancient rituals (see especially n° 12). A rather neglected phenomenon in the study of rituals is the effect of war on the regular performance of rituals; this is alluded to in the honorary decree for a military commander in Rhamnous, who “provided sacrificial animals for the sacrifice of the Nemesia and of (to) the king from his own resources,
when the sacrifices had been neglected because of the war, so that the Rhamnousians could show the proper conduct towards the goddesses" (no 142).

Rituals sometimes are only indirectly inferred from inscriptions. For instance, does the χάρας σεμνημόσωτος in a Karian inscription (no 20) imply the regular commemoration of gratitude through ritual actions (e.g., the crowing of a statue)? That the ritual of sacrifice could be felt as a bond which connected two persons and was remembered as a shared experience is demonstrated by an inscription written on the base of a statue of Polydeukion, Herodes Atticus' foster child; Herodes made the dedication to the goddess, "to whom he used to offer sacrifices together with him" (no 142). With regard to divination we draw attention to an interesting case of necromancy and a possible case of a Homeromanteion (no 121).

Among the new finds which add to our knowledge of piety and individual religious feelings I mention the epigram of Julia Hagne from Hadrianoi which shows the woman's devotion to the local cults; the epigram states that she died abroad, leaving behind the god of her fatherland (no 120). A soldier serving in the garrison at Didymoi in Egypt (c. AD 180-192) reports in graffiti written on two tiles: "I heard in my dreams that I should make the banquet for lord Sarapis; and I made it in expression of gratitude for good fortune" and "I made the banquet for good fortune, in accordance with a dream" (no 45). The piety of soldiers, persons continually exposed to dangers, certainly needs more attention (see now no 50 and 142).

Dedicator inscriptions usually take the lion's share with respect to the expression of personal piety. Among the many new texts we draw attention to a dedication from Korkyra (no 76 = IG IX 12 4, 844) which clearly reveals how the principle of do ut des worked: after a seaman had dedicated to Zeus the image of a ship and was blessed by the god with safety, not only did he dedicate a larger image of a ship, but he also promised to dedicate a third one, this time made entirely of gold, should the god also grant him wealth. Less numerous are inscriptions which refer to the lack of piety; in this issue we have two cases of theft of sacred property in inscriptions from Delos and Samos (nos 34 and 75).

Already in the preface of EBGR 2000 we called attention to the phenomenon of sacred manumission and the dedication of persons (slaves, alumni, family members) to sanctuaries, two important ritual practices and expressions of personal piety that are almost exclusively documented through inscriptions. In addition to new manumission records from the Kabeirion of Lemnos (no 14), we should mention two important interpretative essays on the significance of the consecration of children and slaves in Macedonia and Phrygia (nos 124 and 153).

Ancient doctrines and rituals associated with the 'Orphics' have recently attracted a lot of attention. This year's issue includes an important new find, this time from Amphipolis (no 118), with a new formula (εἴσω καὶ ἡμᾶς Εἰσάλματος Ἐκκλησίας ἔλιθος) and a new edition of the lemalie from Hipponion (no 162). We also mention an article of D. Jordan ("Written Instructions for the Dead: An Example from Mordovia", ZPE 134 [2001], p. 80, with an addendum in ZPE 137 [2001], p. 34), in which he points to a modern parallel to the Orphic leaves: a present-day funerary lament from Mordovia, which gives instructions to the deceased for his last journey.

The agonistic culture especially of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods is one of the common themes of the EBGR. It is basically with epigraphic finds that the various aspects of agon can be clarified, such as undecided victories and victories without competition (nos 42-43) or the acclamations in the stadium during the athletic competitions (no 150). The continual publication of new evidence for gladiatorial shows in the
Greek East calls for a new comprehensive study that would update L. Robert’s classical work on gladiators in the Roman East. In this context we single out a new letter of Hadrian to Aphrodisias, in which the emperor shows his disapproval of gladiatorial shows (n° 152: “I concede that you should take money from the high priests instead of gladiatorial shows; not only do I concede but I praise your proposal”) and a new interpretation of a relief depicting women gladiators (n° 38; see also n° 87, 123, 152, and 160).

In recent issues of the EBGR we have often presented evidence for divinities that were regarded as patrons of justice and retribution. We mention a new attestation of the cult of ‘Just Gods’ (Theoi Dikaioi) in Kibyra (n° 39) and an appeal to theodicy: the epigram for Menophantos, who had been murdered, implores Dike and Zeus to console his parents by avenging his death (n° 120).

The study of ancient magic continues to flourish (cf. n° 15-16, 55-56, 71, 76, 85, 89-90, 108, 127, 132, and 141). There are some interesting new finds, especially curse tablets (n° 29, 71, and 185) and a new text apparently closely related to the ‘prayers for justice’ (n° 29). One should note the first defixio from Crete, which is unique also in another respect: it is written on a splinter of green steatite (n° 71). Among the new studies we single out a study on the use of nails in magic (n° 16). The use of handbooks in ancient magic has long been known (cf. BBGR 2000, 58); D. Jordan has drawn attention to cases in which the copist has by mistake copied not only the formula, but also part of the instructions (n° 89 and 91). With regard to curses we mention the public imprecation of enemies of democracy in the Eretrian law against the enemies of democracy (n° 97).

In the second and third volumes of corpus of epigrams from the Greek east (n° 120-121), but also in other publications (n° 11, 76, 94, 106, 119, 132, 151) one will find many expressions of eschatological ideas, that range from the faith in the immortality of the soul (n° 76) to the rejection of the belief of an existence after death (n° 132): “some claim that after the great trouble of life the souls of the deceased fly in the wide air; this is a myth”. The publication of a corpus of Greek-Latin bilingual inscriptions allows some observations on differences of mentality. I point to an epigram, the Latin version of which exploits the common theme of the dwelling of the dead among the Blessed ones, however, not as consolation – as in most Greek epitaphs –, but as scaring of the parents (n° 94: “you have scorned your father and mother, O most wretched son, since you dwell in the Elysian fields and the meadows of the blessed ones”). A woman who erected a grave altar for her husband, “so that he will be among the future mortals”, apparently believed that the performance of the grave rituals on the altar continued the communication between living and dead (n° 121). A similar interest in the continuation of funerary cult is manifest in a long epitaph in Trebenna (3rd cent. AD); the owner of the heroon refers to the instructions he had written in his testament to safeguard the proper conduct of the funerary rites (n° 82). In this context we remark that a Samian inscription (n° 75 – IG XII 6.1, 132) uses of the term ἱβύσια in connection with the funerary cult. Important evidence for heroic cult was found in Halieis – the worship of the Dioskouroi in a private context (n° 83) – and in Messene – the heroic cult of war dead (n° 182).

In the study of the relations between religion and political life, the Hellenistic ruler cult and the emperor cult have been central areas of study (see n° 3, 22, 31, 31 bis, 39, 41, 51, 69, 75, 77, 92, 94, 132, 140, 142, 161, 165, 167, and 188). An interesting piece of evidence for the rituals of the emperor cult (an old text republished in the corpus of Side) is the grave epigram for a high priestess which describes how she
appeared in the theater in a purple dress and how her husband, the high priest, placed on her head a crown of gold (n° 132); these crowns have been the object of a thorough study (n° 159). How the divinity of the emperor could penetrate the sphere of private religious practices can be seen in a an epitaph in Kephallenia, in which the appeal to the gods for the protection of the grave is substituted by a reference to the Sebastios bokios, the oath to the genius Augusti (n° 76 = IG IX 1² 4, 1556, 3rd cent. AD).

The persistence of Hellenic religion in Late Antiquity and the influence of pagan myths, symbols, and vocabulary on early Christianity, but also the religious ambiguities in this period and the interaction between pagans, Christians and Jews, have been noted in earlier issues of the EBGR (see esp. Kernos 13 [2000], p. 128; 14 [2001], p. 147ff.; 15 [2002], p. 334; 16 [2003] p. 250). The reader will find also in this issue several inscriptions from Late Antiquity which use a pagan vocabulary or pagan images (n° 88, 120-122, and 133), evidence for the continuation of pagan practices (e.g., n° 133), but also many texts which cannot be clearly attributed to a particular religious group because of the use of an ambiguous religious vocabulary (n° 120-121).

New evidence for the various forms of interaction among religious groups – that range from influence to competition and opposition – is primarily provided by inscriptions. They range from a Hellenistic decree in Rhamnous (n° 142) which concerns the dispute between the priest of Agdistis and a group of Persians who tried to hinder his work to the building inscription of a bishop in Korkyra (n° 76 = IG IX 1² 4, 1191, 5th cent.), which aggressively commemorates the destruction of the precincts and altars of the Hellenes, or the epigrams in a family grave which show the co-existence of pagans and Christians within the same family (n° 121). A nice specimen of religious ambiguities is an epigram from Kotiaion that refers to the immortal gods and to the islands of the Blessed in the same context as what seems to be a reference to Christian baptism (n° 121).

The convergence of the vocabulary of religious expression among the worshippers of the traditional gods, the Jews and the Christians can be observed in particular in grave inscriptions, e.g., in adjurations for the protection of the grave (n° 72) or in the use of Homeric verses in Christian poems (n° 88). An important expression of the henotheistic tendencies in the Imperial Period can be found in the long funerary epigram of Euodos (n° 76 = IG IX 1² 4, 1024, 2nd/3rd cent. AD) and in an inscription from Spain (n° 141). Also the cult of Theos Hypsistos is closely related to henotheism and the complex phenomenon of religious interaction (n° 175).

The principles explained in Kernos 4 (1991), p. 287-288 and Kernos 7 (1994), p. 287 also apply to this issue. Abbreviations which are not included in the list of abbreviations are those of L'Année philologique and J.H.M. Struible (ed.), SuppUementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Consolidated Index for Volumes XXXVI-XLV (1986-1995), Amsterdam, 1999. If not otherwise specified, dates are B.C. We are very much obliged to Dr. James Cowey for improving the English text. [AC]

Abbreviations

Agathos Daullon

AST 15

AST 17


Select Topics

Geographical areas (in the sequence adopted by SEG)

acclamation: 9, 121, 150
aesthetic: see rituals
agon, agonistic festival: 42-43, 75-76, 132, 150, 159; Antoninianos Heleios Leontios Isantinos agon hieros eiselastikos 17 (Leontopolis); Artemisia: 86 (Ephesos), 97 (Eretria); Asklepieia: 140 (Kos); Attaleia: 140 (Kos); Diogeneia: 142, 144 (Rharmnous); Eukratous Koinos Pontou Isatikos: 132 (Neokaisareia); Hadrianeia: 132 (Antiocheia pros Daphnen); Helieia: 75 (Rhodos); Heraia: 75 (Samos); Herakleia: 121 (Vasacla); Isokapitoliou: 132 (Hermoupolis); Isthmia: 75, 150; Kaisareia: 75 (Korinthos); Lysiandreia: 75 (Samos); Megaia Sebasta Heraia: 75 (Samos); Mouseia: 24 (Thespiai); Mystikos: 132 (Side); Nemea: 132; Olympia: 75-76 (Olympia); 193 (Gaza); Panathenaia: 103, 116, 136; Ptolemaia: 142, 144 (Rharmnous), Pythia: 75, 150, 163, 181 (Delphi), 132 (Side). 140 (Kos); Rhomeia: 75 (Miletos); Rhomeia kai Attaleia: 75 (Samos); Sebasia: 132 (Damaskos); Sebasta Kaisareia: 75 (Samos); Sebereia Peraseia: 132 (Kastabala); Soteria: 163 (Delphi); see also festival
Alexandros of Abonouteichos: 158
altar: 28, 44, 49, 75-76, 110, 120-121, 132, 139, 142, 166-167
ambiguity, in religious texts: 72, 88, 120-121, 189
amphictyony: 163
amulet: 56, 91, 133, 189
animals: dog: 40; dove: 27; eagle: 40; snake: 76
Apollonios of Tyana: 158
apotropaic inscriptions, deities: 132-133, 169
association, cult: 75-76, 104, 142
asylia: 27, 75-76, 157
athletes: 15, 42-43, 75-76, 132, 150
banquet: 45, 75, 104
bell: 133
benediction: 128, 150
calendar: 64 (Samos)
cave: 76, 115
Christianity: 76, 88, 119-121; and magic: 16, 133, 171, 189; pagan influences on C.: 88, 120-122, 133
cnthonic cult: 48
clothes: 132 (purple dress); prohibitions with regard to c.: 115, 120
consecration, of children: 124, 153; of slaves: 124, 153
crown: 75, 132, 159, 180; crowning, of altar: 75; of statue: 20?
cult, of mortals: 75 (Lysandros); 142 (Diogenes); opposition against c.: 32, 142; see also ruler cult
cult personnel: agonothetes: 75-76, 132, 159; agoratros: 163; akrobates: 53; aozos: 76; archiereia of the civic emperor cult: 132; archiereus of the civic emperor cult: 31, 69, 75-76, 121, 132, 152, 159-160, 180; archiereus of the emperor cult: 159; in Arabia: 165; in Asia: 121; in Lykia: 99; in Macedonia: 125; archineokoros: 104; archiskeptouchos: 76; boones: 14; chrysophoros: 53; demiourgos: 75; epimenios: 75, 140; essenes: 53; exegetes Eumolpidon: 75; hageter theon: 181; hiercia:
58. 76. 82. 97. 142-143; hiercus: 14. 75. 97. 104. 120-121. 125-126. 130. 139. 142;
hierokeryx: 14. 75; hieromnemon: 14. 132. 163; hieropoios: 14. 76. 100. 142;
hieros: 53; hierourgos: 75; hypostates 142; kanephkos: 167; kosmeteira: 53;
kosmetes: 14; kosmophoros: 53; lithophoros: 66; mageiros: 76; mantis: 14; me­­liissai: 53; molpos: 66; neopoios/neopoies: 34. 53. 75. 140; oikonomos: 53; oi­­nochoos: 76; polos: 120; propolos: 153; prospolos: 181; pyrgoras: 163; spei­­rophoros: 53; tamias ton hieron chrematon 14; tamias ton hiosion: 75; theokolos: 76; zakoros: 132; see also Greek words
curse, curse tablet: 26. 29. 55-56. 71. 75-76. 90. 97. 101. 148. 185. 189; see also funerary imprecation
dance: 66; 75 (chorostates)
dedications: 19. 75-76. 112. 120-121. 142. 146; by athletes: 132; by friends: 80; by
magistrates: 76. 143. 181; by priests/priestesses: 19. 70 (to another god). 143.
166. 182; brought to the sanctuary on behalf of the dedicant: 146; on behalf of
family members: 76. 112; after a dream: 120; after divine punishment: 153; upon
divine command: 44. 120-121. 132. 153; of statues of family members: 75; of
weapons: 142. 182; collection of d. in literary works: 75; see also inventory
deities: Aiolos: 110. Aphrodite: 3. 25. 27. 76. 110. 120. 132. 143; Hagemone 142-143.
Apollon: 12. 23. 47. 59. 62. 66. 74-76. 79. 93. 120-121. 140. 142. 184. 186;
Daphneheporos 98; Hasios 121; Kendrisos 69; Keraite 66; Kerkyriatos 75; Klarios
120. 141; Kristes 132. Lairbenos 124. 153; Lykeios 142; Nomios 93; Nymphbegetes
66. 75; Patros 132; Patroilos 132. 134; Pythios 76. 126. 150. 161; Soter 120; Sozon
121. Ares: 40. 80. 121; Epiphanestatos 132. Artemis: 33. 62. 68-69. 75-76. 93.
98. 121. 132. 142. 150. 184; Agrotera 142; Amarynthia 97-98; Eileithyia 68;
Empesia 23. 53-54. 86. 94. 101; Eretheus 73; Kindyas 75; Oinaia 73; Opitais 76;
Prothyratea 150; Soteira 142; Tauros 75. Asklepios: 62. 69. 75-76. 101. 111.
120. 139. 157. 161. 168. 181; Hagios 70; Merous 44; Mesiorkios 93; Soter 101.
120; Thybris 156. Athena: 18. 76. 101. 120. 132; Atbenon medeousa 75. 84; Bou­­laia 132; Lindia 78. 94; Nike 67; Pollas 76. 136. Britomartis. 33. Chariots: 120.
33. 174. Dionysois: 62. 75. 94-95. 104. 120. 132. 142. 144. 166. 172. 194;
Balcoblos 118; Bromios 120; Eleutherus 73; Geron 75; Lenatos 142. Dios­­kouroi:
76. 83. 105. 132. 182. Dynamis: 66. Eileithyia: 33; Innetie 33; see also
Tycbe 28. Helios: 121. 177. 183. 186; Basilieus 121. Hephaistos: 120. 138. Hera:
69. 75. 77; Akria 76; Teleia 76. Herakles: 75-76. 132. 137. 181-182; Kalimilos
87. 92. 121. 142-143. Nike: 84. Nymphai: 66. 75-76. 95. 107. 115. 120-121. 132.
Pan: 62. 115; Eubodos 105. Pantes Theoi: 62. 76. 132. 181-182; Persephone:
48. Posidon: 40. 114. 120. 138; Aspaleios 84. 32. Helikonios 75; Soter 142.
tis: 76. Tyche: 76; Hekate 28. Zeus: 2. 30. 40. 52. 69. 75-76. 83. 94. 120-121. 141; Alexικακος 120; Alsenos 121. 154; Ammon 120; Arbachaitos 120; Aspidios 152; Benitos 94. 121; Bronton 121; Diktaios 62; Dionysos Gongylos 104; Disabe­
tes 120; Dodones medeon 76; Herketos 142; Hyperdectios 117; Hypsistos 76. 175; Ithoma­ta 180. 182; Kapitolinos 75; Kassios 76; Keranios 75; Kersoullos 94. 120; Ktesios 117; Megistos 131; Naios 76. 149. 173; Nikator 132; Olympios 170; Oso­
gi 21; Ourios 120; Panbypistos 121; Pankrates 84; Polieus 75; Sabazios 125; So­lymeus 82; Soter 81. 137. 142; Thallo 2. 23

deities, Anatolian: Ouaraubes 82; Egyptian: 14-15. 32. 44. 50. 68. 75-76. 104-105. 113. 120. 132. 141-142. 145. 155. 161. 177; Oriental: Agdistis 121. 142-143; Attis 142; Iao 141; Kybele 49. 142; Manbog 109; Mitbras 10. 63. 65. 70; Sabazios 125; Syria Theos 75; Theos Rhabbou 131; Thracin: Danzalas 177; Rider God 69
deities, patrons of agriculture: 16. 39; of childbirth: 68; of fertility: 73. 121; of healing:
142. 174; of hunting: 174; of livestock: 121. 142; of seafaring: 76. 132. 149. 174;
of travellers: 121; of victory: 15

deities, assimilation of: 23. 44. 68. 70. 105; criticism on: 121; personifications: see
Demos, Dikaion, Dike, Dynamis, Homonoia, Hosion, Kosmos, Thesmos, Tyche;
return of: 66
Dionysiac artists: 3. 12. 191
divination: 76. 85. 120-121. 146. 179; Homeromanteion: 121
dream: 120
Eleusinian mysteries: 144
emperor cult: 22. 31. 31 bis. 39. 69. 75. 77. 92. 94. 132. 142. 161. 165; assimilation of
emperors and gods: 75 (Hadrian Zeus Olympios Epiphanes Soter Ktistes; Au­
gustus/Zeus Polieus?, Tiberius/Zeus Polieus?, Drusilla/Nea Charis). 94 (Livia /
Aphrodite Geneteira); see also neokoreia
ephebes: 17. 20. 75. 115. 117. 167
Epicureans: 121
epiphany: 78
eschatology: 11. 76. 94. 106. 119-121. 132. 151
exorcism: 16
festivals: 147; in Aphrodisias: 27; Artemisia: 86 (Ephesos); choes: 120; Dionysia: 75 (Samos). 76 (Korkyra). 97 (Eretria). 139 (Kos). 142 (Rhamnous). 178 (Thorikos); Theodaisia: 33 (Grete); established after victory: 75
fire: 16
food offerings: 75
foreigners, prohibitions against f.: 170
foundation: 76
funerary cult: 20. 35. 61. 75-76. 82. 93-94. 104. 120-122. 133. 135; burial of war dead: 182; dedication of f. monuments to gods: 120-121; f. imprecation: 82. 120-121;
prohibition of burial: 97; protection of grave: 72. 76
gem: 15. 90. 101
gladiators: 38. 87. 123. 152. 160
gymnasium: 75-76. 137. 150. 182
hand, raised: 141
healing: 70. 112. 120-121. 142. 156; healing miracle: 168
henotheism: 76, 141
heroisation: 120. 182
holy man: 158
Homer: 4. 40. 55-56. 76. 88. 121-122. 194
hymn: 62. 120-121. 142. 194-195; see also paean
incantation: 55
incense: 120. 139
inventory: 75. 78
invocation: 101
Jews: 72. 102. 121. 141. 175
justice: 39 (Theoi Dikaioi); see also 'prayer for justice', punishment
Kallimachos: 33
killing, justification of: 9. 97
ktistes: 76 (Chersikrates). 121 (Kineas)
land, sacred: 21. 51. 75. 94. 142. 192
lex sacra: 61. 66. 75-76. 115. 120. 139. 142. 147. 168. 170
libation: 51. 120
lightning: 121
magic: 15-16. 55-56. 71. 76. 85. 89-90. 108. 127. 132. 141; use of nails in m.: 16
manumission, sacred: 126. 153
mask: 133
music: 12. 26. 30. 58. 66. 147; see also hymn, paean
mystery cult: 36. 46. 75. 118. 120. 144
mythology: 4. 12. 38. 76. 95. 114. 121
nail: 16. 133
names, theophoric: 49. 96. 109. 138. 146 (Kledonios?); of priests: 121; related to cult offices: 142 (Hieropoios); districts named after a god/a sanctuary: 132
neokoreia: 86 (Ephesos). 132 (Sicle)
numbers: 75 (seven)
oath: 75.76 (Seabstios horkos)
oracle: 76. 120-121. 132. 158
Orphics: 118. 162. 183
paean: 12. 62. 66. 79. 161
paganism in Late Antiquity: 10. 76-77
papyri: 79. 114. 194; magical: 16. 85. 89-90. 108. 127
personifications: Tetartalos: 75
phylactery: 90. 101
piety: 120. 142-143
pilgrimage: 121
pollution: 97; see also purity
prayer: 16. 121; 'prayer for justice': 29. 189

priesthood, accumulation of: 132; jubilee of priesthood: 132, sale of: 75. 139

procession: 66. 87. 120. 140. 167. 181

protective function of seals: 128

punishment, divine: 76. 82. 120. 153

purity, purification: 61; purity of the mind: 132; see also pollution rituals: 120; aesthetic of r.: 12. 140; see also banquet, crowning

river god: 80. 96

ruler cult: Alexander IV: 75; Antigonos Gonatas: 142; Antigonos Monophthalmos: 75; Arsinoe II: 167; Attalids: 75. 140; Demetrios Poliorketes: 75; Phila: 75; Philippos Arrhidaios: 75; Ptolemies: 3. 41. 51. 75. 142. 167; Seleukids: 132. 188; in the gymnasium: 75

sacrifice: 51. 75-76. 120. 139-140. 142-143. 157. 167-168; criticism on s.: 120; sacrificial animal: 75 (cow). 76 (trittoia). 167-168 (sheep); sacrificial cake: 75; sacrificial regulation: 75

sacrilege: 46; see theft

sanctuaries: 53 (Artemision of Ephesos). 69 (in Thrace). 75 (Heraion of Samos); boundary stones of: 75-76. 142. 186; building works in: 14. 27. 52. 67. 74-76. 94. 140. 142; dedication of children and slaves: 124. 153; destruction by Christians: 76. 145; finances of: 18. 34. 53. 75-76. 124. 139; foundation of: 155; guarding of s.: 75. 142; land of: 21. 51. 75. 94. 142. 192; Panhellenic: 60; payment of fines to s.: 82. 97; political role: 60 (arbitration); plundering of: 75; protection of: 75. 139; prohibitions against the presence of animals: 139. 170; relations to city: 192; trade in s.: 75; treasure: 139; see also asylia, theft

secrecy: 46

slaves, sacred: 153

snake: 76

soldiers, cultic activities of: 3. 6. 45. 50. 63. 76. 105. 134. 142-144. 164. 182

soul: 76. 106. 120-121; see also eschatology

statue, cult: 27. 47. 80. 167; bound: 121; carried in processions: 87. 181; protective: 121

subscription, for religious projects: 74-75. 140. 142

suicide: 94

table, cult: 142. 144

temple, opening of: 139

theft of sacred property: 34. 75

theoria, theoros: 132. 157. 170

theorodokos: 179

truce: 60. 157. 170. 179

vow: 2. 49. 76. 80. 121. 130. 142. 146. 153

war: 60. 75-76. 120. 142. 182

water: 75

wine: 142

woman: 58. 120
Greek Words

acclamations: έξ θεος 150; έξ θεος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ 150; θεός 150; μέγας θεός 150; μέγατον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ 150;

associations: Ἀμφαιάται 142; ἀρχεισαρανῆς 142; ἀρανῆς 142; κοινόν 76. 142;

σύνοδος 75-76. 142; φυλαχώτης 75; Χερσοκράτεις πατριώται 76; χιλιαστήρρης Ἀπολλοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (sc. χιλιάςτρος) οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἐλιώνων 75

benefiction formulas: ἁγαθὴ τόχη 150; ἐπ' ἁγαθή 45. 128; εὐτύχει 128. 150; εὐτυχοῖς 150; τόχη 128

cult objects: ἀγάλμα 87. 142. 167. 170. 180; ἀφριθάδραμα 81; γύλλος 66; λυχνία 134; λόχος 134; τράπεζα 142

cult personnel: ἀρχαίοφορός 142; ἀδήμι 142; ἀρτηρία 121; ἐπιτίθηνος 142; ἠγγίθη 121;

κόρες πανταπετηρικοί 132; κυνηδόνος' 146; ὑποστάτης 142

curse, curse formulas: σὲ ἀγνόω 71. 125; Σὲ θάνατον 71. 125; θάνατον μήμη πανί 71. 125; θάνατον μήμη λάβοτε 121; ὀφειάν τένω πάνω, χόρρον βίον, 71. 125; θάνατον μήμη πανί 71. 125;

dedications: ἀναφερόμει 76; ἀπαρχή 142; εἰσόδων 19; ἐπιταγή 132 (κατὰ ἔλεος 76); ἐξήλθαν 76. 121; εὐχερεία 120; εὐχαριστήριον 75-76; εὐχαριστήριον 45; εὐχαριστία 76; εὐχή 80. 130; εὐχή 39. 76. 80. 142. 154; κατ' ἐυχή 132; ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς 101; καταγραφή, καταγράφω 124; κελεύω 121 (ὡς ἐκδόσεις); κράτος ἐπήκοος (κατὰ π.). 44. 145; κοσμεῖν 76; στόλος 6; συντρίψατε (κατὰ α.) 76; ὁ θεὸς 121; ὑπὲρ γενόμενον 76; ὑπὲρ πανί 143; ὑπὲρ τένων 130; χαιρετίσσαμεν 132; χαιρετησθοῦν 101. 134;

χρηστασιμὸς 120 (κατὰ χ. ὀνείρου); χρηστησθεῖς 132

divination: θεοπρότος 26; ἔναρχον 45

epithets: ἄγαλμα 70 (Asklepios). 150 (Palaimon); ἀγιωτάτη 53 (Artemis Ephesia); ἀγάλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis); ἄγαλμα 76 (Artemis);

ἀγαθότας 121; ἀναφέρομεν 76; 83 (Dioskouri); ἀνθυγερσός ἄρα 86 (Artemis); ἀνθυγερσός ἄρα 86 (Artemis); ἀνθυγερσός ἄρα 86 (Artemis);

ἀρχαιολόγος 120 (Zeus); ἀρχηγότης 75 (Hera). 142. 144 (Hera); ἀρχηγός 75. 132 (Poseidon); βασιλέας 75 (Hera); βασιλεύς 121 (Helios); δήμος 121 (Mes). 39; δικαίωτας 121 (Apollo, Helios); ἐναρχιστήτητα 86 (Artemis); ἐναρχιστήτητα 86 (Artemis); ἐπίκερας 134 (Apollo). 80 (Ares). 110 (Meter Theon). 120 (Zeus). 132 (anonymous); ἔπικερας (Hadrian); ἔπικερας τόσα (ἕως ἐκδόσεις) / ἐπικεφαλήτης 132 (Ares). 53 (Artemis Ephesia); ἐπικεφαλής 23; ἔρχεσθαι 142 (Zeus); εὔνοια 105 (Pan); ἐγκαθίστηκαν 142 (Aphrodite); καλλικοῦς 105. 169 (Heraldes);

eschatology:  ἐνεσθεῖσιν  δόξαι 11;  ἑσθεῖσιν  χάρις 121;  Ἡλύσια  πεδία 11. 94. 120;  λαμόν ἐνεσθεῖσιν 11;  Λήξη 11. 76. 120;  μακάρων  λιμὴν 120;  μακάρων  νήσιν 11. 121;  μακάρων  χῶρος 120;  ψυχή 76
funerary cult: ἄγνειον 104; ἡμίονον 75; ἡμῶν 20. 35. 76. 93-94. 181;  θωσία 75;  καμάρα 94;  καύστρα 104;  μύρωμα 76;  νόμος  τῆς  δαίας 82;  σπηλαιον 5;  ταφείον 5
invocation: Ἀληθινὴ  βοὴ 101
magic: ἀβλατανάβλα 101;  ἀβλατανάβλα 101;  Ἀβρααξ 101;  ὅλων 16;  Δαμικάμενεν 101;  εἴον 16;  Ἰαω 16. 101;  ἱδρός 26  πύρινος:  16;  Σαβαωθ 16. 101;  Σεμεσάρχη 101;  σεπεγενεβέρης 101;  Σολομῶν 16;  Σολομόωνος  σφραγῆς 101;  ὑλοτόμος 56;  ὑποτάμων 56;  φαραγγῆς 101;  φάρμακον 71
mystery cults: ἀρχιμύστης 120;  βραχυτής 104;  Βραχύμος 120;  νεκρήγης 118;  μύστης 75. 120;  ἡγία 104;  πατήρ  νόμιμος  τῶν  τελετῶν  τῷ  θεῷ 10;  τελετή 10. 120;  τετελεσμένος 14
oath: ἐνοχφύζοιμαι 76;  Σαβάπτως  ὄριος 76
piety:  ἐνεσθεῖσιν 59. 75;  ἑσθεῖσις 1. 11;  ἑσθεῖσις 75;  θησαυρεῖα 120
pollution, purity: καθάρος 97
rituals: ἄγνειον 75;  ἁγιεμεῖσιν 75;  ἁγιστρία 75;  δείπνον 75;  ἣδομος  βοῦς 75;  ἐξετηρία 142-143;  ἐπιβατήριον 132;  ἐπιτραχέμον  δείπνον 75;  εὐσχέλεια 75;  εὐσχέλειος  ἡμέρα 75;  εὐμημερία 75;  εὐχή 65. 120;  θυσία  βοήτια 75;  βεβείρια 75;  καθεδρῶν  συνθήκη 75;  κατακλήθων 76;  κηρύχων 75;  λειτουργεῖν 147;  ἡγία 104;  πανήγυρις 75;  παράδεσσις 75;  πελαγὸς 142;  πομπείειν 140;  πολύνοιον  μονόμυθον 75;  σπονδαῖο 120;  συμπλόκον 4;  τελετή 120
sanctuaries and their buildings: σαλλή 142;  βῆμα 121;  βωμός 75-76;  θησαυρός 139;  ἱερόν 8. 76.  ἱερῶν 170;  ὅλων 142;  ὕσσον 76;  προναίων 131
varia: ἀθεσίδαιμονία 75;  δῶνας 72;  ἐνεύχομαι 72;  συντελέω 74

1) P. ADAM-VILENI – E.K. SVERKOS, “Ἐπιταφίαις στήλες ἀπὸ τῇ Θεσσαλονίκη”, in Συνεδρία Ἐπιγραφικῆς 1, p. 13-34 [German summary]: Ed. pr. of 6 epitaphs from Thessalonike. In one of the texts the deceased woman is called ἐνθεῖσις (1, c. 50 BC-50 AD). [AC]
2) N.E. AKYÜREK SAHIN, “Phrygische Votive aus dem archäologischen Museum von Istanbul”, ΕΑ 53 (2001), p. 185-193 [BE 2002, 420]: A. publishes ten small fragmentary dedications to Zeus found in Phrygia and now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. Only one of these objects bears a dedicatory inscription (SEG XXXII 1282; XXXIII 1156, c. AD 180-220). It is the dedication of a bronze-smith to Zeus Thallos in fulfillment of a vow. [BM]
3) A. ANASTASIADIS, “Πάφος καὶ ιατρεία Πτολεμαίων. Μεταμόρφωσε, χαρακτηρίσεις”, RDAC (2001), p. 223-231 [English summary]: A. collects the evidence for the cult of the Ptolemies in Paphos and underlines the role played by the officers and soldiers on the one hand and the association of Dionysiac artists on the other in the promotion of this cult through dedications; A. makes no distinction between dedications and honorary inscriptions; some of the material he has collected is irrelevant for the ruler cult. A. argues that the Ptolemies tried to associate their cult with the sanctuary of Aphrodite. [AC]
4) P. ARACHOVITI A. DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU, “Ἡ παραγωγὴ ‘polatorίων’ ἀνάγλυφων στολῶν στὴν ὁράματι πόλη τῶν Φεροί”, in Ελληνιστική καραμελή ἀπὸ τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ, Volos, 2000, p. 70-80 [BE 2002, 100; SEG L 533]: Ed. pr. of fragments of a clay mould and of clay relief bowls with Homeric scenes (Pherai, Hellenistic). Inscriptions identify the persons as Theseus, Helena, and Pirithoos (1-2; the scene represents the abduction of Helena), Kyklops (3),
Agamemnon (4-5), Glaukos (6), and Sisyphos (7). The most interesting text is found on a bowl, possibly with the representation of the sacrifice of Polyxene (8): [---]τας παρακλησια | [---] ἀποκείναι καὶ τὰς φιλο[---] [---] θεοις σφαξώντω αὐθέντες. The text seems to be a quotation from a literary text; for similar bowls from Pella cf. EBGR 1996, 2; SEG XLV 785. [AC]


6) N. ATALLAH, “Des inscriptions du nord de la Jordanie”, EA 33 (2001), p. 199-208 [BE 2002, 480]: A. publishes some Greek and Safaitic inscriptions found in the northern part of modern Jordan. Among them a Roman dedicatory inscription found in 1995 in the village of Torn [undated, probably 2nd/3rd cent. AD]: A Roman veteran dedicated an unidentified object together with the columns to an anonymous deity (οὗ τινι στύλοις | δεσπόθησαν); [A.’s translation (“a consacré cette colonne”) should be corrected accordingly]. [M]

7) A. AVRAM, “Autour de quelques décrets d’Istros”, Pontica 33-34 (2000-2001), p. 337-348: The cult of the Samothracian gods in Histria was attested through two references to their sanctuary (I.Histria 11 and 58: Samothrakion) and through a decree concerning the hereditary public priesthood of the Θεοί οἱ Σαμοθράκες (I.Histria 19, 3rd cent. BC). A. adds a fourth document to this evidence, a fragmentary decree (I.Histria 36, 2nd cent. BC), of which he presents a new edition. The decree honors envoys sent to Samothrace and mentions the setting up of stelae in the Samothrakion. [AC]

8) M.W. BALDWIN BOWSKY, “A Temple of Hermes at Sybritos: On the Road from Gortyn to the Diktynnaion (Crete)”, ASAA 79 (2001), p. 263-276: Ed. pr. of an inscription which records the construction and consecration of a sanctuary (ἰερόν) of Hermes for the well-being of the emperor Domitian (Sybrita, Crete, c. AD 90). The last lines read: Τίτος Φλάβιος Κολας [c. 6] | τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἰεροομοσπονδίας ἐκ τῶν | Ἰουνίων ἀθηναίων, δ ὄντες ὄρατο τῇ [c. 6] | πόλει Ἀθηνᾶς Ποιμένας [c. 13]. C. Pomponius should be identified with the proconsul of Creta et Cyrenarum T. Pomponius Gallus Didius Rufus. B. assumes that T. Flavius is the subject of all the verbs (i.e., he built at his own expenses and dedicated the sanctuary, which he had promised to the city); Flavius may have been a magistrate or a priest; but one expects his cognomen in the lacuna; there is no space for both the cognomen and a title; it is improbable that he had omitted the title of his office; Flavius probably did not make the dedication in an official capacity. Why the proconsul is mentioned, is not clear, possibly as an indication of imperial authorisation for the work for as the subject of the verb ἔσταξα: the proconsul had promised the construction of the temple, but a wealthy individual in the city, somehow connected with the proconsul – as his name suggests, he may have received Roman citizenship through imperial patronage – took upon himself the financial burden. [AC]

9) M. BALLANCE – Ch. ROUECHÉ, “Three Inscriptions from Ovacik”, in M. HARRISON, Mountain and Plain. From the Lycean Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period, edited by W. YOUNG, Ann Arbor, 2001, p. 87-112: Among the acclamations inscribed on a stele in an ancient settlement at Ovacik (Lykia) to honor Hermasios, a brigand chaser (c. AD 280) we single out the acclamation which praises the killing of brigands: ‘λέγω τοις φονεύσας τὴν πόλιν φρουρείτω’. [AC]

10) F. BARATTE, “Le Mithreum de Sidon : certitudes et questions”, Topoi 11 (2001) [2003], p. 205-227: B. discusses the iconography of the statues found in a Mithraeum in Sidon (CIMRM n° 74-87); three of them (Mithras killing the bull, a male figure with a lion-head, a triple Hekate) were dedicated by F. Gerontios, πατὴρ νόμιμος τῶν τελετῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (AD 389). [AC]

the Hades, δόμιον εὐσεβῶν, water of Ἀδης, μακάρων νόσος, Πλήσια πεδία, λεμένων εὐσεβῶν. B. argues that the traditional pessimistic idea of the underworld coexisted with the belief that the virtuous persons enjoyed a blessed life after death. [AC]

12) A. Bélis, "Esthétique musicale du péan à travers l'exemple des Hymnes delphiques à Apollon", in Chantier les dieux, p. 97-114 [BE 2002, 211]: After a brief discussion of the discovery of the Delphic paean to Apollon with signs of musical notation (CID III) [cf. infra n° 62], B. endorses the view that both paens were composed and performed during the Pythiais of 128 BC [for a different view see EBGR 1999, 222 and my remarks in SEG XLIX 562]. In a detailed analysis of the aesthetic features of these compositions, B. argues that the paean of Athenaios was sung a capella by a choir of men, whereas Limenios’ paean, composed by a kitharist, was interpreted by the entire synon of the techoitai, i.e. by a choir of men and musicians. She urges to read the poetry of these paens in close connection with its rhetorical and melodic setting. The aim of these compositions was to demonstrate the musical excellence of the Athenian technitai, to associate the myths of Apollo with Athens, and to support the effort of the Athenian technitai to obtain the monopoly of the Delphic celebration. [AC]

13) M. Bertot, "Per una nuova edizione dell'epigrafe eleusinia SEG, XXIV (1969), n. 224", Epigraphica 63 (2001), p. 252-256: B. presents an improved edition of a dedicatory inscription for Demeter and Kore (Eleusis, late 4th cent. BC; SEG XXIV 224) and discusses prosopographical questions related to the dedicants. [IM]

14) L. Biscchi, "Cabirio di Lemno: testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche", ASAA 74/75 (1996/97) (2000), p. 7-145 [SEG L 824-862]: B. presents a collection of the literary (p. 13-34) and epigraphic sources on the Kabeirion of Lemnos, with commentary on the information they provide on the toponography, the cult practice, the origins of the cult, and the cult personnel (p. 32: ἱερεῖς, μάντις, βοώνης, ἱεροσίφα, κοσμήτης, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρηστῶν, ἱεροποιοῖ, ἱερουμάντορες). Among the new inscriptions published by B. we single out an honorary decree of the demos of Hephaisteia (lines 2-3: σύνολος τῶν | [τε]ταξιαμένων) for a benefactor (23, 4th cent. BC), building instructions concerning building activities in the sanctuary (24 and 33, 3rd cent. BC), a fragmentary dedication to the Kabeiroi (?, 30, 3rd/2nd cent.), two fragments mentioning the office of the hieromnemon (26-27, undated), a bronze disc dedicated to the sanctuary (56, Hellenistic: ἱερά), numerous graffiti and dipinti on pottery dedicated to the gods (Καβείρους: 1-2, 5, 19, Καβείρους: 78; Θεῶν: 20-21, ἱερά: 6-11, 29-32, 72-77, ἱερῶν: 12-13, 42, 45-46, 64-67; ἱερὸς: 14-17, 38, 105), and 31 manumission records written on a stele found near the Roman telesterion (25, 2nd-1st cent. BC). Two of the manumissions (n’ xvi and xx) refer to the agreements (διομολογία) which contained the conditions of the manumission and were deposited in a sanctuary of Sarapis (in Athens). A roof tile with the text τὸ Ἡφαίστεια, sc. νέκυμα, shows that the Kabeirion was built by the city of Hephaisteia [as pointed out by M. Sève, BE 2002, 50]. [AC]

15) G. Bevilacqua, “Σωτός Ἐπέκτητος. Breve nota su un’iscrizione gemmaria, Epigraphica 63 (2001), p. 55-66: A gem in the Museum of Kassel bears a representation of a seated Sarapis holding a statue of Nike in his hand and the inscription ΕΥΣΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣ (c. 2nd cent. AD). B. interprets these words not as personal names, but as the phrase ξιστός ἐπέκτητος ("an additionally aquired seat of an athletic club") and attributes the gem to the milieu of athletes ([cf. another gem in Rome; IGUR 247: μεγάλη Τύχη τοῦ ξιστοῦ]. Sarapis was associated with the athletic club as the patron of victory and success (nikephoros). Some evidence for the devotion of athletes to the cult of Sarapis in Alexandria makes this city the most probable origin of the gem. [AC]

16) G. Bevilacqua, “Chiiodi magici”, ArchClass 52.2 (2001), p. 129-150: B. presents a very useful catalogue of bronze nails inscribed with voices magicae and magical charadromes (3rd-6th cent. AD; for the use of nails in magic cf. PMG VII 466; LXXVIII 5). The inscriptions consist of magical names (1: Ἰωάννης Σαββάθου; 7: Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ραφαήλ; 8: Ιακωβ 10: τοῦ Σωλωμοῦ; 12: Αβαραξας, Αστραλος, Αδαμ, Σαλωμο), magical words (3, 10, 13), a liturgical text inspired by the New Testament (6: υἱού τοῦ τίτιον τῆς Δαβίδ Σολομώντα Δαβίδ Φίλιπ Τούσ τίτσις; cf. Apoc. V, 5), the words εἰλίων (2), πύρ (15), and αὐλόνως (imeditum), and a Latin exorcistic prayer to Artemis who
is asked to protect the fields and the livestock (4, 4th/5th cent.); in this text Artemis is mentioned next to the Christian god and Solomon (in signi dei et signi Salomonis et signi de domina Artemis). [AC]

17) J. BINGEN, “L’inscription éphébique de Léontopolis (220 p.C.)”, CE 76 (2001), p. 209-229 [BE 2002, 515, 519]: B. republishes an ephabetic list from Leontopolis (SEG XI 1568, AD 220) with detailed discussion of its structure, the selection of the ephubes, and the onomastics. This list was compiled after the first celebration of an ephemic agon (agon bieros Antonianos Heleios Leontios Isantinios). B. argues that in the list of victors the discipline is followed by the name of the victor (and not vice versa). The agon included competitions in wrestling, pankration, stadion, and diaulos in the age classes of boys and ageneioi. The expression χάμωμηπησάκτας καὶ διφθησάκτας in the heading, which is commonly taken to refer to a single group of young men, more probably designates two separate groups (the boys, who received the ephemic chlamys, and the ageneioi?). [AC]

18) A. BLAMIRE, “Athenian Finance, 454-404 B.C.”, Hesperia 70 (2001), p. 99-126: Based on the information provided by Thucydides and on the ample epigraphic material B. attempts to reconstruct the Athenian financial history from the transfer of the Delian Treasury to Athens to the end of the Peloponnesian War, studying among other issues also the role of sacred financial resources, such as the treasures of Athena and the funds of the Other Gods. [IM]

19) W. BLÜMEL, “Epigraphische Forschungen im Westen Kariens 1997”, in AST 16.1, p. 403-407 [SEG XLIX 1422]: Ed. pr. of a dedication to Demeter and Kore; a priestess [of Demeter and Kore?] and a man dedicated the statue (ἐξών) of another person to the goddesses (Bargl'lia, 4th/3rd cent.). [AC]

20) W. BLÜMEL, “Epigraphische Forschungen im Westen Kariens 1999”, in AST 17.1, p. 251-253 [BE 2001, 400; SEG XLIX 1423, 1434]: Ed. pr. of an honorary inscription for T. Flavius Proteoleon Sophanes (Mylasa, Imperial period); his fellow ephubes (οἱ σωφήροι) dedicated his statue after his death (l. 5: ἡμᾶς) in gratitude for his benefactions; [in lines 11-13 I suggest reading τειχῆς χάριν αἰσθησέντων (not αἰδέ μηνομαντού; cf. epithets such as ἀμφικλαύτως, ἀμφιθάλωτος, ἀμφιμαντίας etc.); the honor should always be remembered, possibly through annual rituals (e.g. the crowning of the statue)]. Ed. pr. of a dedication to Sarapis and Isis; two (or more) brothers dedicated a statue (ἐξών) of their brother (Bargylia, Hellenistic). [AC]


23) L. BOFFO, “Epigrafia e ‘cultura’ greca in Aquileia romana”, in Miscellanea Gasperini I, p. 117-133: Among the elements of Greek culture attested through the epigraphic evidence of Aquileia and collected by B. one finds dedications to Apollo (Letoios Phoibos, probably associated with the local Belenus), Artemis Ephesia (by an Ephesian), Thea Epiphanes, and Zeus Thalloos. B. discusses the evidence provided by Greek texts for the study of complex cultural identities in Roman Aquileia. [AC]

24) A. BONNET, “En parcourant le Val des Muses. Remarques sur un concours musical de l’Antiquité: les Mouscaia de Thespies”, in Musique et Poésie, p. 53-70: Discussion of the history of the musical competitions at the Mouscia of Thespiae, the development of the agon’s program – especially after the reorganisation in the late 3rd cent. BC and during the Imperial period –, its organisation, the funding, the rules for the participation, and the prizes (p. 53-61). B.
argues that in the late 3rd cent. BC the term θυμαλός ἄγων comprised competitions of epic poetry, auletes, aulodos, litiariistes, and litiarados. In the Roman period the importance of declamation, closely associated with political and civic glorification increased, at the cost of the traditional musical and poetic competitions, which were closely connected with the cult practice (p. 61-66). In an appendix (p. 67-68) B. republishes with French translation two lists of victors at the Mouseia (P. ROESCH, Études béotiiennes, Paris, 1982, p. 188f. n° 32; IG VII 1762). [AC]


26) B. Bravo, “Deux ostraka magiques d’Olbia pontique et quelques données nouvelles sur les procédés de la magie destructive”, *Talanta* 32-33 (2000-2001), p. 149-164: The interpretation of two ostraka from Olbia (IGDOP 97-98; SEG XXXIV 770-771) has been a matter of controversy (see EBBR 1996, 153; 1998, 284). B. confirms their magical nature and regards them as defixiones. 1) With regard to the first ostrakon (SEG XXXIV 770) B. suggests a date in c. 480-440 BC and presents the following text: Αριστοτελής Ἐρμης ἦς καὶ άδην Θησείον Ἡρακλῆς Ἡροδάφης Ἡροσφάνης (“Aristoteles est consacré à Hermès; même jusqu’à cela: puisses-tu être mort; associés, Herogenes, Herophanes”). According to this reading, an anonymous person cursed Aristoteles and his two associates (perhaps his syndikoi in a lawsuit). The representation on the reverse is not that of Athena, but of Aristoteles and a dolphin covered by a net; this image symbolizes the power of Hermes ντόρος, to whom the victim had been consecrated; he should be caught in Hermes’ net like a dolphin in the sea (similia simulibis). B. argues that a vertical and four horizontal lines on the obverse, which form a grid, were not guidelines for the scribe, but had a magical significance (cf. below). 2) The second ostrakon (SEG XXXIV 771, c. 400-350 BC) was found covered by a layer of red ochre, on which an X was engraved; this may have been a symbol of violent death. B. suggests reading Φαρνάβαζος φιλόκαλος πλούσιος, ἄνθιμος Ἡμέρα Ἡρμήν ("Pharnabazos, amoureux de la beauté; je le sais d'avance: tu es mort: je suis tranquille, moi, le prophète d'Hermès"). B. accepts A. LEBEDEV’s view that the prophecy of death was meant to cause Pharnabazos’ death; the defigens assumed the role of a prophet of Hermes Chthonios. The drawing on this ostrakon represents the cursed person, with a ribbon bound on his head, alluding to the consecration of Pharnabazos to Hermes Chthonios. B. attributes a magical significance also to the enigmatic signs and chaotic lines next to the drawing. Finally, B. observes that two features of the two texts, i.e., the lines which frame the first ostrakon and the ochre used to bury the second one, reappear in an ostrakon with a private letter (SEG XII 710 ~ IGDOP 24, c. 550-510 BC). According to B. this letter was re-used for magical purposes: a defigens used the letter, as a personal object (“object-substitut”) of the cursed adversary. [One should note the difference between these early defixiones and the ‘normal’ defixiones with regard to the material: defixiones were normally written on lead tablets. The use of ostraka suggests that the preference for lead has nothing to do with the qualities of this metal (cf. F. GRAF, *Gottesnähe und Schadenszauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Munich, 1996, p. 119-120), but rather with its practical use: lead tablets, exactly as ostraka, were used for the writing of letters; the defixiones were letters to the powers of the underworld, and precisely as letters they were written on the material which was normally used for this purpose. It should be noted that in addition to references to defixiones written on papyrus and wax (GRAF, *ibid.*, p. 120), we now also have a defixio on stone (*infra n° 71*). [AC]

27) L. BRODY, “The Cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria”, *Kernos* 14 (2001), p. 93-109: B. summarizes the archaeological and epigraphic evidence on the cult of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias, discussing inter alia the history of the sanctuary, its asylia, building activities in the sanctuary, the cult image of the goddess, the cult personnel, the festivals, the role of doves as sacred animals of Aphrodite, and the dedications to her. [AC]
28) Chr. Bruns-Özgan, "Tyche mit Agathos Daimon und den Horen", *EA* 33 (2001), p. 137-144 [BE 2002, 394]: B. publishes a small altar found near Mylasa with figures in relief on all four sides (c. 300 BC); inscriptions identify the represented deities. A standing woman (A) is identified as Tyche Hekate (Τυχὴ Ἑκάτη); Agathos Daimon (Ἄγαθος Δαίμων) is represented on side B. Two Horai (Ὡραι) are represented on sides C and D. The combination of Tyche with Hekate and the connection of Tyche with the Horai were hitherto unattested. [JM]

29) A. Buonopane, “Una defixionis tabella da Verona”, in *Miscellanea Gasperini* I, p. 163-169: Ed. pr. of a lead tablet, carelessly cut from a larger lead sheet, found in a grave in Verona (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.). The text is a defixio in Latin, which consists of three names (Trophimen, Zosimen, Chariten; one observes the use of the Greek declination) followed by the formula *vinductam de illis fas*, “l’autore della defissione intendeva porre in rilievo che la vindicta nei confronti dei suoi nemici era giusta e lecita, grazie all’assenso divino, oppure, dato che talora l’espressione *fas est* era sentita come congiunata in vari modo a *fatum*, che essa era un fatto ineluttabile e cogente, a cui neppure gli dei potevano sottrarsi.” [B. prefers the latter alternative; I think that the first interpretation is more plausible and places this text – with its obvious effort to justify the cursing – close to the ‘prayers for justice’.] [AC]

30) S. Busch, "Leider keine Göttin. Überschene Senare aus Dion", *ZPE* 137 (2001), p. 297-304: B. recognizes in a Latin epitaph for a couple from Dion (*An. Ep.* 1998, 1200, 1st/2nd cent. AD) a metrical text and presents a new edition. A musical instrument (nabla) is represented in relief, with the explanation: *sub dextram uxoris scultum nabilitum factit quia semper Muses cupida dum uixit fuit* ("he sculpted a nabella under the right arm of the wife, because she had always been devoted to the Muses, while she lived"). B. points to the existence of a cult of the Muses in Dion (agons for Zeus and the Muses) and at Pimpleia (the Pimpleides Muses) and suggests that the woman was a professional musician who performed in the cult. [AC]

31) F. Cairns, "IG XII.9 11: An Inscription of Karystos?", *ZPE* 134 (2001), p. 121-136: C. republishes the fragmentary inscription *IG* XII 9, 11, arguing that it has no connection with Karystos; an attribution to a city of southern Asia Minor is much more probable. In the heading of the inscription C. favors the idea that the unknown honorand was a priest (or high-priest) of Hadrian holding the stephanephoric eponymous office (*ἐξοικεία* | Θεοί | Ἀδρία | ἄγαθος | Τυχή | Ζώση | Χαρίτης). C. identifies the honored person with Moiragenes the Younger, who is mentioned in lines 6-7. [JM]


32) F. Canali De Rossi, “Q. Minucius Termo e il culto di Sarapide a Delo”, *Labeo* 46 (2000), p. 72-82 [SEG L 726]: A letter of the generals to the epimeletes of Delos and a senatus consultum allowing Demetrios of Ithaeia to practice the cult in the sanctuary of Sarapis (*L.Dél.oi* 1510, *Sylb. 664*) was traditionally dated to c. 166-164 BC. C. convincingly argues for a later date (58 rather than 52 BC). The expression *τοῦ* | *τῇ* | *τὸν* | *τῆς* | *σαυράκτων* δήμοιμα γίνεται (lines 34-36) refers to a senatus consultum which introduced restrictions with regard to the Egyptian cults in Rome in 58 or 52 B.C., during the praetorship of Q. Minucius Q.f. Thermus. The earlier date (during the consulate of Gabinus and Piso) is supported by the fact that an Athenian embassy is known to have visited Rome in 58 B.C. to discuss Delian affairs (*L.Dél.oi* 1511). [AC]

34) V. CHANROWSKI, “Un nouveau procès cliéien; les comptes des naopoioi de Délos et la procédure athénienne au IVe siècle”, BCH 125 (2001), p. 175-193: Ed. pr. of a new fragment of the account of the Delian naopoioi of 345 BC (J, Déos 104-24). The fragmentary text concerns the disappearance of sacred property (χρήματα) and the subsequent lawsuit in Athens, in which the naopoioi were involved. [AC]

35) P. CHERYSOSTOMOU, “Παρακτητήρια σε πολιτείς και νέες επιγραφές από την Κεντρική Μακεδονία (Βόρεια Βοτταλία)”, in Synedrio Epigraphikes I, p. 171-206: Ed. pr. of two epitaphs from Pella, in which the deceased men are designated as ἱερεῖς (2, 2nd/1st cent.; 14, 2nd cent. BC). [AC]

36) K. CLINTON, “Initiates in the Samothracian Mysteries, September 4, 100 B.C.”, CHR 31 (2001), p. 27-35 [BE 2002, 327]: Ed. pr. of a marble stele found in 1984 on the southwestern shore of Samothrace and originating from the sanctuary of the Megaloi Theoi. The inscription documents in Latin and Greek the initiation of a group of men in the Samothracian Mysteries on September 4, 100 BC. C. identifies L. Tullius M. f. Cor(nelia) mentioned in lines 4-5 as the uncle of Cicero. [JM]

37) V. COJOCARU, “Achilleus in Tyras”, Tyche 15 (2000), p. 55-62 [SEG L 715 bis]: Ed. pr. of a fragment of an oinochoe with a moulded relief attached to the body; it represents Achilles as a young man with halo (Tyras, North Shore of the Black Sea, 4th cent. BC); a retrograde stamped inscription reads Αχιλλέω. C. observes that it is not certain whether the vase was dedicated in an otherwise unknown local sanctuary or produced in Tyras to be exported to Achilles’ sanctuary at Leuke (Berezan). [AC]

38) K. COLEMAN, “Misio at Halicarnassus”, HSCPb 100 (2000), p. 487-500 [SEG L 1105]: C. discusses an important piece of evidence for gladiatorial combats in the Greek East: a slab decorated with a relief representation of women attired as gladiators (Halikarnassos, 2nd cent. AD). According to her interpretation the two women were discharged (ἐκλόγησαν = stanties missae) because their contest was inconclusive. The objects near their feet are their uncrested helmets, which signal the outcome of the combat – i.e. that both gladiators stopped fighting, assumed the stance of surrender, and requested their missio. The relief either commemorated a sponsor’s munera or decorated a gladiatorial school. The names of the two women alluded to the famous mythological fight between Achilles and the Amazon Penthesileia. [AC]

39) T. CORSTEN, “Kibyra 2000”, in AST 19.2, p. 139-146: Ed. pr. of three dedications (Kibyra, Imperial period). Two of them were made in fulfillment of vows (σέβης) to Theoi Dikaioi and to a goddess with the epithet Karphoros respectively (now in J, Kibyra 96 and 95). The third fragmentary dedication was addressed to the tetrarchs. [AC]

40) L. CRISCULOLO, “Nuove riflessioni sul monumento di Ptolemaios Agrios a Panopolis”, in Miscellanea Gasperini I, p. 275-290 [BE 2002, 541]: C. discusses the fragmentary metrical inscription of Ptolemaios Agrios, in which his life and deeds are combined with a characterisation and praise of four gods: Zeus, Ares, Poseidon, and Hades (Panopolis, E. BEHNARD, Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine, Paris, 1969, n° 115; late 2nd/early 3rd cent.). The text was written on a pilaster decorated with representations which correspond to the four deities mentioned in the poem: an eagle for Zeus, a sea creature for Poseidon, a shield for Ares, and probably a dog for Hades. Homeric verses referring to these deities (Ilías II, 412; V, 31; Odyssey IX, 528) introduce the various sections of the biographical poem. In his critical edition, followed
by a commentary, C. suggests adopting the following sequence for the sections referring to the four deities: Zeus, Hades, Ares, Poseidon. The text should be seen in a funerary context. [AC]


42) N.B. CROWTHER, "Resolving an Impasse: Draws, Dead Beats and Similar Decisions in Greek Athletics", Nikephoros 13 (2000), p. 125-140: C. collects references, primarily in inscriptions, to joint victories (συστριφυμήκες) and undecided competitions (λεγέ). Joint victories are usually attested in local agon of the Imperial period; they are hitherto unattested for the Olympic games. Both opponents were declared victor either because time had become a problem for the organisers of agons or because the opponents agreed to share the victory (and the awards). In the case of competitions, which remained undecided because both opponents withdrew or because the agon was interrupted by the trainers, the award was dedicated to the god. Such sacred victories were common in the Imperial period and attested for both local agon and for the great crown agons, such as the Olympia and the Isthmia. In some cases a single athlete received the rewards even though the contest was declared undecided (earliest attestation: IoO 54); such a decision seems to have been the result of interventions by influential persons. [AC]

43) N.B. CROWTHER, "Victories Without Competition in the Greek Games", Nikephoros 14 (2001), p. 29-44: C. discusses the evidence concerning victories without competition in athletic agon (usually characterized as διψατις and διψατι). Such victories were very prestigious, especially when they were achieved by of the fame, the strength or the skill of an athlete. In some cases an athlete won because the opponent did not arrive on time or withdrew during the games, or because only one athlete had entered the competition. There is no evidence for complaints from the spectators who thus lost the opportunity to watch a competition. [AC]

44) E. CULASSO GASTALDI, "L’iscrizione trilingue del Museo di Antichità di Torino (dedicante greco, ambito punico, età romana)", Epigraphica 62 (2000), p. 11-28: C. discusses the cultural context of a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Punic) dedication to Asklepios Menres (Eshmoun) (Santuaria, north of Cagliari; IG XIV 608). Kleon, a slave responsible for salt-works, dedicated an altar upon command of the god (κατὰ πρόστασιν; but in the Latin version: domin deadvert labens morte invenit). C. suggests a date in the 1st cent. BC. [AC]

45) H. CUNIGNY, "Un soldat de la cohors I Lusitanorum à Didymoi : du nouveau sur l’inscription I.Kanais 59bis", BIFAO 101 (2001), p. 153-157 [BE 2002, 528]: Ed. pr. of a graffito on a tile found in the baths of the praetidium at Didymoi in Egypt (c. AD 180-192). Vettius Crispinus, a soldier of the cohors I Lusitanorum reports: "I made the banquet for good fortune, in accordance with a dream" (πας τὸν ὄνομας ἐπιπον τοῦ θαυμάσιον ἐπ’ ὀψία). Crispinus can be identified with the scribe of a similar graffito, probably from a shrine in Didymoi (but erroneously attributed to Kanais; I.Kanais 59 bis): ἐπὶ ὄνομας ἀναγοραῖον τὸ συμπόσιον ποιήσας τοῦ θεόν Σεράπιδος καὶ ἐφαρμοστέρας ἐποίησα ἐπ’ ἀγάθω "I heard in my dreams that I should make the banquet for lord Sarapis; and I made it in expression of gratitude for good fortune"; one should correct the accent: ποίησα (ποίησα). [AC]

46) M. DAUMAS, "La représentation d’un atelier de potier du Cabirion de Thèbes sur un skyphos Béotien?", in Agathos Daimon, p. 117-123 [SEG L 511]: D. proposes a new interpretation of an inscribed skyphos from Abai (4th cent. BC); the painted inscription reads Σίβων καλὸς [R. WACHTER, Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions, Oxford, 2001, p. 22 no BOI 19, observes that the text is written in full Ionic script and that the name is unparalled (Σίβων)]. D. associates the representation (a potter’s workshop) with the mysteries of the Kabeiroi in Thèbes: the scene shows the production of vases for the annual festival in the Kabirion; a young man is flagged by a potter-priest for his indiscretion in observing this activity. Σίβων may have been a young initiate. [AC]
47) A. Delivorrias, “‘Ενες Ἀπώλλων Δήλος, μάλλον ἀπό τὴν Ἀττική,” in N. Stamoulidis, Φώς Κυκλαδικών. Μνήμη Ν. Ζαφειροπούλου, Athens, 1999, p. 328-335: Ed. pr. of a votive relief inscribed with the name of Apollo (‘Ἀπώλλων?). It represents the god leaning on a pillar, with a bow and quiver, next to an altar and the trunk of a palm tree (Benaki Museum, c. 100 BC). The relief was probably found at Prasiai in Attika. The image of the god, represented as Apollo Delios, possibly derives from a cult statue. [AC]

48) E. de Miro (ed.), Agrigento I. I santuari urbani. L’area sacra tra il tempio di Zeus e porta V, Rome, 2000 [SEG L 996]: Ed. pr. of a few graffiti on vases (6th-5th cent.) found in a sanctuary of chthonic deities (Demeter and Persephone) in Akragas (556: Ιβις(δίν) τῆς Δήμ(ιστίος); 958: Δήμητρις; 955: Δήμ(ιστη) ὃ(νδικί); 152: ὃ(νδικί); 1607: [Πενθοφάτες]). [AC]

49) J. Devreker – H. Verreth, “New Inscriptions from Pessinous and Elsewhere (VI),” E4 33 (2001), p. 57-68 [BE 2002, 418]: Ed. pr. of 20 inscriptions from Pessinous and its vicinity. Among them an altar with the inscription Κόσμου (the dedication of Kosmos?; an altar for the unattested cult of Kosmos?; 1, c. 2nd-1st cent.). A theophoric name of the dedicant may be associated with the cult of Kybele. The cult of Nemesis is attested in Pessinous through another dedication found near the theater (EBGR 1997, 109). Nemesis received the dedications either in her function as goddess of competitions or in connection with the cult of Kybele. [JM]

50) G. Dietze, “Temples and Soldiers in Southern Ptolemaic Egypt. Some Epigraphical Evidence”, in L. Mooren (ed.), Politics, Administration, and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro 19-24 July 1997, Leuven, 2000, p. 77-89: Starting from the observation that most Greek inscriptions in Egypt are in some way related to Egyptian temples, D. studies the interaction between army and Egyptian temples in south Egypt (Kom Ombo, Philai, Devoli, Elephantine) primarily during the reigns of Ptolemy VI and VIII. She plausibly suggests that Greek soldiers were stationed inside or near Egyptian temples; this explains why they were actively involved in construction works in these temples (e.g., OGIS 101, 114; I.Philai 11). The link between the army and the Egyptian temples was also strengthened by the service of high officers as priests; e.g., Heroides was commander of the garrison in Syene, but also prophetes of Chnum and archistolistes in the temples of Elephantine and Philai (I.Ty-Sp. 302). Sometimes the same persons appeared with a double identity: as Greek officers in Greek texts and as Egyptian priests in Egyptian documents. The new priests of the fifth phyle, which was created by Ptolemy III, may have been leading army officers. The connection between army and temple contributed to bridging the gap between native population and Greek army. The purity of Greek culture in the foreign land was primarily served by the gymnasia. [AC]

51) C. Dobias-Lalou, “S.E.G. XVIII 727 : Révision et compléments”, in Miscellanea Gasperini I, p. 335-346: D.-L. presents a new critical edition of a fragmentary decree of Kyrene (SEG XVIII 727, 2nd cent. BC), adding further fragments. The text seems to concern the consecration of land (Ἰάκουσι τῆς θηγονίς) and the offering of sacrifices and libations for the wellbeing of the Ptolemaic royal family (from the revenues?). [AC]


53) H. Engelmann, “Inschriften und Heiligtum”, in U. Müss, Der Kosmos von Ephesos, Vienna, 2001, p. 33-44: E. presents an impressive panorama of the information provided by the Ephesian inscriptions for the cult and the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. He discusses Artemis’ epithets (μεγάλη θεός, μεγάς θεός, κότις, ἄγνωπτις, ἄγνωστοτις, κύρις), the relations between sanctuary and city, the administration, the finances, and the property of the sanctuary, the festivals, the cult personnel (ἡγεμόνις, ἐξουσία, κυριαρχεῖν, κυριαρχόμενος, κυριαρχεῖται, χρυσοφόρος,
54) M. Engelmann, “Artemis und die Bewohner des Embolos. Inschriften von Ephesos Nr. 3059”, *Archaeologica Austriaca* 84/85 (2000/2001), p. 155-157: According to D. Knihbe a honorary inscription for a priestess of Artemis (*I.Ephesos* 3059), set up by the inhabitants of Embolos (ὁ ἐμβολητῶν τῶν παρὰ τῇ ναῷ ἑμῶν θεῷ Ἀρτεμίδι; “the sacred, i.e., pious, district of the Embolitai, who are near our lady, the goddess Artemis”), i.e. the district between the two hills of the city of Ephesos, shows that there was an altar of Artemis in this area. E. rejects this assumption and argues that the expression παρὰ τῇ ναῷ ἑμῶν θεῷ Ἀρτεμίδι refers to the official cult place of Artemis in the Bouleuterion, which was located in this district, and does not prove the existence of an altar. [AC]

55) Chr. Faraone, "A Collection of Curses against Kilns (Homeric Epigram 13.7-23)", in A. Yarbro Collins – M.M. Mitchell (eds.) *Antiquity and Humanity. Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy. Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday*, Tübingen, 2001, p. 435-449: Based on the evidence provided by hexametrical incantations of late Classical and Hellenistic date F. suggests that lines 11-21 of the 13th Homeric Epigram are an interpolation and that the poem is comprised of no less than three different hexametrical curses against kilns. F. supposes that the source of this interpolation could have been a scholarly collection of hexametrical curses, which included a section with incantations against kilns. [IM]

56) Chr. Faraone, "The Undercutter, the Woodcutter, and Greek Demon Names Ending in -tomos (Hom. Hymn to Dem. 228-29)", *JPhB* 122 (2001), p. 1-10: Based on spells inscribed on amulets and defixiones or written on papyri F. shows that the words ὡρισκόμενοι (l. 228) and ῥίός τομος (l. 229) in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, in which the goddess imitates magical charms, are names of demons thought to cause pain in the gums of teething babies. F. argues that names ending in -tomos are designed to refer to intense bodily pain as the result of divine or demonical attacks. [IM]


58) F. Ferrandini Troisi, *La donna nella società ellenistica. Testimonianze epigrafiche*, Bari, 2000: The author presents a commented selection of 26 inscriptions that illustrate various aspects of the life of women from the early 4th cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD, including the performances of women artists (poetesses, singers, musicians) in religious festivals, the service of women in religious offices (*SEG* XVIII 343 and *IGUR* IV 1325), and their participation in athletic contests (*IG* V.1, 1564a; *L.Kyme* 46; F.Delphes III 1, 534). In an appendix (p. 97-100) F. briefly discusses the service of women in priestly offices and their privileges, and presents a list of 18 priestesses (5th-1st cent. BC). [AC]

59) J.-L. Ferrary, "Le roi Archélaos de Cappadoce à Délos", *CRAI* (2001), p. 799-815: F. plausibly identifies a person, whom the Athenians honored for his piety towards the sanctuary of Delos (*I.Délos* 1634; ἀνετῇς ἰμαῖν | καὶ ἔσορφωσε τῆς ἀλί το ἱερῶν) with the dedication of his statue to Apollo, with king Archelaos of Cappadokia (36 BC-c. AD 15). The inscription should probably be dated to the reign of Augustus. [IM]

61) F. Frisoni, *Leggi e regolamenti funerari nel mondo greco. I. Le fonti epigrafiche*, Galatina, 2000: The first volume of F.’s thorough study on the funerary regulations of the Greek world contains a short introduction to this subject and to the public aspects of Greek funerary rituals (p. 7-23), followed by a critical edition with detailed commentary of the relevant inscriptions from Delphi (*CID* 1, 9 = *LSGC* 77), Joules (*LSGC* 97), Nisyros (*IG* XII 3, 87), Thasos (*LSGC* 64), Gortyn (*IGret.* IV 46 B, 76 B), Cuma (*LSGC* Suppl. 120), and Gambriaion (*LSAM* 16). In her concluding remarks (p. 163-174) F. focuses on the aspect of impurity and on the social significance of funerals. [IM]

62) W.D. Furley – J.M. Brenner, *Greek Hymns. Volume I. The Texts in Translation. Volume II. Greek Texts and Commentary*, Tübingen, 2001: This important contribution to the study of performative ritual texts assembles the Greek hymns preserved in inscriptions and in literary sources. The introductory chapters I, p. 1-64 treat the nature of Greek hymns, their form and their composition and present a survey of the extant remains (Homeric hymns, lyric monody, choral lyric, the hymns of Kallimachos, philosophical and allegorical hymns, magical hymns, prose hymns, the Orphic hymns). Translations and introductions to the individual texts are presented in the first volume, critical editions and commentaries in the second. In addition to hymns known from literary sources (compositions of Alkaios, Anakeon, Aristotle, Herodas, Pindar, and Sappho, hymns in tragedies and in the comedies of Aristophanes), the collection includes many hymns preserved in inscriptions: the hymn to Zeus Diktaios from Palaikastro (1.1), Aristonoeis’s hymn to Hestia (2.3), the paean to Apollo (2.4), Phileodamos’ paean to Dionysos (2.5), and the paens of Athenaios and Limenios (2.6) in Delphi [cf. *infra* n° 12], the ‘Erythraian paean’ to Asklepios (6.4) [cf. *infra* n° 161], the Epidaurian hymns to the Mother of Gods (6.2) [cf. *infra* n° 195], Pan (6.5), and Panes Theoi (6.7), Ariphon’s paean to Hygieia (6.3) and Isyllos’ paean to Apollo and Asklepios in Epidaurus (6.4), Sophocles’ paean to Asklepios (7.3), Makedonikos’ paean to Apollo and Asklepios (7.5), and the hymns to Telesphoros in Athens (7.7), and a hymnic dedication to Artemis in Paros (12.5) [see also *infra* n° 121]. The second volume includes a list of epithets and attributes of the gods, an index of sacred places, a list of musical instruments referred to in the hymns, and an index of Greek words. [AC]

63) P.-L. Gatter, “Le site de ‘Arsha Wa-Qibar”, *Topoi* 11 (2001) [2003], p. 175-182: G. presents an improved text of an epitaph of a soldier from ‘Arsha Wa-Qibar (Syria, AD 229), where a Mithras relief was found, and suggests that the cult of Mithras in this area should be placed in the context of the presence of the Roman army. [AC]

64) Ph. Gautier, “Les assemblées électorales et le calendrier de Samos à l’époque hellénistique”, *Chiron* 31 (2001), p. 211-227 [BE 2002, 326]: Based on a study of inscriptions, which provide information on the electoral assembly in Samos (especially *IG* XII 6.1, 150-151, 169, and 172), G. argues that until the late 4th cent. BC the elections were held in the month Anthesterion, which was the 11th or 12th month of the year; the year must have begun on the spring equinox, as in Miletos. In the late 4th or early 3rd cent., for unknown reasons, the Samians moved the beginning of the year to the summer solstice (Metagiminion), and the elections were held in the 12th month (Kronion). [AC]

65) M. Gawlikowski, “Le Mithraeum de Haouarte (Apamène)”, *Topoi* 11 (2001) [2003], p. 183-193: G. reports on the excavation of a Mithraeum in Haouarte (15 km north of Apaméa) with interesting wall paintings; on one of them a fragmentary inscription mentioning Mithras is preserved. [We read the text from the photograph (p. 192): [ἐντὸν Ἰουλίου] Μίθρης. [AC]

66) S. Georgoudi, “La processione chantante des Molpes de Millet”, in *Chanter les dieux*, p. 153-171 [BE 2002, 367]: After a brief discussion of the religious and political prominence of the board of the molpoi in Miletos, G. discusses the lex sacra which contains the *orgia* of the molpoi (*LSAM* 5; *Milet* I, 3, 133) focusing on the religious significance of the seven stations of their procession from Miletos to Didyma (lines 25-31). The procession took place in the spring, i.e., in the season in which Apollo was believed to return to his cult sites; the month of Taureon was the first month of the Miletian year. The festival of the Hebdomaia may have been celebrated in this month. The procession stopped for the first time at a shrine or statue of Helate, where a
stone (γύλος) was deposited (cf. the ‘stone-bearers’, λιθακήρως, in Eleusis); a second stone was deposited at the end of the procession, in front of the gate of the sanctuary at Didyma. Hekate is known to have been worshipped in Apollo’s sanctuary (Milet 1.3, 129). The Dynamis, the shrine where the second stop was made, should be interpreted as a divine power; G. associates the word dynamis with the expressions ἐν δυνάμει and ἐν νυμή και δυνάμει in the curses of Teos (SEG XXXI 984-985), suggesting that Memory and Power in Teos were recipients of divine honours. The third stop was made in a meadow on Mt. Akron to honor the Nymphs. The Nymphs were often closely associated with Apollo. Interestingly enough in Thasos the singing of paens was not allowed during the sacrifice to Apollo Nymphhegetes and the Nymphs (LSaG 114 λ); this shows the local character of some ritual prohibitions. The fourth stop honored Hermes ἐν Καλάδῳ; Kelados was either the name of a river or the occupant of a precinct (cf. Zeus Mellichios ἔν Μήσω αἰεν in Selinous, in SEG XIII 650). Nothing is known about Phyllos, for whom the fifth stop was made. Keraites, the sacred place of the sixth stop, may be an epithet of Apollo (cf. Apollo Kereatas in Achaia: PAS. VIII, 34, 5). The seventh stop was made in front of the statues of the Branchidai. In her discussion G. points to the importance of dance in the performance of the paens of the molpoi and suggests that the word διαλλήλων (lines 13-16, ‘competition’), which is usually interpreted as a competition in dancing, does not exclude a competition in dancing.

[IM]

67) D.W.J. Gill, “The Decision to Build the Temple of Athena Nike (IG I² 35)”, Historia 50 (2001), p. 257-278 [BE 2002, 20]: After a discussion of the archaeological evidence concerning the different phases of the sanctuary of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis G. studies inscriptions in which the three-barred sigma appears (IG I² 11, 435) concluding that this letter form can appear also after 446 BC. Consequently, IG I² 35, which authorized the building of the Athena Nike temple, can be dated to 426 or 425 BC as already proposed by H.B. Mattingly (cf. EBGR 2000, 134; but cf. M. Sève, BE 2002, 20). [IM]

68) M. Giehman, “Metamorfosi di una dea: da Artemide ad Iside in un santuario di Dion”, Ostraka 8 (1999) [2001], p. 427-446 [SEG L 587]: In a detailed study of the cult of Isis at Dion G. focuses on the association between Artemis Eleithyia (SEG XXXIV 629) and Isis Lochia (SEG XXXIV 622, 626/627; cf. SEG XLVII 788) and their worship as patrons of childbirth. [AC]

69) Z. Goceva, “Les temples dans les villes et les sanctuaires thraces sur leur territoire dans la province de Thrace”, in Agathos Daimon, p. 185-192: G. summarizes the epigraphic and archaeological testimonia for temples in cities and extra-urban sanctuaries in the area of the Roman province of Thrace (Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis, Kabyle, Serdike, and Pataulia). The relevant evidence concerns the cults of Apollo Kendrisos, Artemis, Asklepios and Hygieia, Zeus and Hera (worshipped as Theoi Karistorenoi in Paitalia), Heraldes, and the Thracian Rider Hero, who was worshipped with the epithets Zgedenos, Zgoulamenos, Zymedrenos, and Keilaidenos. G. argues that when Philippopolis was awarded the title of the neokoros of the imperial cult the priest of Apollo Kendrisos served as high priest. [AC]

70) R. Gordon, “Trajets de Mithra en Syrie romaine”, Topoi 11 (2001) [2003], p. 77-136: In an overview of the diffusion of the cult of Mithras in Roman Syria G. presents the text of a dedication made to Theos Hagios Asklepios by Theodotos, priest of Mithras (Sidon, AD 140/41, p. 85); it is remarkable that a priest of Mithra made a dedication to another deity, Asklepios, probably identified with Echnous; it may be a thanks-giving dedication after cure from a disease. [AC]

71) E. Grammatikaki – N. Litas, “Μηχανός κατάδεσμος”, Eulinene 1 (2000), p. 61-69 [SEG L 930]: Ed. pr. of a love defixio found in a grave in Knossos (1st cent. AD). The text is written on a splinter of green steatite, thus presenting a unique case of a defixio inscribed on stone. The first three lines contain the vox magicae ΠΡΗΓΥΣ ΣΩΒΕΡ | ΣΩΩΑ ΡΕΒΕΡΕΣ | ΦΑΡΚΑΜΑ ΑΧΡΙΚ. The vox magica ΠΡΗΓΥΣ in l. 1 may correspond to EPEΙ in l. 2; ΣΩΒΕΡ may be the Aramaic σβr (‘separate, break’); the vox magica ρχμε (‘darkness’) is followed by the palilithronic ΡΕΒΕΡΕΣ and ΦΑΡΚΑΜΑ = φαρκάμα. Then the defigens asks a demon to separate Preiminogones and Daphne. This is the first defixio found on Crete. [AC]
72) T. GRÜLL, “‘Conquerors, Patriarchs and the Law of the Lord’. Interpretation of a Late Antique Jewish Epitaph”, *Arctos* 34 (2000), p. 23-37. G. comments on the longest Latin inscription written by a Jew in the diaspora, the epitaph of Aurelius Samosili (CII 650; Katane, AD 383). Of interest is the adjuration formula in the clause concerning the protection of the grave *adiuro vos per victorias qui imperant*, *item adiuro vos per honores patriarcharum*, *item adiuro vos per cœcum quem Dominus deöll Jüdei*; “I adjure you by the victories of those who command, and by the honors of the Patriarchs, and by the law which the Lord gave to the Jews”; this formula is similar to that used by Aurelius Ioses in *Argos* (CII 719: ἄναψαμεν τὰς θέσεις καὶ μεγάλαδες δονήσεις τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Νύμφου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ὄνομαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν σωρών καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λατρείας τῆς γονιμόμενης φρεάδας τῆς Θεοῦ*; “I pray for God’s divine and great powers, and the power of the Law, and the honor of the patriarchs, and the honor of the ethnarchs, and the honor of the wise men, and the honor of the service which is fulfilled to God day by day”). But while Ioses addressed his oath only to Jews, Samosili addressed his formula not only to Jews – through the reference to the Mosaic law, which would also appeal to Christians –, but to all the subjects of the empire, pagans, Christians, and Jews – through the reference to the victories of the emperors. [AC]

73) D. GUARISCO, “Alcune epiclesi di Artemide in Attica: Ereithos, Oinaia, Horaia”, *Simblos* 3 (2001), p. 131-161: G. discusses three Attic epithets of Artemis each one of which appears only once in inscriptions. 1) *IG II* 5005 (2nd cent. AD) refers to Artemis Ereithos. G. argues that Ereithos designates Artemis as a Kourotrophos worshipped in the Athenian Iobalcheion between the Pnyx and the Areios Pagos. 2) *IG II* 5116 (2nd cent. AD) attests to the existence of Artemis Oinaia in Athens at least in the Imperial period. This epithet derives either from the Attic demos Oinoe or from wine (oinos), associating Artemis with agriculture and fertility. G. prefers the latter interpretation and suggests similarities between Artemis Oinaia and Dionysos Eleutherus. 3) *IG II* 4632 (4th cent. BC) is a dedication to Artemis Horaia, whom G. interprets as an Artemis Kourotrophos. According to G., all three epithets show the importance of Artemis as a patron of agriculture and fertility in Attika. [IM]

74) W. GÜNTER, “Spenden für Didyma. Zu einer Stiftung aus Naukratis”, in K. GEIS – K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punică – Libya – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Hüß zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen (Studia Phoenicia XVI)*, Leuven – Paris – Sterling, Virginia, 2001, p. 185-198: Ed. pr. of a fragmentary honorary inscription from the sanctuary of Apollon at Didyma (3rd cent. BC). According to G.’s interpretation the Milesians organised a subscription in order to rebuild the temple of Apollon; the city of Naukratis reacted to this call by contributing (L. 3: συνενέχασα) an unknown amount of money for works concerning the temenos (L. 7: εἶνα μὲν τὸ τείμενον) and the temple (lines 8-9: ἐξ ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης | [τοῦ ναοῦ]). Based on the known example of the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphi and comparable subscriptions for the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, it seems almost certain that the Milesian subscription was not exclusively addressed to the Naukratians. [IM]

75) K. HALLOI, *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Fasciculus VI. Inscriptiones Chili et Sami cum Corassis Icatariae. Pars I. Inscriptiones Sami Insulae*, Berlin, 2000 [BE 2002, 1; SEG L 810]: A brief summary of the content of this volume was presented in *EBGR* 2000, 69. The first fascicule of the Samian corpus comprises 536 inscriptions: Samian and Athenian decrees, letters, laws, catalogues, boundary stones, honorary inscriptions, and altars found in Samos. New texts are marked with an asterisk. *Leges sacrae et call regulations*: A lex sacra written by the nomographoi concerns the sacrifice in the Hellkonion, i.e., in the sanctuary of Poseidon Hellkonios, and the duties of the epimenioi elected by the chilastères (168 = LSCG 122, 3rd cent. BC; cf. infra on associations). A regulation (digraphe) proposed by the neopoiai concerns trade activities in the Heraion (169, c. 245 BC) [cf. *EBGR* 1992, 210]; the text regulates the leasing of shops, prohibitions against trading activities by slaves, soldiers, suppliants, and unemployed soldiers (?). A fragmentary lex sacra seems to concern the purchase of a priesthood; the text mentions the obligations and privileges of the priest, an altar, sacrificial animals, and the crowning of an object (the altar, *ἐκτομέδα*, 170, 2nd/1st cent. BC). The protection of the sacred land of Hera is the subject of another fragmentary lex sacra, which
forbids the cutting of trees, the use of water for land pasturing, and the destruction of boundary stones (171, 2nd cent. AD). A sacrificial regulation (260 = LSCG Suppl. 80, c. 350 BC) demands that those who sacrificed in the sanctuary should make food offerings (πάσανα μονόφρακτα, ἔβδομα sc. βάτας, ἄρτατηρ, ἱεράδα) to Koutrotrophos and Hermes; Artemis and Apollo are mentioned in a fragmentary context; it is not clear who the recipient of a banquet (ἀποτριχητικά διάφρονα) was; in lines 5-6 read πόσα [να] μονόφρακτα, without a comma; for these sacrificial cakes see EBGR 1994/95, 194. The significance of number seven (1. 7: ἔβδομας, l. 9: ἱεράδα ἐπίλη) suggest a sanctuary of Apollo]. A decree accepts the request (ἐπιτηδεία) of the priest of Isis to collect money for the goddess (τίθη θεῶν καθότι καὶ πρὸστερον ἄγαιον; 3 = LSCG Suppl. 123, 3rd cent. BC). A fragmentary decree pertaining to the Syria Theos may have a similar subject, i.e. an ἄγαιον (2; c. 250 BC; l. 6: ἱεράξιον). Dedications: Statues of local and foreign benefactors were dedicated to various gods, usually in the Heraion; this applies also to private dedications for family members and friends. The dedications are addressed to Hera (284, 285-287, 288, 289-291, 295-298, 301-303, 309, 317-320, 322, 327-328, 356-358, 347, 349-351, 354, 357, 359-364, 367-369, 372, 376, 379-380, 384, 389-394, 396, 398, 420, 431-433, 446-449, 451-452, *453, 456, 461-462, 465, 469, *472-473). Dea Roma and Augustus (294, *366, 375, 404-405, *434-435, *440), the gods (471), and the Theoi Soteres, i.e. the Ptolemies (282; in the precinct dedicated to the cult of the Ptolemies). The dedications made in the Heraion were erected by the local historian Leon, whose statue was erected in the Heraion (285). The Athenian demos on Samos dedicated golden crowns (στάφυλον χρυσός ἄρσετέων) to Apollo in Delphi (263-265, c. 340-330 BC).

Sanctuaries: A decree concerns a subscription for the restoration of the μέγας ναός, i.e., the Heraion (1, c. 285 BC). One of the most interesting texts for the dedicatory practices in the Heraion is the long inventory of 346 BC (261). A very fragmentary text, which mentions a priest, sacrifices (φιλαξία), and an altar, seems to deal with the leasing of a public estate (5, 2nd cent. BC). The money administered by the ‘treasurer of the holy money’ (ταμάς τῶν δορίων) included inter alia fines (paid to Hera) (11, l. 58f., mid-3rd cent. BC). A fragmentary letter of Ptolemy III suggests measures for the treatment of slaves who sought asylum in the Heraion (156, c. 245/4 BC) (on this text cf. A. CHANIOITIS, “Conflicting Authorities: Greek Asylia between SECULAR and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis”, Kornos 9 (1996), p. 81). An honorary inscription for a general refers to measures for the guarding of the Heraion (ὑπήρξεν ζευγιακώς τοῦ θεοῦ Ἡρώου, 1st cent. BC). Several persons were honored for their piety towards Hera, i.e, for services to her sanctuary, or for their piety towards the divinity (ἐπονομαζομένων ἱερῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον; 266-298, 300-301, 309, 317, 320, 328, 357, 359, 362, 367-368, 379, 384-385, 390, 431-433). A fragmentary decision of the Roman consuls of AD 23, upon a request of envoys from Kos and Samos, concerns the asylum of the sanctuary of Asklepios in Kos and undetermined privileges of the Heraion of Samos (163, AD 23; note the word δεισαιδευτικά in l. 13). A fragmentary imperial edict (?) refers to financial privileges of the Heraion (*165, 1st cent. AD). The finances of the Heraion are also connected with the Samian law concerning free grain distribution to the citizens (172, c. 250 BC) (cf. EBGR 1992, 78). Boundary stones of the temenos of Ἀθηναία Ἰσίδων ἡμισάκα (238-240, *241, 242-244), Ion (245-246), the Athenian eponymous heroes (247-250, *251), and Artemis (256) belong to the period of the Athenian cleruchy (second half of the 5th cent. BC). A man was honored by the Athenians for denouncing a man and a woman (sacred slaves?) who had stolen sacred property (252, c. 350 BC). A fragmentary decree of the tribe Pandionis from the period of the Athenian cleruchy concerns the repayment of debts and interest to the sanctuary of the hero Pandion; the custom prescribed that the interest should be used for sacrifices in honor of Pandion and the other gods (255, 320/19 BC). Cn. Domitius was honored for his benefactions on behalf of the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos on Ikaria (351).

Festivals: A fragmentary decree concerns a festival (πανηγύριος) for Ptolemy III and Berenike (4; c. 243-221). Honors were announced at the Dionysia (8, 56, 95, 150-154, 156, 253). An ἔσομερι is mentioned in a fragmentary honorary decree for an agoranomos (13 l. 32). A series of agonistic inscriptions provide the names of the winners at the Heraia (173, *174, *175, 2nd/1st cent. BC), the Dionysia (176-178, 3rd-2nd cent. BC), and the agons of the gymnasion (179-183, *184, 2nd cent. BC). A list of magistrates mentions the eccextatis, who were in office at the time of the first
celebration of the Rhomaiia kai Attaleia (τοις πρώτοις Ῥωμαίοις | και Ἀτταλίοις; *200, 2nd/1st cent. BC); it is not certain whether the Rhomaiia and the Attaleia were celebrated separately; the wording suggests a joint celebration; since this was the first celebration of the agon, a date during or shortly after the reign of Attalos II is probable; a date in the 1st cent. BC should be excluded. Other local agon mentions in inscriptions are the Sebasta Kaisareia (295), Megala Sebasta Heraia (312), Heraia (342), and the Lysandrea (334). A boy is honored for winning the wrestling competition of the sacred agon of Hera (ἐν τῷ ἵματι τῆς βασιλείας θεᾶς Ἡρας ἴμμον’) and for being accepted to compete in running in the Olympic games (460: ἱστηθαίς ἐς Ὀλυμπία τά ἐν Πεισί; 3rd cent. AD) 1ef. IG XII 2, 388: ἱστηθαίς ἐν Δαλβείς). A fragmentary inscription in the Herion lists the Samian boy winners in agonos, who had received crowns from an anonymous benefactor (290, 2nd/1st cent.); only the name of the Rhodian Helleia and an anonymous agon in Seleukeia are preserved on the stone. Other agonistic inscriptions refer to victories in the Olympic games (356), the Isthmia (358, 540), the Kaisareia in Korinthos (359-340), the Pythia (341), and the Rhomaiia in Miletos (342). The agon of Artemis Kindyas is mentioned in a decree of Burgila (145, 2nd cent. BC) and a χοροστάτης in the decree of an anonymous Aeolic city (141 l. 31, 3rd cent. BC). 

Cults and rituals: Several altars attest the cults of Apollo (*529, *531), Apollo Nymphetegetes (528), Apollo Nymphetegetes and the Nymphs (527), Dionysos Geron (553), Zeus and Hera (530, *533), Zeus Keraunios (532, *534: ἱεράφαστηριον), and the personification of Tetrattaios, i.e. fever (536). The agononamos Aristomenes decorated the agononamos with statues of Demeter and Dionysos (13, 2nd cent. BC); he also offered sacrifices of cows (θυσίαι βοώται) to Nemesis. A Ptolemaic general was honored with ἱερών παραθήσεως (120 l. 16, c. 280-246), i.e. with the placing at his disposal of a sacrificial animal at public expenses [for this honor see EBG 1999, 158]. Hera was worshipped with the epithets δικαιότερης τῆς πόλεως (7, l. 45f.), δικαιότερης (300, 305, 330), and βασιλικός θεᾶ “Ηρα” (332, 460). In an honorary epigram for Krates, Eros is described as ὁ πρώτος μακάρων, ὁ τά τ’ ἐν χάλει καὶ Δίος ἠγαγόν ἄνων Ὀλυμπίον (454). Dionysos (Balchchos) is mentioned in a fragmentary epigram (476, Hellenistic); a building inscription concerns his temple (483).

Hellenistic ruler cult: An agon in honor of ‘the kings’ (probably Philopappos Ambiduaos and Alexander IV) is mentioned in a decree (42). An honorary decree refers to the establishment of a festival in honor of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrius Poliorcetes after their victory in Salamin (56 l. 6-8: τὸ δήμου φημισμένον ἥγειν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν εὐεργετῶν Ἀντιγόνος καὶ Δημητρίκης; 306 BC). A decree for judges from Kos mentions a temenos for queen Phila (probably the wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes); a stele with the decree was to be dedicated in her temenos after its inauguration (150, late 4th cent. BC, lines 23-24: ἔστω αὖ τῆς βασιλείας Φίλας τιμη[[] | συντελεσθῆναι, ἐκ τῆς τέμενος τὸ ἐπιδεικνύεται Φιλα). The famous honorary decree for Boulagoras (11, after 243/2 BC) records his contribution to the theoria sent by the Samians to Ptolemy III and Berenike and to the sacrifices offered in Alexandria. The precinct dedicated to the cult of the Ptolemies (Theoi Soteres) is mentioned in n. 282. An altar for Arsinoe Philadephos attests her cult (496). A list of winners at the agonos of the gymnasium was dedicated to Ptolemaios (V7), Hermes and Herakles, and thus attests the ruler cult in the gymnasium (179; c. 200). Emperor cult: A decree describes the sacrifice offered to the gods of the city and the land (τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῖς ἔθεσι[|] Ὀλυμπίοις) upon the announcement of a fortunate event (cf. l. 7: ἐκφυγένων ἥμαρσεν), regulates the establishment of a commemorative festival (l. 9: ἐκ τοῦ ἡμῶν ἱερῶν καὶ διορισµῶν ἰδίων), a sacrifice to be offered in Rome to Zeus Capitolinos and other gods (l. 39f.), and the oath to be given by the Samians to Augustus (7 = IGR IV 996 + add.), a ephedra was to be in procession to the temple of Thea Rhome and the Sebastos every year (l. 27-30); a fragment of the oath is preserved in n. 8. The emperor cult is also attested through a series of altars for Augustus (497, 499), Agrippa Postumus (498), Tibereus (499), Vespasianus (501), Hadrian Zeus Olympios Epiphanes Soter and Ktistes (503-505, *506, 507, *508-514, 515-516, *517-521, 522, *523-526), and two anonymous emperors or members of the imperial family (*500, *502). [In 499 a b perhaps we should delete the comma before the name of Zeus Polieus and read Δούλων Θεοῦ Καϊσάρεως ... Σεβαστοῦ Διὸς Πολίως καὶ Θρήσκου ... Διὸς Πολίως; Augustus and Tiberius may have been identified with Zeus Polieus; cf. infra on the identification of Hadrian with Zeus]. Dusilla was honored as Nea Charis (411). The personnel
for the emperor cult included a priest of Augustus, Caius Caesar and Marcus Agrippa and neopoiai of the Sebastos (7 lines 51-55), high priest of the civic emperor cult (310, 326, 331, 333, *477), and demiourgoi (324). An agonothetes dedicated stoai to Dea Roma and Augustus (484). Other dedications are addressed to Hadrian (486), and an anonymous emperor (487).

**Cult officials.** The neopoai of the Heraion are often mentioned (7, 9, 120, 156, 168-169, 195-197, *198, 312, 438, 448, 452, 460, 465), and lists with their names were regularly set up in the Heraion (185-198, 2nd cent. BC). In one of them the neopoai commemorated the fact that dedications were restored to Hera during their term of office (187); these dedications were statues taken by Marc Antony and restored by Octavian (20/19 BC; cf. Strabo, XIV, 1, 14 [G537]). Other officials included the tamia ton hioson (129), the agonothetai (11, 56, 129, 150, 152-154, 156, 173, 175, 177-178, 295, 305-306, 312, 392, 484), the demiourgoi (324: δημιουργήσασαν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ Σαβαστότος εὐσεβῶς), the hieroheri (150), the hierourgoi (463), the priest of Hera (331, 333), the priestess of Hera (327-332), and the priestess of Hera and Iulia Sebaste (sc. Livia; 330). We also mention L. Vipsanius Aelolio, exegetes of the Eumolpids in Athens, who was honored in Samos (307).

**Associations.** The association of the χιλιαστήρες 'Εσπυράτων τῆς Ἑλάσσας (sc. χιλιαστός) of θαυμάζοντος ἡς Ἔλλακτον honored Xenombratos, one of its members for piety and for his benefactions; this text also refers to mystai and a synodos (132, 2nd cent. BC; cf. infra, on funerary practices). Responsible for the sacrifice were the elected epimenioi (168, 3rd cent. BC); the association honored its benefactors with the dedication of their statues in the Heraion (466, *467). A neopoai is designated as ψυλληκτής, i.e., friend of an association dedicated to the worship of Hera (195, AD 84).

**Curses:** A decree of Antiocheia on the Maeander (6, after 167 BC) states that any person who should undertake anything against the decree and a treaty with an unknown city should be cursed (I. 6f.: [καταργήθηκεν ὑπὸ πολέμου ἢτοι καὶ παύεται ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ θωσία τῆς Θεᾶς ἐνταξεῖ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν γονίων τοὺς τιτερόροις] πυρὶ τοῦ καταστραφεῖν). We also note the expression κατηγορία (1. 4). **Funerary practices.** Xenombratos, member of an association ‘of those who ascend the Helikonion’, had his own heroion built and made arrangements for the offering of a sacrifice (διὰ τοῦ καταστραφειμόνου διὰ αὐτὸν ἡραίον θεοῖς γίνεται αὐτῷ), under participation of mystai and the synodos (of his association; 132, 2nd cent. BC) [note the use of the word θωσία and not ἐνθρήσκομαι, despite the funerary context]. **Vera:** A list of the months of the Egyptian calendar (218, 3rd cent. BC) is probably connected with the Ptolemaic garrison in Samos. [AC]


**Korkyra: Dedications.** Many early dedications (5th cent. BC) were found in the area of the temple of Apollo Korkyraios (822-824, *825, 826-827, *828, 829-832, *833); the god is named in many of them (Apollo Korkyraios: 822-823, 836; Apollo: 824, *825, *828, 829). Three vases were found near the temple of Artemis (834, *835-836, 6th-5th cent.); one of them possibly refers to the goddess with the attribute πύρων (*836). Several dedications were made by magistrates, to Artemis (837, 4th cent. BC) and the gods (838-842, 3rd cent. BC-2nd cent. AD). Another major group of dedications in Greek (844-847) and Latin (842-845) were found in the sanctuary of Zeus Kassios (1st cent. BC-2nd cent. AD). Two metrical dedications were addressed to Zeus as patron of seafaring. The first dedicatory epigram is an interesting piece of evidence for 'negotiations' between the dedicant and the divinity (844, 1st/2nd cent. AD); after Barbaros, a seaman, had dedicated to Zeus the image of a ship (placed on a column), he was blessed by the god with
greater safety at sea (σύνηλος κράσωσιν σεντωτών); thereupon he dedicated a second, larger image of a ship and promised to dedicate a third one, made entirely of gold, should the god also grant him wealth (ἐν δὲ καὶ ἄδελφοι νεώσεις, χαράντων πάσον ἁγιαιμέσητε[)]; [the two images were possibly made of stone or clay and were only gilded; the next one should be of solid gold; we note the verb ἁγιαιμέση (to suspend, to hang') which refers to the practice of hanging small ex-votos (especially clay and metal plaques) on trees or on the walls of shrines; cf. infra n° 146]. The second epigram (Ἀγιαιμέσητος) was dedicated by the athlete Sabines of Ephesos, after his ship had safely returned to Ephesos (845, 2nd cent. AD). A third epigram, in fulfillment of a vow (ἐν δὲ ἁγιαιμέσης), is very fragmentary (†846, 2nd cent. AD). Another dedicatory inscription is written on a bronze plaque, which was attached to the dedication (847, 3rd cent. AD). Honorary statues of benefactors, members of the imperial house, and private persons were dedicated to the gods, i.e., in a sanctuary (802, 804-805, 808, 810, 815, 821, 2nd BC-AD); the statue of M. Cale. Bibus was dedicated to Hermes and Heracles, i.e. in the gymnastum (806, 2nd cent. AD). Other dedications were made to Aphrodite (859-860, Imperial period), Artemis (852, 3rd cent. BC), Hermes and Heracles (854, 3rd/2nd cent. BC), Hygieia (851, 4th cent. BC), Pantes Theoi (853, 3rd cent. BC; an altar: ἄμετος πάνων | θεῶν ὅσσον βούμος), Zeus Hypsistos (855, 2nd/1st cent.), the Egyptian deities (Sanaris and Isis, 857, Imperial period), and anonymous deities (848-850, 6th-5th cent.; 858 and 861, Imperial period). Several dedications were made in fulfillment of vows (ἐν δὲ ἁγιαιμέσης; *825; ἡγιαστή; 855), in expression of gratitude (858: κατὰ ἑυμεταρχομένους ἁγιαιμέσητος), and on behalf of parents (861: τίτα τὸν ἑαυτὴν γονέον). The corpus also includes three dedications of the Korkyraeans to Apollo in Delphi (1198-1200). *Festivals and agonoi: A long document (146 lines) concerns a private donation which aimed at reviving the theatrical performances at the Dionysia of Korkyra (798, 2nd cent. BC) [for a summary see EBGR 1996, 208]. We also note the grave stone of a ἀνεξοίκος (1010, 1st/2nd cent.). Sanctuaries: A fragment of accounts concerning building works probably refers to constructions in the sanctuary of Asklepios (793, 3rd cent. BC; l. 4 and 12: βουμός. l. 8: τοῦ ἄθροος ἀρχαίας; l. 9: ἡς τὸν δείκνυς; l. 10: χαλκοῦ δεὶ τὸν δείκνυς). The sanctuary of Asklepios was the site where a public document was set up (794, 2nd cent. BC). There are four boundary stones of sanctuaries: of a goddess with the epithet Akria (Hera?, 862, 5th cent. BC), Apollo Pythios (863, 5th cent. BC), the Dioskouroi (883, 4th cent. BC), and an anonymous deity (864, undated: ἡς ἤγιοι καὶ δόθοι). The Korkyraean decrees found in other sites include the decrees concerning the asylia of the sanctuaries of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Maeander (1196 = L.Magnesia 44) and of Asklepios in Kos (1197 = SEG XII 377). *Sacred personnel: We note references to a priestess (803), an agonothetes (805), and the hieropoioi (794). Associations: The priest of an association made a donation after the end of his term (856, 1st cent. BC: ἐρχομένως τοῦ ποιῶν τῆς συνθήκης ἀνάθημα). An inscription mentions the association of the Χερυλαζίδων ποικιλοαίστη, who seem to have worshipped the founder of Korkyra Chersikrates (1140, 2nd cent. BC). A fragmentary list of names includes the names of personnel (μάχης, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπος) possibly of an association (801, 4th cent. BC). *Divination: Oracular enquiries of Korkyra were found in Dodona (1201-1203). Magic: In a defixio a person binds the mind and the tongue of an adversary, his witnesses, and other persons (877, 3rd cent. BC). *Funerary practices: A decree concerns the heroic cult (l. 8: ἄς ἢς τιμή) of a man (ἀδέλφις) who died in a battle (787, 3rd cent. BC). A funerary epigram alludes to the practice of anointing the grave (928, 3rd cent. BC; lines 1-2: μανήλετον τόποι ταύτῃ τιμήν καὶ τάδε χυσίς | παθός Αλέξανδρου μύρῳ παλλάστα). *Eschatology: The long funerary epigram of Euodous (1024, 2nd/3rd cent. BC) asserts his immortal soul (l. 6: τῆς ψυχῆς δὲ ἀθάκατον ηλέα). cf. 1. 11) dwells in the skies (lines 7-10: ὄψιν ὡς δὲ | ἡλέαν ὡς ψυχή δέοντα κατ' ὀφθαλμον...; ἡ δὲ δοθέα | ψυχῆς μοι νατάν ὀφθαλμάτων ἐπούρωνα; l. 15-16: πρὸς ωρίμαν ζατεροφάντα | ἡλέαν). Euodous advises the mortals to do something good for their soul, not neglecting, however, to offer consolation to their mortal body with luxury (l. 19: τῶν βίων τραχήνα παρατήρησην). As for a soon as a person descends to the source of Lethe, he will not find in the netherworld what he had known in this world (lines 20-21: ἴδιαν ζατερόν κατατάσσειν, τῷ ἱδρύματι τῶν πρωτοκόλλων...). We point to the henotheistic views expressed in the first lines (lines 1-3): ἡμᾶς ἀθάκατον πολλοί κατ' Ὀλυμπίων ἐνερήν, | ἀλλὰ θεὸς τῶν ἐνάς πατήρ ὁ μέγας, ὡς ἰσόμον διάκειται, Σαλίνην νυκτὶ καλέωσε | παθοχιαστή, Ταττάνα ἡμερανίας σάρκαν (many daemons have their seat in Olympus, but their god is the great father, who has ordered the world and has commanded the Moon to follow.
the night and the Titan (sc. the Sun) to follow the grace of the day""). In another epigram Death is compared with sleep (960, 2nd cent. BC; ἁπάστος ἱπνος). In two epitaphs the deceased person is called ἥρως (1011, 2nd cent. AD) and μάχης ἥρως (1031, 2nd/3rd cent.). Mythology: One finds frequent allusions to the Homeric references to the island of the Phaeacians: two men had the name Φαξάκας (855 and 970); Kokeyra is called χάνω 'Ἀλάνθεος in an funerary epigram (928, 3rd cent. BC) and Ναοσθαύεοι πόλις in another (970, 2nd/1st cent. BC). Early Christianity: The bishop Jovianus (5th cent.) underlines in the building inscription of a church that he had destroyed the precincts and altars of the Hellenes (1191: 'Ἐσσῆνων τεμένη καὶ βωμοὶ ἐξελεξάχθησα').

Leукas: Dedications: to Athena (1237, 6th cent. BC), Heraclides (1239, 3rd cent. BC), Thetis (1238, 4th/3rd cent.; λάρδος, Zeus Neios in Dodona (1476, 3rd cent. BC), and the heroes Αλκυνάτας (1240, Imperial period). Sanctuaries: A fragmentary delimitation mentions a street leading to a sanctuary (1232, 4th cent. BC: ὀδός ἢ ἀεί τῷ [ἱερῷ ἐν ἱερέω πυθόμενῳ]). An honorary decree for the sculptor Damophon (found in Messene, ca. 200–190 BC) praises him for not accepting his honorarium for repairing the statue of Aphrodite Limenarchis; Damophon's statue was to be erected in the sanctuary and he was allowed to offer a sacrifice in the pyrtaneion on the common hearth (1475). A new Leukadian decree concerns the asyla of the sanctuary of Asklepions in Kos (*1474).

Kephalenia (Kraniót: 1478-1492; Pale; 1493-1496; Pronnoi; 1497-1512; Same: 1513-1565; unknown provenance: 1566-1574): Dedications: to Demeter and Kore (1478, 2nd/1st cent.), the Dioskouroi (1566, c. 550 BC; a bronze disc by a victorious athlete), anonymous deities (*1481, *1567, 5th-4th cent.), and Zeus Neios in Dodona (1584). We point to the rare formulation οὐσοστέη (cf. σαφοστέια) in a thanks-giving dedication (1479, 5th cent. BC). The artist Krateros and his son made the mosaic representation of an altar, a bull, a ram, and a boar (the sacrificial animals of the triaitha) and dedicated it to Athena, the Muses, the Tychai, Apollo, and Hermes (1497, 3rd cent. AD); the same Krateros also made and mosaic representation of Envy (Phthonos, 1498). Sanctuaries: A decree of Same concerns the asyla of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Maeander (1582). Sacred personae: A reference to a high priestess of the emperor cult (1495, 3rd cent. AD). Funerary practices: A man adjudges by the name of Augustus (ἐνοραῖα ὑώρα ὁ ἅγιος τῷ Σαβασώνιον δρόκοι [τὼν]ον not to open the sarcophagus of Olympics; violators should be punished for impiety (ὑέχει λόγον διεξάγεις; 1536, 3rd cent. AD). (This is a rare case in which the appeal to the gods for the protection of the grave is substituted for a reference to the genius Augusti; cf. supra n. 72).

Ithaka: Leges sacrae: A lex sacra concerning a sacred precinct of Artemis obliges the occupant of the site to offer an annual sacrifice from the tithe of the revenues (τῇ μὲν δεικτήν καθέναν) and to use the rest for the restoration of the temple; violators of the regulations would be punished by the goddess (τῇ θεῷ μελήσῃ; 1700 = LSCG 86, 2nd cent. AD). Dedications: Dedications found in the Polis cave are addressed to Athena Polias and Hera Teleia (1614, c. 550 BC; by soldiers, peripoloi) and the Nymphs (1616-1619, 3rd/2nd cent.; vases); a Roman unguentarius commemorated his visit to this cave on a jar (1620, 35 BC: ἐπιστήμη). A terracotta plaque found in the 'cave of Odysseus' was dedicated to Odysseus in fulfillment of a vow (1615, 1st cent. BC). Seven fragments of vases in a cave at Vathi bear dedicatory inscriptions to the Nymphs (*1708-1712, Hellenistic). A dedication to Hermes was found in the site 'School of Homer' (1626, Hellenistic). [Ἑρμησὶ ἐπικράτοις]. This dedication was made to anonymous deities (*1586, Imperial period; ἑπικράτοις; 1728, c. 500 BC: ἕπικράτοις]. Varias: Inscriptions identify the figures on an archaic Korinthian kollye as the Muses and Apollo (1681, c. 600-575). A decree of Ithaka concerns the asyla of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Maeander (1729).

Zakynthos: Dedications: A dedication to a goddess with the epithet (?) Preinitas was made in fulfillment of a vow (1700, 2nd/1st cent.). Agathon, a descendant of Kassandra, made a dedication to Zeus (Ζεὺς Ἰμμυδώνιος μεθέσων) in Dodona (1750, c. 330 BC). Sacred personae: The statue of Klenippa, who had served as theokolos of Artemis Opitais, was erected by her parents (1731, 2nd cent. BC). Festivals and agon: The Zakynthians dedicated a statue of Polyxenos, winner in wrestling in the age class of boys, to Zeus in Olympia (1749, 1st cent. AD). [AC]
77) K. HALLOF – H.-J. KIENAST, “Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» IX. Zwei Monumente aus dem Heraion von Samos”, *Chiron* 31 (2001), p. 277-280 [BE 2002, 325; 2003, 608]; Three new fragments of an inscription of the period of the Tetrarchy in the Heraion of Samos (*IGR IV 884*) allow H.-K. to interpret this inscription as part of a monument dedicated by the city of Samos to Hera and the Augusti and Caesares between AD 307 and 311; according to their reconstruction the inscription stood on one of the altars of the peripetria. A new fragment of *IG XII* 6.1, 462 shows that the honorary monument for the trierarch Dionysios, son of Metrodoros, was dedicated to Hera in c. 250 BC. [JM]

78) C. HIGBIE, “Homeric Athena in the Chronicle of Lindos”, in S. DEACY – A. VILLING (eds.) *Atena in the Classical World*, Leiden – Boston – Colôgne, 2001, p. 105-125; H. discusses in detail the “Lindian Chronicle” (*Lindos* 2, 99 BC). Hagesistinos proposed the compilation of an inventory of the older votives in the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos and of the epiphanies of the goddess. H. argues that the list of dedications included only those donors and votives that would enhance the claim that the sanctuary of Athena was most ancient and honorable. In its last section the inscription narrates the three epiphanies of Athena, H. proposes to understand the Lindian Chronicle as in part a dedication and in part a proclamation [see now also ead., *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Understanding of their Past*, Oxford, 2003]. [JM]

79) J. HORDEN, “A Fragment of Choral Lyric (P. Oxy. 674)”, *ZPE* 134 (2001), p. 13-14: References to Delphi (I. 5), Parmassos (I. 6), and Apollon (I. 9) in *P. Oxy. 674* (early 1st cent. AD) suggest a pacem. H. suspects that a significant Delphic event is narrated in this lyric fragment, perhaps the killing of Python and the establishment of Apollon’s cult at Delphi. [JM]

80) B. IPIRÇIOĞLU, “Doğu ve kuzyeydoğu Lykya-güneybatı Pisidia epigrafik-tarihi cofragı yüzey araştırmaları 2000 yılı çalışmaları”, in *AST* 19.2, p. 127-132: I. reports the discovery of inscriptions in various sites in Lykia and Pisidia. A group of seven dedications to Ares (Megas Ares Epekoos: 13-14; Megas Ares: 17; Ares: 15, 18-19) in fulfillment of vows (εὐχήνας) were found in Havuzönüđanlı (13-19, Imperial period); two of them were made by groups of friends (έταιρος: 16, 18). Another group of dedications was found at Mizir (20-24, Imperial period; εὐχήνας: 20, 22-24; εὐχή: 21); they are addressed to the river god Mizoares (Theos Potamos Mizoares: 20, 24; Potamos M(e)izoares: 21-22; Potamos Sozon Mizoares: 23); one of them was made, again, by a group of friends (20). [AC]

81) B. IPIRÇIOĞLU – G. ÇELGIN – A.V. ÇELGIN, “Termessos ve Egemenlik alanı epigrafik-tarihi cofragı yüzey araştırmaları 1997”, in *AST* 16.1, p. 381-385 [BE 2000, 618; *SEG* XLIX 1867-1871]: New texts from Termessos and its territory include an inscription which records the construction of a temple of Zeus Soter and the relocation of a cult statue (Διὸ Σωτῆρ Ζεὺς Θεὸν Σωτῆρας) at the expenses of the inhabitants of a settlement (πολιοῦσαν; Imperial period). Another inscription set up by the inhabitants of a periophion honors Trokondas, who had served as priest of the Mega Theos (Imperial period). [AC]

82) B. IPIRÇIOĞLU – G. ÇELGIN – A.V. ÇELGIN, “Doğu ve kuzyeydoğu Lykya-güneybatı Pisidia epigrafik-tarihi cofragı yüzey araştırmaları projesi 1999 çalışmaları”, in *AST* 18.1, p. 241-245 [BE 2002, 414]: Brief report on the discovery of four epitaphs from Lykia. The most interesting text is the long epitaph of Marcus Aurelius Torquatus, a former Lykarches (*κληρονόμος*); which is written on a heroon built by his father (Trebenna, 3rd cent. AD). (Torquatus gives instructions about the proper conduct of the funerary rites, which he introduces with the words τοῦτον ἐσονταν ἀνευμένον τῆς δούλας γράφεται ("I write the following law of funerary worship"); the word δούλη is used by IAMBlichos *Vita Pythag.*, 30, 184) to describe funerary rites. Torquatus’ instructions begin with a funerary imprecation against those who would violate the grave: “no one should disturb (the buried persons), or dare bury anyone in addition to us or remove (the buried persons); and if some persons should wish or dare either to bury another person or to open the grave, let them be utterly destroyed together with their descendants (δόλως καὶ προϊδώς καὶ αὐτούς καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενεάθες); for the Erinyes, which watch over (the grave) (Εἰρήνης ἄφρος), and the demons of the underworld (δαίμονας καθαρείως) will demand punishment of the madness of tomb robbery (τῆς ἀπονοας δίων ἀπατήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καθαρείως").
Then Torquatus demands his heirs to take care of the funerary worship as ordered by him: “And I wish that what I have regulated and written (τὰ δὲ ἐμοὶ νομοθετημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα) with regard to the grave (? or with regard to himself/his burial, δῆτ' ἀσκήσας) and with regard to the things which have been left to those who take care of the grave (καὶ τοῖς θεσμομετρικῶς τῶν τάφων καταλαμμένων) and with regard to the dwellings (καὶ τάς οἰκίσσεων) will remain valid under the care of my future heirs; I wish and command that they (the heirs) do whatever I have determined and resolved. If they take care of the eternal funerary rites (ἐὰν τῆς δόσας τῆς θανατοῦ φροντίζουσαν), for which they should also spend money (αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸν χαρῆσθαι), they should preserve the rites unmoved and unshaken. For if they do this, they will receive the fame of piety; if they do the opposite, they should justly be regarded as sacrilegious and tomb robbers”; for the expression χαρῆσθαι δὲ τι = “spend money for something” see IG V.1, 18 B 6. Torquatus must have given detailed instructions about the funerary rites in another document, probably in his testament).

Another epitaph was set up on the grave of a priestess of Theos Ourathes (δέσποτα Θεοῦ Ουραθιῶ; Mnara, northeast of Phaselis, 3rd cent. AD); the name of the god was hitherto unattested (Luwian) [but see infra no. 146]. Fines for any violation of the grave were payable to Zeus Solymæus [cf. epitaphs from Termessos: *EBGR* 1991, 40; 1992, 103; *SEG* XII 1268, 1270, 1278, 1280-1282, 1285-1286, 1289, 1300]. [AC]


84) M. JOHANSSON, “The Inscription from Troizen: A Decree of Themistocles?”, *ZPE* 137 (2001), p. 69-92: A detailed study of the ‘Themistokles’ Decree’ of Troizen and its numerous anachronisms leads to the conclusion that there is no evidence for the genuineness of the decree [similar conclusions are reached in two studies not used by J.: A. CHANIOTIS, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 259-272; J.K. DAVIES, “Documents and “Documents” in Fourth Century Historiography, in P. CARLIER (ed.), *Le IVe siècle av. J.-C. Approches historiographiques*, Paris, 1996, p. 29-39]. We single out the discussion of the gods mentioned in the decree; J. argues that the list of gods in lines 38-40 (Zeus Pankrates, Athena, Nike, Poseidon Asphaleios) and the epithets Λαθρᾶς ἂ Λαθρῶν μαθῶσα and Poseidon Asphaleios are incompatible both with a date of the decree in 480 BC and with an Athenian provenance. The epithet Λαθρᾶς ἂ Λαθρῶν μαθῶσα is only used in documents dealing with foreign affairs; there is no proven use of this epitheton in fifth-century Athens; although there are some fifth-century literary references to Zeus Pankrates, his state-cult is not attested; even more remarkable would be the separate mention of Athena and Nike in an Athenian decree of 480 BC; [in this context, J. does not take into consideration the discussion concerning the date of IG I 35]; Poseidon Asphaleios is well-known in the Peloponnesse but absent in the Athenian epigraphic evidence. [JM]

85) S.I. JOHNSTON, “Charming Children: The Use of the Child in Ancient Divination”, *Aretbusa* 33 (2000), p. 97-117: The use of children in mediumistic divinatory practices is primarily known from magical papyri (e.g. *PMG* III 633-731; IV 850-929; V 1-53; VII 540-578; for a list of references see p. 101 note 9). The procedure can be reconstructed as follows: The practitioner selected a child, who met certain specifications. The child was then blindfolded and the magician called a god or spirit into him, using incantations and applying various materials. Removing the blindfold, the magician told the child to gaze at either a lamp’s flame or at a bowl of specially prepared liquid. The god appeared in the liquid or flame and spoke to the child; in this respect, this form of divination differs from mediumism in which the god takes control of the medium and speaks through the medium. The child then gave the information to the practicioner (e.g. *PMG* VII 540-578). J. argues that the practitioners adapted forms of prophecy practiced in Delphi and Klaros and that two factors influenced the use of children: the reliability of children and the effort of itinerant magicians to substitute what they could not obtain (the media of the great oracles) with what was readily available (children). Gazing as a form of mediumistic prophecy could be practiced everywhere. [JM]
86) C.P. Jones, “Imperial Letters at Ephesos”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 39-44 [BE 2002, 359]: J. republishes and discusses a dossier of three imperial letters concerning Ephesos (*I. Ephesos* 212). We present J.’s translations of the two letters that deal with religious matters. The first letter, sent by an anonymous emperor (Caracalla?), mentions suspension of taxes during the Artemisia: “Since it seems that the temple named after Artemis([... of human [...], but I have conceded] the exemption from dues [... of the iselastic Artemis; [...] for I thought it fitting for] the most warlike, most bold, and [most --- of gods ([τή πολεμιστική και ἀνδρευστική καὶ [...] τόν θεόν] also to preside over [...] contains (φώσων ἀρετοτήκαι)”; [in line 6-7 L. Robert had suggested ἡμαρτωστατῇ (“most manifest”; cf. line 21: ἀγνοητάκτη, sic), ἡμαρτωστατῇ or ἡμαρτωτά] are plausible alternatives (cf. *supra* no 53). The third letter on the stone was sent by Caracalla to the provincial assembly of Asia and concerns the grant of a third neokoreia to Ephesos (c. 214-217 AD): “I approve for the decision whereby you [sided with] the most distinguished city of Ephesians, since [one should] attribute the [honor] with judgment. Therefore, since you (so) request and the leaders in Rome concur in approving (?), I have granted your request on behalf of the Ephesians, and I have [permitted] the city to be three times temple-warden. But in accordance with my modesty ([κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδικίαν], I transfer the neokorate named [after myself] to the most energetic (?; ἀγνοητάκτη, possibly a scribal error for ἡμαρτωστά, “most manifest”) goddess Artemis, so that the honor not be enjoyed from a temple of myself (μὴ δὲ ἐμοὶ καυχηθοῦσα τὴν τεμένος), but of her (who is) in all respects best!” (ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ κατὰ πάντα ἁγίοτερος οὐ θεός, e.g. [IM]

87) C. P. Jones, “A Statuette of Nemesis”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 45-47 [BE 2002, 353]: J. identifies a bronze statuette of a female figure with a measuring rod in her left hand (Charles Ede Ltd, General Catalogue 169, July 2000, no 11; unknown provenance, Asia Minor; 2nd/3rd cent.) as a statuette of Nemesis. According to a dedicatory inscription the statuette was given as a gift by Metrodoros to the “Lovers of arms” (φιλόπλοιος δώρον), possibly a gladiatorial fun-club; Nemesis presided over athletic competitions and gladiatorial shows. The statuette may have been carried in processions. An identification of the dedicant with a certain Metrodoros in Ephesos who is known to have dedicated cult statues (ἄρματα; *I. Ephesos* 160), is not certain. The similarity of the statuette with the iconography of the Nemeseis of Smyrna makes a provenance from Smyrna also possible. [IM]

88) L. Jonnes, “An Inscription of a Homeric Cento”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 49-50 [BE 2002, 431]; 2003, 627: Ed. pr. of an inscription of unknown provenance in the Archaeological Museum of Kastamonou (Pontos) 4th cent. AD]. The beginning of the text is missing; the rest consists of nine lines of a pastiche of phrases and lines from the *Ilid* and the *Odyssey* designed to produce a new poetic work (“cento”). The mention of the river Jordan (I. 8-9: τόν ναὶ ταυτοτάτη θεόν ἵνα δίκαιων πορείᾳ | μοίρα χαλὴ ὀλοκληρωσα Ιορδάνου ἄμφι λέγεθαιο; “that one having died happy Fate saved through the illustrious protection of the gods by the waters of Jordan”; cf. Iliad 7, 135: Ἰορδάνου ἄμφι λέγεθαι οὕτως) is an allusion to the baptism and suggests that this *cento* is Christian in nature (cf. St. Usher, “Prolegomenon to the Homeric Centos”, *AJPh* 118 (1997), p. 305; id., *Homerozentones Eudoxiae Augustae*, Stuttgart, 1999; Homeric centos in inscriptions: KABEI, *EG* 649, 998-999, 1009). The particular interest of this poem as a piece of evidence for the adaptation of pagan themes in early Christian literature lies in its reference to “the gods”. [The consolatory nature of the poem suggests an epitaph, which can be dated to the 4th or 5th cent. AD. On the basis of the letter forms. For religious (pagan-Christian) ambiguities and pagan motifs in Christian inscriptions in this period see, e.g., *RBGR* 1998, 83 and 235; 1999, 175, and 258; 2000, 15, 128, and 193; see also *infra* no 122]. [AC]

89) D. Jordan, “Notes on Two Michigan Magical Papyri”, *ZPE* 136 (2001), p. 183-193: J. presents revised texts of the magical papyri PMG LXI (2nd/3rd cent.) and LXII 4-25 (3rd/4th cent.). The first text is a recipe for making an amulet, a probably inexperienced copist made a series of errors, the most interesting being the intrusion of the instruction “outside (write) the name of the great god in this phylactery”; the copist also included two versions of the formula for maternal lineage (ἐν τῷ ἤπειρῳ ἢ ἤπειρῳ ἐγγέννῃ) [cf. *infra* no 91]. Among J.’s corrections in the second recipe we single out the reading πρὸς φάβον κολάσα ἢ δὲ ἐξαιρήσατι (for fear; it will punish whoever comes out against you”; not πρὸς φάβον κολάσας, “against fear of punishment”).
What the scribe had considered as voces magicae in lines 12-13 (ἀσεβηκητασιν ερων ορθων των μεγα σειρυγον | βασι γ φραγατια ακλ.) is a corruption of hexametric verses in part preserved in other magical texts (ἀσεβηκητασιν ερων σειρυναι κλωφων; σαλαταλον in line 21 is a fish. We present J’s translations of the text: “Spell of) Hekate Ereschigal against fear; it will punish whoever comes out (sc. against you). Say to him (or say the spell): ‘I am Ereschigal, holding her thumbs, and not even one evil thing can happen to her’. And if he comes closer to you, say, grasping your right heel, ‘I am Ereschigal, grasping her right heel...’ virgin, hound, snake, fillet, key, herald’s wand; of Tartarouchos <bronze the sandal; of Or---Iros> gold the sandal’, and you will get rid of him. ‘Down from shadowy mountains in a region dark-gleaming (?), BAUI BAUI BAUI BAUI brighter, chaste,... I have been initiated and into the chamber I descended and the other (verses), ‘I saw below...’ virgin, hound’ and all the remaining (verses)’. Say it at a triple crossroads and turn and flee, for she appears in these circumstances. Say: ‘I (?) through the night (?) about whatever you want, and in sleep she will indicate it. And even if you are being led off to death, say these (verses) scattering sesame, and they (or she) will save you. ‘PHORBA PHORBA BRIOMO AZZIBYA’. Taking grain from the first crushing and a sandalion-fish and the sharpest possible vinegar and steeping it, knead a cake and inscribe his name, and as if a secret say (i.e. whisper) Hekate’s name over it distinctly, and ‘take this person’s sleep away’, and he will be sleepless and anxious.” [JM]

90) D. JORDAN, “Ψήφιματα κρατηθής”, Eulimene 2 (2001), p. 155-160: J. corrects the reading of the magical texts: 1) In a defixio (AUDOLLENT, DT 41 B, Imperial period) lines 1-2 read τὴν μονὴν ἑρμὸν ἀληθήνην. 2) In a defixio (AUDOLLENT, DT 42, Imperial period) instead of [...]ους ὅφη πούδω ἐπαγάλλους J. reads ἔτοις ἱεραπόθιων δακτυλίων. 3) On the recto of a magical gem with the representation of Osiris J. reads Φιλοθεάσαντα Ἀγάθειαν suspecting that this is the name of the owner of the ring. 4) On a phylactery (Rome, 4th/5th cent. AD) J. reads Πρὸς σελενοζεύμων τον λαμβάλλει δόγμαμι. 5) In a phylactery from Egypt J. restores in I. 6 οἱχαστοιοί. 6) In a formulary (P.Carlsberg inv. 52(31).8/9, 7th cent. AD) J. suggests reading ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάρους instead of ἐν τῇς Ταρτάρους. 7) J. restores lines 12-14 of P.Louv.in. E 7332 his as follows: διὰ τὸν πόσον βελών τῆς τεκονδής (e.g.) Μῆν ἐφέσω Ἑρωίδω | τῆς διασπορῆς ἁμῶν ("through the intercessions of the birth giving Mother of God, our Lady"). [JM]

91) D. JORDAN, “Intrusions into the Text of the Amulet P.Kellis G. I 87?”, ZPE 137 (2001), p. 34: J. suspects that the word δεκαπτά, written twice in the text of the amulet P.Kellis G. I 87 (4th cent. AD), is not part of the magical text (which should be read as Ἑσεμπήθα | Ζωτρὰ Θερμουθὸν Σαμμαρίου δαίμων | τῶν σπερμάτων Ιαγγείον, but an intrusion from the instructions given in the recipe from which the amulet was copied (i.e., “write SESSEMPHTHA and below ZOTRA, etc.”; cf. P.MG II 165) cf. supra no 89]. [AC]

92) M. KAJAVA, “Livia and Nemesis”, Arctos 34 (2000), p. 39-61: The temple of Nemesis in Rhamnous was rededicated to Livia (Θεά Λεβία), probably in AD 45/46 (IG II² 3242), a few years after Livia’s official deification (17 January, 42). K. argues that the idea to honor Livia in this particular location and in association with the goddess of divine retribution came from Rome. As in the early 40s there was a threat of war with the Parthians, the rededication of Nemesis’ temple may have expressed the idea of vengeance on the Roman enemies. From the time of the Persian Wars Nemesis had become a symbol of vengeance of Persian hybrids; since the wars against the Parthians were often assissilated with the wars against the Persians, the new interest in the cult of Nemesis may be related with the role of this goddess in imperial propaganda, as the averager of Rome’s enemies. The republication of an old hymn to Nemesis in Rhamnous (SEG XIX 222 and XXXVI 271) belongs to the same historical context. Since Augustus was regarded as guarantor of peace and was associated with Mars Ultor, it is understandable that his wife was compared to Nemesis. An association of Livia with Nemesis possible anates her official deification and the rededication of the temple. [AC]

93) G. KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI, “Νομός Κοζάνης: Νεώτερα ἐπιγραφικά εὑρήματα”, in Synedrio Epigraphikes I, p. 49-78: Ed. pr. of 14 inscriptions found in various sites in the prefecture of Kozani (Macedonia). Polyphyle: The deceased person is call a ἤγος in an epitaph
(3, 3rd/2nd cent.). Xerolimni: A stele was dedicated to Apollo [-—]ios (9, 1st cent. BC/AD). Two other stelae, one of them probably representing Apollo with the kithara, bear fragmentary dedications to Apollo Mesioriskos (10-11, Imperial period). Several other dedications from Xerolimni (6: dedication to Apollon Nomios; 7: dedication to Apollon Mesioriskos; 8: dedication to Mezoriskos; 12: dedication to Apollon Mesioriskos and Artemis; 13: dedication to Apollo) have already been presented in EBGR 1999, 133. [AC]

94) R.A. Kearsley – T.V. Evans, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia Minor. Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the End of AD III*, Bonn, 2001 (IGSK, 59): K.-E. present a corpus of the Greek-Latin bilingual inscriptions (including some texts in Greek, which use Latin terms) found in Mysia, Aiolis, Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos, and Rhodos. The corpus comprises epitaphs (1-110), honorary inscriptions (111-138) [but 136 is a dedication], dedications (139-146), and public donations (147). There are many bilingual dedications (cf. p. 153): to Artemis Ephesia/Diana Ephesia (157-161; *I.Ephesos* 29, 509, 517, 857-858, early 2nd cent. AD), Julia, Livia (identified with Aphrodite Geneteara) and Augustus (136; *IG XII* 2, 537; Eresos), Iuno Arnateria/Tyche Artaetmis (142; H. Malay, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, Vienna, 1999, no. 67; Hrykanis), Minerva Lindia/Athena Lindia (146; *I.Lindos* 323), Zeus Bennios (144; Appia, AD 79), Zeus Kersoullos (139; *I.Hadrianopol 1*; 1st cent. AD), and Zeus Megistos Sober (170; *I.Lardeylik*, AD 84/85; note that the Latin text only mentions Domitian). Other texts concern building works in the Artemision of Ephesos (148-150), the dedication of a public building and statues to Artemis Ephesia (155; *I.Ephesos* 3003), the restoration of the sacred road from Miletos to Didyma (162; *I.Didyma* 50), the dedication of a temple and halls in Blaundos (168; *IGR IV* 719+1700), and the rebuilding of a temple of Dionysos, which had been destroyed by an earthquake, in Samos (171; *SEG XXY* 949, AD 47/48) [now in *IG XII* 6.2, 483]. A consecration inscription in Greek uses the term pekoulion / peculium (143; *BHWK* 15). The Latin Dis Manibus is translated as Θεών κοσμικός (48; *CIL III* 421; Teos; 1st/2nd cent.; 100; Kos, 2nd cent. AD) and Θεών Ἡμών (55; *SEG XVIII* 1123; Eumeneia, 1st cent. AD). For some influence on the words which designated parts of funerary monuments cf. the use of camara-xωμάξα in Chios (62; *CIL III* 456; ca. 50-100). We make a few observations. In an epitaph from Didyma (11; *I.Didyma* 525; 1st cent. BC/AD) the deceased person is called a beros only in the Greek version. In an epitaph from Ephesos (24; *I.Ephesos* 4123; ca. 50 AD) the Latin epitaph is followed by the Greek text of a funerary foundation. Among the interesting texts we mention the funerary epitaph for Marcellinus, who seems to have committed suicide or have died of sorrow (75; *I.Ephesos* 2103; "others with wreaths, litanies, and tears and songs honour your tomb, Marcellinus; instead of libations your father poured out his own life, wishing to have a common name and death"); this text is now included in MERKELBACH – STAUBER, *Steinepigramme* I 03/02/05. One notices a different mood in the two epigrams (Latin and Greek) for Iope (85; Teos, 2nd cent. AD; *Steinepigramme* I 03/06/04); the Latin epigram has no words of consolation, while the Greek epitaph tries to give comfort to Iope's mother: "place this in your heart as comfort for your grief over me, that even the children of the blessed ones went below". A similar difference may be seen in another epitaph for a child, probably written by the Roman teacher who was buried in the same grave (91; *TAV* V 2, 1119; Thyateira, 2nd cent. AD). The epitaph exploits the common theme of the dwelling of the dead among the Blessed ones, however, not as consolation – as in most epitaphs –, but asscorning of the parents: "the laws of nature and the arrangement of the fates prevail over useless vows, laments and the spirits of the divine ones. You have scorned our father and mother, O most wretched son, since you dwell in the Elyssian fields and the meadows of the blessed ones".[AC]

95) M.F. Kilmer – R. Develin, "Sophilos' Vase Inscriptions and Cultural Literacy in Archaic Athens", *Phoenix* 55 (2001), p. 9-43: A detailed study of the inscriptions on the vases painted by Sophilos (Athens, c. 590-570 BC) suggests that this painter had a very good knowledge of mythology – also of different literary versions of myths – and that he possibly also introduced his own variations of familiar stories. K.-D. suggests that the name Νυσσα on a fragment of the so-called 'Wedding Dinos' of Sophilos (fr. i) in the National Museum of Athens designates the Nymphs of Mount Nyssa (Nyssai), known to have been the nurses of Dionysos, and reject the assumption of a scribal error for <νυσσα (the Muses). [JM]
96) D. KNOEPFLER, “Oropodoro: Anthroponomy, Geography, History”, in *Greek Personal Names*, p. 81-98 [SEG L 871]: K. observes that the name ‘Oropodoro’ is limited to only two cities: Oropos (two instances) and Eretria. In composite names consisting of a proper name and –ορος the first component is the name of a god, a divine epiklesis, the name of a hero (never a city founder), and a toponym (mountain or river). In the case of Oropodoros the first component is the name of a hero associated with a homonymous river (Oropos = Asopos); [for names deriving from river-gods see *infra* n° 138; for doubts on K.’s assumption the Oropos is the Eretrian dialect form of Asopos see L. DEBUS, *BE* 2001, 140] [AC]

97) D. KNOEPFLER, “Loi d’Érétre contre la tyrannie et l’oligarchie”, *BCH* 125 (2001), p. 195-238: Ed. pr. of a new fragment of the Eretrian law against tyranny (cf. *IG* XII 9, 190, 4th cent. BC). Whoever killed a person who attempted to overthrow the democratic constitution would not be regarded as polluted (l. 12: καθαρός ἔστω χέρια). A curse ceremony was to be performed by the priests and the priestesses on the occasion of the Dionysia and the Artemisia against the enemies of democracy (l. 13-14: τὸ δὲ λέγοντα παράκλασα ἡ προετοῖον κατὰ ἵππον ἡ γράφει τιμῶν καὶ ἡ γράφει Διόνυσος τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος). The curse formula reads: “neither may their wives give birth to children from them according to nature nor their livestock, and their land may not be fertile; and should they have offspring, may their children not be legitimate, but all perish, together with the entire household” (μὴ ἡ γυνὴ ταῦτα γινέσαι τίτην καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, μηδὲ πρόβατα, μηδὲ ταῦτα γινέσαι τιτῆν εἰ δὴ καὶ γίνοντο, μὴ γίνεσαι ἄτομον [γινομένους] ὑμᾶς πάσης ἡλίας τὸ δὲθε πανοκτίσται πάντας ἀποκόλλουσα). Of religious interest are also the clauses concerning the dedication to Artemis Amarynthia of one tenth of the property of anyone who attempts to overthrow the constitution (l. 9-10: Αρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀμαρθοῦ λαβών τὸ ἑπιθέσατον) and the prohibition against his burial in Eretrian territory (l. 10). [AC]

98) D. KNOEPFLER, *Décrits érétriens de provianie et de citoyenneté*, Lausanne, 2001 (Eretria, XI) [BE 2002, 335]: K. presents the ed. pr. of 19 proxeny and citizenship decrees of Eretria and studies in detail another 31 previously edited decrees (5th-2nd cent.). Many of the new texts mention the sanctuary of Apollo Daphneboros as the place where the inscriptions were to be set up (4, 8, 10, 12-13, 14, and 15). In *IG* XII 9, 228 K. suggests restoring in l. 7: ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος λαβών (cf. *IG* XII 9, 195); this sanctuary should not be identified with the famous sanctuary of Artemis Amarynthia, but should be located in the city of Eretria, near the Daphneborosion (p. 138-141; cf. p. 166). [AC]

99) Ch. KOKKINIA, *Die Oproanod-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis. Eneregetismus und soziale Elite in Lyktien*, Bonn, 2000 [SEG L 1355]: K. presents an improved edition of the dossier of documents from Rhodiapolis concerning the local benefactor Oproanos (2nd cent. AD). In this context she discusses the office of the high priest of the emperor cult in Lykia (p. 196-215). [AC]

100) E. KOSMETATOU, “The Delian Hieropoioi of 171 B.C.”, *Epigraphica* 63 (2001), p. 256-258: On the basis of squeezes K. discusses the identity of the hieropoioi of the year 171 BC; the colleague of Alexikos as hieropoios was not Epitrophon (written by mistake in *IG* XI 2, 133 l. 67), but Her[—] [SEG XXXV 882]. [AC]

101) P. KOVACS, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicaearum. Editio maior*, Debrecen, 2001: K. presents an improved and enlarged edition of the corpus of Greek inscriptions found in new texts. *Dedications*: to Asklepios (88, Aquincum, by a doctor), Asklepios and Hygieia Theoi Soteres (120, Ammamata: χαριστήριον), Εὐθυδήμη σθεναρή (3, Carnuntum, 3rd cent. AD), to an anonymous deity (68, Siscia: ἵππος ἑλίκης). *Magie*: The silver, gold, and bronze objects which K. regards as curse tablets (12-16: Carnuntum, 3rd cent. AD: 125: Gibalae; 152: unknown provenance) are in fact phylacteryes. A silver phylactery for the healing of headache contains a historiola referring to Artemis Ephesia and Antaura (12, Carnuntum, 3rd cent. AD); three other silver phylacteries (13-16) contain magic names, words, and characteres (13: Σαλαθέα: 15: the palindromic ἀρισταράμπλαίκα; a gold phylactery mentions Ἀβρααμ [143, unknown provenance]. A Greek-Latin bilingual curse tablet against Eudemos is designated as the “seal of Solomon” (Σολομονος σφραγις, 16, Carnuntum, 3rd cent. AD). A lead teablet from Donnerskirchen (48, 3rd cent. AD) seems to be a curse tablet. Another curse tablet from Siscia contains
names and characteres (69). For the curse inscriptions from Savaria (50, 3rd cent. AD) see EUBG 1990, 102. The corpus includes many magical gems (Carnuntum: 42-47; Veszprémváros-Léki: 55; Siccia: 71; Brigetio: 79, 81-82; Pusztraszabolcs: 106; Székesfehérvár: 108; Intercessa: 118; unknown provenance: 146-148, 161), some of them showing Abriasax (42: Iaio, 43 and 161: Iaio, Aβρασάξ, Aβρασάξ, Σευμπλαγ, Διαμαντίνος; 71: Iaio, 146: Aβρασάξ, Σευμπλαγ | αβρασάσαξ σευμπλαγ διαμαντίνος, a gem which shows a pig and a donkey in sexual intercourse (obverse) is inscribed with a sequence of vowels (79, Brigetio, 3rd cent. AD). Varia: The invocation Ἀθηνᾶ βοήθῃ is inscribed on a brick stamp (5, Ságvar, 3rd cent. AD). [AC]

102] J.H. KITOLL, “The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue”, HTBR 94 (2001), p. 5-55 (BE 2002, 614): K presents a corpus of 79 inscriptions in Greek from the Jewish Synagogue at Sardis, which is one of the most important dossieres of texts for the Jewish communities in Asia Minor in late Antiquity, together with the texts from Aphrodisias for their dating of the latter texts to the same period (4th-6th cent.) see now A. CHANIOΣ, “The Jews of Aphrodisias: New Evidence and Old Questions”, SCI 21 (2002), p. 209-242. The inscriptions belong to the 4th-6th century phase of the Synagogue, the only sure exception being the mosaic donor inscription found in the Main Hall and dating to 270 AD (3). Most of the texts are donor inscriptions often with a statement that the donation was made in fulfillment of a pledge or vow (1, 5, 9-10, 18-20, 22, 25-26, 29-34, 36-37, 43, 46-48, 50-51, 54, 57, 59, 61-62, 66-68, 72, 78). Six of the donors are identified as theosebeis (8, 9, 22, 57, 59, 60). The donor Samoe (4), who was apparently a rabbi, is identified as a priest and a teacher of wisdom (τεχνής υἱός σοφοδιδάσκαλος). References to religious titles are otherwise rare. No. 10 contains the designation υἱός λεωντίων which K. understands as a Hellenistic adaptation for the Tribe of Judah, described in Gen. 49, 9 as a lion. According to K. the donor in no 10 refers explicitly to his membership in the Tribe of Judah in order to distinguish himself from the two theosebeis (8-9) who donated the adjacent mosaics along the west corridor of the forecourt. The word νομοσκόλακας in no 65 refers to the torah shrine of the synagogue. No. 65 contains the formulaic text εὐρών κλάσας διενεργός φύλαξαν (“Having found, having broken open, read, observe”) referring to the reading and observation of the Law. [JM]


104] J. KUBÍNSKA, “Tiberius Claudius Lycus de Thessalonique et son thiasse”, ZPE 137 (2001), p. 153-160: K. discusses a group of texts in Thessalonike which concern the councillor Ti. Claudius Lykos. Lykos, possibly inspired by the funerary monuments of Asia Minor, made a funerary foundation consisting of a heroon, a garden, and a cultivated estate Ἰαιος Θευτόνιαν [θευτόνιαν only]; ed. infra. No. 244. Lykos is also known from a list of members of a Dionysiac association found in the Serapeion (IG X 2.1, 244). This association may be identified with a Dionysiac association dedicated to the cult of Zeus Dionysos Gorgonos, known from an earlier inscription which was also found in the Serapeion (IG X 2.1, 259, 1st cent AD); both texts mention a sacred official called ἴσης ἔλαιον. The earlier text concerns a dedication of vineyards to the god for the celebration of rituals (orgia) and banquets; [K. points out that IG X 2.1, 259 mentions two priests, in lines 21 and 32-33, whereas there is no priest in IG X 2.1, 244 — probably because his name was written in the lost part of the stele; it should be noted, however, that the second priest in IG X 2.1, 259 is not the priest of the Dionysiac association, but the priest of the Sarapeion who allowed the erection of the stele in his sanctuary (ἡελαθής ἵππος ἔλαιον ... ἴσης ἔλαιον). K. wonders whether the Dionysiac association occasionally held meetings in the Serapeion. A third inscription (IG X 2.1, 60, AD 155/6) seems to concern the same association, since Furius Preimigas appears as archineokoros in this text and in IG X 2.1, 244. K. mentions the many unanswered questions with regard to the activities of Lykos,
being inclined to believe that the Dionysiac association changed its character in the course of time and had become “un sorte de club politique où le culte de Zeus Dionysos Gongylos était seulement un élément formel”. [The texts themselves do not provide any information that could support this assumption]. [AC]

105) A. LAJTAR, “Die Kontakte zwischen Ägypten und dem Horn von Afrika im 2. Jh. v.Chr. Eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift im Nationalmuseum Warschau", *JhrP* 29 (1999), 51-66, [BE 2000, 713]: Ed. pr. of a dedication made to Zeus Soter Sarapis, Isis Megale Meter Theon, Harpocrates, Pan Euhodos, Kronos, Dionysos, the Dioskouroi, and Herakles Kallinikos on behalf of Ptolemy VIII, Kleopatra II and Kleopatra III (Koptos, c. 133 BC). The deities combine three qualities: protectors of the kingdom (Zeus Soter, Isis, Harpocrates, Dionysos), protectors of travellers (Zeus Soter Sarapis, Pan Euhodos-Min, the Dioskouroi, Kronos-Geb, Herakles Kallinikos-Chons), and local gods of Koptos (Min, Geb, Chons). If Zeus is identified with Sarapis – and the two names should not be separated with a comma –, this is the earliest epigraphic attestation of the identification of the two gods. The dedicants were two officers who had returned from the dangerous mission of bringing presents from the Aromatophoros (Horn of Africa, Bab el-Mandeb; for a similar mission cf. A. BERNAND, *Pan du désert*, Leiden, 1987, n° 86). [AC]

106) A. LAJTAR, “A Metric Epitaph from Galilee Commemorating one Phoibadios”, *JhrP* 30 (2000), p. 53-55 [SEG L 1465]: L. republishes a metrical epitaph from Belvoir (between Skythopolis and Tiberias, 2nd cent. AD), improving the reading of the last verse: σῶμα Φοιβαδίου θεοῦ τόδε σῶμα καλέσκει, [ψυχή ἡ αἵμαρχον έλθε φίλη μετάφρασε θεοῦ]: (“the grave covers the body of the godly Phoibadios; his soul, dear to the blessed gods, has gone to heaven”, [now included in MERKELBACH – STAUBER, *Steinepigramme III* 21/21/05; for similar ideas see EBGR 2000, 31]. [AC]


108) L.R. LIDONNICI, “Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri”, *Kernos* 14 (2001), p. 61-91: L. places some of the ingredients of magical recipes (frankincense, pinecones, wormwood, and myrrh) in the context of the economy of the Roman Empire, demonstrating the availability, but also the high prices, of these substances. This suggests an urban setting for the practitioners who used the recipes of the magical papyri, especially for divinatory purposes. On the other hand, spells for health, healing, good business and aversion of anger tend to be less expensive and simple. The diversity of ingredients and the co-existence of sophisticated and simple material in the magical formularies may reflect the diversity of their sources and the diversity of the social contexts of magic. [M]

109) J.L. LIGHTFOOT, “Μάμβογγιος”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 113-118: L. argues that the personal name Μάμβογγιος was created in Roman Syria by the devotees of the goddess of Manbog/Hierapolis. L. also demonstrates that in the areas, in which Μάμβογγιος is attested, the Syrian goddess had a special popularity. The coincidence of the distribution of the name and the appeal of the cult is well illustrated by the presence of Kommagenians among the bearers of this name. [M]

110) M. Liloti-Akamati, *Τὸ λειό τῆς Μητέρας τῶν Θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀρχοδήτης στὴν Πέλλα*, Thessalonike, 2000 [SEG L 609-611 bis]: L.-A. publishes the results of the excavation of the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods in Pella and its finds and discusses the cult of Meter
The sanctuary was built in the late 4th cent. BC, enlarged in the late 3rd/early 2nd cent., and destroyed in the early 1st cent. BC. L.-A. presents the ed. pr. of three Hellenistic dedications addressed to Aphrodité (p. 188 n° 597-598, Hellenistic period), Meter Theon (192 n° 619), and Meter Theon Epekoos (p. 215f.). A third text, written on an altar, reads Αἰολοῦ | Γεννή (p. 192-193 n° 620). (L.-A. interprets it as the personal name Aiolos, but in a forthcoming article in *Bultmann 4*, P. CHRYSTOMOU observes that this is an altar of Aiolos). [AC]

111) M. LIVADITI – G. ROCCHI, "Il santuario di Asklepios, Hygeia e Homonoia nel demo di Isthmòs a Coo", in J.-Y. MARC (ed.), *Constructions publiques et programmes édilitaires en Grèce entre le IV siècle av. J.-C. et le II siècle ap. J.-C.*, Paris, 2001 (BCH Suppl., 39), p. 371-384: After a summary of the excavations conducted from 1912 onwards in a sanctuary consisting of two temples and a theater in the ancient demos of Isthmon (modern Kephalaos in Kos), L.-R. conclude on the basis of the epigraphic finds that this sanctuary was dedicated to Asklepios, Hygeia, and Homonoia. The cult of this triad is also attested in a sacrificial calendar (*PH* 401 = *LSGG* 169 A): one of the two temples was dedicated to Asklepios and Hygeia, the other to Homonoia. The preoccupation with the cult of Concord (cf. *PH* 61; *THGC* 137b) may be related to conflicts between Koans and Kalymnians. The foundation of the sanctuary may be placed in the aftermath of the Cretan War (late 3rd cent. BC). [AC]

112) C. LÖHR, *Griechische Familienweiheungen. Untersuchungen einer Repräsentationsform von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Rahden, 2000 [SEG L 1712]: L. presents a systematic study of dedications made by or on behalf of family members in the Archaic and Classical periods. The catalogue (p. 8-152) contains 148 inscribed dedications (n° 1-19, 21-35, 37-42, 45-48, 50-52, 54-56, 59-61, 63-68, 70-72, 75-78, 80-84, 86-90, 92-99, 101-135, 139, 141, 143-161, 164-166, 168-171, and 175). The texts are republished with German translation and comments on the chronology, the form of the dedication, and its historical context. In the systematic part of the book (p. 153-250) L. focuses on the family relations of the dedicants, the iconography, and the background of the dedications (dedications made on behalf of relatives, thanks-giving dedications after healing or rescue from danger), and on dedications made by many related persons. His main conclusion is that in the 6th and 5th cent. BC family dedications concerned a very close circle of family members (often father and son), whereas from the 4th cent. BC onwards dedications that cover two or three generations became more common. [AC]

113) A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, "La stèle de Patoubasthis et les vaches sacrées à Édfou", *JbRP* 29 (1999), p. 75-78 [BE 2000, 720; SEG XLIX 2116]: In a dedication at Édfou (SB 7694: Édfou, 2nd cent. AD) L. suggests reading θαλουργός | βούς ταφής θεού μεσίστων (not θαλουργός or θαλουργοῦς). According to this reading the dedicant was "porter of the graves of the cows of the Greatest Gods" (cf. the remarks of J. BINGEN, *BE* 2000, 720). [AC]

114) W. LUPPE – R. SCHOLTZ, "Ein Leipziger Mythologie-Papyrus", *AjP* 47 (2001), p. 4-18: Ed. pr. of fragments of a papyrus (unknown provenance, 2nd cent. AD) which contained the work of an anonymous mythographer. The text treats in prosa the legends of Perseus (the death of Akrisios, the foundation of Mykenei), Bellerophon (the accidental killing of a citizen, his exile to Proitos, his journey to Lykia), Hyrieus – Poseidon’s son – and the sons of Hyrieus. The text provides hitherto unknown information concerning Konie, the mother of Krinakos, Echion, the son of Hyrieus, Euboe, Hyrieus’ wife or lover, the colonisation of Achaia by Krinakos and Echion, and the origin of the Alantes. [For an addition see W. LUPPE, "Nachtrag zum Leipziger Mythologie-Papyrus", *ZPE* 137 (2001), p. 2¼]. [AC]

115) E. LUPI, "The Sacred Law from the Cave of Pan at Marathon", *ZPE* 137 (2001), p. 119-124 [BE 2002, 183]: L. republishes a stele dedicated by three ephebes and their fellow ephebes to Pan and the Nymphs in the cave of Pan at Marathon (*SEG* XXXVI 267, 61/60 BC). The last lines are a sacred law which regulates entrance to the cult cave by listing items that were not allowed inside: "the god forbids one to carry in either colored garments (χρωμάτζον) or dyed garments (βαλμμένον) or [—-]". This regulation cannot have been formulated by the ephebes themselves, who probably quote an already existing sacred law, allegedly originating from the god. L. suggests restoring λευκά|γεμίζον (garments with colored borders) in lines 9-10 and έποιημένα|στερεά
in line 10. The law seems to have allowed only persons with white clothes to enter the sacred cave (cf. LSAM 14 and 35; LSCG 65 lines 15-16; LSCG Suppl. 91). L. comments on analogous regulations and on the joint cult of Pan and the Nymphs. [The Athenian ephebes are known to have worn a particular ephabetic garment, the black chlamys; see Chr. PéLÉKIDS, Histoire de l'éphèbie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ, Paris, 1962, p. 15-16; this possibly explains why ephebes set up this inscription, warning their fellow ephebes who patrolled the territory not to enter the cave with their ephabetic cloak. For dedications of ephebes in sacred caves, cf. the dedications in the Korykean Cave on Parmassos (L. ROBERT, Études anatoliennes, Paris, 1937, 108f.; cf. SEG XXXII 620). [AC]

116) J.-J. MAPPFlE, “Céramique attique récemment découverte à Apollonie de Cynénaïque”, CRAI (2001), p. 1065-1079: M. reports the discovery of three Panathenaic amphoras in the cemetery of Apollonie in Kyrenaika. One of them is very fragmentary (c. 370-365); the other two have the standard inscription τῶν Αθηνᾶς ἐθέλων [cf. supra n° 103]. One of them was given to a winner in cliautos (c. 370-365), the second in an unknown discipline (344/3 BC). [JM]

117) I.A. MAKAROV, "On the Interpretation of a New Chersonesian Document", VDI 230.1 (2000), p. 112-118 [in Russian; English summary]. M. interprets a very fragmentary text from Chersonesos in Tauris (2nd cent. BC) which mentions Hermes [EBGR 1997, 352] as a decree or a lex sacra concerning the institution of ephêbeia and establishing athletic competitions (Hermia) in the gymnasium. In lines 4-5 M. restores [Δίκη Κτής] [νυν καὶ Καθοδηγοίς] [cf. SEG XV 427]: a cult of Zeus Kathyperdæxios was hitherto unattested in Chersonesos. The reorganisation of the ephetic institutions may be connected with the Scythian attacks in the late 2nd cent. BC. [AC]


119) P. MCKECHNEE, "Flavia Sophe in Context", ZPE 135 (2001), p. 117-124: The funerary epigram of Flavia Sophe (Rome; CIG 9595a), set up by her husband (in continent marriage), is an important piece of evidence for the Valentinian sect (cf. A. McGuirE, "Women, Gender and Gnosis in Gnostic Texts and Traditions", in R.S. KRAEMER - M.R. D’ANGELO (eds.), Women and Christian Origins, New York / Oxford, 1999, p. 257-299). The gravestone bears an epitaph on the front (A) and a second epigram, possibly of slightly later date, on the back (B). M. presents a new edition (suggesting the restoration εἰς [οἴκιος άνομοιος in A 2) and a new translation: "A. You whose desire was for the light of the Father (πατριν πόρος), Sophe, my sister, my bride, anointed through the baths of Christ with imperishable holy perfume, you hastened to gaze on the divine faces of the aeons (σειανών ἐπαυγάς δήησε θεία πρόσωπα), the Angel of the Great Council (or Council, ὥστε), the true Son, when you went to the Bridal Chamber and rose (incorruptible) (δεπύρωσης) to the Father’s house — B. This woman did not have a common end of her life when she died. She died, and she lives, and she sees in reality the light Imperishable. She lives to the living, and died to those who are truly dead (ζωὴν μὲν ζωούσιν θεον δὲ θονοῦσιν ἐφθασε). O earth, why to you marvel at the nature of the deceased (νόμος γένος)? Are you frightened?"

In the Greek text read μύρων (not μυριο) in A 4, σειανῶν (not σειανῶν) in A 5, ζωὴν (not ζωοῦ) in B 3 and 5; in the English translation read “the great Angel” (μέγαν δεπύρωσιν). M. presents conclusive evidence for a date in the 4th cent. AD (not the 2nd/3rd cent.) and discusses the ritual of the ‘Bridal Chamber’ in the Valentinian sect (cf. CIL VI 37231 and L. MORETTI, “Iscrizioni greche inedite di Roma”, Bulletinen Communale 75 [1953-55], p. 83-86, 4th cent. AD). [With respect to the content of the second epigraph parallels are to be found in pagan epigrams which claim that the deceased had not really died; e.g. Steinepigramme I 02/09/06, 02/09/12. A more close, contemporary parallel, may be seen in the grave epigram for Claudia from Aphrodisias (Ch. ROUÉCHÉ, 225
Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, London, 1989, n° 153; MERKELBACH – STAUBER, ibid. 1 02/09/28, 4th/5th cent. AD. Claudia’s epigram uses the expression [ὁ]πετάς [με]τὰ [το]ύμβα (cf. A 9-10: ές ὑμῶν ἄγαγος) and describes Claudia’s body as καθαρός δέμας (“clean/pure body”); Διή ημέρα καθαρόν τύμβων καθαροῖς καθαρῶν διὰ δέμας σου [με]τὰ [το]ύμβα. Ch. ROESEHE suggested that Claudia had died before marriage and that the tomb was her husband (“Justice has honoured you with the tomb of the dead, and has wedded your pure body (with it as a) lawful husband”); the correct sense is given by R. MERKELBACH and J. STAUBER (although their translation ommits καθαρόν): “Justitia selbst hat... deine Gestalt bei deinem Ehemann beigesetzt”. Could the reference to a pure body of a married woman be an allusion to continent marriage? [AC]


Rituals: The composer of a fragmentary epigram asserts that he worships an anonymous god (Zeus Kersoulloues) with verses (ἵσσων σίζώνει), with offerings of oak and incense, and with the customary sacrifices (νομίμης θεοῦ), and not with luxurious offerings and sacrifices of bulls (08/08/03, Hadriniou, 2nd/3rd cent.). Several epigrams highlight the ritual activities of the deceased persons: the epigram for the prytanis Theodotos commemorates the pleasure he had in offering libations in public festivals amidst the citizens (08/01/53, Kyzikos: τὸν ἐν σπουδαίᾳ γεγονότα σκεύω μετ’ ἄστυν); a mystes of Dionysos is praised for his service during the festival of the ephes (08/06/04, Hadriniouthera, Imperial period: τὸν Βραχγόν μόστιν [ἵματος, ἱππάντα χαλκό]). An oracle of Apollo Klarios contains the epitaph for a priest of Zeus refers to the fact that he offered libations with his own hands (09/05/19, Nikiai); the epigram for Epiktetos mentions his service as θυειμήστας Βάσχου Μεγάλου (09/05/86, Nikiai); Meniketes, a mystes of Isis, refers to the construction of a bed for ceremonies (09/14/01, Bithynia: δέμα σας γὰρ λυκόπολης θεᾶς ἑρώτα βεβηλὸς Αἰθύπου τρέφεροι δῶμασαν ἀφικομένοις; the epitaph for the mystes Amilianus describes his participation in the Dionysiac rites (10/03/02, Amastis: ταφ ἀρτιόσε ροςς ἐκ κοιπίων ἕλιος θεῷ τρισθη τελείη μαντικῶς ἄνηθραν), a girl served as priestess (παλεος) of Aphrodithe (08/04/02). We also mention a hymn to Aphrodithe (09/02/01, Kios, 1st cent. BC/AD).

Dedications: To Apollon (09/06/02-03), Apollon Soter (09/04/01), Asklepios and the Nymphs (11/04/01: ἱσσωταν ἐγχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ ταῖς [Νόμφαις], Athens (08/01/02, the model of a triereme), Poseidon (08/01/05), Zeus (09/05/02; 09/12/91: θεῷ Ἀρτέμισι μηγατέρα ἐπηγέγορο σωτηρί; 09/12/02), Zeus Archagathos (09/05/01), Zeus Ourios (09/07/01), Zeus Disabites Alexilakos (11/11/01), Sarapis and Isis (08/01/40, the statue of Apollo in Amastris defines the qualities of the god (10/03/01) see EBGR 2000, 127).

Divination and oracles: An oracle of Zeus Ammon in Siwa concerns Kyzikos (08/01/01, Kyzikos, c. AD 130), a very fragmentary oracle of Apollon Karios concerns Nikomedia (09/06/01). Gauros, who “received the trustworthy words of the prophets”, was either the scribe of an oracular sanctuary or a recipient of an oracle; he probably composed a literary work about the victory of Octavian (08/08/01, Hadrinio). An oracle of Apollon Karios contains a lex sacra concerning a procession of women (fore Artemis or Demeter); they should attend the procession without shoes and golden jewelry, wearing clean clothes (εἴμαι φαλάγονθεν; 09/01/01, Kios, 1st cent. AD).

Grave cult and eschatology: Many funerary epigrams allude to eschatological ideas and motifs [cf. n° 121], e.g. Oblivion (08/01/33: Λάθες ξύλων εἰς ἄξωνας, 08/01/45: παυσάτων Λάθους λουσμένα πόματε; 10/06/08: Επίσκοπος Λύθης ἀφόγετη ναυαίλαρχον, the separation of the soul from the body (08/08/09), the Elysion (08/01/50: τού φαύλη καὶ πεθών τέμπρος Ἰλίσσων), the Blessed (09/14/01: μαρακόρον τοῦ ἔλειμων εἰς κυμάς, 10/02/11: νόμον μαρακόρων), the dwelling of the soul among the immortals (08/06/09: ἢς δὲ θεῶν ἀνέλοσα καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέτειμ; 11/03/02:...
An interesting expression of piety and devotion to the local cults is the epigram of Ioviakos, who had been murdered, imploring Dike and Zeus to console his parents by avenging his death (08/05/04: θαλάσσιο τούτο μεν Θεος παρέμενεν θυσία σε φράξεις!); he was buried near a statue of Dionysos erected near his grave in order to be reminded of the symposia he had celebrated during his life (09/06/19); the epitaph of a woman refers to her prayers to god to die before her husband (11/07/09: ευμενείς άγαλμα παραδέχεται ἡ γυνή Θεον; αὐτῆς πέμπτε πρόσωπον ἡ γυνὴ θεῶν;). There are several funerary imprecations (08/01/35, 08/06/06, 09/05/27); we single out an unusual formula in 08/05/04: ἀληθινόν πατήρι, συνεργόι τυμβρών, τούς αύτούς τενέφθηκεν ἐπιβλητικός τόιος.

Varia: The epigram for Menophantos, who had been murdered, implores Dike and Zeus to console his parents by avenging his death (08/05/48: άλλα Δίκαιον καὶ Ζεὺς ποιείθησθαι, πατέρος εμείον πένθος προσέχετε τούς τυμβρῶν). A collection of epigrams preserved in the Greek Anthology (Anth.Pal. III 1-19) describes the mythological beliefs which decorated a temple in Kyzikos (08/01/11-29). An interesting expression of piety and devotion to the local cults is the epigram of Iulia Hagnè, who died abroad, leaving back the god of her fatherland (08/08/09, Hagnèni: θεὸν πάντων προσφέρεται). Evidence for the religious ambiguities in late antiquity (cf. the examples collected under no 121) is provided by several texts: the epitaph, which was set up by Kyrikos for his parents, refers to the fact that they had worshipped god in purity (θυσιαστικῶς ἄγος θεῶν ἐπ᾽ εὔδοξη); the name Kyrikos, the ambiguous reference to god and the word ἔδοξη suggest a Christian context. A Christian woman indirectly refers to her Christian faith (11/10/03, Pontos, 3rd/4th cent.: λάτρεις δὴ θεᾶ Ζουνα[...] ἐφόδιοι κοιμώμενε μέχερες ἁντίπτοντο[...]). The epigrams of the governor Iovinus in Thermana (11/04/02; 4th cent. AD) exploit pagan themes (Hephaistos, the Nymphs, Charites, Asklepios; cf. this is an allusion to Osten" und das Landesinnere bis zum Taul'Os, 151 Stimmen, 1-19) covers the material from Baktriania, Media, Armenia Maior, Kappadokia, Lykaonia, Isauria, Galatia, and Phrygia. New texts are marked with an asterisk. Since most of the metrical inscriptions of these areas are funerary epigrams, this material provides information primarily about eschatological ideas; e.g. we find references to the immortality of the soul (16/04/02, 16/61/07; more sceptical in 16/08/06: ἀνθρώπους την αἰώνιον καὶ οὐ φθοράνον [...].
J.V. ILYOPOULOS refers to the immortal gods rose or (13/05/04: ei θεοί ημέρας οὗς ἀλήθεια νεάτεται; cf. 16/71/01: θεός... δι’ θέας εὐφημίας; 16/31/10) or has travelled to the pious (14/06/10: ἱεράς τόπος χώρα); but we also find speculations about whether the deceased retain their conscience in the Hades (16/32/04: ἵππας τοῦ θεοῦ νόος εἰς Ἀδηνός γένος), in one epitaph the death of a young man is assimilated to the abduction of Ganymedes by Zeus (16/23/06, Alzanoi, AD 247; cf. 16/46/01, Vertessos). The epitaph of a man struck and killed by lightning (*16/34/32, Dorylaion, Imperial period) urges the passer-by: “pass by with pious tongue, not calling me a grave; I am the site of worship of heavenly lighting and fire; the light-bearing torch has purified/consecrated here the body of Nedymos and has left an undying memory of his life” (ἀφθονος γέλιος παραμέμμενος, μὴ τάφον εἰπής ἰδέας τοῦτος καὶ ποιήσῃ εἴμι σέβας Νησιάμου ἐνθα δέημα σελαῖς ἡμισυκτος πυρός ἄθαντον μνήμην λευχάμενον βίοτο). Another epitaph reads: “Zeus, the highest among the immortals, has called the mortal man from the dead, ordering not to honor the monument of Plouton as a grave, but to honor the merciful conduct of Zeus in this very same site” (ὁ βροτὸν ἐν θηρίμων κολύμπος μακάριος Ζεὺς, Πλούτωνος δὲ τὸ σήμα κελάριστο μηράτ τύμβων θρησκευόμενος, αὐξῷ δὲ τόσῳ Δίος ἐλθος κοινῆς; Dorylaion, *16/34/33); M.-S. suggests that this epitaph expresses the idea that virtuous persons were taken by Zeus to heaven; or was Plouton struck by lightning and the place where he died and was buried was consecrated to Zeus (Katalabates)?). The inscriptions of Phrygia are of particular interest in this respect. As we can infer from symbols, onomastics, and content, many texts concern crypto-Christians (before AD 311), Christians, members of Christian sects (e.g., Montanists), or persons influenced by Christianity; nevertheless, they use pagan or ambiguous themes, words, and expressions, and thus they are an interesting source for the interpretation of ideas among the Christians, the Jews, and the worshippers of the traditional gods. A Montanist epitaph, e.g., refers to the Erinyes, Acheron, and Plouton (16/32/04) [cf. EBGR 2000, 193], the epitaph of bishop Pientios to the eating of ambrosia (16/43/06). The epigrams in the family grave of Aurelius Trophinos (Appia or Soa, c. 300-350 AD) show the co-existence of different religious ideas within the same family; the earliest epitaph (for Trophinos) sketches a gloomy picture of the underworld, whereas that of his granddaughter Annia mentions the fact that she had been baptised on her death-bed and had joined the sect of the Novatiani (16/31/93). In many cases the attribution of a text to a particular religious group is difficult, as, e.g., in the case of a woman to whom “the god who reigns in heaven” (θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ τὸν θεόν δόθηκεν κυρίως) had given gracing (16/06/02, Eumeneia, early 3rd cent. AD) or another woman to whom “god the father had given the child Euprepia” (θεὸς κατὰ γενεάν θεὸν συνέχθησεν ἐπειδή τὸν θεόν φίλον δέθηκεν) or adjure the passer-by by the name of god not to violate the grave (16/31/14, 16/31/85, Appia or Soa: τὸν θεόν σου, μὴ ἀδικήσας; 16/61/99, Antiocheia), or regard life as a loan given by god (16/31/14: πληρόως τὰ ἔτη, β(years) θεὸς δώσας αὐξῷ, ἐπέκτεινα δόθης τὰ πάντα διαφέρον ἄτομον), or expect that god has granted the soul to dwell among “the living in heaven” (16/31/17: ἐφ’ θεοῦ δὴ θεοῦ σάλας οὐρανίας ἐκ ζωῆς, or refer to the wish of the deceased to join god (16/31/85: δὲ ἐποίησεν θεὸν, λευχάμενον ἄθαντον), or refer to the wish of the deceased to join god (16/31/85: δὲ ἐποίησεν θεὸν, λευχάμενον ἄθαντον). One of these enigmatic texts refers to the immortal gods (ἄθανατοι φαλάκρους) and to the islands of the Blessed (μακάριον νῆσος ἄθωνων), but also mentions in the same context Christian (?) baptism (πηγῆς λωτομένοι ἀθανάτοι; 16/32/03, Kotiaion). This phenomenon can be observed also in other areas, besides Phrygia: Christian epitaphs allude to the traditional theme of the Blessed (14/04/06), or even use traditional funerary imprecations (14/06/17). The assimilation of the Christian vocabulary to that of the pagan cults can also be observed in the use of the terms ἡρθην θεοῦ (14/06/07) and ἡρθην Θεοῦ (14/01/01) for Christian priests (for ἡρθην Θεοῦ cf. Οίκους 181); cf. 14/07/03: Ἰηρᾶς μηχανάς θεοῦ; 16/31/75: προεστάτος ἑνώμες οὐρανών βασιλέως). Ambiguous religious expressions include references to the “immortal god” in Lykaonia and Isaura (Ἰηρᾶς Θεοῦ ἀθανάτου: 14/02/13, Gedennma; ἀθανάτου θεοῦ μήρημα λάβωσα: 14/06/08), and to Theos Hypsistos in an epitaph decorated with crosses, but dedicated to an Ἰηρᾶς θεοῦ ὄψιν (14/07/04, Ikonion, undated).

With regard to grave cult we point to an epitaph which urges the passers-by to place a rose or another flower on the grave of Athenais (12/02/01, Wank in Kappadokia, Imperial period). A
woman erected the grave altar for her husband, “so that he will be among the eternal spirits” (ἀρχέ σεν ἀνθρώπους μετεσχεσάμενον μετέθη; 13/11/01, Lykandos); [the verse expresses the idea that the performance of the grave rituals on the altar continues the communication between living and dead]. An epitaph urges the passers-by to pray for the soul of the deceased couple (16/04/03: ἀγάς θεόθ' ὅπερ αὐτῶ, in another epitaph a man greets the sun (ὦρα μέσαρ πολυάβα θεῶν Ὕπαρθενοι λάμπον) and prays that the fatherland celebrates the harvest festival and is granted fertility: πατρίς ξεμ βάπωνε (cf. βένος = cult association, Zeus Bennios) κῇ λάνθανε πλησία καταρχῇ (16/41/07, Metropolis in Phrygia). In Phrygia, funerary altars and monuments were dedicated to Zeus (16/34/21, Dorylaion, 1st/2nd cent.; *16/36/99, Midaion, to Zeus Brontion; 16/46/01, Vetisos, to Zeus Theos Megas). Many funerary imprecations are formulated in metrical form (14/01/01, 14/02/14, 14/06/97, 14/07/06-07, 16/06/04, 16/25/09, 16/25/02/03, 16/31/06, 16/31/99, 16/32/07, 16/32/12-13, 16/41/11, 16/43/05, 16/44/03, 16/45/10, 16/54/03, 16/53/08, 16/53/99, 16/57/98-99). We single out only a few texts which were not included in J. Strubbe, Ἀρχαίοι ἐπαρθείζοντες. Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor. A Catalogue, Bonn, 1997 (GGK, 52) 13/02/01: ἔχειν δίπονος πάντας ὑποχρησάς; 14/06/08: ἀθάνατου θεοῦ μήματα λάβοντο; *16/32/97: ὑπάτες τοῖς παπαγόγχεν χήρας προσαύξατε, ἁρπάζα ταύτα λυπίστε, ζηρον βλεν, οὖν θρήσον; 16/55/03: ὑπάτες ὑμᾶς στήλλαι βαλείτε λίθῳ οὖν ὀνόματε, ὀοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν μοίχαν ἐμοι λαχαίω.
Divination is represented through two metrical oracles from Klaros. In one of them Apollon advises the citizens of Ikonion to set up a statue of Hermes and Thesmos on either side of a statue of Ares (with his hands bound) in order to avert evil (14/07/01, Ikonion, 1st cent. BC), in the other Apollon requests the setting up of an altar of Apollon, who protects fertility (16/31/01, Appia or Kotiaion). An epigram on the grave of a couple, set up by a son or a daughter, informs the passer-by that the deceased parents give oracles from their grave (καθαράς φθαράμενοι χρησιμηγνώσου εἶξ αξίος, 16/41/08, Metropolis in Phrygia); M.-S. point to the discovery of cliche and an epitaph from Iulia Gordos which advises: “there is a goclcless (of retribu­ tion) an epigram which commemorates the foundation of a metrical prayer to Zeus to give rain and fertility (16/34/01, i.e., a gladiator who performed in the arena as a joker in addition to his engagement in combats. (JivIl

Among the other texts we single out the Delphic sayings inscribed in the temenos of Kineas, the founder of Alexandria Oxyrhynchus (12/01/01, c. 300 BC), the hymn of Herodotos to Helios (12/03/01, Susa, 3rd/2nd cent.) (to be added to the collection of FURLEY-BREMER, supra n° 62), the criticism of an Epicurean (?) on the judgement of gods (13/09/02, Kokusos: εἶ μὲν γάρ μάκαρες μεγάλους κρατικούς δικαστές, τὰς ἔνθεν σκοταδίν χένοις), an epigram which commemorates the foundation of the agora Heraldeia by Pasikrates (14/16/02, Vassada, 3rd cent. AD), the grave altar of a priest of Apollon who had the same name as the god that he served (15/03/01, Pessinous, Imperial period), a mythological poem which refers to the metamorphosis of Ganymedes into a star and the Odyssey were arranged in groups of six verses which served as answers to oracular questions (see EDGR 1994/95, 227); the expression ἄγιος λαός θεοῦ ἥψιστος designates the Christians in an epigram from Hadrainoi (MERKELBACH – STAUBER, Steinepigramme II 08/08/13). The inscription dossier concerning the high priest of the emperor cult Epituchanos (Appia, AD 313) refers to his divinatory powers (16/31/10: ἄληθικας δὴν ὄνομαν Ἑλληνικά ἐπιθετικάν ἧλιος[θεᾶς]. Among the other texts we single out the Delphic sayings inscribed in the temenos of Kineas, the founder of Alexandria Oxyrhynchus (12/01/01, c. 300 BC), the hymn of Herodotos to Helios (12/03/01, Susa, 3rd/2nd cent.) (to be added to the collection of FURLEY-BREMER, supra n° 62), the criticism of an Epicurean (?) on the judgement of gods (13/09/02, Kokusos: εἶ μὲν γάρ μάκαρες μεγάλους κρατικούς δικαστές, τὰς ἔνθεν σκοταδίν χένοις), an epigram which commemorates the foundation of the agora Heraldeia by Pasikrates (14/16/02, Vassada, 3rd cent. AD), the grave altar of a priest of Apollon who had the same name as the god that he served (15/03/01, Pessinous, Imperial period), a mythological poem which refers to the metamorphosis of Ganymedes into a star and the Odyssey were arranged in groups of six verses which served as answers to oracular questions (see EDGR 1994/95, 227); the expression ἄγιος λαός θεοῦ ἥψιστος designates the Christians in an epigram from Hadrainoi (MERKELBACH – STAUBER, Steinepigramme II 08/08/13). The inscription dossier concerning the high priest of the emperor cult Epituchanos (Appia, AD 313) refers to his divinatory powers (16/31/10: ἄληθικας δὴν ὄνομαν Ἑλληνικά ἐπιθετικάν ἧλιος[θεᾶς].

122) R. MERKELBACH – J. STAUBER, “Epigramme aus Sinope und Amaseia”, EA 33 (2001), p. 69-83; M.-S. (re)publish 8 epigrams from Sinope and Amaseia. Among the already known texts we single out the mention of a cenotaph (1 – PEEK, GV 1562 a; Sinope, 3rd cent. AD), the reference to funerary rites in a grave epigram (5; Sinope, Imperial period; l. 4: καὶ κατέφερα κτίταρον), and a fragmentary text, which seems to be a poetic description of Christian paradise, but inspired by Homer (οὐ νέφος, οὐδ’ ἄλλος ἄγω κτίταρον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλ’ ἀλθέον; cf. Odyssey 6, 42-46; Amaseia, 4th/5th cent.) cf. supra n° 881. [JM] 123) R. MERKELBACH – J. STAUBER, “Ein paegniarius”, EA 33 (2001), p. 79 [BE 2002, 433]; M.-S. point out that the retarius Philokynegos from Macedonia, known from an epigram in Amaseia (SEG XXXIX 1540 = MERKELBACH – STAUBER, Steinepigramme II 09/09/01) was also a paegniarius (l. 1-3: ὁ τὸ πάλαι παῖδον πάσαν ἄλογον τὰ γέλια, i.e., a gladiator who performed in the arena as a joker in addition to his engagement in combats. [JM]
124) M. Mirković, “Katagraphe and the Consecration of Children”, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'épigraphie offerts à Fanoula Papazoglou par ses élèves à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire*, Beograd, 1997, p. 1-33: The consecration of slaves and children to gods is attested in many inscriptions both for the sanctuary of Apollo Lairopenos in Phrygia and for Macedonia [cf. EBGR 2000, 155 and 169]. In this thorough and well documented study M. places the terms καταγραφή and καταγράφων in the context of the legal practices of the Imperial period. In addition to many remarks with regard to individual texts, M. underlines the official nature of the deeds of consecration and their legal and fiscal consequences, showing that the term καταγραφή primarily documented the conveyance of the names of the dedicated persons (that of the father or the master) to another (that of the temple). The relevant documents were a public guarantee of the god’s right over the dedicated children and slaves. M. proposes to compare the dedicated slaves and children with the coloni adscripti, i.e., free persons bound to the temple and not entered into the tax-rolls in their own right, but under the name of the landowner. [M.'s analysis of the legal consequences of the consecration of persons is well founded; one should not, however, underestimate the religious background of these texts, for which see infra n° 153]. [AC]

125) H. Müller, “Makedonische Marginalien”, *Chiron* 31 (2001), p. 417-455: M. presents an improved text of an honorary inscription from Beroia (I.Beroia 84, 2nd cent. AD) for Anna Tydane, wife of Velento; her statue was erected by the synedroi of the Makedonian Koinon during the term of office of (T. Flavius) Kassandros as high priest of the Koinon (cf. I.Beroia 106). A new inscription from Augusta Traiana (EBGR 2000, 139; SEG XLIX 885, 2nd/3rd cent.) honors C. Iulius Terres, priest of Zeus Sabazios and member of a prominent family in Thrace; M. discusses the prosopography of this senatorial family. [IM]

126) D. Mulliez, “Notes d'épigraphie delphique. VIII. L'empereur Claude, témoins et archonte à Delphes”, *BCH* 125 (2001), p. 289-303: Ed. pr. of three Delphic inscriptions (c. AD 45-54): 1) A sacred manumission in the sanctuary of Apollon Pythios mentions the priests of Apollon Nikandros and Melission among the witnesses. 2) An apolysis (release of the manumitted slave from the obligation to serve the master) mentions among the witnesses the god, the emperor Claudius, whose stay in Delphi is thus attested for the first time, and the priests of Apollon Nikandros and Melission. 3) An apolysis took place under the archonship of emperor Claudius. M. discusses the close relations of Claudius to Delphi (cf. F.Delphes III 4, 280). [IM]

127) L. Munoz Delgado, *Léxico de magia y religión en los papiros mágicos griegos* (Diccionario griego español, Anejo V), Madrid 2001: M. presents with the collaboration of J. Rodriguez Somolinos a very useful lexicon of the terms that appear in the Greek magical papyri. [AC]

128) G. Nachtergaeel, “Sceaux et timbres de bois d’Égypte. II. Les sceaux de grand format”, *CE* 76 (2001), p. 231-257 [BE 2002, 518]: N. republishes three wooden seals with benedictions (Egypt, Imperial period): Ψαλτηρα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου (33), εὐφωνία (34), and ὑγιεία (35). These inscriptions reinforced the protective function of the sealing. [AC]

129) I. Nicolau, “Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae XXXIX, 1999”, *RDAC* (2000), p. 299-304 [BE 2002, 496; SEG L 1373-1376]: Ed. pr. of two dedications to Theos Hypsistos made by two related persons (father and son) and written on cippi of the common funerary type (1-2; Limassol, 3rd cent. AD). For this reason N. interprets them as funerary dedications made in the name of the deceased [but see infra n° 130]. N. regards the epithet Kyrios, which was hitherto unattested for Theos Hypsistos in Cyprus, as the result of Christian influence, and suspects that the two dedicants may be crypto-Christians; [ἱττητος/μαξός are extremely common epithets for pagan gods (see, e.g., the indices of EBGR 1996-2000), which have nothing to do with Christian influence; cf. R. Tybout, SEG L 1374]. [AC]

interprets it as a funerary dedication; but the expression ἄνδρον ἔχειν makes little sense in a funerary dedication; cf. J.-B. CAYLA, BE 2003, 490 and 496]. Ed. pr. of a dedication to Theos Hypsistos in fulfillment of a vow (2; Limassol district, 3rd cent. AD). N. observes that 20 dedications to Theos Hypsistos are known from Cyprus [cf. supra n° 129]. Ed. pr. of the epitaph of the priest Timon (12; Limassol district, 2nd cent. AD). [AC]

131) NN, “Jahresbericht”, AA (2001), p. 689-691: In a report on the excavations in the temple of Zeus Megistos at Qanawat/Kanatha (Syria) a new inscription is mentioned. A member of the council dedicated together with his wife and son the pronos (πρώος) to Theos Rabbou (1st cent. AD). [AC]

132) J. NOLLÉ, Side im Alterthum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse. Band II, Bonn, 2001 [OGSK, 44,2] [BE 2002, 444, 624]: The second volume of the inscriptions of Side presents 274 Greek and Latin inscriptions, primarily of the Imperial period, as well as 11 inscriptions in the local language and alphabet (S 1-11) for a summary of the first volume see EBCR 1993/94, 174]. New texts are marked with an asterisk. Deductions: to Ares Epiphaneustatos (*377: Καρηθός, εὐγένες, χρυσομαυρίζων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ; *378: χρυσομαυρίζων οὗ τοῦ θεοῦ) [in n° *377 one rather expects καὶ[τ’ ἐπιτηρητήν]. Athena (S 1: χρυσομαυρίζων), Pantes Theos (S 2), Themis, Athena Boulaia (120; an athlete dedicated the statue which he had received as a prize), a Theos (Athena); 141), an Epekoos Theos (*376), and Zeus Apostelios (p. 659 n° 18a; an altar). Festivals and agon: The most prominent agonistic festival in Side was the agon Hera Pythia, an agon bieroi oikoumenikos isopythios eklecheirios elasteikos, founded in AD 243 (134, *143); two metrical oaths concerning the foundation of the agon were inscribed on a gilded altar which was dedicated on the third celebration of the agon (134); the first oracle contrasts bright clothes and a pure mind (οἱ στῦλαι ἴδερον... καθαρός δὲ νόος). The Andronoeidiane Themis kai epibaterios Athenas (120) was founded by a priest of Themis; N. interprets the word ἐπιβατήριος as referring to a ritual (the placing of the statue of Athena on a ship at the beginning of the season of seafaring; p. 424F); [the adjective ἐπιβατήριος usually refers to the advent of a god and to disembarkation; a celebration at the beginning of the sailing season is plausible, but possibly in connection with the celebration of the periodical advent of divinities]. A related agon, which is more often attested, is the Themis Pamphyliakê Tousiasianek epibaterios theon Athenas kai Apollonos, founded by Aur. Paioneinatos Tousianatos who served as agonothetes for life (121-126) [for the founder of an agon who served as agonothetes for life see EBCR 1994/95, 155]. A third agon founded by a private person was the Agon Isopythios Phoibeios in honor of Apollon Theos Patrios Ktistes (129); the agon was founded by Dionysios on the 24th jubilee of his priesthood (ἐν δέκατῳ τῇ πάλαι... τῶν ἑξῆς ἑτῶν οὗτος ἱερατεύοντας ἱαστανός). A herald and comedian won victories inter alia in the following agon (130): Mystikos (Side), Isokapitolios (Hermoupolis), Sebasnia (Damaskos), Hadriaenea (Antiocheia pros Daphnen), Agon Eukratous Koinos Pontou Isaktios (Neokaisareia), and Seberia Peraseia (Kastabala). Other agonistic inscriptions mentions victories in the Nemea (133), and a victory without competition (131) [cf. n° 43]. A great pentadasteric agon was probably connected with the emperor cult (*77). T. Flavius Spartiatikos served as theoros to the Panathenaia (73). Ruler and emperor cult: The cult of Zeus Nikator was possibly connected with the cult of Seleukos I (90). The neokoria of Side in mentioned in n° 112 and 158. An honorary inscription attests the rare case of the office of the high priest and priestess of the emperor cult being occupied not only by a couple, but by a man and his sister (103). The grave epigram von Romana provides information about the public appearance of the high priestess: her husband, the high priest, “led her carried as a high priestess in the brilliant thymelic competitions, in purple dress, and placed on her head a crown of gold, a worthy present of her prudence” (ἐν τοῖς ἑορτασμοῖς τοῖς ἱεροστατεύοις, ἐπὶ καθαρῷ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ χρυσοῦ, δώρῳ ἃνθρωπον ἱερατεύουσαν) Cult personnel: agonothetes (*77, 120-126, 131, *143), hieromonemón (254), high priest of the emperor cult (78, 3, 116, 226; cf. high priest pentastertikos: 70, *77), priest of Apollon (75, 380: θεός πετρεντός κατάστασις), Athena (74, for life; 269), Dionysios (76, 79, in n° 76 for life), Thea Rome (70, 72, 74, 76, *77, 79, *81, *82, 83-85, [88-89, 157], *374), Themis (120, for life), Theoi Megaloi (i.e., the Dioskouroi or the Egyptian gods; 90), Zeus Nikator (90), the Egyptian gods (74: ἱερεῖς τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Ἐλευθερίως καὶ Σαρπεδίως; 81: ἱερεῖς πανταποτικοί τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Ἐλευθερίου καὶ Σαρπεδίου; cf. 278) and anonymous deities (271, 277?), priestesses of Aphrodite (98:}
The expressions ἵππες / ἴππια / δρυμεῖα παντατεύμου (71, 73, 74, *77, 81, 98) is interpreted by N. as referring to priests who served for a period of five years (p. 302 and 388), i.e. from one celebration of a pentaeteric agon to the next; the high priesthood lasted five years, i.e. for a period of four years, did not involve the expenses for the celebration of agons (p. 594); Uone should not exclude an alternative interpretation: the ἵππες / ἴππια παντατεύμου did not serve for a pentaeteris, but during a pentaeteris, i.e. in the year of the celebration of the pentaeteric festival; cf. the duoviri quinquennales who did not serve for five years, but on the fifth year, i.e. the year of a census. Several persons accumulated priestly offices (71: high priest, priest of Apollo and Poseidon Asphaleios; 73: priest of Thea Rhome and high priest; 74: priest of Thea Rhome and the Egyptian gods). A priestess of Athena for life was the daughter of a high priest and wife of a priest of Thea Rhome (74).

Ecscholog: A funerary epigram rejects the belief of an existence after death: “some claim that after the great trouble of life the souls of the deceased fly in the wide air; this is a myth” (134: ἐν οἷς τις νεκρῶν μετὰ σκιάς στόχον βιάζοντας | ποτάθεια ψυχής πλατών ἡρώα τούτοι δὲ μῦθος). Vinca: One of the districts of the city was named after an altar of Zeus (107: Βουλεύτη Ζηρός) [for districts named after gods cf. the district of Herakles in Kamarina in SEG XXXIX 1002]; see EBGR 2000, 72). A Nymphaeum is called γῆς Νυμφάων (105). Some of the commemorative inscriptions set up by the demeourgoi and priests of Thea Rhoeae refer to the fortunate events during their term of office (70 and *77: τῇ' ὦδ' ἔγνεντο εὐστασία; 79: ἱερὶ' ὦδ' ἔγνεντο ἀγείρα δὲ ἐφισταρήσα). An epitaph regards poisoning or magic as the cause of the (obviously unexpected) death of a woman (206: παρασισαμήνην). An metrical inscription invokes the apotropaic powers of Heraldes [cf. infra n° 169]. [AC]

133) D. Nuzzo, “Anulette and Grave in Late Antiquity: Some Examples from Roman Cemeteries”, in J. Pearce - M. Mellett - M. Struck (eds.), Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World, Oxford, 2000, p. 249-255: Although the use of amulets and attempts to communicate with the dead were often repressed both by church and state in late antiquity, this practice continued. N. collects examples of inscriptions and objects in Roman cemeteries (4th-5th cent.) which show the persistence of the belief in evil spirits and the use of apotropaic formulas (e.g., ICUR IV 12090: ἱερω), magic signs and images (e.g., ‘ring signs’, Solomon the Rider, Bes Pantheos, representations of Egyptian deities, a male figure with a snake-head, Gorgon’s heads, etc.; e.g., ICUR 6190, 18983 b, 20332 b) and objects (amulets of Solomon, bronze bells, masks, nails, animal teeth) for magic in late antiquity see also J. Engemann, “Anmerkungen zu philologischen und archäologischen Studien über spätmittelalterliche Magie”, JAC 43 (2000), p. 55-70; J. Worthy, “Something Light on Magic and Magicians in Late Antiquity”, GRBS 42 (2001), p. 289-307. [IM]


135) Th. Ozio, “Une inscription funéraire au Musée de la Fondation Périzzides à Larnaka”, RDAC (1999), p. 255-258 [SEG XLIX 1201]: O. republishes a very interesting funerary epigram (PEEK, Griechische Versinschriften 1201; Kition, 2nd cent. AD), in which a person requests: “when I die, place me in perfumes (ἐν ἀρώματα) and in rose garlands and in a tender cloth” [O. translates ἐν ἀρώμασι “parmi les plantes aromatiques”; the word more probably alludes to the anointing of the corpse; in the last fragmentary lines the anonymous person refuses to accept other funerary gifts (incense?, safran, cf. IG XII Suppl. 152). This is a unique case of a funerary epigram in which a person uses the future form with regard to his own death (“when I die”). The offering of rose garlands should be distinguished from the Roman custom of rhodismos/rosalia (placement of roses on the grave). The instructions for this burial suggest a Semitic origin of the deceased (cf. Nouv. Test. Matth. 27, 59-60; Marc 16, 1). [AC]
136) O. Palagia, "A Gymnasiarch’s Dedication and the Panathenaic Torch-Race", in *Agathos Daimon*, p. 403-408 [SEG L 192]. P. associates a relief in the British Museum with the torch-race of the Panathenaia (cf. IG II’ 3019), identifying the altar on the relief as that of Athena Polias and the male figure wearing the spiked crown as the eponymous hero of the victorious tribe. The relief was dedicated by a gymnasiarchos, whose tribal hero had won (IG II’ 2974, c. 350-325). The other known dedicatory reliefs concerning torch-races were dedicated after ephetic victories at the Bendida and the Nemesia. [IM]

137) I.A. Papangelos, "Επιγραφή περί τού γυμνασίου τῆς Μυηδονίκης 'Απολλωνίας", in *Symedrio Epigraphikes I*, p. 111-114 [SEG L 572]: Ed. pr. of an inscription which records the dedication of a gymnasium to Zeus Soter, Hermene, and Herakles in Apollonia (Mygdonia / Macedonia, 106 BC) [briefly reported in *EBGR* 2000, 1]. The dedicant, the Roman Marcus Lucilius, had settled in Apollonia, where he was known to the natives under the Greek name Demeiros. (The cult of Zeus Soter in Hellenistic gymnasia is very rare; the only other known attestation is SEG XLVI 1721, l. 42 (Xanthos)). [AC]

138) P. Parker, "Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion", in *Greek Personal Names*, p. 53-79. The significance of theophoric names for the history of Greek religion is summarized by P. He discusses inter alia the avoidance of names deriving from powers associated with the Underworld, the rarity of names deriving from Hephaistos and Poseidon, names connected with sites of cults and local cults (e.g. Γαλαξιόδωρος, Ὀρχηστόδωρος, Ἐπτυριγραντός), the use of unadjusted divine names as personal names (e.g., "Ἀρτέμις"). The most common ways of creating composita (e.g. with ὁδός, ὅστος, ὅνος, ὅφας, etc.), the tradition of names within a family, the possible reasons for the selection of theophoric names, the distribution in connection with gender and social status, the translation of non-Greek theophoric names, and the significance of theophoric names as indicators of the popularity of cults. [AC]

139) R. Parker – D. Obrink, "Aus der Arbeit der „Inscriptiones Graecae“. VII. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos II", *Chiron* 31 (2001), p. 229-252 [IBE 2002, 31, 321]: Ed. pr. of six Koan inscriptions (Greek text, English translation and commentary) which concern sales of priesthoods (cf. *EBGR* 2000, 151; SEG L 766; see now also H.-U. Wehr, "Köufliche Priestertümer im hellenistischen Kos", *Chiron* 33 (2003), p. 263-310). 1) A fragment concerns the priesthood of the Symmachidai (c. 200 BC). The main problem of this inscription is the identification of the Symmachidai (lines 3-4: περὶ τὰς ἱστορίας τῶν Συμμαχίων). P.-O. suggest that the Symmachidai were not gods or heroes, but a gentilician group, by whose name a particular cult came to be known. The inscription stipulated that the poleis were to sell the priesthood (lines 5-6; τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἱστορικῶν), and that the purchaser was to be exempt from all liturgies except for trierarchy and lampadarchy (lines 6-9: ὅ ὕστερ ἡμείς ἀντιδίδομεν ἑσταῖτο πάσαν τὴν ἥμεραν τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας). 2) Three fragments of an opisthographic stele found in the Asklepieion concern the priesthood of an unknown deity, perhaps Asklepios (c. 280 BC). The inscription regulates that the purchaser of the priesthood should be exempt from all liturgies except trierarchy and lampadarchy (A 1-2: καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας: cf. n° 1). He was to enjoy the privilege of prohierarchy (B 7-8: καὶ καθιστώντων ἡμεῖς τὴν παρακλήσιαν καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας: cf. n° 1). Each year he should sacrifice to Dionysios a full-grown victim during the Dionysia, for which he was to receive thirty drachmas from the city (A 4-7: τοιεὸν δὲ τὰ ἔτη ἡμείς μετῆμεν, ἐν τῷ Διονύσῳ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκατόν ἡμείς καὶ ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῆς λαμπαδαρχίας). The other side of the inscription contains regulations concerning the use of the money from the sale of the priesthood. The money should be spent for the building of the public offices (B 6-7: καὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἄρχοντων), and if any money was left over, it should be spent on the theatre (B 7-8: οὐ δὲ τὴν θεατραρχίαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἱστορίαις καὶ τὰς ἱστορίαις καὶ τὰς ἱστορίαις καὶ τὰς ἱστορίαις). The priest was allowed one third of the revenue (lines 9-11: τοῦ δὲ τοῦ θησαυροῦ | ξαμαλαμμανὸν ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν δύο μίρης | τὸ δέ τοῦ δέκει πάντα | πρὸς τὸν κυρίον, τὸ θραύσας | τὴν μέρος). The priest of Asklepios, the officers of the god’s bank, and the prostatrai were to possess a key for the building of a thesauros in the
Asklepieion (lines 11-13). Lines 16-31 regulate the duties of the priest of Asclepios; the lighting of the altars, the burning of incense, the daily opening of the temple, the authority to penalize anyone behaving in a disorderly way, and preventing the use of the precinct as a pasture. Any animal found grazing in the sanctuary was to be sacrificed to the god. In lines 31-33 some sanctions against proposals to misuse the god’s funds are listed. Upon the sale of the priesthood of Asclepios the prstatai should sacrifice to the god (lines 36-37: [ἐξί, δὲ τοὺς πρεσβύτες τὸς ἀρχωνος] | ὑθάντως τῷ προστατῶ). 4) Two fragments of a stele concern the priesthood of Asclepios (late 2nd or early 1st cent. BC). This inscription preserves fragments of a text very similar to lines 4-11 and 14-22 of the aforementioned inscription. 5) A small fragment of grey marble concerns the priesthood of an unknown god (2nd. cent. BC). P.-O. suggest identifying this fragment as part of the section of the διαγγέλαξ about priesthoods, which concerns sacrifices (the clause “let sacrifice be performed by”). 6) P.-O. present the Greek text of the last 20 lines of the inscription concerning the priesthood of Hermes Enagonios. In lines 69-82 different sacrifices to Hermes are mentioned; they were to be performed by the stratiotai, the winners of the stephanites agon, and the paidontai. [JM]

140) R. PARKER – D. OBBINK, “Aus der Arbeit der ‘Inscriptiones Graecae’. VIII. Three Further Inscriptions Concerning Coan Cults”, Chiron 31 (2001), p. 253-275 [BE 2002, 322]: Ed. pr. of three inscriptions concerning the sanctuary of Apollo as Halasarna and the festival of the Asklepieia. 1. Two fragmentary decrees of the deme of Halasarna concern a subscription for the quick completion of Apollon’s temple, in order that “the completed work on the roof and the door may not be in danger of being spoilt through further delay; and in order that not only the city may be seen to have been actively involved in construction of the temple, but also the god, from the funds that he has, and individuals willing to make pledges for this purpose, and the rites in the shrine may be conducted with more magnificence on completion of the temple” (c. 200 BC). Side A of the opisthographic stele regulates the supervision of the funds and of the works on the temple by four elected men (A 2-5: ἔλαβον ἄνδρας | τέσσαρας ὑπὸς πορευόντων χρημάτων | ἐν τίχω τῇ κατάλοπτα τῶν ἱρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ | τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κατασκευασθῇ). On completion of the temple the rites in the shrine should be conducted with more magnificence (A 13-14: συντελεσθήνεις τῷ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔπηξ[νότερον τῷ ταύτᾳ τῷ ξέφηται]. The construction of the temple was jointly funded by the city of Kos, private offers, and the treasury of the god; the god was involved in the funding of his own temple, since the neoportai were to pay 2000 drachmai to the elected men from the funds of the god (A 15-17: δεδομένα τὸς μὲν νεωπόλεως τέλος τοῖς | ἀνακεφαλαίως ἀνεξάρτως ἀπὸ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων | διορισμός XX). Money was also collected from private subscriptions made both by citizens and by resident aliens. The pledges were to be made within a year at the deme’s meetings. The pledged money was to be paid in three installments. The names of the donors (and of the elected men) were probably inscribed – together with the rest of the decree – on the lower part of the stele (now lost). According to the surviving end of the second decree, if any remaining money (after the completion of the temple) was to be given by the commission of four men to the neoportai and from them “to the epimenioi for the tribes, just as hitherto they used to give for the two days.” These two days were the days of the festival of the Pythia. Side B regulates that after the completion of the temple the money left was to be given to the neoportai (B 2-4: συντελεσθήνειν δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν αὔτικα παῖ πε[ῖτε ἐκ τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων χρήματα ἀποδοθήναι τῷ ψν]: πρὸς ὑπ᾽ ὧν ἔνενε νατατίσιοι). 2. A small fragment of a decree concerns the sanctuaries of Apollo in Halasarna (175-100 BC). The inscription records dispositions of some kind made by Kallias[—] (the current priest of Apollo?) in concert with the men who had been priests of Apollo (lines 2-3: καὶ διάταξεν Κάλλιος[— μετὰ | τῶν ἡγαθελίων Ἀπόλλωνος[—]). 3. A fragmentary inscription regulates the control of a fund established by Teleutias to finance sacrifices to the gods of the Asklepieion (2nd cent. BC). In I. 16 a penetes is mentioned, which P.-O. identify with the Great Asklepieia. There is also reference to a procession (I. 12: κάλλιος [το]μεταξ[ε] — — — — and to the young people who were to receive something “as at the Attaleia” (I. 21-22: Απάσιελος — — — — — τοῖς | νέοις ἀποδοθόντα). Lines 24-27 refer to the manner in which the capital was to be invested. Sanctions and curses against misuse of the money follow in lines 28-32. [JM]
141) S. PEREA – S. MONTERO, “La misteriosa inscripción hispana a Zeus, Serapis y Iao: su relación con la magia y con la teología oracular del Apolo de Klarios”, in Miscellanea Gasperiini II, p. 711-736. P.-M. republish a stele with the representation of a raised hand and an invocation of Zeus, Sarapis and Iao (Quintanilla de Somozoa, province of León, 3rd/4th cent. AD). SIRIS 769; cf. EBGR 1997, 103 suggesting the reading: Εἷς Ζεὺς | μὴς Σάραπες | Ιάω. In their commentary they discuss the magical significance of the raised hand and the significance of this text as evidence for henotheistic tendencies in the Imperial period. The theonyms Sarapis and Iao should not be understood as epithets of Zeus, but as components of a henotheistic triad consisting of Zeus, Sarapis, and Iao. Iao, inspired by the Jewish god, was perceived as a creator god, as an oracle of Apollon Klarios suggests (apud MACRÓB., Sat. 1 16,18-21; cf. Orph. fragm. 239). [AC]

142) B.C. PETRAKOS, "Ο δήμος του Ραμνούντος. Σύνοψη των δεσκαφών και των έρευνών (1813-1998)." I. Η γεωγραφία. II. Οι θηρικές, Athens, 1999 [SEG XLIX 4]. In the first volume of a comprehensive presentation of the results of the excavation in the fortress, the settlement, the sanctuaries, and the cemeteries in Rhamnous (Attika) P. treats among other subjects the cult officials (p. 21f.), the altars and dedications in the fortress (p. 94-100), the sanctuaries of Hermes (p. 108-110), Heros Archegetes (p. 117-119), Aphrodite Hegemone (p. 131-134), Nemesis (p. 187-206), Amphiaros / Amphienos (p. 307-319), the hero Aristomachos (p. 312f.), a possible Themosphorion (p. 320-322), the cults of Hermes (p. 323f.), Dionysos (p. 324-327), Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (p. 327-329), Demeter and Kore (p. 329), Kybele, Attis, and Agdistis (p. 330-332), and the performance of sacrifices (p. 424). The second volume is dedicated to the presentation of the epigraphic finds (400 inscriptions and graffiti; the few new texts are marked with an asterisk).

Sanctuaries: The sanctuaries of Dionysos (1, 8, 17, *58), Nemesis (10, 13, 15, 17, *58, 63, *64), and Aphrodite Hegemone in Rhamnous (32, 35) and the sanctuary of Soter (i.e., Poseidon Soter) in Sounion (20) are mentioned as the places where public documents and images of honored persons were set up. Many inscriptions concern the most important sanctuary, that of Nemesis. An honorary decree for the general Epichares refers to building activities in the sanctuary of Nemesis (3); another honorary decree for a general seems to imply the use of the Nemeseion for defence purposes during a war (18, c. 235 BC) [but cf. the doubts expressed in the review of J.-C. COUVENHES – J.-C. MORETTI, Topoi 11 (2001) [2003], p. 767-784: "le rôle joué par le sanctuaire comme arsenal et pas seulement comme lieu de dédicace reste mal connu"]. The goddess owed the land, the leasing of which is regulated by a document (180, 339 BC); the fragmentary end of text seems to be a cult calendar which mentions sacrifices (?) to Apollon Lykeios, Apollon [--], Zeus Herketos, and Artemis or Themis (I. 88: [--]μίλια). Evidence for the finances of the sanctuary are also provided by a lead tablet listing amounts given to the hieropoioi (181, 6th/5th cent.) and a stele with the account of the sacred monê of Nemesis (182, late 5th cent. BC). Three boundary stones — of a temenos (183) and a sanctuary (184, *185) — should be associated with the sanctuary of Nemesis, two others delimited the precinct (Ιερά ἀκλη) of Heros Archegetes (79, *80, 4th/3rd cent.). A woman was honored for her piety towards the goddess (Nemesis; 162).

Dedications: Among the many dedications (74-166) we mention only those, which identify the divinity: Amphiaros, sometimes associated with the healing hero Aristomachos (*169; Amphiaros: 172, 175-176, 178; Amphiaros Aristomachos: 171; Heros Iatros: 168; Heros Iatros Amphierios: 173; Heros Iatros Aristomachos: 170); Aphrodite (118), Demeter and Kore (106, 145), Dionysos Lenaos (136), Hermes, as patron of livestock (74, c. 550-500 BC; θηρικά ἑπάζοντο; 107: a hermaic stele), Heros Archegetes (77, 81-82), Meter Theon, Sarapis and Isis (155), Themis and Nemesis (75-76, 120, 150-151), Nemesis (86, 90, 121, 127, 159, 163, 164), Themis (122), Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (146, 148-153). Among the dedicated objects we single out a bronze wheel (76), ἄγκυρα μακαρία (77-78), and a helmet (86); two dedications were made in fulfillment of vows (τάφῳ ἔμπνευ; 163, 178) A dedication as ἐπιγραφή does not reveal the identity either of the recipient (ἐπιγραφή ἵππου τῶν ἔριδος τίμημα) or of the dedicated image (τόθδε; 88, c. 420 BC). Several dedications were made by the victorious teams in torch-races of ephebic agon (98), of the Ptolemaia, which were founded in 224 BC (144, 148), and of the Diogencia, founded in 229 BC (146, 148).
Rituals and festivals: The offering of sacrifices is a common theme of many texts. In the dedication of a statue of Polydekleion, the foster child of Herodes Atticus, Herodes refers to the fact that he used to offer sacrifices with him to the goddes (159: τῷ Νεμέης, Ἰεράν Οὐσαίον Ἐσθήνων; [Herodes chose the sanctuary of Nemesis as the place of the dedication because of the memories associated with this place; this is a very interesting piece of evidence for the perception of sacrifice as the bond which connected two persons and could be remembered as a shared experience]. Honorary decrees for officers mention the performance of sacrifices to the gods and heroes (6; sacrifices to the gods, food offering of πελανιν to the heroes), to Nemesis (31: Ἰεράν ... καὶ ἐπέδωκαν Ἰεράνης καὶ Οὐσαίον, Nemesis and Themis (32), Aphrodite Hegemonē (32: θεὸς τὰ ἔξωτηρία), and the other gods (32; cf. 38, 49-50). Of particular interest for the effect of war on ritual is the honorary decree for Dikaiarchos (c. 235 BC), commander of the garrison in Eretria, who "provided sacrificial animals for the sacrifice of the Nemesis and of (to) the king from his own resources, when the sacrifices had been neglected because of the war, so that the Rhamnousians have the proper conduct towards the goddesses" (17: Ἰεράν Ἰεράν Οὐσαίον τὰ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῶν Ἰεράν ἔλασποσβάτου τῶν θεῶν διὰ τοῦ πόλεμον δόθες ἔχει καλάς τις παρὰ τὴν θεᾶς Προκυνούσιος). Demostratos was honored for having offered a thanks-giving sacrifice to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira upon the liberation of Athens from the Macedonian garrison in 229 BC (22: [θεοῖς τῶν Διῶν τοῦ Σωτήριου ἢ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου]; διὰ δὲ Ἰεράν ἔκαμπτο τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἔλεγχεν; cf. 26), for organizing a torch-race (καμάραδα ἐπόμενος), and for showing piety to all the gods according to custom (τὰς θεᾶς τιτκὸς οἷς πάθειν ήθος, the same formulation in n° 23). Sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira were offered for the well-being of the soldiers, the people, and the young men (31, 225 BC: παρεί πανήγυρα καὶ σωφρόνες καὶ νομισματαῖς τοῖς [συναλλασσόντων]). The honors bestowed on an anonymous honord included the invitation to the sacrifices performed for Nemesis (54: καλὰν δὲ ὀστὸν οἷς τὰς θεᾶς δὲ οἰκεῖ τῷ Νεμέης συντάλαθον τοὺς ἄρχοντος). An ephebic inscriptions records the performance of sacrifices for health and salvation (59; ἦς ἔγνωκε καὶ συντάλαθον). The festivals attested in Rhamnous include the Dionysia (15) and the agon of the Ptolemaia and Diogeneia (see above).

Hymns: A metrical text which alludes to the punishment of the hybris of the Persians by the goddess, was inscribed in the 1st or 2nd cent. AD (165 = SEG XIX 222). On the basis of a new fragment of the right-hand column P. suggests that the text is a hymn (cf. I. 15: θυσίας) composed and inscribed at the initiative of Herodes Atticus (cf. I. 17: Ἀλεξάιας); the text possibly refers to the sacrifice of as many goats as Persians killed in Marathon on behalf of Artemis Agrotera (I. 12: αἰγῶν; cf. Xen., Anab. III, 2, 11-12). (The second fragment undoubtedly belongs to the same stele, but is it really part of the same literary text? We may have a hymn to Nemesis on the left column, and a hymn to Artemis Agrotera on the right one).

Associations: An association of worshippers of Sarapis (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἐχάρισοκτόνων) honored the general Apollodoros; when they requested to purchase an estate that he owned, in order to build a sanctuary of Isis and Sarapis, Apollodoros showed his piety and donated the land (*59, 3rd cent. BC). A decree of an association of worshippers of Amphaios, which had been founded by Diokles (1. 1-2: συμμέτοιχος τῷ Ἀμφαιαίῳ σύνοδοι; 1. 18-19: τοῖς Ἀμφαιαίοις τοῖς μετὰ Διοκλῆς; I. 21: τῶν Ἀχαρναίσισιν Διοκλῆς), concerns a subscription for construction and restoration works in the sanctuary of Amphaios, probably after a period of wars (167, late 3rd cent. BC); the decree mentions the temple (ὀλυμπός), an altar, a cult table (τράπεζα τῶν θεῶν), and a porticus (χρυσόσκολος). The names of those who made contributions – certainly soldiers and officers – are listed at the end of the decree; the contribution of Onesimides consisted in the donation of the αἴγους ὀστόν δὲ λάφανα ἔστιν and their revenues for the offering of an annual sacrifice; [P. rightly points out (311F.) the word αἴγους means walls made of dry stones and assumes that the revenues originated in the use of a cistern (λάφανος); this is possible, although the formulation stresses the dedication of the αἴγους, not of the λάφανος (ἐνεχθήκη τοῖς θεοῖς τῷ αἴγους δὲ λάφανος ἔστιν καὶ δέδωκε τὴν χρυσοσκόλον); αἴγους also designates agricultural terracing (cf. L. Foxhall, "Feeling the Earth Move: Cultivation Techniques on Steep Slopes in Classical Antiquity", in G. Shiplely – J. Salmon, eds., Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity, London, 1996, p. 44-67); Onesimides, one of only three Rhamnousians among the donors, may have given
the revenues from land won through agricultural terracing "near the cistern", not the revenues "from the cistern". A decree of the council (179, 83 BC) concerns the dispute between the priest of [a cult association of] Agdistis (1. 1: Ἰεροσύνη τῆς Ἀγδίστης], 1. 10-11: Ἰερούρης θεοῦ), Zenon of Antioch, and a group of persons (ἐπιμαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγκαθαίρει τῷ πάθεις); according to the decree of the council Zenon should exercise his duties undisturbed; the cult personnel is listed at the beginning of the stele (ὑποστάτης, ἐπιθίνης, ἀγωνοφόρος, ἀδαμάμα). The identity of the deity worshipped by another σύνονος of ἐγκαθάριον under the Ἀγδίστης Κεφαλής is not known (203, 41 BC).

Ruler cult: A decree concerns the establishment of the ruler cult (κοίλος τιμή) for Antigonus Gonatas (7). Dedications were made to Thea Livia (156) [see supra n° 92] and Claudius (157). A text mentions the priest of Thea Rome and Sebastos Kaisar (156). Cult officials: There are references to hieropoioi (15, 54, 69, 78), priests (120, 155), and priestesses (121-122, 133); we point out that the personal name Hieropoilos (15, 133, 233), is almost exclusively attested in Rhamnous (see LGPN II, s.v., three out of four attestations); it must be related to the local office of the hieropoioi. [AC]

143) B.C. PETRAKOS, "Ἀνασακρή Ραμνοῦντος", PAAH 154 (1999) [2002], p. 1-31: P. gives a report on new epigraphic finds in the fortress of Rhamnous. A decree of the unit of the kryptoi in honour of their general mentions the performance of the sacrifice of the exiteteria for Aphrodite and the other gods (p. 7-9 n° 6, late 3rd cent. BC) [for the exiteteria see EBGR 1996, 20]. A man dedicated a statue of his wife, who had served as priestess of Agdistis (Ἀγγέλης Ἄγδης), praised her for her piety (17-19 n° 20, 2nd cent. AD). A bronze crescent moon (ἡμισελήνης) was dedicated by another priestess of Agdistis upon command of the goddess (οικίᾳ ἁγίασμα); p. 19-20 n° 21, 2nd or 3rd cent. AD); the cult of Agdistis was introduced in Rhamnous in the 1st cent. BC; her name is attested in the form Ἀγῆσθης in the 1st cent. BC, "Ἀγησθής in the Imperial period. A decree of the paroikoi honours an officer, who had offered a sacrifice to Themis and Nemesis at his own expenses inviting the paroikoi to attend the sacrifice (p. 22-23 n° 26, 3rd cent. BC); another fragmentary decree for a general mentions a sacrifice (p. 23 n° 27, 3rd cent. BC). A woman made a dedication to the two goddesses (ταῖς θεαῖς, i.e., Nemesis and Themis) for the well-being of her child (ὑπὲρ τοῦ παῖδος; p. 24-25 n° 29, 4th cent. BC). A fragmentary dedicatory epigram uses the expression ναὸς θιώδης (p. 30-31 n° 5, 3rd cent. BC: ἔχειν τὸ θιώδην: "the temple which smells of incense") [cf. the temple inscription of Epidauros, Porphirios, De abstinentia II, 19: ἔγων χρή ναὸ τὸν θεῶδης ἐντὸς ἕμαν χειρα | ἐμμενα]. The other texts include a dedication to Aphrodite Hegemone by a general (p. n° 5, 221 BC), a dedication to Isis (p. 21-22 n° 24, 2nd cent. AD) and a fragmentary text which mentions the goddess (Nemesis; p. 22 n° 25, undated). [AC]

144) B.C. PETRAKOS, "Ἀνασακρή Ραμνοῦντος", PAAH 155 (2000) [2003], p. 1-31: Ed. pr. of several inscriptions found in the fortress of Rhamnous in Attika. They include two dedications, which do not name the recipient (p. 8-9, n° 7-8, 3rd-2nd cent.). A dedication of torches, probably by the winners at the Diogeneia and Pololemaia, is addressed to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (n° 14, 106 BC); another similar dedication was found in the telesterion (p. 17 n° 1, 2nd/1st cent.). A dedication by the general Epichares to Heros Archegetes (p. 19-20 n° 1, c. 268 BC) was found near the south porter's lodge. Other stray finds include a column inscribed with a dedication to Themis and Nemesis; the very fragmentary text possibly also mentions the initiation of the dedicant in the mysteries in Eleusis and visits to other sanctuaries (p. 22-23 n° 1; Imperial period). A cult table was dedicated to Dionysos (p. 23-24 n° 2; 3rd cent. BC). Part of the name of the Heros Archegetes is preserved on a seat from the theater (possibly a dedication by his priest to Dionysos; p. 24 n° 4; undated). [AC]

145) B.C.PETRAKOS, Τὸ Ἑγών τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Έταιρείας κατὰ τὸ 2001, Athens, 2002: P. mentions the discovery of an inscribed capital with the inscription Ἑγών Ἱσαδός in an early Christian basilica in Messene (Imperial period, p. 50). The church must have been erected on the spot of the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis (cf. PAUS., IV, 32, 6). [AC]
146) G. PETZL, “Varia epigraphica”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 51-56 [BE 2002, 415]: P. points out that the god Ouratthes mentioned in a new inscription from east Lykia [supra n° 82] was already attested. A bronze tablet of unknown provenance (Charles Edes Ltd., *Writing and Lettering in Antiquity XVII*, London, 1996, n° 28; 2nd/3rd cent.) is inscribed with a dedication to Mes Ouratthes as fulfillment of a vow; the dedication was brought to the sanctuary not by the dedicant himself, but by another person (ὁ Ἐρύμαος Κληρονόμος). The provenance of the tablet must be the sanctuary of Mes Ouratthes in Mmara in Lykia; the service of priestesses in the cult of Men is attested (*TAM* V 1, 490). Κληρονόμος is either the theophoric name of Hermias’ father (from the oracular deities Kledones) or the designation of a cult office (κληρόνομος, i.e., a prophet; cf. EUSTATHIOS, *Scholia A ad Hom. Θ* 250, p. 711, 55: ὁ ποιηματίας, ὁ κληρόνομος καὶ πάσης κληρόνομος παρείς, cf. *TAM* V 1, 185: ἢ κρινθήσθαι | Ἀριστομαχόν; the bronze tablet was attached to the ex-voto; for this practice cf. G. SALAPATA, “Greek Votive Plaques: Manufacture, Display, Disposal”, *BABesch* 77 (2002) p. 19-42, and *supra* n° 76. [IM]

147) L. PILOT, “Le recrutement des musiciens pour les fêtes à l’époque hellénistique: le cas messénien”, in *Chanters les dieux*, p. 279-306; On the basis of the lex sacra concerning the mysteries of Andania (*USCG* 65 lines 73-75 and 95-99, 92/91 BC) P. attempts to reconstruct the procedure followed for the recruitment and selection of musicians in Hellenistic festivals. In Andania the musicians were not sent by an association of Dionsysiac technitai, but were selected by the cult personnel (hieroi) from among the available musicians cf. *IG* XII 9, 297; *IG* IX 11 4, 798). These musicians should be distinguished both from those who participated in musical competitions and from the “public” auletae (l. 115). The verb λατρεύω, which is used in this context, refers to a “cult service” (cf. *LHammamos* 179; *IG* VII 308) lines 23-26. [AC]

148) P. POCCETTI, “Due tabellae defixiones osco-greche dalla Calabria nel Museo Archeologico di Napoli”, in *Miscellanea Gasperini II*, p. 745-771: P. republishes two defixiones found in graves in Calabria (Laos, 4th/3rd cent. BC). The texts, written on lead tablets, consist of the Oscian names of persons (8 persons in tablet A, 5 persons in tablet B). P. comments on the similarity between these Oscian texts and Greek defixiones in Magna Grecia. [AC]

149) A.M. PRESTIANI GIALLOMBARDO, “L’oracolo di Dodona e le navigazioni adriatiche nei secoli VI-IV a.C.”, *Hesperia* 15, p. 123-136: Based on the observation that terms related to seafaring and trade (πλεῖον, ἐνπορέυεται, ἐνπορεύεται, θάλασσα) as well as ethnic names and place names from both sides of the Adria (Epidamnos, Apollonia, Alyzeia, Metapontion, Sicily, Hergetion) appear in several of the oracular enquiries found in Dodona (6th-4th cent.), the author suggests that Zeus Naios was regarded as a patron of seafaring. The epithet Naios possibly does not derive from ναῖος/ναῦο - in this early period there was no temple of Zeus in Dodona –, but either from νάω (flow) or ναῦο (ship). Literary sources associate Zeus Naios with seafaring (*Anecdota Graeca* p. 283, 22-25 ed. Bekker) and water (*Schol. ad ll. 16, 233*). [AC]

150) F. QUEYREL, “Inscriptions et scènes figurées peintes sur le mur de fond du xyste de Delphes”, *BCH* 125 (2001), p. 333-387: Ed. pr. of a very interesting group of painted inscriptions found in the gymnasium of Delphi (2nd-3rd cent.). The texts commemorate the victories of boy runners at the Pythia. Some of the texts begin with acclamations and benedictions, such as θεὸς (3-4), ἐν θεοὶ (2, 6, 8, 10), ἐν θεοί ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (5, 14), μέγας θεὸς (2), μέγας θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (2), Ἀριστομάχον θεοῦ (15), Πόθος μέγας Ἀπόλλων (2), Πόθος θεοῦ μέγας (13), μέγας Πόθος Ἀπόλλων (3, 5, 8-10, 14), μέγας Πόθος Ἀπόλλων Δελφῶν (6), μεγάλη Ἀρτέμις (10), μεγάλη Ἀρτέμις [Προμεθέα] (11), μεγάλη Ἐστία (10), μέγας θεὸς Παλάμων (11), Ἀρτέμις τῆς (2-6, 8-10, 12-14), ἔνθεται (4), ἔνθεται (4, 6, 8, 12-13). These acclamations probably correspond to the acclamations of the audience in the stadium during the athletic competitions. The epithet Prothyraia was already attested for Artemis in Epidaurus (*IG* IV2 276) and Pergamum (*Pergamum VIII III 3, 161). One of the athletes (3) had the signum Daidalos (i.e., fast as if equipped with the wings of Daidalos). Some of the dipinti are accompanied by images, such as pomegranates – a symbol of the Pythian agon – and a representation of Artemis and Palaimon – an allusion to the Isthmia (11). [AC]
151) J.-P. Rey-Quais, “Inscriptions inédites de Sidon”, in Miscellanea Gasperini II, p. 799-832; Ed. pr. 62 epitaphs from Sidon. In one of the texts the deceased woman is given consolation: “have courage; after your death your husband will follow you to the Hades” (θέραν κατ’ Ἀδων καὶ ὁ σύς γεμέτρης πόσεσ σαύ ἦφετε (= ἦφεται) μετὰ τὸν σῶν θάνατον; 25; Imperial period). [AC]

152) J. Reynolds, “New Letters from Hadrian to Aphrodisias: Trials, Taxes, Gladiators, and an Aqueduct”, JRA 13 (2000), p. 5-20 [SEG L 1096]; Ed. pr. of an important inscription containing four letters sent by Hadrian to Aphrodisias (AD 119, 124 and 125). The third letter (lines 27-41, AD 125) is of particular interest for the office of the high priest of the civic emperor cult. We give R’s translation: “The funds which you have reserved for the aqueduct I confirm. And since there are certain of your citizens who say that they have been nominated for the high priesthood when they are incapable of undertaking it, I have referred them to you to examine whether they are able to undertake the liturgy and are evading it, or are telling the truth; if, however, some of them were to appear to be better off, it is fair that they should hold the high priesthood first. I concede that you should take money from the high priests instead of gladiator shows; not only do I concede but I praise your proposal”. As R. assumes, imperial approval was sought for – despite the status of Aphrodisias as a free city – because the decisions to divert money for the aqueduct and to ask the high priests for money, instead of gladiator shows, may have met with some resistance. One also notes the unwillingness of a number of citizens to undertake the liturgy of the high priesthood. The new text shows that the high priests were nominated (ἀρισταρχηθήσατο), possibly by their predecessor. This letter is the first evidence for Hadrian’s disapproval of gladiatorial combats, which by his time had become part of the festival of the imperial cult [cf. D. Campaùle, “Notezelle ai nuovi documenti da Afrodisia”, ZPE 135 (2001), p. 138. For the request of Aphrodisias that high priests should give money (for the aqueduct) instead of funding gladiatorial shows cf. an inscription at Tempsianoi (H. Malay, Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis, Vienna, 1999 (TAM, Ergänzungsband 23), p. 115 n° 127, c. 180-192): Following the request of the city, a priest provided the money he was supposed to spend for banquets for the construction of the aqueduct; cf. A. Chaniotis, “Negotiating Religion in the Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire”, Kornos 16 (2003), p. 180]. [AC]

153) M. Ricl, “Donations of Slaves and Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration”, Tyche 16 (2001), p. 127-160: The starting point of this fundamental study of the donation of slaves and freeborn children to sanctuaries is the publication of the corpus from Leukopetra (cf. EBRGR 2000, 155). R. summarizes the content of the texts and rightly points out that these documents should not be regarded as manumissions [cf. SEG L 997]. The act of conveyance is never described as a manumission, but as a gift or an offering; the clause which prescribes the deposition of all documents concerning the donated slave in the sanctuary strengthens this interpretation; in addition to this, one of the texts explicitly states that a slave was donated because her master was unable to repay a debt to the sanctuary (I. Leukopetra 134). The provision that a slave was not to be alienated from the goddess, aimed more at protecting the rights of the goddess, who was to be served by the donated persons on the customary festive days, than those of the donated slave. Explicit clauses about the future offspring of the donated slave show that the legal status of the donated slaves was not automatically inherited by their offspring. A group of texts mentions the double obligation of the slaves of remaining with their former master for the latter’s lifetime (paramoné) and of serving the goddess on the customary days; but service in the sanctuary is also implied in the texts which only mention the paramoné. The donated slaves probably acquired the status of ἱερὸς ὅλων or διολωθείς theiês. On the contrary, the ἄπλοστα theiês (I. Leukopetra 43) were sacred slaves who were at some point released by the goddess from the obligations imposed on them at the moment of the consecration (cf. SEG XXVII 932). The motives of the donors, whenever stated, were religious in nature: divine command or punishment, fulfillment of a vow, gratitude for help received. In addition to the sanctuary of Meter Theon at Leukopetra, donations of slaves were practiced in other Macedonian sanctuaries as well. Only in five acts of donation, in which the words ἱερὸς / ἱερηθείου are used, may we assume that full freedom was granted to the slaves. In the second part of her article R. suggests some improvements in the reading and interpretation of
several texts from Leukopetra (*Leukopetra* 5, 12, 26, 45-46, 51, 53, 58, 63, 78, 90, 93, 115, 136 150) and from the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos (cf. *EBGR* 2000, 169). We single out a few of her remarks: In *Leukopetra* 53 a lost slave-girl was dedicated to the goddess; if she turned up she was to become property of the goddess; this procedure is also attested in a pittakion from Maonia (? *SEG* XXVIII 1568) [in the same venue *EBGR* 2000, 155]. In *Leukopetra* 150 R. suggests reading τῶν προστάτων τῆς θεοῦ (not προστάτων); the propoloi were members of the cult personnel. [On the new corpus of Leukopetra see also the review by E.A. MEYER, *APB* 123 (2002), p. 136-140. With regard to the texts from the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos, R. points out that the main purpose of the donations was not to convey freedom to the slave, but to attach him to the god. The number of consecrated children was much higher in Phrygia than in Macedonia. In the Phrygian texts the term δραστός probably designated slaves. As in Macedonia, the motives for the donation were religious in nature. In the text K43 R. regards the two donors, Apollonios and his daughter Ammis, as two σωματικός (i.e., freeborn individuals who had been dedicated to Apollon “by their parents”; [correct: Apollonios must have been dedicated by his parents; being an ίππος he dedicated his own daughter to Apollon, and finally, together with his daughter, a slave which he had brought up; this text shows the long-term commitment of families to the sanctuary]. Apollonios and Ammis also dedicated a workshop (according to R.’s reading an ἐργαστήριον τρικέφαλον, i.e., a weaving workshop); this is the first attestation of immovables being dedicated to Apollon Lairbenos. [AC]


155) K.J. RIGSBY, “Founding a Sarapeum”, *GRBS* 42 (2001), p. 117-124: A letter in the Zenon archive, sent by Zenon to the dioketēs Apollonios (SB III 6713, 257 BC), concerns the foundation of a Sarapeum. Earlier scholarship thought of a foundation abroad (in Karia, Palestine, or Aspendos). But as R. observes, the verb διοικεῖσθαι in this document means the crossing of the Nile. Consequently, this document offers no evidence for Ptolemaic religious policy overseas. The foundation was probably intended to take place in Memphis. Zoilos, following the god’s command, was not planning a replacement for the great Sarapeum west of Memphis, but the foundation of a precinct in the Greek quarter of the city which would serve the needs of Greek worshippers; this text does not document an effort to bring Greeks and Egyptians together. [AC]

156) K.J. RIGSBY, “A Roman Epigram for Asclepius”, *ZPE* 134 (2001), p. 107-108: R. presents a new interpretation of the iambic epigram inscribed on an altar dedicated to Asklepios (Rome, 2nd/3rd cent.; *SEG* XIII 661) [*EBGR* 1997, 87]. Thybris (Τῆς Θηρίδος Θεόπετρος) is an epithet of Asklepios. R. identifies Lupus, the person who was healed from tuberculosis by Asklepios, as a Platonic philosopher, a companion of the dedicant Arria. Arria “the Platonist” was sent by Zenon to the dioiketes Apollonios (ZPE 134 (2001), p. 107-108: R. presents a new interpretation of the iambic epigram inscribed on an altar dedicated to Asklepios (Rome, 2nd/3rd cent.; *SEG* XIII 661) [*EBGR* 1997, 87]. Thybris (Τῆς Θηρίδος Θεόπετρος) is an epithet of Asklepios. R. identifies Lupus, the person who was healed from tuberculosis by Asklepios, as a Platonic philosopher, a companion of the dedicant Arria. Arria “the Platonist” was sent as a dedicant of a thanks-giving dedication for her health (*ILS* 2786). On the last line R. reads χειλοπλημένη θεῶν (propitiating the gods, not χειλοπλημένη). [IM]

157) K.J. RIGSBY & K. HALLOF, “Aus der Arbeit der <Inscriptiones Graecae> X. Decrees of Inviolability for Kos”, *Chiron* 31 (2001), p. 333-345 [BE 2002, 323]: R-H. publish five fragmentary decrees with which Greek cities recognized the asyla of the Asklepieion of Kos (242 BC). An Ionian city (Teos, Abdera, Priene, Miletos?) recognized the inviolability of the Asklepieion and decreed to send theoroi, when the Koans proclaim the Asklepieia; A chief-theoros and two theoreis were to be elected; they were to travel to Kos in order to perform the customary sacrifices to Asklepios (1). The Cretan cities of Istron, Phaistos, and Hierapytta decreed to accept the inviolability of the sanctuary, the sacrifice, the truce, and the festival of Asklepios on Kos; the decrees were to be inscribed by the Phaiostians in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios [in Phaiostos or in Gortyn], the Hierapytians in their own sanctuary of Asklepios, and the Istronians in their prytaneion (2). Another three decrees (3-4) were issued by unidentified cities, which had been
visited by the same Kaun architheoros (Hippotes) accompanied by two theoroi (Aischros and Epikles). A fragmentary inscription preserves the end of a decree perhaps of Kerkyra and the beginning of a decree of Leukas. [FM]

158) P. ROBIANO, “L’épigramme sur Apollonios de Tyane et Alexandre, le faux prophète,” EA 33 (2001), p. 81-83: Observing a series of similarities in phraseology and ideology between Lucian’s presentation of Alexander of Abonouteichos and the epigram for Alexander’s teacher, Apollonios of Tyana (SEG XXVIII 1251, Aigeai?), R. suggests restoring the last distich of the epigram as follows: [γαία τροφής Τυάνου τὸ βτέλημα ωρίμανος σαῦτον] [πέμψειν βυθως θυγατέρας ἱδρύσει πόνωσ. These verses recall the oracle allegedly given to Alexander (Lucian, Ale. 40: καὶ μὲν (sc. the soul of Pythagoras) ἐπίσημα πατὴρ ἵππωρος ἐπιφανών). The two poems reflect the same idea: Apollonios of Tyana and his disciple Alexandros were sent by the supreme god as saviours of mankind. The reference to the Sky, who sent Apollonios, corresponds to the restored reference to the earth of Tyana, which nourished the holy man. Other correspondences between the epigram for Apollonios and Lucian’s text may be seen in the conception of Glykon, the god introduced by Alexander, as “light for the humans” (Lucian, Ale. 18: φῶς ἁλυσσίως; cf. λάμπης ἁλυσσίως in the epigram), in the allusion to the divine descent of the two holy figures (Ἀπολλωνίας ἐπάύωρος in the epigram; cf. Lucian, Ale. 11: ἀνθρώπου λεγενήτηρα ὄμολομον), and in their role as healers and prophets (cf. ἄθεσιν ἄθλικάς and ἀθλίκον πόνον in the epigram); [on Alexander of Abonouteichos see now also G. SFALENI GASPARRO, “Alessandro di Abonutico, lo ‘pseudo-profeta’ ovvero come construirsi un’identità religiosa. I. Il profeta, ‘eroe’ e ‘uomo divino’,” SMSR 62 (1996) [1998], p. 565-599, ead., “Alessandro di Abonutico, lo ‘pseudo-profeta’ ovvero come construirsi un’identità religiosa. II. L’oracolo e i misteri,” in C. BONNET – A. MOTTE (eds.), Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du colloque international en l’honneur de Franz Cumont, Bruxelles / Rome, 1999, p. 257-305; A. CHANIOTIS, “Old Wine in a New Skin: Tradition and Innovation in the Cult Foundation of Alexander of Abonouteichos’, in E. DABROWA (ed.), Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient World, Krakow, 2002 (Electrum, 6), p. 67-85. [AC]
534), a dedication (*I. Mylasa* 533), and a graffito. An honorary decree for a high priest of the emperor cult, who had organised gladiatorial shows (*I. Mylasa* 531), possibly concerns the provincial, and not the civic emperor cult, but there is evidence for venationes in connection with the emperor cult (*I. Mylasa* 534). The gladiatorial shows in Mylasa, as part of the emperor cult, seem to have been more popular than in neighbouring cities; they may have taken place in the theater. [AC]

161) I. RUTHERFORD, “Paeans at Ptolemais?”, *ZPE* 135 (2001), p. 41-42: In the Roman period paeanists sang paeans in honor of Asklepios, Sarapis, and the emperors. The repertoire of paeanists seems to have included examples from the Classical period. R. suggests that the text of Pindar’s paeans in *P.Oxy.* 841 (found in Oxyrhynchus, but probably originally from Ptolemais) may have been composed by paeanists in Ptolemais. The existence of paeanists in Ptolemais may be inferred from the ‘Erythraean paean’ to Asklepios (*cf.* *LSAM* 24 = *I. Erythraei* 205; *IG* II 2 4509) which was inscribed and set up by the city during the reign of Trajan (*IG* I 1154). Unlike other copies of this paean, the copy in Ptolemais includes a fourth strophe, which calls upon Pythios to ensure the regular inundation of the Nile. The paeanists in Ptolemais seem to have been linked with the cult of Asklepios (not Sarapis), but also with the imperial cult. [R. regards as uncertain “whether or not the cult of Asclepius pre-existed at Ptolemais”; but *IG* I 1154 explicitly refers to repairs (ἐπισκευάζουσαν) to a temple and temenos of Asklepios (97 AD), whose cult obviously predates the reign of Trajan]. [AC]

162) G. SACCO, “Τῆς παῖς ἐμι. Sul. v. 10 della laminetta di Hipponion”, *ZPE* 137 (2001), p. 27-33: In the Dionysiac-Orphic texts the deceased person is advised to identify himself to the guards of the underworld as the son of Earth and the sun (Γῆς παῖς ἐμι καὶ Ὀλύμπος ἀστερόπνεος). In the text of Hipponion a different text is usually read (διὸ ὁς ἠλέησεν, according to G. PUGLIESE CATATELLI, ὁς Γῆς ἐμί according to M. GUARDUCCI). After a close examination of the original and various photographs, S. suggests the reading Γῆς παίς<> ἐμι καὶ Ὀσκόν ἀστερόπνεος. The new reading shows that the leaf of Hipponion uses the standard formulation in the Ionic dialect. S. presents a new edition of the entire text, with minor differences from earlier editions. The most significant readings are the confirmation of ΟΠΟΕΝΤΟΣ in line 9 (perhaps for ὑφεϕήOEυως and ΕΠΕΩΣΙΝ in line 13 (δέουσαν = δέουσαν Ἰςοποθέντον βασιλεί; “ed essi lo referiranno al re degli inferi”). [AC]

163) P. SÁNCHEZ, *L’Ambiguité des Pyles et de Delphes. Recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au IIIe siècle de notre ère*, Stuttgart, 2000 [BE 2002, 209; SEG L 495]: In his comprehensive study of the history and the organisation of the Delphic Amphictyony S. discusses the accounts of the 4th cent. BC (p. 124-152), the composition of the amphictyonic council in the 3rd cent. BC (p. 287-302), the Delphic festivals of the Pythia and the Soteria (p. 303-309), the promotion of asylla (p. 335-359), the amphictyony in the 2nd-1st cent. BC (p. 364-425), the evolution of the amphictyonic council and the officials of the amphictyony during the Roman Imperial Period (p. 426-463), the structure of the amphictyony (p. 466-494), and the offices of hieromnimon, pylagoras, and agoratros. [AC]

164) M. SARTRÉ, “Gouverneurs d’Arabie anciens et nouveaux”, in *Miscellanea Gasperini II*, p. 971-990. Ed. pr. of a building inscription which refers to repairs in a temple funded by a beneficiarius (8; Phina, c. AD 238). [In another text (10, Bostra?, 3rd cent. AD) S. restores: ἐκτελέσθη τὸ | [ν ἡτον]; this is certainly wrong; probably ἐκτέλεσθη τὸ | [ἡτον]]. [AC]

165) M. SARTRÉ, “Les manifestations du culte impérial dans les provinces syriennes et en Arabie”, in C. EVERS – A. TSINGARIDA (eds.), *Rome et ses provinces. Genèse et diffusion d’une image du pouvoir. Hommages à Jean-Charles Balty*, Bruxelles, 2001, p. 167-186: S. collects the rather limited evidence for the emperor cult in Syria, Judaea, and Arabia. Only two high priests are known in Syria: Dexandros, the first high priest under Augustus, and Diogenes in c. AD 120, who is designated as priest of four ἐπισκόπες in Antiocheia. The term ἐπισκόπη probably did not designate provinces, but districts (Syria, Kilikia, Phoinike, Kole Syria). The evidence for the civic emperor cult in these provinces is far more abundant than for the provincial cult. [AC]

167) S. SCHELL, “Eine Prozession zu Ehren Arsinoes II. (P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2: Satyros, Über die Deinen von Alexandria)”, in K. GEUS – K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), Punica – Libyca – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Hüff, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen, Leuven/Paris et al., 2001 (Studia Phoinicia, 16), p. 186-220; S. discusses the lex sacra which regulates the great procession in honor of Arsinoe II and the sacrifices during this event (P.Oxy. XXVII 2465). The first fragmentary lines give information concerning the route. The procession probably began at the temple of Arsinoe, the Arsinoeion (l. 4). It was headed by the kanephoros (l. 8). The name of Arsinoe Philadelphos appears in l. 9 in the genitive possibly in a reference to the function of her cult statue during the procession. S. assumes that except for the Prytanis, the priests, the gymnasiarchos, the ephesoi and the rhabdophoroi, the population was not allowed to participate in the procession, suggesting the following reading for lines 7-11: μηδὲς βαδιζούτω [locality] σώκτου κανενός [i.e. τὸ θύλλαμα τῆς Αἴσιολίης Φιλαδέλφου ἁλῶν τῶν προτάτοι [i.e. γυμνασίαρχον καὶ ἄθροίων καὶ κανενός]. The population should instead make private sacrifices in honor of Arsinoe in front of the houses (l. 13) or on rooftops (l. 14). In lines 15-18 the sacrificial victims are defined: all animals except for sheep or goats were allowed. The altars were to be made of sand or at least be covered with sand (lines 18-21). Because of the prohibition of sheep sacrifices S. supposes that during this festival (Arsinoeia?) Arsinoe was honored as Isis. [IM]

168) S. SCULLION, “Three Notes on Inscriptions”, ZPE 134 (2001), p. 116-120 [BE 2002, 182, 197]; S. observes that the different prices given for sacrificial sheep in the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (JC II 1358 = LSCG 20) [cf. EBGR 2000, 105] do not depend on the gender of the recipient of the sacrifice, but on the gender of the animal – the price of a wether (male) being higher than that of an ewe (female) (p. 117f.). S. also suggests a new reading in one of the Epidaurian healing miracles (JC IV 122 l. 36 n° XXV). The text according to S. reads Σωστότατα Φερσίλη [ποιεῖ] or Φερσίλη [ποιεῖ] | έλπίσει (καὶ όντι Φερσίλη [α ταυ], ελπίσει [ο βηγίς ο ζωά] | ελπίσει). Pheresis is the echthos of the Messenian city of Pheni. This suggestion is not entirely convincing. First, the simple verb έλπίσει ("she became/was pregnant") does not reflect the content of the healing miracle; at no point was Sostrata pregnant; since παρασκευή is not otherwise attested, the suggestions βηγίς or ζωά still seem plausible. As for the ethnic name, it is true that in most healing miracles we find ethnicities from the Peloponnese, but a visitor from Thessaly, which claimed to have been Asklepios' birth-place, would be a nice advertisement for the Asklepieion of Epidaurus. More important: leaving from Epidaurus and going home Sostrata stopped at Koroni; if Koroni is to be identified with Korniata, mentioned in the delimitation between Epidaurus and Korinthos (A. MAGNETTO, Gli arbitri interstatali greci, Pisa, 1997, n° 30), then Sostrata's journey followed a northeast direction and did not lead to Messenian. [AC]

169) N. SHARANKOV, “A Dedicationary Inscription from Odeassos”, ZPE 137 (2001), p. 174-178 [BE 2002, 84]; Ed. pr. of a dedicatory inscription inscribed on a bronze wheel, part of a candelabrum, found in 1964 in the Roman baths of Odeessos (2nd/3rd cent.). The candelabrum was dedicated by Orpheus to Heraldes Kallineikos. The cult of Heraldes Kallineikos was already attested in Odeassos (IGBuH V 5038). Archaeological and other epigraphic evidence for Heraldes' cult in the thema (cf. IGBuH V 5074 s 5 c 1, s 5 c 2) suggest that Orpheus may have been an athlete. S. points to the popularity of the apotropaic epigram θέα τοῦ Δίκης παῖς καλλίνος Ἡραλδέες | ἑμῖκεν καπνοῖς: μηδὲν παύτω καπνόν (e.g., CIL IV 733) [see R. MERKELBACH, "Weg mit Dir, Heraldes, in die Feuerhöle!", ZPE, 86 (1991), p. 1-43; MERKELBACH – STAUBER, Steintopographie II 08/01/10, III 12/04/10]. [IM]

170) P. STIEFERT, “Il ruolo di Epidamno e dei Greci di oltremare a Olimpia in uno nuovo iscrizione arcaica”, Hesperia 15, p. 67-71; Ed. pr. of a fragmentary lex sacra which seems to regulate the presence of foreigners in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia (Olympia, c. 500 BC). The text refers inter alia to damages caused by livestock to dedications (l. 7: ἀγείρομαι) and
to fines payable by the shepherd (σωματός). (The clause in 1. 6 treats the same subject, i.e. the keeping of livestock in the sanctuary (1. 6: εἰ δὲ τὸ σαβαναίον καὶ τὰ ἄγαρα) S. translates: “Se uno (di coloro) allestisce un luogo di sosta nel santuario”; for σαβανάιον cf. the term σαβηναῖος, which is often used in connection with the periodical movement of flocks to pasture (see J.E. SKYDSGAARD, “Transhumance in Ancient Greece”, in C.R. WHITTAKER (ed.), Pastoral Economics in Classical Antiquity, Cambridge, 1988, p. 74f.). A ξυρήμα is mentioned in 1. 8. The word ξυρής (1. 4: πρὸ δὲ τὸν ἄγαρα) is tentatively interpreted by S. as related to ἄγαρ (priest). [Should one perhaps read ἄγαρ τὸν ἄγαρ, “for the prayer, for the vow, for the curse”?]. The geographical data in the most interesting passage of the text (1. 4-5: ἄνευ μὲν ἄτε ἐπιτάξει Ἀτραζ — ἐν ἅμερῳ Δανᾶῳ καὶ Κρήτης καὶ Ἀγαμήθα — ἕπτα[—]) probably reflect the itinerary used by the spondophoroi of Olympia who announced the sacred truce. [AC]

171) E. SIRONEN, “Lateinische Ehreninschriften für Constantin den Grossen und seine Nachfolger und andere Inschriften der Spatzeit aus Attika”, ZPE 136 (2001), p. 257-266 [BE 2002, 586]: Ed. pr. of a fragmentary Christian curse (9) which uses the formula “he shall be followed by the curse of the 318 sacred fathers” (i.e. the participants in the consilium of Nikata; ἕτη δὲ τῆς ἕγκυρας τούτου Πατρόχων; Athens, 6th/7th cent.). [IM]

172) O.Y. Sokolova, “New Material from the Excavation of Nymphaeum”, Talanta 32-33 (2000-2001), p. 81-87: During excavations at the Bosporan city of Nymphaeum in 2000 a block of an inscribed architrave was found – most probably belonging to a propylon of a sanctuary?. According to the text Theopropides, son of Megakles, dedicated this entrance to Dionysos (τὴν ἔποδον ἀνάπλουμεν Διονυσόμον), during the reign of Leucon I (389/8-349/8 BC). (I)]


175) M. STEIN, “Die Verehrung des Theos Hypsistos: Ein allumfassender pagan-jüdischer Synkretismus?”, EA 35 (2001), p. 119-126 [BE 2002, 344]: According to S. the numerous dedicatory inscriptions addressed to Zeus Hypsistos, Theos Hypsistos oder Hypsistos are not expressions of a supposed pagan-Jewish syncretism, as suggested by S. MITCHELL [cf. EBCR 1998, 190]. One should continue to distinguish between pagan and Jewish dedications to divinities with the epitheton Hypsistos. The theosebeis were not a group of people practicing the supposed pagan-Jewish cult of Hypsistos Theos, but pagans with a strong affection towards Jewish religious practices. [IM]


177) A. SUCEVEANU, “Le ‘Grand Dieu’ d’Histria”, Ktêma 24 (1999) [2000], p. 271-281 [SEG L 680]: The Θεὸς Μέγας in t.Histria 145 (3rd cent. BC) had been identified with Δασκάλιας | Δασκάλιας, who was worshipped under this name in Odessos (IGBulg V.1 47, 47bis, 48, 230bis). S. reject this identification and critically considers the possibility of an identification with Sarapis or (rather) Helios. [AC]

179) J. Tarta, "Indovini stranieri al servizio dello stato spartano. Un' "epoikia" elea a Sparta in una nuova iscrizione da Olimpia", *Dike* 4 (2001), p. 39-85: A new inscription from Olympia (c. 470-440 BC) concerns the award of Eleian citizenship to Athanadas and Rhinon, "participation in the epoikia in Sparta and in Euboia", and the honor of receiving theorai, i.e. serving as theorodokoi for the Eleian spondophoroi who announced the Olympic truce. T. suggests that Athanadas and Rhinon were citizens of Sparta and an Euboian city respectively. Their participation in the Eleian epoikia probably concerned participation in the religious life of these Eleian communities. The Eleian epoikia in Sparta may be related to the presence of foreign specialists in the service of the Spartan community, such as the manteis Ianidai. In this context T. collects the evidence for private cults in Sparta. [AC]

180) P.G. Themelis, "Ἀνωκατερήσεις Μεσσηνίς", *PAAH* 155 (2000) [2003], p. 75-105: In his report on the excavations in Messene Th. gives the text of a fragmentary honorary decree for Claudius Saithidas Kallianos II (early 2nd cent. AD), high priest of the emperor cult for life and Heladarches (78-82), written on two bases found in the theater. [The text is very interesting with regard to rhetoric and formulations. The honorand and his parents (lines 7, 11, 18-19) are praised for various benefactions with regard to sanctuaries (A 9: τῶν ἱερῶν) and the restoration of the proscenium of the theater. We remark a few interesting expressions. The behaviour of one of these persons is characterized as ἐμπρόειν αὖθις (A 13). Among the honors mentioned in the second fragment we note the ἔλημνησις χρίσεως στέφουσος (B 2) and the ἐφικτοπολείταις ἀνδραῖς (B 35); for such designations of statues (e.g., ὀ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἄνδρας, ὀ τῆς πανδέλας ἄνδρας) cf. L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias", *AcS* 35 (1966), p. 399. A statue of Saithidas' mother, who is characterized as ἀστία τῆς πόλεως, was consecrated (posthumously?; B 23-24: καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνθρώπου καθηρευθέν ὡς ἀστία τῆς πόλεως, for the honorary title ἀστία τῆς πόλεως cf. SEG XXXIX 1792. The decree was to be published in all sites where Greek festivals took place (B 39: ἐς τὰς πανηγύρες τῶν ἐλληναίων, cf. B 5)). A dedication to the theoi and the city by an agonomos was found in the agora (p. 85, 1st cent. AD). Two lists of ephebes, found in the stadium (p. 90-93, AD 70 and 91), are dated with reference to the priest (of Zeus Ithomatas). A dedication to Demeter was found near the gymnasium (p. 97, late 4th cent. BC). [AC]

181) P.G. Themelis, "Ἀνωκατερήσεις Μεσσηνίς", *PAAH* 154 (1999) [2002], p. 69-111: Th. reports the discovery in the theater of Messene of the base which supported the statue of Pankrates, winner at the Pythia in diaulos in the category of boys (p. 79-80, late 2nd cent. BC). A fragmentary list of cult personnel found in the Asklepieion (p. 88-89, early 3rd cent. BC) mentions the following offices: γραφεὺς (scribe), ἄγγελος θεῶν and προσόπλος (attendant); Th. observes that ἄγγελος was the title of the priest of Aphrodite in Amathous and according to Hesychios the priest of the goddess at the Karneia; for this reason he assumes that the anonymous gods were the Karneioi theoi of Andania [the name of this office ("guide of the gods") may be associated with a procession, in which this official carried the images of the gods]. The other texts include a dedication made by a gymnasiarchos to Pantes Theoi and the city in the stadium (p. 91, 1st cent. BC/AD), the base of the portrait of a deceased man (Ἡρακλῆς) who claimed descent from Heraldes (Ἡρακλῆς ᾧ ἤγετο Ἡρακλῆς). [AC]

182) P. Themelis, "Monuments guerriers de Messène", in R. Frei-Stolz - K.Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire de Pierre Ducray (Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998)*, Bern, 2001, p. 199-215: Th. presents epigraphic evidence related to war monuments in Messene. A stele with the names of the men killed in a battle at Maktisos (late 3rd cent. BC) was found in the gymnasium; the lack of a patronymic alludes to the heroisation of the war dead. In this context Th. presents two dedicatory inscriptions from the gymnasium: a dedication of a porticus to all the gods (θεοὶ πάσοι) and to the city by a priest of Zeus Ithomatas [EBGR 1997, 359] and a dedication to Hermes, Heraldes and the city [cf. EBGR 1992, 222] (p. 199-201). An honorary epigram found near the gymnasium honors Damostratos of Sparta, who reconciled Spartans and Messenians (3rd cent.; p. 201-203). The Dioskouroi were worshipped in a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, where soldiers dedicated a shield to Polydeukes (late 4th/early 3rd cent. BC; p. 203-205). A funerary peribolos near the bouleuterion was the burial site of six men and four women
183) N. Theodossiev, “Kotéous Ἡλίου and Kotéous Μιθρᾶς Ὀρμίας”, *Hermes* 129 (2001), p. 279-283 [BE 2002, 77]; The inscriptions Kotéous Ἡλίου and Kotéous Μιθρᾶς Ὀρμίας appear on two silver bowls (SEG XLIV 1554 B; *EBGR* 1996, 202, 2nd/1st cent. BC) [or earlier; see M. Seve, *BE* 1996, 97]. T. interprets the name as the nominative of the Thracian name Kotéous – not the genitive of the Pisidian Kôtēs – and translates: “Kotéous, servant/son of Helios”, and “Kotéous, servant/son of Meter Oreia”. “During the Late Hellenistic period the Thracian dynast Kotéous considered himself as a doctrinal son of the Great Goddess in her mountain image”. T. associates this idea with the Dionysiac-Orphic texts, in which the mystes is regarded son of the Earth and the Sky, and with a painted vase from the Theban Kabeirion which represents the seated old Kabiros and his paix as a servant. [AC]

184) D. Thorn, “’Ἀγάπτης: A Lost Statue Rediscovered”, *Libyan Studies* 30 (1999), p. 69-76 [BE 2000, 742; SEG XLIX 2362]: The statue of a seated marble figure of a woman found near the sanctuary of Apollo in Kyrene can be identified with a statue originally found in 1860. T. republishes the inscription, correcting the reading of the last line: ’Ἀγάπτης Πολεμίτου | συνεργευόμενος Πολεμίου’. [L. Dubois, *BE* 2000, 742, suggests reading: συνεργευόμενον] Archippa served as priestess of Artemis in the same year in which her father was priest of Apollo (1st cent. AD). [AC]

185) S.R. Tokhtas’ev, “New tabellae defixionum from Olbia”, *Hyperboreus* 6 (2000), p. 296-316 (in Russian; German summary) (SEG L 702): Ed. pr. of four lead tablets found during illegal excavations in the cemetery of Olbia (c. 350-300 BC). The first text consists of three lines of no apparent sense (ΒΑΔΙΩΠΟΣΕΠΠΙΠΑΙΑΣΗ | ΝΙΓΕΣΩΝΙΚΑΡΠΗΣ | ΒΑΣΕΙΣΩΛΩΣΙΑΝ); [it is possible that the scribe intentionally confused the sequence of letters; for this practice see *EBGR* 1998, 270]. The other three defixiones consist of personal names in the nominative. [AC]

186) E.M. Tsigarida, “Ἐπιγραφὴ ἀπὸ τὸ Ιερὸ τοῦ Ἀτόλλωνα-Ἡλίου στὰ Νέα Ρόδα Σαλαδοκηῆς”, in *Symedrio Epigraphikes I*, p. 151-156 [BE 2002, 285]; T. republishes with a more detailed commentary a fragmentary inscription from Nea Roda in Chalkidike (c. 450-400 BC) [cf. *EBGR* 1998, 273; SEG XLVII 947]. The text was found in a sanctuary of Helios or Apollon-Helios, in the vicinity of Sane and Ouranopolis. The text refers to the sanctuary (l. 5: Ἱερόν), and possibly served as a boundary marker. [AC]


188) P. van Nuffelen, “Un culte royal de Séleucie du Tigre”, *EA* 33 (2001), p. 85-87; According to N. a fragmentary inscription found in Seleucia on Tigris (Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan) attests to the existence of a remarkable form of ruler cult in the Hellenistic period. N. restores lines 1-2 as [ἔτι ἑτέρως Σελαδόκου μὲν Νυκτιστος τοῦ δαίμονος, Ἀντάπληχος δὲ Σω[τήρος τοῦ δαίμονο] and argues that in Seleucia on Tigris after 209 BC there were separate priests for each of the dead Seleucid kings in addition to the priest for the living sovereign. [JM]

189) I. Velázquez, “Intersección de realidades culturales en la antigüedad tardía: el ejemplo de defixiones y filactérias como instrumentos de la cultura popular”, *Arthur 9* (2001), p. 149-162; Through a study of late antique amulets and defixiones (especially ‘prayers for justice’ from the Iberian peninsula, Rome, and Gaul) V. shows how in this period traditional popular culture assimilated Christian elements (Biblical names, quotations from the Old and New Testament, hagiographical texts); she also stresses the uniformity of popular culture throughout the empire and the influence of magical handbooks. In this article V. presents the ed. pr. of a Latin defixio from Dax en las Landas (France, 4th/5th cent.): Leontio Leontio Delido (= Didri) loéuto <in>bolaverunt (= involaverunt) manus pedis quicumque leestavit (= annue) ... (the rest is not clear). [AC]

191) Chr. Vendlies, “Le couvrecile du sarcophage de M. Sempronius Nikokratès ‘poète et cithariste’ (IGUR 1320)”, in *Musique et poésie*, p. 109-121: V. studies the grave epigram for the poet and kitharist M. Sempronius Nikokrates (IGUR 1320; Rome, 2nd/3rd cent.), member of the Dionysiac association of artists (σωθήτης) and, later, merchant and trader of (female) slaves. V. discusses the artistic activities of Nikokrates (poetic performances in accompaniment of his kithara), his membership in the Dionysiac association in Rome, and his participation in musical agons. Nikokrates’ reference to the fact that even after his death the Muses hold his body is probably an allusion to the representation of Terpsichore and Polywnia on his sarcophagus. [We point to the eschatological ideas in the epigram: “I, Marcus Sempronius Nikokrates, used to be a man of the Muses, a poet and a kitharist, and indeed a member of an association (of artists). After I had laboured a lot in the deep sea and was exhausted by the journeys, then, my friends, I became a merchant of beautiful women. I had received the spirit/soul as a loan from heaven and having fulfilled the time I have returned it. Even after my death the Muses hold my body”]. [AC]  

192) B. Virgilio, “Roi, ville et temple dans les inscriptions de Labraunda”, *REA* 103 (2001), p. 429-442: Based on the examination of seven royal and dynastic letters of Seleucos II, Olymippicos and Philipp V (*Labraunda* 1-7) V. discusses the problematic relationship between the city of Mylasa and the priests of the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. It is remarkable that in almost every dispute between the city and the sanctuary, primarily on issues concerning land ownership, the kings and Olympichos decided in favour of the city. V. suggests that this attitude aimed at favouring the Hellenized city against the obvious resistance of the indigenous priesthood against Hellenization (for an Italian version see “Rè, città e tempio nelle iscrizioni di Labraunda”, in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi ellenistici XII*, Pisa, 2001, p. 39-56). [IM]

193) Chr. Wallner, “Zur Agonistik von Gaza”, *ZPE* 135 (2001), p. 125-135: W. shows that there is no evidence for a sacred agon with the name Hadriania in Gaza. The reference to an Ἀνδριανή ἀναγώγη in Gaza in the *Chronikon Paschale* (I 474, 3-9) does not prove the existence of such an agon, since the author does not use the term agon (which he used, e.g., for the Capitolia); the Hadriane panegyrist in Gaza must have been a fair. The existence of Hadriania cannot be supported by the honorary inscription for the pankratiast T. Aelius Aurelius Menandros from Aphrodisias either (Ch. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, London, 1993, n° 91, c. 230-250 AD). In this text Menandros’ victory in Gaza is mentioned in a section which lists Menandros’ victories in themelides; consequently, in Gaza he did not win in a sacred agon (i.e., in the Hadriania). The existence of the agon Olympia in Gaza (where eiselastikos oikoumenikos agon isolymphos) is known from a papyrus in Hermopolis (AD 268; M. Drew-Bear, *Les athlètes d’Hermoupolis Magna et leur ville au 3e siècle*, in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology*, Athens, 1988, II, p. 229-235). This agon was certainly founded with the permission of an emperor, possibly on the occasion of his visit (probably Gordianus III, Valerianus, or Gallienus). [AC]

194) M.L. West, “The Fragmentary Homeric Hymn to Dionysus”, *ZPE* 134 (2001), p. 1-11: W. edits different fragments of the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos preserved for the most part on papyri (*Pep.Genav. 452; P.Oxy. 670; codex M*) and attempts to reconstruct the complete content of the original Archaic hymn (birth of the God, introduction in Olympios after being accepted by Hera, speech of Zeus ordaining the god’s future honours). According to W., the text remained a very popular until the 4th or even 5th cent. AD. [IM]

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