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Cities and Priests

Cult personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands
from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period

Edited by
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Abbreviations

- CID* Rougemont, G., *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes, Tome I: Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*. Paris 1977.
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 4 vols. Berlin 1828–1877.
- CIRB* Struve, V. V., *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani*. Moskau 1965.
- DGAA* Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, J., *Droit grec d’Alexandre à Auguste (323 av. J.–C.–14 ap. J.–C.)*. *Personnes-Biens-Justice*. (Meletemata, 66.2). Athens 2011.
- FD* *Fouilles de Delphes III: Épigraphie*. Paris 1929–1976.
- GHI* Meiggs, R., Lewis, D., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford 1969 (and revised later editions).
- GIBM 4* Hirschfeld, G., *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part IV.1: Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Branchidae*. Oxford 1893.
- Herzog 1899 Herzog, R., *Koische Forschungen und Funde*. Leipzig 1899.
- Herzog 1928 Herzog, R., *Heilige Gesetze von Kos. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 6*. Berlin 1928.
- HGK* Herzog 1928
- I. Aph.* Reynolds, J., Rouché, Ch., Bodard, G. (2007). *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, available at <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>.
- I. Cos* Segre, M. *Iscrizioni di Cos. Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, 6. 3 vols. (ED, EV, EF). Rome 1993–2007.
- I. Didyma* Rehm, A. (1958). *Didyma. T. 2. Die Inschriften*. Berlin/Mainz.
- I. Ephesos* Börker, C., Engelmann, H., Merkelbach, R. et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 11–17). Bonn 1979–1984.
- I. Erythrai* Engelmann, H., *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 1–2). Bonn 1972.
- I. Histria* *IScM 1*
- I. Iasos* Blümel, W., *Die Inschriften von Iasos. Mit einem Anhang von W. Weiser: Zur Münzprägung von Iasos und Bargyilia*, (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 28). Bonn 1985.
- I. Ilion* Frisch, P., *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 3), Bonn 1975.
- I. Kaunos* Marek, Chr. *Die Inschriften von Kaunos* (Vestigia, 55). München 2006.
- I. Kyme* Engelmann, H., *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 5), Bonn 1976.
- I. Kyzikos* Schwertheim, E., *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 18; 26). Bonn 1980–1983.
- I. Labraunda* Crampa, J., *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches, Vol. III, The Greek Inscriptions*. 2 parts. Lund 1969–1972.
- I. Lampsakos* Frisch, P., *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 6). Bonn 1978.
- I. Lindos* Blinkenberg, Chr. (1941). *Lindos. Fouilles de l’Acropole 1902–1914, Tome II: Inscriptions publiées en grande partie d’après les copies de K.F. Kinch avec une appendice contenant diverses autres inscriptions rhodiennes*, 2 vols. Berlin.
- I. Milet* Herrmann, P., Rehm, A., et al. *Milet: 6, Inschriften von Milet*. 3 Vols. Berlin 1997–2006.

X — Abbreviations

- I. Mylasa* Blümel, W., *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 34–35). Bonn 1987–1988.
- I. Oropos* Petrakos, B. Ch., *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*, Athens 1997.
- I. Pergamon* Fränkel, M., *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. (Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 1–2). Berlin 1890–1895.
- I. Pergamon III* Habicht, Chr. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*. (Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3). Berlin 1969.
- I. Priene* Hiller von Gaertringen, F., *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin 1906.
- I. Priene²* Blümel, W., Merkelbach R., *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien). Bonn (forthcoming).
- I. Prusias ad Hypium* Ameling, W., *Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 27). Bonn 1985.
- I. Sestos* Krauss, J. *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 19). Bonn 1980.
- I. Smyrna* Petzl, G. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 23–24). Bonn 1982–1990.
- I. Stratonikeia* Şahin, M. Ç., *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 21–22; 68). Bonn 1981–1990; 2010.
- IACGP* Hansen, M.H., Nielsen, T.H.(eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis*. Oxford 2004.
- ID* *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris 1926–1972.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–
- IGR* Cagnat, R. u.a., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Paris 1906–1927
- IScM I* Pippidi, Dionisie M., *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*. Vol. 1. *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia*. Bucharest 1983.
- LGPN* Fraser, P. M., E. Matthews, E. et al., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford 1987–
- LGS* von Prott, H., Ziehen, L., *Leges graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1896–1906.
- LSAM* Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris 1955.
- LSCG* id., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
- LSS* id., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Supplément, Paris 62.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Manchester/London 1928–
- Meiggs/Lewis* *GHI*
- Merkelbach/ Stauber 1998* Merkelbach, R., Stauber, J., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten, Bd. 1: Die Westküste Kleinasien von Knidos bis Ilion*, Stuttgart 1998.
- Milet I 2* Knackfuß, H., *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Heft II. Das Rathaus von Milet*. Berlin 1908.
- Milet I 3* Kawerau, G., Rehm, A., *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899, Heft III: Das Delphinion in Milet*. Berlin 1914.
- Milet I 7* Knackfuß, H., *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Heft VII: Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen*. Berlin 1924.
- Milet I 9* Gerkan, A. v., Krischen, F., *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Heft IX: Thermen und Paläste*. Berlin 1928.

- NGSL Lupu, E., *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*. 2nd ed. Leiden/Boston 2009.
- OGIS Dittenberger, W., *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*, 2 vols. Leipzig 1893–1895.
- PCG Kassel, R., Austin, C., *Poetae Comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin 1983–2001.
- RC Welles, C. B. *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Period, a Study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven 1934.
- RICIS Bricault, L., *Recueil des Inscriptions concernant les Cultes Isiaques (hors d'Égypte)*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 31. Paris 2005.
- RJG Dareste, R., Haussoulier, B., Reinach, T., *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*. 2 vols. Paris 1898–1904.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden/Amsterdam 1923–
- SNG Cop. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen*. Copenhagen 1942–
- Syll.² Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (second edition), 3 vols. Leipzig 1898–1901.
- Syll.³ Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (third edition), 4 vols. Leipzig 1915–1924.
- TAM *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vienna 1901–
- Tit. Cal. Segre, M., *Tituli Calymnii*, ASAA 22–23, n.s. 6–7, (1944–1945 [1952]), 1–248.
- Tit. Cam. Pugliese Carratelli, G., Segre M., *Tituli Camirenses*, ASAA 30–32, n.s. 14–16, (1952–1954), 211–246.
- Vidman Syll. Vidman, I., *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin 1969.

Jan-Mathieu Carbon and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge
**Priests and Cult Personnel in Three
Hellenistic Families***

Abstract: This paper offers an examination of three significant familial inscriptions from the Hellenistic period. The texts are detailed cultic dossiers initiated by three individuals—Diomedon on Cos, Poseidonios in Halicarnassus, and Epikteta on Thera. Though they are often very briefly grouped together, these inscriptions are discussed here in greater textual and contextual detail. In particular, the analysis focusses on the cult personnel which is appointed in these families, demonstrating that it remains independent from the *polis*, but is organised with reference to a civic framework. By setting these inscriptions in parallel, the discussion opens up productive perspectives on the evolutions of familial cults in the Hellenistic period. The inscription of Poseidonios is reedited in an Appendix by Jan-Mathieu Carbon.

Religious authority takes different forms in Greek cities. Priests and priestesses represent only one aspect of a multifarious system of responsibilities where sacred business is concerned.¹ Even though magistrates can be in charge of some sacrificial duties, the handling of sacred offerings, *hiera*—which is of course closely related to the Greek name for a priest, *hiereus*, or a priestess, *hiereia*—is at the very core of priesthood. On an official level, when a sacrifice is put on by a civic community, this essential connection between priests and public rites is manifest.² For instance, at the sanctuary of Oropos during the fourth century BC, the priest prays and put down the *hiera* on the altar if the sacrifice belongs to a public performance, but only optionally when the sacrifice is outside the official scope of the city.³ In the latter context, the individual offering a sacrifice may

* We are very grateful to Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner for inviting us to contribute to this volume. We also wish to warmly thank Eftychia Stravrianopoulou for reading this paper and providing many valuable comments and clarifications, as well as for her sometimes different but fruitful perspectives on the texts discussed here.

1 Parker 2011: 40–63.

2 Epigraphic evidence is particularly clear on this point. For example, this is the case in Cos after the synoecism of 366 BC: cf. e.g. *IG XII 4*, 298, lines 10–11; 304, lines 39–40; 307, lines 13–14, etc.

3 *LSCG* 69.

proceed by himself with his own *hiera*.⁴ In the same vein, a passage from Porphyry's *De Abstinētia* (4.22.7), written in the third century AD, makes a useful distinction, known elsewhere in similar terms, between offerings ἐν κοινῷ following ancestral tradition (ἐπομένοις νόμοις πατρίοις) and private offerings made according to one's means (ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν).⁵ As often, the priest or the priestess is conceived as the guarantor of traditional ritual performance (*kata ta patria*).⁶ In much the same way, when a civic community wants to communicate with its gods, a mediation sanctioned by the whole civic body is usually necessary.⁷

Transposing such oppositions in modern terms of 'public' or 'official' and 'private' or 'individual' is not completely accurate, but one does sense a difference of scale and context which is apparent in these distinct categories of ritual performance.⁸ Yet a 'private' (*kat' idion*) offering, resulting from an individual initiative and which falls to some degree outside the scope of official life, is surely not independent from tradition. And the same can no doubt be said for the sort of household cult which must have been a part of everyday life in Greek cities.⁹ Indeed, this form of 'private' worship was an integral part of the wider 'public' context, the so-called '*polis*-religion' framework, which maintains that "the *polis* provided the fundamental framework in which Greek religion operated" and that it "anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity".¹⁰ As has been recently underlined, this model, far from denying "the role of individuals and of groups, of private sacrifices and dedications", encompasses that role, and suggests a wider framework for its function and development.¹¹ This paper, by assessing some connections between specific religious initiatives in a small group of Greek communities, aims at contributing to the discussion about '*polis*-religion'. In particular, we will attempt to compare what we know about

4 Cf. also *LSS* 129, lines 8–13; *LSCG* 119, lines 10–14 (both from Chios, fifth century-early fourth century BC).

5 This is not only a philosopher's view but reflects existing traditions, compare e.g. *SEG* 28.887, lines 24–26, cultic honours for Antiochos III at Teos (204/3 BC): θύειν δὲ καὶ ἑορτάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦν[τας] τῆμ πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις ἐκάστους κατὰ δύναμιν· | [στε]φανηφορεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν ἡμέραι ταύτ[η].

6 Similarly, in his ideal city, Plato (*Leg.* 909d–e) emphasises the status of priests and priestesses by making their intervention absolutely necessary when any sacrifice is to be performed.

7 Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2010.

8 de Polignac/Schmitt Pantel 1998; Dasen/Piéart 2005.

9 Cf. Faraone 2012 and Boedeker 2012.

10 Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 15, 20.

11 Parker 2011: 58.

civic priesthoods with the specific forms of cult personnel associated with ‘private’ initiatives.

Three Individuals and their Inscribed Dossiers

The evidence we wish to examine here consists of three substantial Hellenistic inscriptions, belonging or attributed to specific individuals: Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta. These texts, along with others, are often called ‘foundations’, a term which implies the establishment of new cults and places of worship as a part of their enactment.¹² They are also usually included as an important subset of the corpus of ‘sacred laws’, under the same category of ‘private foundations, family cult.’¹³ Both of these modern designations are problematic, with ‘sacred laws’ being by-and-large a misnomer and ‘foundation’ being insufficiently precise in some cases, to which we shall return.¹⁴ But what is striking is that the three inscriptions we propose to look at here are often taken together as the prime examples of these categories. This need not necessarily be the case, since individual acts of founding cults are well-attested in earlier periods.¹⁵ Though one might be tempted to underline the fact that these three significant inscriptions all come from the area of the southern Aegean and date to the early Hellenistic period, that may well reflect a bias in our present documentation. And while we would not wish to affirm categorically that one is dealing with a greater level of individuality in these documents, a feature sometimes associated with the Hellenistic period, these documents likely do point to a certain recrudescence and an enhancement of private initiatives compared to those

¹² Laum 1914 for the fundamental work on this topic. For the texts in Laum, cf. Diomedon: 52–56 no. 45; Poseidonios: 111–112 no. 117; Epikteta: 43–52 no. 43. They are similarly reprised in *RJIG* 24A and 24B, for Epikteta and Diomedon respectively, as “Fondations Testamentaires”; in the case of Poseidonios, no. 25D, as part of “Donations entre vifs”. For acceptance of this terminology, see also Kamps 1937: 145–170, Wittenburg 1990: 91–96, and Wittenburg 1998. Cf. also recently Gherchanoc 2012: 148–168.

¹³ Diomedon: *LGS* II 144, *HGK* 10, *LSCG* 177, *IG* XII 4, 348; Poseidonios: *LSAM* 72; Epikteta: *IG* XII 3, 330, *LGS* II 129, *LSCG* 135. Cf. now Lupu *NGSL*: 86–87; Parker 2010: 118–120.

¹⁴ On ‘sacred laws’ as problematic terminology, cf. most recently Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2012. For some terminological precisions concerning ‘foundations’, see Modrzejewski 1963: 90–91.

¹⁵ See the valuable work of Purvis 2003, who discusses three noteworthy examples from the Classical period; cf. now more briefly, Hupfloher 2012.

witnessed in earlier eras.¹⁶ What has certainly made our three texts stand out is their length, their relatively good state of preservation, and the corresponding wealth of detail that they contain concerning cults. Indeed, as well shall see, all three inscriptions may perhaps best be called ‘family dossiers’ because, in all cases, they contain multiple texts of varying complexity, all of which relate to cults belonging to these different individuals and their families. These inscriptions are often grouped together, but seldom analysed in parallel. Though we cannot do complete justice to all the ramifications of these lengthy inscriptions, particularly those of Diomedon and Epikteta, a brief description of their general characteristics and content will help to introduce and clarify our subject matter.

The earliest of the three is the inscription of Diomedon found on the island of Cos.¹⁷ Forming a composite dossier, three texts were inscribed in different hands but continuously on the four vertical sides of a relatively short rectangular pillar—65 cm in height—eventually filling up most of its available surface.¹⁸ Found in the nineteenth century in the suburb of the town of Cos, the marble monument’s original disposition as well as its precise context are now lost. A first text was inscribed on the stele, probably during the last decade of the fourth century BC (no. I, on face A and half of B). This presents itself as the record of an act of dedication or consecration: an individual called Diomedon apparently dedicated (*anetheke*, lines 1–5) a sacred precinct (*temenos*) to a Heracles called Diomedonteios, along with a series of properties and a slave (Libys, “the Libyan”), to take care of it all.¹⁹ The striking epithet Diomedonteios appears

¹⁶ A good discussion of these points by Mikalson 2006.

¹⁷ The newest edition, consistently followed here, is by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof in *IG XII 4*, 348; for some useful commentary, cf. still Herzog 1928, *HGK* 10, p. 28–32.

¹⁸ It is called a “pila” by Hallof and Bosnakis. Though pillar-like in shape, the support was actually called a stele, lines 134–136: ὑπὲρ ὧ[ν | γέ]γραπται ἐν τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ἐ[ν | τ]ῇ στήλῃ... One might have expected an explicit reference to the obligation of inscribing the documents on these material supports, as one finds in the case of Poseidonios and Epikteta. Whatever text was inscribed on the altar is now lost.

¹⁹ Lines 1–5: Δ[ιομέδων ἀνέθηκ]ε τὸ τέμενος [τόδε] | Ἡρακλεῖ Δ[ιομε]δοντείῳ, ἀνέθηκε δ[ὲ] | καὶ τοὺς ξενῶνας τοὺς ἐν τῷ κάπῳ | καὶ τὰ οἰκημάτια καὶ Λίβυν καὶ τὰ ἔγγο|να αὐτοῦ... It is worth noting that the construction ἀνέθηκε... ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ, while of course quite plausible, is by no means assured given the lacunae in the first 2 lines of the text. The act of dedicating is not the most usual verb associated with the consecration of a *temenos* (rare cases, as far as we can tell, e.g. *SEG* 28.969, Pergamon). Some element of subtlety in the background of Diomedon’s offering may have been lost and one could equally well think of restoring a verb such as καθίδρυσε (compare *I. Smyrna* 724) or ἀφορίσε (compare *OGIS* 6, lines 20–21), among other possibilities for the definition of this *temenos*. The photographs in *I. Cos* ED 149 pl. 44, show how hopeless much of side A of the stele is. The editors of the new *IG* at XII 4, 348, Hallof and

to imply a new and direct association of this Diomedon with Heracles: the god literally belongs to Diomedon or is “Diomedon-like”. It is worth noting right away how such an epithet is nearly unparalleled during this time.²⁰ After that short preamble, the text proceeds to enumerate various regulations concerning the consecrated cult and its practice, using third-person imperatives to formulate these directives (starting in line 5, ἐόντω δὲ ...). A little later, two additional texts were written on the pillar-stele (II and III). The first of these, inscribed in ca. 300 BC, or in other words a few years to a decade later, only takes up a small part of face B, appending a few further regulations to the text using the same sort of construction (third-person imperatives and infinitives). A final text, inscribed approximately in the first decade of the third century, fills up the remainder of side B and the other sides of the pillar (C and D). This sizeable supplementary text is largely concerned with the question of marriages within the family and their relationship to the cults codified by Diomedon (side C), again using a similar prescriptive style. The final side of the stele (D), however, surprises us both by its character and its formulation. It apparently contains a variety of different regulations or excerpts: one which refers to children and perhaps relates to the preceding side (παρασκευᾶτε, lines 114–155); a blessing (εὖ εἶη ..., lines 115–119); a list of dedications provided by Diomedon (ἀνέθηκα, lines 120–130); a penalising curse which implicitly refers to the earlier blessing (εἰ ἄ[ν] | δέ τις ..., lines 130–140); supplementary regulations in the infinitive (lines

Bosnakis, have made good but understandably limited progress in confirming and improving the readings.

20 The only other case of such an adjectival construction in the Hellenistic period is apparently the Zeus Philippios attested at Eresos, *IG XII 2*, 526, lines 4–5 (ca. third century BC; cf. Wallensten 1998: 88–90); this is surely an exceptional case and it is perhaps significant that the altars mentioned there had been uprooted. Cf. more generally Wallensten 1998: 84–85 on Diomedon, with critical remarks by A. Chaniotis, *Kernos 25* (2012) 231 no. 173. The more common formulation is a genitival rather than adjectival formulation. On the founder’s genitive, cf. Gschitzner 1986, van Bremen 2010. The epithet does not recur in the stele and is so unusual that one may reasonably wonder about the precise character of this appellation (cf. n. above and compare the surprising lines 25–26: θυόντω δὲ | [τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διομέδ]ο[ν]τι μόνον [ἦ] ...; perhaps conjecture [ἦρωι Διομέδ]ο[ν]τι instead?). Indeed, the designation “Diomedonteios” may not be a cultic epithet as much as an attribution of this Heracles to Diomedon’s family, whose eponymous hero he might prospectively become. The adjectival formulation is in fact much more common when applied to families or groups, sanctuaries or festivals. Compare e.g. the contemporaneous consecration of properties to a hero Charmylos of the Charmyle(i)oi at Haleis on Cos (*IG XII 4*, 355, end of fourth century BC): ἱερά ἂ γὰ καὶ ἂ οἰκία | ἂ ἐπὶ ταῖ γὰ καὶ τοῖ κᾶ|ποι καὶ ταῖ οἰκίαι ταῖ | ἐπὶ τῶν κάπων Θεῶν | Δωδέκα καὶ Χαρμύλου | ἦρω vac. τῶν Χαρμυλέων. Sherwin-White 1977: 212, speaks of “foreshadowing” but also of a stronger sense for the Diomedonteios epithet. Cf. also Paul 2013 on these inscriptions.

141–149); and still further ones that alternate between various forms (λαμβάνετε, line 149; θυόντω, line 153; ἀνέθηκα again at line 155; finally διδόναι at line 157). The use of the first-person perfect as well as second-person imperatives indicates that this part of the document is not merely a record of consecration; instead, it appears to cite Diomedon himself. Though the context is far from clear, a few hypotheses may perhaps be suggested. In the first case, though this final text was inscribed several years to two decades later than the first one, it might perhaps be surmised that Diomedon was still alive and active during the whole process of consecration, providing the source for these addenda and clarifications. Alternatively, the rather composite character of these supplementary regulations may instead suggest that one is dealing with citations from documents on other material supports, perhaps a testament written by Diomedon which is only excerpted here in a relatively haphazard manner in order to make the regulations on the stele more exhaustive.

At Halicarnassus, not far from Cos on the coast of Caria, we find another inscription which describes the cultic initiative of a specific individual, Poseidonios.²¹ This second dossier, though, is much shorter (52 lines compared to the 159 or so on Diomedon’s pillar), and probably belongs to the first half of the third century, a few decades afterwards. As with Diomedon, the findspot of the inscription is known but its precise context remains somewhat obscure. In Poseidonios’ case, one finds a group of three texts inscribed on a small stele, but all on the same face and apparently all in the same hand. Though a few lines may be missing at the top of the stele, it appears to be relatively intact. Nevertheless, the inscription itself makes its composite character quite clear: it is clearly segmented into the three distinct components using *paragraphoi* and punctuation, and the paenultimate lines stipulate that these must be inscribed on a stone stele.²² The three constituent parts of the dossier are as follows: first, an oracle (χρησμός) sought by Poseidonios which prescribes the worship of specific deities that are ancestral as well as the Good Daemon of Poseidonios and Gorgis, who is presumably his wife (lines 1–12); second, a pledge (ὑποθήκη) of properties by Poseidonios to his descendants, prescribing the financing and organisation of the sacrifices motivated by the oracle (lines 13–23);²³ and finally,

21 The lack of a suitable edition for this inscription has prompted Jan-Mathieu Carbon to offer a new one in the Appendix which follows the present paper.

22 Cf. Appendix, lines 49–51: ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμόν καὶ τὴν ὑποθήκην | κ[αί] τὸ δόγμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷι ν | τεμένει[ι].

23 On the technical vocabulary of the *hypotheke*, involving here a form of “trust-fund” in perpetuity more than “mortgage” perhaps, cf. most recently *DGAA* 2: 141–189, variously calling

a decree (δῶγμα) passed by Poseidonios and his descendants providing further regulations concerning the financing and the modalities of the cult, as well the inscribing of the stele (lines 23–52). Again, the background is not completely clear, though here one can reasonably establish a chronological order for the constitution of this dossier (whether this apparently logical order was actually historical or reconstructed *ex post facto* cannot be determined, however). Poseidonios first sought an oracle which prompted a pledge, a perpetual bequest of land to his descendants. Somewhat later perhaps, but while Poseidonios was presumably still alive, he and his descendants passed a decree inscribing these documents and adding further precisions on the cults.

The last of these three dossiers is by far the most extensive and celebrated: the ‘foundation’ of Epikteta on the island of Thera.²⁴ This inscription, running to a total of 288 lines, was inscribed in eight columns on four contiguous marble panels which likely formed the facing part of a base for three statues (for a hypothetical reconstruction of the monument, cf. *Fig. 1*).²⁵ These statues are identified by larger labels immediately below where they may ^{have} stood: on the left-hand side is Andragoras the son of Phoinix and Epikteta, on the right is Kratesilochos their other son, and in the center is a statue of Epikteta herself, daughter of Grinnos. The following dossier in this case consists of two texts, both dating to the final decades of the third century BC, or perhaps more precisely ca. 210/193 BC.²⁶ Yet the exact time span between the two texts is unclear: both are headed by a dating formula, as with other texts from Thera, but citing different groups of ephors of the island (text 1 is headed ἐπὶ ἐφόρων τῶν σὺν Φοιβοτέλει, columns I–III, lines 1–108; text 2, ἐπὶ ἐφόρων τῶν σὺν Ἰμέρτωι, Διοσθίου, columns IV–VIII, lines 109–288). While the first text is therefore indeterminately older, it would appear that both texts are in the same hand and were inscribed at the same time, around the time of the second date. Among other similarities, the sequence from a bequest to an organisational section is relatively analogous

this procedure a “fond réservé, dépôt, capital”, and discussing the subject in many of its vicissitudes (though not including Poseidonios’ stele in this context).

24 The text followed consistently here is the one in Wittenburg 1990: 21–37, which itself is based on that of Ricci, 1981: 72–81, no. 31 with photo; the edition in *IG XII 3*, 330 is somewhat outdated. The inscribed text is virtually completely preserved, but cf. Gauthier *BE* 1990: 507–508 no. 426 for some remarks on the readings and interpretation.

25 For a more detailed description of the monument, cf. Wittenburg 1990: 11–13.

26 On the letterforms and the dating, cf. Wittenburg 1990: 13–15 and esp. 18. Two inscriptions from Delos honour a member of Epikteta’s family, Archinikos son of Gorgoppas (cf. lines 86–87 of Epikteta’s testament, where his son is also listed): these are *IG XI 4*, 709–710 (both dating to the end of the third century BC). But this only provides a rough chronological bracket for the association created by Epikteta.

to what one finds in the dossier of Poseidonios. It is unclear if Epikteta was still alive at the time of inscribing, though one might surmise from the perfect tense employed in the second text (ἐπιδέδωκε, line 113, etc.) that Epikteta's testament had now entered into effect after her passing. That might then also parallel the dossier of Diomedon, depending on one's reconstruction of its chronology. The first text is clearly a direct citation of the testament of Epikteta (beginning τάδε διέθετο, line 2), and continues to some extent in the first-person singular expected of such a document (ἀπολείπω, line 7, etc.), while gradually also adopting more prescriptive infinitival and third-person imperative forms.²⁷ The testatrix quite clearly explains the motivations for her bequest: her husband Phoinix began construction on a temple of the Muses (Mouseion) gathering in it reliefs, statues and monuments of himself and his already deceased son Kratesilochos; he then (at his death) asked his wife to complete the construction of the Mouseion; two years later, this wish was echoed by her other son Andragoras upon his death (lines 8–22, etc.).²⁸ Epikteta, ill-fated in having survived her husband and both her sons, therefore followed their exhortations and composed a testament which established financing for the cult of the Muses, her heroised husband and herself, and for her heroised sons (lines 66–69, among others). The family which inherits according to this testament is thereby constituted as a cultic community, and the members of this association are even listed (lines 81–108). The second text, as eventually becomes clear, adopts the appearance of a decree of the familial association (after the dating formula, it begins with ἐπειδὴ and a preamble in line 110, and its enactments then commence in line 126 with the formula ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι). Still later, this second text is apparently called a law or regulation (*nomos*) passed by the cultic association. Indeed, a final, clearer reference to the monumental presentation of the inscription is found within the text itself, which, again much like that of Poseidonios, concludes with prescriptions concerning its inscribing.²⁹ Here, one

²⁷ On the vocabulary of testaments, cf. Wittenburg 1990: 71–84 and most recently, *DGAA* 2, Chapter 15, with p. 497–500 on testament of Epikteta in particular.

²⁸ The statue of Phoinix, those of the Muses, or other reliefs, have not been found. It is therefore quite probable that no other labels are to be restored as part of the extant monument, and that these other elements have been lost. On these statues and other cultic materials, cf. Wittenburg 1990: 144–147.

²⁹ Lines 274–286: οὗτος δὲ ἐγγραφέτω τά τε κατὰ τὸν | νόμον πάντα, προνοειθήτω δὲ καὶ ὅπως ὁ νόμος ἀναγραφῆ καὶ ἀ διαθήκα ἕξ | τε τὰν ὑπόβασιν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῶν | ἐν τῷ Μουσειῳ, καὶ ἐς δέλτον ξυλογρα|φηθεῖ, κατασκευωθῆ δὲ καὶ γλωσσοκό|μον ἐς ὃ ἐμβαλοῦμες τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ γράμματα· καὶ ὅπως αἰρεθεῖ ἀνὴρ γραμ|ματοφύλαξ, ὅστις παραλαβὼν διὰ λοι|[π]οῦ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισσόφου τὰν τε δέλτον | ἔχουσας τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰν διαθήκαν ἐξυλογραφημένας καὶ τὸ

finds the expected prescription that the law or regulation and the testament (διαθήκα) are to be inscribed on the base of the statues in the Mouseion (ὑπόβασις τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ). But we also read that these documents are copied on a wooden tablet, and that a casket (γλωσσοκόμον) contains other writings belonging to the family, probably in the form of papyri and including an original version of Epikteta's testament (τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ γράμματα; τὰ βιβλία). These documents, part of this wider dossier, have vanished. Indeed, despite the considerable amount of description provided in the inscription concerning the *temenos* of Muses and the various cultic materials, the precise context of this dossier is, here too, lost.³⁰ We do not know where Epikteta's Mouseion would have been situated on Thera or how it would have formed a part of the wider civic context in the island at the turn of the third century BC.

One can thus readily witness several ways in which these three relatively unique inscriptions yield productive comparisons and contrasts. While different in terms of material support, all of the inscriptions, as we remarked, are collections of texts. None of the texts explicitly embodies an act of cultic foundation, which one expects in Greek to be identified by the use of the verb *hidruen* or the like.³¹ However, all of them refer to varying acts of private initiative: dedication in Diomedon's case; oracular consultation followed by a pledge in that of Poseidonios; and a testament which points to the completed construction of a sanctuary by Epikteta. All of the cults established in the inscriptions pertain to gods alongside whom one also seemingly finds the worship of the individuals concerned, whether in a heroic guise or otherwise. Moreover, we may also remark from the outset that none of these family dossiers makes an explicit appeal to the *polis*: they do not seem to have been directly sanctioned and supported by

γλωσσοκόμον | καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ βιβλία φυλαξεῖ, ἐς ὃ κα | δόξει τῷ κοινῷ, καὶ οἰσεῖ ἐπὶ τὸς συλλόγος.

30 For a history of the discovery of the inscription, cf. Wittenburg 1990: 16–19. The four stone panels were brought to Italy around 1586 AD and any archaeological context is probably lost. Wittenburg attempts to make a comparison between the Mouseion of the inscription and other *heroa*, notably one found on Thera (139–143; at Evangelismos, ca. 100–200 meters outside the main city).

31 For use of this verb already since the Classical period, see e.g. *IG I³ 987* (ca. 405–400 BC, Echelidai – Neon Phaleron): Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισῶ ἱερῶν ἰδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν... (Purvis 2003: 15–16, etc.); compare *SEG 15.517* (ca. 250 BC, Paros): col. II: Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν | ἐν τῷ τεμένει, ὃ κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσάμενῳ | βωμῶν... For an alternative point of view on the concept of 'foundation', more rooted in the notion of civic 'donation', see Stavri-anopoulou 2006: 226–227.

these local city-states.³² At any rate, they must have remained to some degree under the wider authority of their local city-states: for example, their revenues were probably taxable.³³ Moreover, the dossiers, particularly those of Poseidonios and Epikteta, were consciously modelled on a common ‘polis-framework’ by adopting the formulation of civic decrees.³⁴

Male Priests and Kinship Groups

One particularly fertile area for comparison among these three dossiers, and one which will be our main focus here, is the personnel involved in the cults. The first parts of the three dossiers, as different as they may be, all establish or restructure familial cults, which aim towards a wide but fairly traditional degree of inclusivity. Furthermore, in all three instances, as we shall see, priests are appointed according to a principle of male primogeniture. These two interrelated aspects of the dossiers ought surely not to be surprising. Without any doubt, the organisation of sub-*polis* groups with hereditary priesthoods is based on long-standing kinship traditions, since the Archaic period or even earlier.³⁵ The familial root of this practice is perhaps even clearer: in the Greek household (*oikos*), the father of the family is the one who officiates in the context of domestic cult, and the emphasis on male primogeniture is strong.³⁶ But the moment this sort of familial cult steps out of an unwritten context and becomes to some extent ‘monumentalised’ or codified, a more explicit definition of how the family is constituted and of who is responsible for its rituals becomes necessary. The crystallisation of priesthoods in early periods of Greek political history is a

32 In this regard, an interesting psychological phenomenon is that previous editors of the stele of Poseidonios had all read the phrase $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ in line 46, no doubt wishfully thinking that the *thiasos* of Poseidonios was financially accountable to the city of Halikarnassos (cf. Appendix, ad loc.). In fact, the stone clearly shows that one must instead read $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\upsilon$, “before the dinner”. In Poseidonios’ family, as in many committees today, one read and balanced the financial accounts, getting rid of this necessary business before partaking in a communal feast. Cf. Hirschfeld *GIBM* 4, 896 (= *SEG* 15.637), ad loc., who already considered that the reading $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ entailed “a curious proviso”.

33 See below, Appendix, at lines 21–22 and commentary ad loc.

34 See Stavrianopoulou 2006: 226–249 on individual bequests which are intended to fall under the management of the Hellenistic polis (and are accordingly codified by official civic decrees). Cf. also Gherchanoc 2012: 167.

35 For a recent overview of these questions, with further bibliography, see Horster 2012: esp. 9 and n. 19.

36 Cf. Faraone 2012: 212–213.

relatively obscure matter in which we cannot enter here, but a similar kind of transformative process is remarkably what is in evidence in our three Hellenistic dossiers.³⁷ What we hope to show is that while the *polis* does not explicitly factor into these inscriptions, the conceptual background of the familial cults is nonetheless firmly anchored in ‘*polis*-religion’, as notably exemplified by its sub-groups.

As we have seen, several enigmas about the context of the dossiers remain. The inscription from Cos, contrary to Poseidonios’ endowment based on an oracle and Epikteta’s testamentary dispositions to honour herself and the dead members of her family with a Mouseion, does not say anything about the origin of Diomedon’s decision to consecrate a cult-place, to finance and to organise familial rituals. We are told that Diomedon consecrated a *temenos*, along with guest-houses ‘in the garden’, some small buildings, and a slave with his descendants. The latter will be free if they perform what is prescribed. At the first stage of the foundation, slaves are clearly established as the permanent caretakers of the sanctuary and its properties.³⁸ However, the responsibility for the various sacrifices performed in the sanctuary depends on Diomedon’s children (lines 9–10: τοὶ ἐγ[ὸ] Δι[ο]μέδον[[δον]]τος) and their descendants (lines 10–11: καὶ αἰ τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεν[ό]μενοι), even though the slave oversees the funding of the rituals through rental proceeds. The next section, referring to the details of these rituals and the identity of the recipients is heavily mutilated. Sacrifices were itemised after the mention of the festival (πανάγυρις), which seems to be certain (line 22). The priesthood is then discussed, in a heavily but plausibly restored passage: [... ἱεράσθω δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλεῦς νῦν | [μὲν – – – – , τὸ δὲ λοιπ]ὸν αἰὶ ὁ πρεσ<β>ύτι[[ατος τῶν Διομέδοντος ἐγγό]γων (lines 23–25). A distinction is clearly made between the present and the future: Diomedon could be the first and current priest, if his name is to be restored in the lacuna; in the future, the priest will be “the eldest of Diomedon’s descendants”.³⁹

³⁷ Some preliminary reflections in Georgoudi/Pirenne-Delforge 2005.

³⁸ A similar situation can also be observed in the dedication of a *temenos* by a certain Pythion son of Stasilas in the deme of Isthmos, also on Cos but at later date (*IG* XII 4, 349, ca. 200–150 BC). This much shorter text offers a good parallel to Diomedon’s stele on several levels: a slave called Makarinos is dedicated to the logistical running of the sanctuary (lines 4–11), and this sanctuary is common to all of the sons of Pythion (lines 15–16). However, a priestess, who could be Pythion’s wife, but whose name has likely been erased (line 4), seems to lead the ritual practice, and the main gods are an Artemis, Zeus Hikesios and the Theoi Patrooi (all equally appropriate to a deme context on Cos).

³⁹ The extent of the lacuna in these lines (23–25) is not given by Hallof and Bosnakis but can be calculated as ca. 9 letters in this case, which would well match the possibility of a single

Though Epikteta’s testament directly appoints a priest, it adopts a language that is much like that which one would expect from other evidence concerning priesthoods, which could be defined as *kata genos*, literally “by descent” or hereditary (lines 57–61):

τὰν δὲ ἱερατείαν τᾶν
Μουσαῖν καὶ τῶν ἠρώϊων ἐχέτω ὁ τᾶς θυγα-
τρός μου υἱὸς Ἀνδραγόρας· εἰ δὲ τί κα πάθη οὔ-
τος, αἰεὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἐπι-
τελείας.⁴⁰

Epikteta does, however, stress that the eldest man, αἰεὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος, is always to serve as priest, presumably for his lifetime, until he is succeeded by the next male descendant in the line of her *genos*.

Both the dossiers of Diomedon and Poseidonios, for their part, use a more distinctive expression in this context, perhaps providing an even more emphatic affirmation of the masculine primogeniture which was the sole condition for being priest. In Poseidonios’ stele, the appointment of a priest is defined as follows: ἱερατευέτω τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὦν αἰεὶ κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν (lines 20–21). As much as the appointment of the priest is clear in Poseidonios’ case and more or less comparable to Epikteta’s definition of the priesthood, Diomedon’s is more complex, given the lacunae found earlier in the text: a current priest has been appointed and future ones will be chosen according to who is eldest among the male descendants. The wider male lineage, however, is referred to a few times using the expression οἱ κατ’ ἀνδρογένε[ι]α[ν]. Near the very end of the extant text, one finds this succinct phrase (lines 153–155): θυόντω δὲ τῶι Πασίωι κα[ὶ] ταῖς Μοίραις οἱ κατ’ ἀνδρογένε[ι]α[ν] (cf. also lines 86–87). This is a shorthand for designating the male members in their order of seniority, literally “those according to male lineage.” The priest, as the eldest man, is of course included in this group and must lead the sacrifice. It is not by chance that the sacrifices which this male part of the family makes are offered to Pasios and the Moirai. These deities are related to the protection of the family, whether its patrimony (Zeus Pasios is a local form of Zeus Ktesios) or its human components (the Moirai notably protect the well-

name, probably without patronymic. Diomedon himself may therefore seem the likeliest candidate: [... ἱεράσθω δὲ τοῦ] Ἡρακλεῦς νῦν | [μὲν Διομέδων, τὸ δὲ λοιπ]όν...

40 Compare e.g. at Halicarnassus, where one inscribes a list of civic priests, constructed as namely τοὺς γε[γεννημένους] | ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Πο[σειδῶ]νος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικί[αν] ἐκ | Τροί<ζ>ῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλω[νι] (A. Wilhelm 1908: 64–69, no. 5, Hellenistic?). On hereditary priesthoods, see generally Georgoudi/Pirenne-Delforge 2005: 13–15; in Athens: Parker 1996: 56–66, 125–126, 284–327.

balanced renewal of generations). A sacrifice to the patrimonial Zeus and to the Moirai thus defines the identity of the family, a point to which we will return.⁴¹

The concept of ἀνδρογένεια, apparently here replacing the more simple *genos*, is rather particular.⁴² As some have observed, this compound word is found nearly only in inscriptions from Cos and nearby towns.⁴³ In fact, it is found along the Halicarnassian peninsula, or the western coast of Caria more generally. We are therefore probably dealing with a vocabulary which has a strong local dissemination.⁴⁴ The case of Cos is perhaps the most instructive, since the earliest evidence pertains to the Asclepiadai, a cult group from Cos and Cnidus who traced their descent from the god, and who would become prominent during the Hellenistic period for their role as doctors. In the first half of the fourth century BC, they inscribed a stele at Delphi stipulating that visitors to the oracle “who wished to consult it or sacrifice were to swear that they were Asclepiadai by line of male ancestry (κατὰ ἀνδρο[γέν]ειαν).”⁴⁵ This emphasis on male ancestry as a qualification for membership in a *genos* agrees particularly well with the appointment of priests specified by Poseidonios and with Diomedon’s familial structure. Similarly, other instances of this word tend to confirm

⁴¹ Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2011, with further bibliography.

⁴² See now *DGAA* 1: 340–342, albeit quite cursorily, on this subject.

⁴³ Cf. already Bousquet, 1956: esp. 587 (“villes voisines”), and Rougemont *CID* I 12, but they do not exhaustively note all of the examples briefly cited here.

⁴⁴ New evidence disturbs that picture of such a local horizon. An oracular lamella from Dodona, as yet not officially published, preserves a question from two women of unknown origin, likely sisters: Θιός, τύχα ἀγαθὰ : Βῶκόλο κῆ Πολυμνάστη | τί κα δράοντοιν *θυγία* κῆ γενία κ’ ἀνδρογένεια | γινύσο[ι]το κῆ παραμόνιμος ἰοιό[ς] κῆ χρῆμάτων | ἐπιγγ[ύ]ασις κῆ τῶν ἰοντῶν ὄνασις. Translation: “God, good fortune: Bokolo and Polymnaste (ask) what the two of them should do for there to be health and offspring and male offspring and a male child that will survive and security of properties and enjoyment of future things” (450–425 BC; cf. Eidinow 2007: 92 no. 13, from Christidis; *SEG* 57.536 no. 4 of the *inedita*).

⁴⁵ Rougemont, *CID* I 12 (compare *LSS* 42, ca. 360 BC or earlier?), lines 3–11: τὸν ἀφικνεύμενον Ἀσκληπιάδαν ἐς Δελφούς, | αἶ κα χρήζηι τῶι μα|ντείωι χρῆσθαι ἢ θύεν, ὁμόσαντα χρῆσθαι ἔμεν Ἀσκληπιάδου κατὰ ἀνδρο[γέν]ειαν. As was well noted by Bousquet (n. 43 above), this language is echoed almost directly in a claim made in the supposed speech of Thessalos, the son of Hippocrates, to the Athenian assembly. This is the so-called *Presbeutikos Logos*, *Hr. Ep.* 27, lines 138–144: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κάδμος, ὃς τὴν βουλήν αὐτὴν ἤρτυσεν, ἔστι τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς, ὁ δ’ Ἴππόλοχος ἐξ Ἀσκληπιαδέων τέταρτος ἀπὸ Νέβρου τοῦ Κρισαίου συγκαθελόντος, ἡμεῖς δ’ Ἀσκληπιάδαι κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν (see also Smith 1990: 4–18, for discussion). Whatever its authenticity—various sections of the lengthy speech appear cobbled together from different sources—this passage of the text surely provides a confirmation that the Asclepiadai used this (local?) expression to rhetorically affirm their line of male ancestry, swearing: “we are Asclepiadai by line of male descent.”

both the local specificity and the significance of the word. An inscription from the small Carian town of Olymos prescribes the inscribing of a list of those persons who could partake in the sacrifices for Apollo and Leto, probably a necessary consequence of its recent *sympoliteia* with the larger town of Mylasa to its south. The considerations of the decree begin: “since it seems fitting to affirm participation in the rituals held in common by the Olymeis according to male ancestry (κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν) ...”.⁴⁶ Finally, perhaps the latest instance of the expression is a funerary inscription from Myndus, which, though fragmentary, assigns the rights for burial in *hypostai* to specific persons as well as to a few others “according to the line of male descent.”⁴⁷ In all these cases, then, the line of male ancestry or descent is stressed with this distinctive form of vocabulary.

To return to the priests, the inscriptions of Diomedon and Poseidonios give details concerning their duties and emoluments, while Epikteta’s testament does not mention the priest after stipulating his appointment. In Diomedon’s text, the injunction *θυόντω* that comes just after the possible mention of the priest (line 25) opens the most degraded part of the stone, but its content must have closely adopted the form that we know in some official sacrificial regulations from Cos: sacrifices to various gods involving specific animals, libations, and the provision of complementary *hiera* by the priest.⁴⁸ Then, on the better preserved face B of the stone, comes his priestly prerogative (*geras*): “let him take a leg and the skin from each sacrificial animal” (lines 39–41: γ[έ]||ρη δὲ λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἱερέ[υ]ς | ἐκάστου σκέλος καὶ τὸ δέρμα). This is the priestly perquisite which is found in virtually every priesthood document on Cos.⁴⁹ The last prescription concerns the performance of τὰν ἀποπυρίδα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (lines 42–43), a *hapax legomenon* which has been interpreted as a sacrifice of fish.⁵⁰ The second part of the inscription (II) is brief and stipulates that the

46 *I. Mylasa* 861 (cf. *LSAM* 68; ca. 150 BC?), lines 2–3: ἐπειδὴ καθήκει ὑπάρχειν τ[ὴν] μετουσίαν τῶν παρ’ Ὀλυμ[ε]ῦσιν κοινῶν ἱερῶν κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν...

47 *SEG* 16.696, lines 2–11 (first-second century AD?): ἩΝ καὶ [- - - c.11- - -] αὐτήν κατ’ ἀ[νδ]||ρογενίαν [κα]ὶ Πῶλλα Ἀθηναίου, Δρακοντί[ς - -]ωτου, Ζωσάριν Ἐρω|τος, Ἀττέλιν, Ἀμφινόη μόναι | καὶ Κάρπος Σωζομένου, Ἐρμά|ς Εὐτυχᾶ, Κόιντος Γλαύκωνος | ἀρχαιρέσιοι καὶ τούτων τῶν | τριῶν αἰ[ε]|| κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν | καὶ Λούκιον Σπέδιον Διό|τειμον μόνον.

48 Compare further on, lines 36–39: ἱερ[ά] | δὲ παρεχέτω ἄρτον ποτὶ τ[ὴν] ἀρτοφαγ[ί]αν καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποτὶ τὰ|ν σπονδ[ί]αν | καὶ ξύλα ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν. Elsewhere on Cos see: *IG* XII 4, 274, lines 4–10, 60–62; 275, lines 20–21; 276, lines 3–8; 278, lines 45–47, 58–60.

49 Cf. S. Paul and P. Kató in this volume.

50 Cf. esp. Ekroth 2002: 88 and 179 n. 209. A maritime context, with a scene of fishing, is represented on a mosaic found in situ in the harbour sanctuary of Heracles Kallinikos. Could this evidence reflect, like the *apopuris*, a broader connexion between Heracles and the sea in Cos? See De Matteis 2004: 105–106, n° 35, pl. XXXIX and Paul 2013.

statues and offerings must be kept at the same place inside “the house” (lines 56–59), implying that some of this material has probably been dis- or misplaced. It also gives some information about the two phases of the annual *panegyris* of the month Petageitnos already mentioned in the first part of the text (lines 60–66). These sacrifices are performed by the priest, assisted by three *epimenioi*, who are discussed in the next section.

At Halicarnassus, the priest appointed in Poseidonios’s inscription is also assisted by *epimenioi* and his *geras* is mentioned: “let the priest get from each sacrificial animal a thigh and a quarter of the entrails and let him have an equal share of the other parts” (lines 38–40: ὁ δὲ ἱε[ρε]ὺς λαμβανέτω ἑκάστου | ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τεταρτη[μο]ρίδα σπλάγχνων, | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσόμοιρος ἔ[στω]). The priestly *geras* is a *sine qua non* in texts concerning priests. On the one hand, the parallel between Diomedon and Poseidonios is striking and their content on these issues is very close to other Hellenistic inscriptions concerning sales of priesthood or civic sacrifices. On the other hand, it is possible that the domestic framework, which is little understood, may also be present in the attribution of a *geras*, literally the “prerogative of age,” to the eldest in the male line. In Epikteta’s case, there is no explicit mention of a priestly *geras*: perhaps this was simply conventional and did not need to be spelled out?

The third part of Diomedon’s inscription, which refers to a variety of regulations planned by the founder, stipulates the necessary funds in case of damage to be repaired as well as for the sacrifices. To this are added prohibitions regarding the exploitation of the *temenos* and the cultic house, as well as concerning the use of the buildings he consecrated. During the month when the festival of Heracles is to be held, weddings of impoverished male members of the family (τῶν [κα]τ’ ἀνδρογένειαν, lines 86–87) can be organised in conjunction with the usual sacrifices. For this occasion, the priest gives his perquisites to the bridegroom and receives eight drachmas as compensation (lines 101–103: ἐ[φιέτω | δὲ] καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τοὺς γάμους τὰ γέρ[η] τῶι | τὸν γάμον ποιοῦντι λαβῶν ὀκτώ δραχ[μάς]). Moreover, the meat that is not placed on the sacred table and that can be taken away is available for the nuptials. It may be underlined that the family can give its male members the opportunity to counterbalance their financial difficulties in the context of marriage. This is the best way to preserve the continuity of the family and the legitimacy of children on the male side. Diomedon’s organisation thus aims to provide its members with the best conditions for starting a new part of the family.

Though Diomedon’s ancestry and past are quite nebulous, and perhaps deliberately so, his text is quite explicit on the structural organisation of his present and future family. On a first level, we are told that τοῦ[ς] | [ἐ]γ Διομέδοντος [[— — — — —ω]] | γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς ἐγγ[ό][ν]ους αὐτῶν (lines 136–137)

have to defend the cult and the ancestors.⁵¹ The expression used is relatively generic: “those who are born from Diomedon and their descendants.” Even if this is not stipulated, we can presume that this is a form of inclusive language, denoting all male and female descendants. In order to defend Diomedon’s dispositions, the whole family is concerned, whatever the precise relationship of its members with the founder.

On a second level, when cult personnel must be selected or appointed, those chosen must have a perfect family pedigree on both paternal and maternal sides. In fact, as far as bastards (*nothoi*) are concerned, their cult attendance is submitted to an evaluation but their actual participation cannot involve any responsibility over the rituals.⁵² The inscription uses the expression μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῶι μετέχειν τῶν | [i]ερωσυνῶν (lines 148–149): the plural implies more than the priesthood and probably also includes the office of *epimenioi*.⁵³ At the civic level, where citizenship is concerned, a *nothos* can be an extramarital child of a citizen, a child born from a citizen who married an alien woman or the reverse. The latter status is closely connected with a twofold civic ancestry requirement, a prerequisite for citizenship that one finds in Athens after 451/0, and probably also in Cos.⁵⁴ In our text, the reference to *nothoi* implies more a question of legitimacy within the family than of citizenship itself.⁵⁵ Even though a *nothos* may partake in the rituals, he cannot assume ritual responsibilities because of his illegitimate descent.⁵⁶ Let us simply remark that only male

51 It is striking that the name of Diomedon’s father is unknown. One would probably have expected it to appear in the first extant line of the stele, and its absence contrasts with the dossiers of Poseidonios and Epikteta. Moreover, the *rasura* line 136 perhaps suggests a deliberate erasure of Diomedon’s patronymic (compare the possibly similar case in lines 12–14 and see below).

52 Cf. now *DGAA* 1: 306–311 on *nothoi* at Cos, notably in the stele of Diomedon.

53 There is some controversy as to whether τῶν | [i]ερωσυνῶν here means “the priestly share of sacrificial victims”, as attested in Attic inscriptions (so argued in *RIJG* 24B), or merely “priesthoods” (cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 265 n. 46, cited by Ogden 1996: 315 n.122; *DGAA* 1: 308 n.79). This seems rather pointless, since both interpretations amount to the same thing: priestly shares are only given to priests or cultic officials. The phrase μετέχειν τῶν ιερωσυνῶν, or “partake in the priesthoods”, is a little unusual, but cf. perhaps *FD* III 4: 442, lines 10–11 (ca. 20–46 AD). See also below, with n. 73.

54 Discussion in Ogden 1996: 310–316.

55 Contrast the modalities of introducing *nothoi* into civic phratries: e.g. *LSS* 48 (Tenos, fourth century BC).

56 A *nothos* must be vetted to participate in the family and the rites, lines 146–147: ἄν δέ τις νόθος ὢν κρ[ιθ]εῖς γνωσθῆι μετέχειν τῶν ιερω[ν]. For this vocabulary, with an adequate French translation, cf. *DGAA* 1: 308 and n. 79.

bastards are concerned by the regulation. If there were *nothai* in the family, they are as evanescent as the other females, whatever their legitimacy.

The case of Poseidonios presents some analogous language which aims at a maximal inclusivity of family members in the cult group (*thiasos*). It would seem likely that this comprehensiveness was either part of original wording of Poseidonios' question to the oracle or derived from the typical pleonastic language of oracles themselves. Indeed, the oracle (lines 1–12), forming the first part of the dossier, preserves the following request sent by Poseidonios: “what would be better and more good for him and for his descendants, who will be born and are living, both from males and females, to do and to endeavour...” Compared to the more male-centric aspects of the foundation of Diomedon, Poseidonios does not apparently wish to exclude his female descendants from what the oracle prescribes, and a person who is presumed to be his wife, Gorgis, is also included in the cult (lines 11 and 36). The priesthood is attributed to males only, as we have seen, but the familial structure explicitly includes both male and female offspring.

Indeed, later on in the text, the pledge and the decree enacted by Poseidonios both reprise this language, with some further modifications and elaborations. In the first case, we find the heading: “Poseidonios pledged to his own descendants and those born from them, both from males and females, and those who take from them...” (lines 13–15). In the second, the decree begins: “it seemed good to Poseidonios and the descendants of Poseidonios and those who have taken from them ...” (lines 23–24). The phrases τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, “those who take from them” in line 15, and the perfect formulation τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν in line 24, warrant some explanation. The object of the verb “to take/receive” remains unspecified but the suggestions of some of the previous editors of text have provided a convincing explanation for the ellipsis.⁵⁷ One ought probably to supply an implied object such as “women” or “wives” (γυναῖκας).⁵⁸ The phrase would accordingly refer to men who “have taken <wives> from among Poseidonios' descendants” and therefore imply “in-laws” or other relatives by marriage.⁵⁹ Once again, it would appear that the familial

⁵⁷ E. Ziebarth apud F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Syll.*³ 1044, n. 8; followed by G. Hirschfeld, *GIBM* 4, 896 (*SEG* 15.637) ad loc. Cf. Parker 2010: 119 n. 68.

⁵⁸ Cf. also the acceptance of this meaning in *LSJ* s.v. λαμβάνειν II.1.c, “receive wives”.

⁵⁹ An alternative, though far less assured, would be to think that the missing object was something such as Poseidonios' endowment itself, τὴν ὑποθήκην. The phrase would in this case mean “those who receive / have received <the inheritance / bequest> from them (i.e. the other descendants, children and grandchildren).” This would be an odd way of describing a further generation, but perhaps not completely unsuitable in the context of the pleonastically

structure described by the dossier of Poseidonios is broadly defined. This familial *thiasos* includes not only all the direct male and female descendants of Poseidonios—a first generation of mixed gender, a second generation born from these, and so on—but also in-laws, males who married into the family. Beyond its emphasis on the continuity of male descent for the priesthood (*androgeneia*), Poseidonios' *thiasos* was a group which embraced the cult of his ancestors and which welcomed all of his first-generation descendants as well as all of their direct relatives.

The members of the group constituted by Epikteta are, at first glance, centred on the male side of the family. Its name is “the association of the men’s group of the relatives” (κοινόν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν, with some variations throughout the document), which tentatively refers to a Doric background of common dinners between male citizens.⁶⁰ The list of members which concludes the testament (lines 80–108) opens with twenty-five male names accompanied by their patronymic. Their relationship with Epikteta, her father Grinnos or her husband Phoinix is not entirely clear in each case but one can suppose that all these people belong to the wider family (the *sungeneis*) on the male side. However, the *andreion* is probably a formal expression which does not imply an exclusion of women, insofar as the document refers to the participation of men and “their wives, living together with them, and their children, the female children as long as they are under their father’s authority, the male as well when they are of age, and their issue under the same conditions” (lines 94–97).⁶¹ Also mentioned are the heiresses (*epikleroi*), their husbands and their children, under the same conditions (lines 97–100).⁶² Wives and *epikleroi* remain anonymous for the most part, but at the end of the list, some women are explicitly named, who probably do not belong to the categories previously mentioned (except Epiteleia who is the daughter and heir of the testatrix): a homonymous Epikteta whose place in the family is unknown, five daughters of male members and their husbands, as well as three others females, who were perhaps not yet

oracular and encompassing language of Poseidonios’ stele. Not so differently, W. Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 641, reckoned that this phrase designated a group of persons who had received the right to participate in the cult through a decision of the descendants (scil. <τὴν μετουσίαν>?). Cf. Laum 1914: 111–112.

⁶⁰ For the *koinon*: lines 22–23, 26–27, 56, 76–77, 132, 144–145. See Wittenburg 1990: 97–99, though one may be sceptical about the extent to which ‘male dining groups’ are more Doric than Ionic, or a general feature of Greek communities.

⁶¹ The forms πορευέσθωσαν (line 94), πορευέσθων (97–98), πορευέσθω (100, 105), are used for the attendance and participation of women and children.

⁶² See now *DGAA* 1: 250–252 for a brief discussion of the “épiciérat” here.

married or who were widows. The children of all these women are also evoked (lines 100–108).⁶³

The three dossiers thus place variously nuanced emphases on the participation of family members. Different forms of inclusivity can be observed: the desire to control marriages and incorporate male bastards in Diomedon's dossier, and the membership of female descendants and in-laws in both Poseidonios' and Epikteta's communities. Several other Hellenistic examples of familial hierarchies within cults could be adduced, some of which parallel what one finds in the cases of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta.⁶⁴ Amid these complex family structures and dynamics, the constant feature was the appointment of a male priest following a principle of primogeniture. Beyond priests, other forms of 'private cult personnel' found in these three Hellenistic dossiers can be seen, in much the same way, to mirror the forms of 'public priesthoods' which are evidenced in wider civic frameworks.

Elusive Contexts and *Epimenioi*

As we have seen, our three dossiers all exhibit relatively common structures though their contexts are far from clear. One might suppose that they were constituted in a carefully considered manner, first establishing a private initiative which next needed to be elaborated through an administrative act (*viz.* a decree). This is almost certainly the case with Epikteta's testament, but in the other two, that is not so readily apparent. In particular, Diomedon's stele presents a rather haphazard accumulation of inscribed texts and does not invoke such an administrative act. Poseidonios' dossier was perhaps elaborated in a methodical way, but his *hypotheke* does not demonstrate the same level of detail and foresight as Epikteta's testament. Instead, one might suggest that the

⁶³ On the family of Epikteta, cf. the excellent analysis of Stavrianopolou 2006: 141–142, 290–302.

⁶⁴ A fruitful comparison could notably be made with the remarkable recent example of the *koinon* honouring Symmasis and his wife at Tlos in Lycia, cf. Parker 2010. The assignment of sacrificial prerogatives is defined as follows, with a particular emphasis on male participation (side A, lines 11–28): ὡς ἂν δὲ μεταλλάξῃ Συμμασις τὸν βίον δώσουσιν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Μαρμα | ἀμφοτέρως, ὡς ἂν δὲ καὶ αὕτη μεταλλάξῃ τὸν βίον δώσουσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς μου, ὁμοίως < > δὲ καὶ | ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐπιγεινομένοις ἐκ τούτων. παρέσονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς | εὐωχίας οἱ υἱοὶ μου Σύμ- | μαχος καὶ Ἑρμάφιλος καὶ Κλεῖνος καὶ οἱ γαμβροὶ μοι Ἑρμακτυβελίς καὶ Ἑρμόλυκος οἱ | Τινζα- | σίος Βελλεροφόντειοι καὶ οἱ < τού > των ἐπιγεινόμενοι | οἱ πρῶτοι πρῶτοι ἕως ἂν γένηνται δέκα. ὅταν δὲ τις τούτων ἀποθάνῃ παρέσται ὁ πρε[σ]βύτατος ἐκ τούτων.

dossiers, especially those of Diomedon and Poseidonios, reflect what seem to be gradual modifications and developments. What might have led the original consecrations and testaments to become complex dossiers rather than retaining an originally more simple form? We cannot be absolutely sure, since we are not explicitly told the reason for further inscribing. But both the resemblances and the points of contrast between the three dossiers are instructive in this regard.

In the case of Diomedon, it has been insightfully remarked that the slave Libys, originally prominent in the consecration of the *temenos* as its primary caretaker, is no longer mentioned in the following texts.⁶⁵ Perhaps he had simply died or was without any progeny, hence the need for further definition of the cult personnel involved in Diomedon's family. According to the original dedication, Diomedon had probably only foreseen the need for a priest and a servile helper, and this aspect of the cult may itself have initially caused some problems. What is more, the first inscription (I) shows consistently that the name Libys has been added at a later date as part of a revision, perhaps indicating that the servile personnel, probably another male slave and his family, had already needed to be replaced, perhaps soon after the initial act of consecration.⁶⁶ Quite similarly, Poseidonios had only stipulated the appointment of a priest, as quoted in his *hypotheke* (II). The decree (part III) appended to this is perhaps the clearest instance of an explanation for why such a complement was added: we read that this *dogma* anticipates or acknowledges the fact that the priest may not hand over the money necessary for the sacrifices or “wish to do so”, in which case, the bequests of Poseidonios are to be held in common by the family.⁶⁷ Might one presume that this had perhaps been the case, soon after the endowment itself? The eldest male descendant of Poseidonios, appointed as priest while Poseidonios was probably still alive, had perhaps already shown some delinquency in his duties. As in the case of Poseidonios, the testament of Epikteta is followed by an additional inscription (column C, lines 109 ff.), which contrasts with her original document by adopting the language of a decree (line 110: ἐπειδὴ... ; line 126: ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι, δεδόχθαι). We are not told which body passed this resolution, but it is almost certainly the *koinon* formed by Epikteta's male family (first mentioned at lines 22–23 and recurring repeatedly thereafter).

⁶⁵ Cf. Paul 2013.

⁶⁶ Read with *IG XII 1*, 348, lines 4–5: καὶ [[Λίβυν]] καὶ τὰ ἔγγο|να αὐτοῦ... Lines 11–13 show even further instances of revision, perhaps related to this servile personnel as well as controversial properties (namely those that have been erased following the grove mentioned here): ἐχέτω δὲ [[Λίβυς καὶ τοὶ ἐγ Λίβυο]]|ς μισθοῦ τὸν κᾶπον [[M— — — — — | — — — — —]].

⁶⁷ See Appendix, lines 27–28: ἂν δ[ἐ] μὴ ἀπο|διδῶ, ἢ μὴ θέλῃ καρπεύειν, εἶναι τὰ ὑποκείμενα κ[οι]νά...

At any rate, it is clear that we are in a later context which aims at confirming and augmenting the cult founded by Epikteta. The vocabulary of the regulations notably diverges from her testament, mentioning for the first time an *artuter* (probably a Dorian word for the president of this *koinon*) and other *nomoi*.⁶⁸

The most noteworthy element of these revisions, and one which they all have in common, is the selection and appointment of cult personnel called *epimenioi*. These officials, derived probably in all cases from male members of the family, are clearly meant to complement or to replace the priest in some of his functions. The case of Poseidonios is perhaps the most straightforward. One reads in the first part of the decree of the *thiasos* that three *epimenioi* are to be chosen annually from members of the family and that these are to receive money from the bequest which is administered by the priest; this money is then to be used to put on and pay for the sacrifices. In the case of a default by the priest, the family as a whole administers the endowments and also rents out the cult precinct (*temenos*), thus providing sufficient funds for the rituals. The essential functions of these *epimenioi*, it would appear, are twofold but closely related: financial administration of the bequests if necessary and provision of animals and materials for the sacrifices, but also supervision (*epimeleia*) of the rites in addition to the priest (ἐπιμελεί|τωσαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, τῷ ἱερεῖ τὰ νομιζόμε[να] | παρέχοντες, lines 31–33). Finally, while the priest retains in all cases his honorific shares from the sacrifice (lines 38–40), namely a thigh and a quarter of the entrails, the *epimenioi* also receive priestly portions: heads and feet of the sacrificial animals.⁶⁹

In the dossier of Diomedon, the essential portion of the second text (II, lines 63–68), prescribes the selection of three *epimenioi*. After a short complement affirming the present arrangement of statues and dedications in the cultic ‘house’ or room (the *oikia*), we read:⁷⁰

... θύεν δὲ ἐκκαιδεκάται
 60 μηνός Πεταγειτνύου κα[ι]
 τὸν ξενισμὸν ποιεῖν τῷ[ι]
 Ἡρακλεῖ, τὰν δ’ ἀποπυρίδα
 ἑπτακαιδεκάται· ἐπιμηνί-
 ους δ’ αἰρεῖσθαι τρεῖς κατ’ ἑ-

⁶⁸ Lines 144–146: πρᾶσσεσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ [κατα]τυγχάνοντος ἀρτυ|τῆρος κατὰ [τὸς] νόμος καὶ μὴ μετεχέτω τοῦ | κοινοῦ ἐς ὃ [κα ἐκ]τείση.

⁶⁹ Appendix, line 44: τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοὶ ἐχόντων.

⁷⁰ For the former, cf. lines 56–59: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἀνα|θήματα ἔστω ἐν ταῖ οἰκία[ι] | κατὰ χώραν ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν | ἔχει.

65 νιαυτόν, οἵτινες ἐχθουσεῦν-
ται τὰ ἱερὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐπι-
μελέσθων δὲ τοῖ ἐπιμήνιοι
ὧ κα δέηι ποτὶ τὰν δέξι[ν].

This concludes the text inscribed in the second hand. In other words, it is almost exclusively concerned with a series of dated rituals and with these *epimenioi*. The order of the rituals takes place over two days: on the 16th of Pedageitnyos a sacrifice and a *xenismos* for Heracles, and an *apopyris* on the 17th. As with Poseidonios, three *epimenioi* are to be chosen annually which are to assist the priest in his sacrificial duties. The expression given for their primary function is rather unusual: ἐχθουσεῦν|ται τὰ ἱερὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως. The verb *exthuein*, usually implying an expiatory or destruction sacrifice (so *LSJ*), probably cannot have the same significance here. Though one might envisage rites to Heracles and the fish sacrifice (ἀποπυρίς) involving partial burning, it may well be that the verb here conveys something rather different.⁷¹ Most probably, the middle form of the verb, which is comparatively rarer than the active, signifies that the *epimenioi* are simply to assist the priest in his duties. In other words, the phrase emphasises that “they themselves fulfill the sacrifices and rituals along with the priest”.⁷² In addition, the *epimenioi* are to provide the necessary items for a ritual called the *dexis* (ἐπι|μελέσθων δὲ τοῖ ἐπιμήνιοι | ὧ κα δέηι ...). What is contextually meant by this particular ritual largely escapes our understanding, since the variety of ritual vocabulary in this text is somewhat mystifying. The *xenismos* of Heracles almost certainly implies something akin to a *theoxenia*, where the statue of the god was present on a couch and the figure of the god was hosted with a meal, while the *dexis*, literally a sort of “reception”, may well be closely connected with this *xenismos* or even be a term encompassing the result of the two sacrificial occasions (compare perhaps the result-

71 Total, or ‘holocaustic’, burning is plausible only for the fish sacrifice, since the other sacrifices must provide the necessary perquisites for the priest and meat for the family.

72 Two contrasting examples may illustrate this quite adequately. On the one hand, one finds sacrifices defined as an ἐχθυσίαν in Delian inventories which clearly contrast with the more normal θυσίαν often listed in these same texts: e.g. *ID* 372, line 105 (200 BC, here: to Demeter and Zeus Eubouleus). In such cases, one might reasonably presume a reference to destruction sacrifices (cf. Ekroth 2002). On the other hand, a list of tribal officials from Cos is headed as follows (*JG* XII 4, 456, late third century BC): τοῖδε ἐστεφανώθην ἀρχεύσαν|τες καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐχθύσαντες κατὰ τὰ | {[τ]ὰ} πάτρια ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ δεξά|μενοι τὸς φυλέτας ἀξίως τᾶν | θεᾶν. Here, no such ‘destructive’ connotation need be implied and the emphasis is probably on the fulfilment of ancestral rites to the Nymphs (another ‘innocuous’ case may also be found in an honorific decree from Telos, *JG* XII 3, 30, line 14: τᾶλλα ἱερὰ τὰ ἐχθυόμεν[α]).

ing *deipnon* in Poseidonios' case).⁷³ In any case, the *epimenioi* surely acted in a financial capacity with regard to the *dexis*, providing the necessities for this event, but their duty here may also involve supervision or management (*epimeleia*) of the ritual procedure, as we found in Poseidonios' case. This is even clearer in their association with the priest during the two days of sacrifices. In contrast to the case of Poseidonios, the rationale for the appointment of three *epimenioi* is not as explicitly stated in this addendum, but their functions appear to be for the most part analogous: some degree of financial administration and provision for the rituals, along with control of or assistance in their performance.

The final, much longer addition to the dossier of Diomedon contains further precisions concerning these *epimenioi* (III). Amid a miscellany of regulations on a variety of topics, including the lengthy excursus on marriages, one finds, aside from some speculative restorations, a new responsibility for these *epimenioi*.⁷⁴ They are apparently to gather also on the day following both the celebrations for Heracles and the *apopyris*, and are allowed to bring along other persons of their choice.⁷⁵ While this excerpt appears relatively out of context, following what is essentially a curse or a similar injunction (lines 130–140), it may to some extent parallel Poseidonios' decree. There, the *epimenioi*'s supervisory responsibility continues well beyond the rites (lines 40–48): after providing sufficient and equal portions for men dining and for women, as well

73 Cf. on this subject Jameson 1994, as well as Paul 2013 for a suggestive elucidation of this ritual within a Coan context. Though the *dexis* does not recur in the text, the *xenismos* is clearly attached to Heracles, as one might expect, and recurs later in the text in the context of the precisions concerning the celebration of marriages, line 110: [κα]ὶ τὸν ξενισμόν τοῦ Ἡρακλ[εῦς]. In a related instance, one apparently finds a *xenismos* of members of a kinship group put on by the one performing the marriage, lines 108–101 (though the restoration is not completely assured): ἀφαιρεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερε[ίων, ἃ ἂν | δοκ]ῆι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζ[αν τῶι | θεῶ]ι, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πᾶσι, ὅσα ἐς ξε[νισμόν | οἰκ]εῖων, χρᾶσθω ὁ τὸν γάμον ποιῶν.

74 The restoration offered at the end of side C and the link with the beginning of column D is substantial and appears gratuitous. It may sincerely be doubted (lines 111–115): {C} τοῦτων δὲ [ἐπιμελέσθων οἱ | ἐπιμήνιοι ὅπως οἱ τε γάμοι μετὰ πάσης | εὐκοσμίας συντελεσθήσονται καὶ ὅπως?] | [vacat?] | {D} τοῖς τέκνοις πάντα τὰ δέον|[τ]α παρασκευᾶτε. Not only is the *epimeleia* of the *epimenioi* with regard to the marriages quite uncertain, but the significant switch from third-person imperatives in column C and earlier, to what appear to be quotations of Diomedon's original enactment or testament—involving second-person imperatives such as παρασκευᾶτε (compare λαμβάνετε, line 149) and direct citation of his personal dedication (ἀνέθηκα, lines 120 and 115)—ought to make one doubt that the lacuna between sides C and D can be adequately restored.

75 Lines 141–144: [σ]υνάγειν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμηνί|[ου]ς καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐριον, παρα|[λ]αμβάνοντας οὓς ἂν αὐ|[τ]οῖς δοκῆι.

as for family members who are absent, they are to sell the skins of the sacrificial animals in the *thiasos*, and, on the second day before the dinner, they are finally to give an account of receipts and expenditures, using any profit for dedications. Might we presume that the assembly of the *epimenioi* of Diomedon, which could seemingly also take place on the day following the rites (καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐριον), also involved a similar procedure of selling for profit, financial accounting, and further dining? Another short clause is appended to this brief regulation, whose aim appears to make expressly clear that the *epimenioi* are to be appointed from family members only.⁷⁶ The earlier, very pithy regulation of part II of the dossier, had only stipulated that three *epimenioi* were to be chosen, and perhaps this had also caused some anxieties: the *epimenioi* could bring others to the assembly, but they had to be family members themselves. The decree of the *thiasos* of Poseidonios had obviated this potential issue by immediately making it clear that *epimenioi* were to be chosen from (probably male) members of the extended family (ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, line 25). Furthermore, as we have already seen above, an additional regulation immediately follows in Diomedon's stele, which discusses the participation of bastards (lines 146–149). After undergoing official scrutiny, these are allowed to participate in the rites (*hiera*), but not in priesthoods (*hierosynai*), a rubric which also apparently includes the *epimenieia*.⁷⁷ This additional clause was probably also motivated by the potential problem of *epimenioi* who did not belong to the male family in its strictest sense. Though the *epimenioi* differed from the priest by not needing to be the eldest males *stricto sensu*, they nevertheless, as subsidiary priests, had to be members of the male family *stricto sensu*.

Why was this additional cult personnel called *epimenios*? Though a full treatment of *epimenioi* is naturally not possible here, and substantial but uneven evidence may not even make it advisable, some general observations and interpretations can perhaps be made. The concept was certainly older than these Hellenistic dossiers, deriving probably from an adjectival construction meaning “for the month” or “monthly” (etymologically ἐπί + μείς). In this way, one finds a series of civic officials, already in the Classical period, who are sometimes called *epimenioi* and occasionally attested in the dating formulae of decrees. Some of these appear to have had financial responsibilities as their

⁷⁶ Lines 144–146: ἐπιμηνίους δὲ αἰρεῖσθ[αι | τ]οὺς ἐγ Διομέδοντος καὶ τοὺς ἐγγ[ό]νους αὐτῶν.

⁷⁷ There may have been other priesthoods involved in Diomedon's family, but only one is clearly mentioned. Therefore, as we argued above (p. 80 n. 53), *hierosynai* probably includes the officials known as *epimenioi*. Perhaps the term *hierosyna* was simply meant here as a (rather unique) shorthand for any form of cultic office.

primary vocation, being appointed from treasurers (*tamiai*) or the like.⁷⁸ The term *epimenios* could also be used to qualify members of various boards, such as the *prytaneis* or presidents of the civic council, or other officials who held a monthly chairmanship in a civic body.⁷⁹ Particularly noteworthy for our purposes is the fact that this sort of official could be responsible for the reception (*xenia* or *xenismos*) of honoured strangers and guests in the *prytaneion*.⁸⁰ It might reasonably be presumed that officials called *epimenioi* were responsible for monthly rituals connected with their chairmanship and with the sacred duties of tending to the civic hearth.

In much the same manner, the term *epimēnia* was also used, particularly at Athens, to designate monthly rites which may have been performed in connection with the new moon at the beginning of each month (*noumenia*).⁸¹ It is also perhaps in the context of monthly or specific festival sacrifices that one is to interpret several regulations which concern *epimenioi* who are not prominent civic officials but rather may be some form of cult personnel. For example, a regulation from Samos concerns the appointment of *epimenioi* by civic subdivisions for the presumed purpose of administering the rites at the Helikonion,

78 Probably at the earliest in Miletos, where the *epimenioi* are to pay a reward to those who kill exiles: Meiggs/Lewis 43 (470–440 BC). Inscriptions from Delphi reveal that the financial administrators of the sanctuary, the *exetastai*, appointed monthly officials: cf. *FD* III 3, 214 compare also 215 (third century BC). Bargylia has *epimenioi* of its *tamiai*, presumably referring to monthly chairmen of these financial administrators: *I. Iasos* 608 (270/261 BC), 607 (ca. 200 BC), *I. Kyme* 2 (ca. 200 BC?).

79 Cf. e.g. at Chios: *RPh* 1937: 321–325, no. 4 + 5; Erythrai: Varnhøglu, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 45–47, no. 1 = *SEG* 31.969 (ca. 351–344 BC); Kolophon: *AJPh* 1935: 379–380, no. IV (ca. 350 BC?) et al. Compare somewhat later *epimenioi* of the boule at Smyrna: *I. Smyrna* 573 I + II 2 p. 376 (245/243 BC); *epimenios* as a main civic official at *I. Iliion* 32 (ca. 279–274?); in Milesian colonies from the fourth century to the Hellenistic period: e.g. *IScM* I 1 (Istros); of the *strategoï* at Priene: *I. Priene* 83; also at Eretria: *IG* XII Suppl. 555, p. 181 (ca. 300 BC?), etc. For the *epimenioi* of tribes on Cos, see at Halasarna *SEG* 51.1050, *SEG* 54.748 etc.

80 Cf. a decree honouring judges set up by Kolophon at Klaros, *REG* 1999: 2 no. 1, lines 7–9: [... δόμεν]αι δὲ καὶ ξένια τοῖς δι|[κάσταις τὰ ἐκ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ (?) ἐπιμ]εληθῆναι τὸν ἐπιμήνιον | [— — ca. 12 — —] (we could think of restoring τοῦ δείπνου vel sim.).

81 Hdt. 8.41, concerning the snake in the temple of Athena Polias: τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἔστι. Compare the decree proposed by Alcibiades, cited by Athenaeus as attested on a tablet in the temple of Heracles at Cynosarges (Athen. 6.234e), which apparently said: “τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια θυέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τῶν παρασιτῶν.” Hesych. s.v. ἐπιμήνιοι equates them with ἱεροποιοί or calls them a form of these “ritual-makers”, adding that the *epimēnia* was a type of sacrifice performed at the beginning of each month: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ θυσία τις ἐπιμήνια, ἢ κατὰ μῆνα τῆ νομηνίᾳ συντελουμένη. This sort of ritual practice may also be what is alluded to in a very fragmentary inscription from Archaic Ephesos: *SEG* 41.958.

which would take place on regular basis or during a festival.⁸² At a much later date, near the beginning of the Roman period, the *epimenieia* seems even to have become a form of liturgy in some cities, presumably involving monthly duties and expenses, from which one could become exempt.⁸³ The financial connotation of such officials is also noteworthy when they appear in the context of civic subgroups and private associations.⁸⁴ Yet there too, their sacrificial function was regularly highlighted. At Antimacheia on Cos, for example, one finds *epimenioi* of a *koinon* devoted to Zeus Hyetios who were honoured, among other things, for having admirably fulfilled their sacrificial duties and hosted their demesmen.⁸⁵ In an honorific decree of the association (*koinon*) of a tribe at Methymna on Lesbos, a sacrifice was to be performed on a specific day to Athena in the presence of the honoured individual, probably by the *epimenios* who was appointed for that month or perhaps by all of the *epimenioi* of that year.⁸⁶

In most if not all of these civic cases, one is probably dealing with monthly financial and ritual responsibilities which define an office. While one can readily see how this definition matches the two basic aspects of the *epimenioi* appointed by Poseidonios and Diomedon, it is perhaps not fully coherent in its monthly connotation. Our Hellenistic dossiers do appear, to some extent, to be dealing with rites and finances specific to a given month of celebrations. Yet, if we turn finally to the inscription of Epikteta, with its two different sections, we can possibly find a key to tracing the adapted function of *epimenioi* in these family cults. The testament of Epikteta, in contrast to Diomedon and Posei-

82 *IG XII 6.1*, 168; *LSCG 122* (after 322 BC), which begins, lines 1–4: [τάδε] εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ αἰρεθέν[τες νομο]γράφοι περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐλικωνίῳ | [θυσίας· τοῦ]ς ἀποδεικνυμένους ὑπὸ τῶν χλιαστήρων ἐπιμηνίους τῆς | [θυσίας καὶ τῆς συνόδου τῆς ἐν Ἐλικωνίῳ γινομένης ἐπιμηνιεύειν ἐὰν | [ἐνδημῶσι... Cf. Nilsson 1906: 78 with n. 2–3, for the idea that, despite their name, these officials were “yearly”, but actually the text makes clear that their responsibility was tied to specific festival occasions.

83 Cf. *IG XII 4*, 320 (Cos, first century BC); *SEG 8.529* (Psenamosis in the Delta, 67–64 BC), lines 39–41.

84 Compare also e.g. a decree of Poseidoniastai from Thasos in honour of one their *epimenioi* for a certain year, *IG XII Suppl. 366* (second/first century BC; see also 367); or the structure of a *bra-beutes* and *epimenioi* appointed by the *koinon* of Lagnokeis at Kys: *BCH 1887*: 308–309, no. 2.

85 *IG XII 4*, 121 (ca. 200 BC); see also Paul 2013 on this inscription, and P. Kató in this volume p. 286 and 296f. on these “Monatspriester”. Compare also the fragmentary *IG XII 1*, 891 (Netteia on Rhodes, third-second century BC), line 3: [οἱ ἐπιμη]νήνιοι ἀεὶ τοὶ αἰρεθέ[ντες Ἴκ]εσίῳ [φ]θόϊς. Perhaps this involved the sacrifice of cakes to the Zeus Hikesios of a deme by its elected monthly officials.

86 *IG XII 2*, 505 (Hellenistic), lines 15–18: τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμηνίους τοὺς ἀεὶ γινομέ[νους παριστάναι αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων ἱερεῖ[ων ἄρνα θηλεῖαν, τὸν δὲ θύειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας | [καὶ σωτηρία[ς] τῶν συμφυλετῶν.

donios at the beginning of third century BC, anticipates straightaway the need for *epimenioi*. In the first part of the inscription, immediately after the appointment of the priest (cf. lines 57–61, above), we find that the male group or reunion of the family (*koinon*) is to meet in the Mouseion during the month of Delphinios, and to receive from Epikteta’s successors (*diadochoi*) the sum of two hundred and ten drachmas, designating an *epimenios* from their ranks for three days of sacrifices.⁸⁷ This formulation is not particularly clear, but it becomes much more apparent in the second part of the dossier—in fact in the preamble of the decree—that what is meant is the designation of an *epimenios* for a given day of sacrifices (lines 122–126):

καὶ θύεν τὸ[ν μὲ]ν τὰν πράταν ἐπι-
μηγιεύοντα ταῖς Μούσαι[ς, τὸ]ν δὲ τὰν δευτέ-
ραν τοῖς ἥρωσι Φοίνικι καὶ [Ἐπικ]τήται, τὸν δὲ
τὰν τρίταν τοῖς ἥρωσι Κρατ[ησ]ιλόχῳ καὶ Ἀν-
δραγόρῳ...

In other words, a total of three *epimenioi* were to be designated by the *koinon*, one for each of the sacrificial days in the month Delphinios. Not only were these officials responsible for the provision of the offerings, but also it would seem for the sacrificial act itself.⁸⁸ Moreover, these men who were designated as *epimenioi* fall under the authority of the *artuter*, an (annually elected?) administrator or president of the *koinon* whose relationship to the earlier mentioned priest is unclear.⁸⁹ At any rate, a substantial portion of the remaining regulations prescribed by the decree seek to define the responsibilities of this *artuter* and the *epimenioi*, among others. Here, there is literally a wealth of bureaucratic

⁸⁷ Lines 61–69: ὁ δὲ ἀνδρεῖος τῶν συγγενῶν συναγέσθω ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος | ἐμ μηνὶ Δελφινίῳ, λαμβάνων παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων μου τὰς διακοσίας δέκα δραχμάς, | ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἀποδείξας ἐπιμηγιεύοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ θύετω ταῖς μὲν ἐννεακαιδεκάται | ταῖς Μούσαις, ταῖς δὲ εἰκάδι τοῖς ἥρωσιν {Φοί} | Φοίνικι καὶ Ἐπικτήται, ταῖς δὲ ἄμφικαδὶ | Κρατησιλόχῳ καὶ Ἀνδραγόρῳ.

⁸⁸ The continued involvement of the priest is likely to be presumed. But in fact, no other mention is made of him after the lines concerning his appointment (lines 57–61, cf. above p. 76; 78).

⁸⁹ If an individual does not wish to officiate as an *epimenios*, he is to be fined and excluded from the *koinon*: εἰ δὲ κά τις μὴ ἐπιμηγιεύσῃ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἀποτεισάτω τῷ κοινῷ δραχμάς ἑκατὸν καὶ | πρᾶσσέσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ [κατα]τυγχάνοντος ἀρτυτῆρος κατὰ [τὸς] νόμος καὶ μὴ μετεχέτω τοῦ | κοινοῦ ἐς ὃ [κα ἐκ]τεῖση (lines 142–146). Note that the *artuter* is called “elected” (αἰρεθεὶς) in line 221, though no earlier mention is made of this procedure. The association also elected an (annual?) *epissophos*, or “supervisor”, whose duties involve a substantial amount of notekeeping and accounting (lines 202–221). Cf. Wittenburg for some elucidation of these officials, 1990: 103–111, with 112–114 (on the assembly, *sylogos*, which appoints them).

detail and forethought concerning these officials and their duties. Though they would be given the necessary funds for the sacrifices, they would also be expected to provide a substantial amount out of their own pocket as a form of liturgy (compare also lines 169–177, 198–202). We learn, for example, that those leaving the *ephebeia* were expected to pay for their first office as *epimenios*.⁹⁰ If there were no *epimenioi* serving at their own expense, members of the male association would take turns serving in this role according to their age (lines 155–160). Those who still resisted this “liturgy” were to be punished and the *artuter* would serve in their place as *epimenios* (lines 165–167). Some of what the sacrifices and elaborate supplementary offerings involved is then listed in the following lines (177–199, again reprising the definitional style θυ|έτω δὲ ὁ [μὲ]ν τὰν πράταν ἐπιμηνιεύων ἀμέ|ραν...). And the *epimenioi* were also to be granted priestly perquisites, much like in Poseidonios’ dossier.⁹¹

Despite these rather arcane ramifications, the fundamental notion is clearly that the *epimenieia* in Epikteta’s *koinon* was tied to a specific sacrificial day: somewhat paradoxically a “monthly” official “for the day”.⁹² The notion of *ephemeria*, which one might expect in relation to such a form of daily cult or ritual, is in fact more or less foreign to Greek religion, except in specific contexts such as the opening of temples by priests and *neokoroi*, and usually only found in much later Greek sources, primarily those pertaining to Egyptian or Jewish religion (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). It would seem likely and fairly natural, therefore, that in certain cases and by the Hellenistic period, the role of an *epimenios*, in both a financial and ritual capacity, had come to be associated with a temporal pur-

⁹⁰ Lines 136–139: καὶ παραλγνομένος ἐς τὸ κοινεῖον λειτουργῆν γενόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων τὰν πράταν ἐπιμηνιεί|αν δωρεάν. This probably anticipates the idea of *epimenieia* as a civic (?) liturgy, found later (cf. p. 90 n. 83).

⁹¹ Whether the *epimenioi* were granted all of the sacrificial perquisites except cakes and half of the entrails, or more probably the remaining half of the entrails, is a bit unclear in the complex formulation of lines 194–199: οἱ δὲ ἐπιμήν|ιοι οἱ θύον|τες τὰς θυσίας ταύτας ἀποδω-σο[ῦ]ντι τῶι | κοινῶι τὸς τε [ἐ]λλύτας πάντας κ[α]ὶ τῶν | σπλάγχων τὰ ἡμίση· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ [ἐ]ξ-οῦντι | αὐτοί· ὁ[ὶ] δὲ ἀρτυτῆρ διελεῖ τὰ ἱερά τ[ο]ῖς παροῦσι.

⁹² Wittenburg in fact goes so far as to translate *epimenioi* as “sacerdoti sacrificali” or “sacrificial priests”, but cf. id. 1990: 100–103, for a useful discussion of their liturgical and financial aspects. Although Hesych. (cf. n. 81) calls *epimenioi hieropoioi*, this equation is perhaps meant more to qualify their sacrificial function than to present an identity between the two. In fact, we know that *hieropoioi* were important officials at both Halicarnassus (cf. Wilhelm 1908: 53–56, no. 1, ca. 275–250 BC) and Cos (*HGK* 1; *IG* XII 4, 278, *HGK* 4; *IG* XII 4, 275 and *HGK* 5; *IG* XII 4, 332 etc.); they are absent on Thera. *Epimenioi* could thus be distinguished from these civic sacrificial agents, though their functions were largely comparable: see Georgoudi/Pirenne-Delforge 2005: 32–36.

view which could extend to only a day or to a series of days, hence also its connotation as an ad hoc form of liturgy. Are the *epimenioi* therefore also to be translated as a form of per diem cult personnel in the dossiers of Poseidonios and Diomedon? It is striking that there too one finds that they are three in number. If these officials were also appointed for a specific duration, then one could imply that the *epimeleia* of the *epimenioi* in Diomedon's case took place over the course of three days. Regrettably, the order of the sacrifices offered in the cults prescribed by Diomedon is not particularly clear in all of its details. Funds are to be provided by Libys or the servile personnel in the month Theudaisios for the sacrifices on the 16th and 17th of the following month, Pedageitnyos (lines 14–17, which matches the order one finds at lines 59–63 of text II, above).⁹³ The following list of offerings and recipients of sacrifices is extremely fragmentary, particularly in lines 25–38, and may have taken place during the course of these two days.⁹⁴ However, the events later invoked during the celebration of marriages, as fragmentary as these might be, clearly take place over three days and beyond (lines 89–95:)

... ποείτω τὸν [γά]μον [μηνὸς]
 [Π]εταγειτνύου, ἐκκαιδεκάτη μὲ[ν συν]-
 αιγλίαν, ἑπτακαιδεκάτη δὲ διαν[ομήν?],
 ἵνα ἡ θυσία τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ συντελ[ῆται κα]-
 τὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη δ[ὲ ἡ συνα]-
 γωγή, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέρ[αις συντε]-
 λείσθω ὁ γάμος· ...

In other words, a *synaiglian* (a Doric form of feast), perhaps accompanying the sacrifice to Heracles with *xenismos*, takes place on the 16th as usual, and is then followed by another celebration on the 17th.⁹⁵ On the 18th, however, one explicitly finds a meeting (*synagoge*) of the family association. This recalls the small clause looked at earlier, but which occurs later in the text, namely that the *epimenioi* are to gather (*synagein*) on the following day, bringing along those

⁹³ Hypothetical reconstruction of the Coan calendar with Theudaisios and Pedageitnyos as the first and second months respectively in Bosnakis and Hallof 2005: 233–240.

⁹⁴ One should be even more cautious than Hallof and Bosnakis in restoring that portion of text (lines 25–38). Few of the recipient deities are assured, except Dionysos and Aphrodite, in addition to Heracles and perhaps Diomedon himself.

⁹⁵ The idea of a distribution (*dianome*), probably of meat, makes little sense here, since it occurs rather implausibly after the *synaiglia*. It may need to be reconsidered. The traces in Segre's photograph (at *I. Cos* ED 149, pl. 44 C) appear to read as δὲ ΛΑ[...] at the end of line 91, though Hallof and Bosnakis have apparently confirmed the readings that they give. One might expect the *apopyris*, or some variant thereof, to make another appearance here.

they wish (lines 141–144, above). Accordingly, one might reasonably suppose that, though this is not as explicitly stated as in the case of Epikteta, the number of *epimenioi* closely matched the daily structure of the celebrations. The first two might have provided the necessities and assisted the priest during the rites on the 16th and the 17th, while the third may have presided over the *synagoge* itself on the next day, that is to say on the 18th.⁹⁶

In the dossier of Poseidonios, the number of *epimenioi* is less easy to reconcile with a precise temporal function since there are, again, apparently only two main days of sacrifices. Their significance may therefore be closest to officials who are appointed “for the month” of the celebration, that is to say for the provision of the animals on the previous month (Eleutherios) and then for the two days, which are consecutively numbered (“first” and “second” in Hermaios) but surprisingly not assigned to specific dates within the month.⁹⁷ It is perhaps more likely that here, in contrast to the case of Epikteta and possibly Diomedon as well, the three *epimenioi* may have acted as a group, simply assisting the priest in the rites “for the month” of Hermaios.⁹⁸

Though much is lost in the background of these dossiers and other texts, it will nevertheless be clear that the term *epimenios* was a temporary appointment that designated at the same time a financial and sacrificial office. The *epimenioi* were certainly appointed on annual basis (*kat’ eniauton*), but their function is hardly invoked for the duration of a whole year. The office, retaining “monthly” connotations depending on the context, appears to have evolved to some degree during the Hellenistic period and particularly in the context of these familial

96 Yet it is worth noting that monthly rites of some sort were implied in Diomedon’s consecration, though the context is not completely certain. Libys or other slaves were to provide (new?) bed coverings for Heracles and his divine consort at each new moon, lines 17–19: [σ]τρώματα δὲ παρε|[χόντω ἐπὶ τὰς κλίναν? τῶ] Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τᾶ[ι | .. ca. 16? .. ἐν τα]ίς νευμηνίαις. Compare also perhaps another inscription from Cos where, in a very fragmentary context concerning the rites at the Asclepieion, an *epimenios* was apparently chosen from each deme at the beginning of the month, perhaps for the purposes of putting on the sacrifices funded by the *tamiai* (*IG XII* 4, 286 lines 16–19, ca. 250 BC; compare 287 for a later copy): [τ]οὶ δὲ προστάται καὶ τῶν δά[μμων ὁ ἀεὶ δαμαρχῶν τοῦ μηνὸς - - - νευμ]ηνίαι αἰρείσθων ἐπιμηνίος ἐξ ἐ|[κάστου δάμου...

97 A tentative and very conjectural alternative would be to relate these floating “first” and “second” days with a *noumenia* at the beginning of the month.

98 The *epimenioi* were also to rent out the *temenos* (line 30), probably for a year, yet presumably they would have had limited but sufficient time to do so, for example to obtain the income from rent and to collect the other revenues. They thus likely remained ad hoc officials, confined to the months of Eleutherios and Hermaion, rather than annual ones.

cults, to refer to something much more ad hoc.⁹⁹ As familial cult personnel, these *epimenioi* continued to have significant financial responsibilities but also complemented the male priest, becoming responsible for the provision, supervision and performance of rituals on specific occasions.¹⁰⁰

Why were these monthly, or even “daily”, officials introduced in the case of Poseidonios and Diomedon, and already anticipated by Epikteta? The root of the matter was presumably the difficulty inherent in familial organisations. As today, of course, families inevitably have their own problems. The system of male primogeniture for designating priests undoubtedly caused some frictions within these families. And this root lay even deeper: these three dossiers were all relatively new at the time they were originally inscribed; they all attempted to codify familial cults or to innovate in some way. It was perhaps to a degree inevitable, then, that such testaments and endowments, especially ones who fell substantially outside the purview of the *polis*, would leave various considerations unanticipated and unexplained. Accordingly, the need for revision and supplementary regulation were necessary “hiccups”, in the development of these ‘foundations’.

99 For intriguing parallels with the daily function of the *epimenioi*, compare e.g. the later foundation of Kritolaos for his son Aleximachos in the context of the gymnasium at Aigiale on Amorgos: *LSS* 61; *IG XII 7*, 515 ca. second century BC). Two *epimeletai* are appointed in this inscription, who are to act as *epimenioi* in certain circumstances. They are to serve as hosts and, it would seem, provide a feast at their own liturgical expense (lines 49–55). In addition, a contest in honour of Aleximachos is to be celebrated, beginning with the sacrifice of a ram at his statue on the *noumenia*, which is then followed by the contest on the second day (lines 75–79), an order which possibly mirrors their number as well as affirms the link between the *epimenia* and the *noumenia*. Cf. Gauthier 1980: 210–218, and Helmis 2003 on this text, and compare a contemporaneous endowment from Minoa on Amorgos, *IG XII 7*, 237, where the *epimenioi* appear to have relatively analogous functions.

100 The correlation between *epimenioi* and ritual performance on specific days is in other cases seldom as clear as in the dossier of Epikteta. For instance, at Lampsakos, as a result of a private bequest to the city which aims to augment the local Asklepieia, one finds *epimenioi* who are concerned not only with the financial administration of this endowment, but also with sacrificial duties. They may have performed these as a group, and perhaps within a clearly defined temporal framework (*I. Lampsakos* 9, compare *LSAM* 8 for an excerpt, second century BC, lines 5–14; lines 28–29; cf. line 41: [τὸν δὲ ἐπι]μηνίους ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιῶνος ἕως τῆς ὀγδόης?...]). Cf. also in the same text the mention of οἱ δὲ ἐπιμήνιοι τῆς βουλῆς (line 85) which perhaps provided the model for the festival *epimenioi*. Further, a *tamias* who was *epimenios* for a single month is also attested in an earlier inscription (*I. Lampsakos* 8, end of fourth century BC). For foundations or endowments administered particularly by *epimeletai* rather than *epimenioi*, cf. Harter-Uibopuu 2011.

Pantheons and Further Evolutions

Poseidonios, Diomedon and Epikteta were wealthy members of civic elites, who decided to devote a part or the totality of their possessions to found or augment a familial cult. They therefore represent instances of a kind of transformation in Greek familial cult from the household (*oikos*) to something both more textually and physically permanent (e.g. a stele and a *temenos*). This evolution, if we may call it as such, also necessitated the loose adoption of a civic framework, since it involved choosing a priest and other functionaries, namely the *epimenioi*, to fulfill the requirements of cult performance. It also entailed a kind of ‘publicity’ through the display of inscribed monuments within new constructions which moved beyond the household. Though the material context of the dossiers remains for the most part elusive, further developments may perhaps still be glimpsed in how these familial cults range from the relatively modest bequests and structures of Diomedon and Poseidonios to the greater monumentalisation implied by Epikteta’s testament, with its Mouseion, statues and other accoutrements.

Indeed, analogous developments can perhaps be witnessed in the deities which are the focus of these familial cults. Following the oracle, Poseidonios augmented and ensured the continuity of his ancestral cults, which involved a Paternal Zeus, a local Apollo, the Moirai and the Mother of the Gods.¹⁰¹ Diomedon dedicated a sanctuary to his “own” Heracles as the epithet Diomedonteios attests. Others deities were associated, but the exact configuration is impossible to restore given the current state of the stele. At the very least, the conclusion of Diomedon’s stele suggests the involvement of a (Zeus) Pasion and the Moirai.¹⁰² In both of these dossiers, therefore, one finds a Zeus related to the family, its ancestry and its property (Patroos in one case, Pasion in the other). And in both cases, this god is also accompanied by the Moirai, goddesses whose vocation was to define the duration of the life of an individual and, more generally, to perpetuate the continuity of a lineage.¹⁰³

Yet another commonality between the three dossiers is the association of individuals to the worship of deities, which therefore forms an integral part of the cultic configurations. Here, despite apparent similarities, the mechanisms of heroisation adopted probably reflect stark local and chronological differences. This is the least clear in Diomedon’s case, since Heracles’ epithet does not

101 See the Appendix below, lines 7–8: καθάπερ | καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι.

102 See lines 7–8, 149–155.

103 Cf. Parker 2008 on Theoi Patrooi; for the Moirai, Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2011.

necessarily imply his “heroisation”.¹⁰⁴ In the case of Poseidonios, the process takes a form which is particular to Caria and which one might call ‘daemonisation’, the cult of the Good Daemon of Poseidonios and his wife Gorgis. In addition to this, sacrifices are prescribed¹⁰⁵ to the Good Fortune (Agathe Tyche) of Poseidonios’ parents at the familial tomb. This appears to reflect a cult of the ‘divinised’ spirit of the individual, and the similar spirit of his parents, who are probably deceased.¹⁰⁵ While Poseidonios pays due respect to his ancestors, emphasis on the previous generation is conspicuously absent from Diomedon’s dispositions, and his focus is apparently on a Heracles who is qualified by an adjective based on his own name.¹⁰⁶ Approximately a century later than these other two dossiers, the initiative taken by Epikteta is also unconcerned with ancestors, but instead focussed on honours to be paid to the dead members of her immediate family. In this context, the Muses, who are the sole deities concerned by the cult, appear as goddesses closely related to memory and renown, granting their divine sanction for the ‘heroic’ survival of Epikteta’s sons and husband within the family. Various explanations for this divergent elaboration of Epikteta’s testament can plausibly be offered. For one thing, and without of course denying earlier antecedents, the explicit heroisation of the dead becomes much more firmly grounded in Greek polytheism during the course of the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the choice of deities made by a father and mother who lost their sons prematurely could very well have been motivated by the close connection between the Muses and the education of young men.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, during the time of Epikteta, or soon after on Thera, the gymnasium was gradually becoming a fundamental institution of Hellenistic cities, and one where the cult of the Muses—among others—and the worship of heroised young men—but also their elders—would become crystallised.¹⁰⁹

104 See above p. 69 with n. 20 on the Diomedonteios epithet.

105 For an argument that this does not merely reflect a “founder’s genitive”, cf. already Carbon 2005.

106 Cf. n. 51 above on the *rasurae* in Diomedon’s inscription, implying perhaps an occultation of his ancestry. Cf. also n. 20 above for the possibly heroic nature of the cult in honour of Diomedon: he probably received a sacrificial animal, but under which guise is extremely unclear.

107 See recently Jones 2010: 48–65.

108 Boyancé 1937: 329–344, with a discussion of the case of Epikteta; cf. now Clay 2004.

109 As briefly seen above, male descendants are accepted as a part of Epikteta’s association after having matured and graduated from the ranks of the ephebes (lines 135–140, in particular the phrase γενομένος ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων). Cf. Chankowski 2002 for the emergence of the gymnasia on Thera, and esp. p. 8–9 on the contribution of the inscription of Epikteta, which he thinks provides an approximate *terminus ante quem* for the development of a more institutionalised *ephebeia* on Thera (probably around the mid third century BC).

The inscriptions of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta allow us to perceive how a cult is founded or expanded on a ‘sub-civic’ level, how a ‘micro-pantheon’ can be variously structured within a familial context, and how these developments are modelled on a parallel civic framework.¹¹⁰ Yet these sketches of evolutions also raise the wider question of the uniqueness of these three dossiers. Were they successful ‘foundational’ experiments or did they rapidly fall into desuetude? We do not know, though the relative silence concerning them in our other sources may be eloquent.¹¹¹ And without succumbing to a circular argument, it may well be thought that our three dossiers are so unique in their detailed characteristics precisely because they represent relatively unusual familial initiatives in the early Hellenistic period. Indeed, one significant point of contrast between these inscriptions and earlier foundations of the Classical period is that the latter all involve foreigners who have immigrated or imported cults.¹¹² Conversely, the three individuals we have discussed here all seem to be firmly rooted in their local contexts.

An alternative solution for individuals or families wishing to augment their cults was, of course, to delegate full responsibility to the city itself.¹¹³ This sort of private initiative, which was more directly anchored in the *polis*, perhaps grew gradually more prominent during the Hellenistic period. The foundation of Pythokles for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira on Cos is a case in point: he gave money, perhaps as part of a testament, for celebrations and for priesthoods of both deities related to his *genos*, but the administration of his bequest, the organisation of the rites and the participation to the cult all depended on the

110 A wider civic context may perhaps be glimpsed in the final miscellaneous lines of Diomedon’s stele, 157–159: διδόναι δὲ τοῖς Ἡ[ρακλ]έοις μερίδας τοῖς συ[μ]πομπ[ε]ύουσι. Though a reference to the main festival of the Herakleia is apparent, the precise connection of this sacrifice to Diomedon’s dedication remains obscure. Does it merely imply the participation of the family in this civic festival and procession with additional animal offerings or something more?

111 Epikteta’s Mouseion is perhaps the best candidate for some form of survival, since the inscribed panels were found intact and in good condition. The *stelai* of Diomedon and Poseidonios were reused at an unknown date, and the latter rather carelessly broken up. In this regard, an intriguing point of comparison may be the foundation of a cult for the (Agathos?) Daimon of Leros and Kosina at Koranza in Caria (*SEG* 52.1064, ca. 350–300 BC; cf. Carbon 2005: 5 with n. 28, Rigsby 2009: 75–77). The stele in this case was broken up into at least three segments (one of which is missing at the top) and reused in the fill of the *cella* in the temple of Hekate at Lagina during the second or early first century BC, thus indicating that the cult had almost certainly been forgotten by this time.

112 Cf. again Purvis 2003 and Hupfloher 2012 for these earlier cases.

113 Cf. recently Harter-Uibopuu 2011 for a good discussion of this part of the documentation.

Date (BC)	Text	Α	Θ	Μ	Ε	Π	Σ	Υ	Ω
ca. 310–290	GIBM 908		0	0	0				
ca. 281–266	SEG 28 837				0				
ca. 281–266	Wilhelm 1908: no.1				0				
ca.260 or ca. 240?	GIBM 897								
Compare	Poseidonios								

Tab. 1 Comparison of some letterforms from early Hellenistic Halicarnassus

Serifs are present but not particularly pronounced. One may note the following examples: *xi* has four bars; *omega* is usually a bit squat and almost always open at the bottom, sometimes with flat projecting ends, sometimes with these flaring up (but cf. *πρώτη* in line 33 for a closed variant); *upsilon* is rather tall and usually forms a wide angle at the very top; *sigma* can be a bit open but most often with nearly parallel top and bottom bars. The latter letterform may be thought particularly indicative of a date in the decades after ca. 290 BC, while all of the former probably suggest the middle of the third century BC or earlier. This may be corroborated by some traces in the text of Ionian forms (see below), since that dialect is found in earlier centuries at Halicarnassus but gradually disappears in the Hellenistic period. Yet it must be admitted that the letterforms of the third century are not well known at Halicarnassus, and the chronology of Ptolemaic-era inscriptions needs to be established more definitively.

Revision: Based on autopsy and a recent squeeze, kindly made by R. Pitt in 2006. The photograph included here (Fig. 2) is a digital version provided by the British Museum with permission for limited printed reproduction. Notes made in preparation of an edition of the text by Jeanne and Louis Robert (Fonds Louis

Ptolemaic possession during the third century, up to probably 195 BC, cf. R. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*. Leiden 1976: 94–98. A recent attempt at analysing a few Ptolemaic-era inscriptions from Halicarnassus can be found in S. Isager, “Halicarnassos and the Ptolemies I: Inscriptions on Public Buildings.” In: Isager/Pedersen 2004: 133–144, who appears to opt for a later dating of GIBM 4, 897, namely under the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246–222 BC. If that were the case, and it does seem a plausible one, then that inscription could perhaps be seen as providing a rough *terminus ante quem* for the stele of Poseidonios.

Robert dossier 100, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris) were also consulted, for which I sincerely thank G.W. Bowersock.

Bibliography: Editions based on autopsy: Hirschfeld, *GIBM* 4, 896, *editio princeps* (1893), with a facsimile and a commentary, p. 68–72; Paton/Myres 1896: 234–236 no. 36, a more accurate revision of the stone after thorough cleaning.

Editions with text reprinted, based on that of Paton and Myres: Dareste et al., *RIJG* (1898) vol. 2,1 p. 128–133 no. 25 D, with French translation, commentary at p. 145; Michel, *RIG* 854 (1900); Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 641 (1900); Laum 1914: vol. 2, 111–112 no.117; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Syll.*³ 1044 (1920); Sokolowski *LSAM* 72 (1955), with further bibliography.

Cf. also *SEG* 15.637, Daux 1941: 11–18.

Provenance: The many fragments of the stele were found at Halicarnassus, built into the house of Hadji Captan, whose land lay a few hundred meters west of the Maussolleion terrace, towards the Myndus gate. The discovery by Sir Alfred Biliotti is now reported in the convenient facsimile of his journals in P. Pedersen, *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos*, vol. 3: *The Maussolleion Terrace and Accessory Structures*. Aarhus 1991: 168 Appendix no. 9 (see further also W. Blümel, “Kopien A. Biliottis von Inschriften aus Halikarnassos, Bargylia, Keramos und Kos.” *Arkeoloji dergisi* 2 (1994) 99–117: esp. 108, item no. 38, with a sketch of lines 9–38). The stone brought to England was acquired by the British Museum in 1876 and is now in its storerooms, inv. no. 4–896 (registration no. 1876,0701.1).¹¹⁷

Description: Height 95.57 cm; Length 33.66 cm (at the top) – 36.6 cm (at the bottom); Width/Thickness 12 cm (top) – 12.7 cm (bottom). Hirschfeld reported that the stele showed signs of reuse and damage by fire, though this is no longer clearly visible. The stone was reconstructed from at least 20 substantial fragments and smaller pieces, resulting in a nearly intact stele of blueish marble, which tapers towards the top. This is clearly what is mentioned in the text itself: ἀναγράφαι ... ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ (lines 49–50). The marble is probably local, as other small *stelai* from Halicarnassus and this part of Caria appear to be made out of a similar material (e.g. *LSAM* 73; *GIBM* 4, 895; *SEG* 16.701, for which I am also preparing a revised edition). All the sides are preserved, except for the top, where an indeterminate section is broken off. The other sides are worn in some places, resulting in unclear left and right margins in some lines of the text. The rough back of the stele, which is preserved to a greater height at the top, as

¹¹⁷ An online record can easily be found by searching on the website of the British Museum, with the object ID: 1876, 0701.1, at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/museum_number_search.aspx. See here *Fig. 2*.

visible in the photograph, possibly shows that only a small amount of the front face is missing. Other small *stelai* from Halicarnassus (compare again *LSAM 73*) show traces of substantial decorative mouldings at the top, above the prepared and inscribed surface. It is possible that this is what has been broken off here, not to mention perhaps preceding lines of text if the inscribed surface went any higher. There are a few differences in the polished front surface, notably between lines 8–9, 34–35, and 37–38. These are shallow grooves in the prepared face of the stone rather than indications of any erasures; they may perhaps be faint traces of registers for the inscribed lines. The overall appearance of this small stele is nonetheless rather elegant.

Letters: Height variable from 5 mm (the diameter of *omicron* or *theta*) to 10 mm (taller letters like *tau* or *upsilon*); Width similarly variable; Interlinear spacing 5–7 mm. The letters appear to be cut in the same hand, though their shape is remarkably inconsistent. In this, along with a number of errors and overstruck letters indicated in the apparatus, the stonecutter perhaps betrays some degree of inexperience or rather hurried workmanship. An attractive effort has been made to respect word or syllabic division at the end of the lines, and this was almost consistently achieved (cf. the end of line 3). The letters in the first part of stele, the oracle in lines 1–11, are a slightly more expansive and widely spaced (cf. the number of letters in those lines, e.g. 33 letters in line 1 compared to 51 in line 28, the longest line).

Text:

— — — — — x ? — — — — —

- I ἀποσ[τ]είλαντος Πο[σ]ειδω[νίου]υ χρησάσ[θα]ι
 τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι, τί ἂν αὐτῶι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 γινομένοις καὶ οὔσιν, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀρσένων καὶ τῶν θη-
 λειῶν, εἴη λώϊον καὶ ἄμεινον ποιοῦσιν καὶ πράσ- ν
 5 σουσιν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἔσσεσθαι λώϊον καὶ ἄμει- ν
 νον αὐτοῖς ἰλασκομένοις καὶ τιμῶσιν, καθάπερ
 καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι, Δία Πατρῶϊον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τελε- ν
 μεσοῦ μεδέοντα καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Θεῶν Μητέρα· ν
 τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ ἰλάσκεσθαι καὶ Ἀγαθῶν Δαίμονα Ποσει- ν
 10 δωνίου καὶ Γοργίδος· τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν
 ——— καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσσεσθαι. *vacat*
- II Ποσειδῶνιος Ἰατροκλέους ὑπέθηκεν τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γινομένοις, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀρσένων ν
 καὶ τῶν θηλειῶν, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν,
 15 [εἰ]ς θυσίαν οἷς ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν, ἀγρὸν τὸν ἐν Ἀστυ-
 παλαίαι ὁμορουῖντα τὸν Ἄνθει καὶ Δαμαγήτῳ

[κ]αὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὸν κῆπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον
 [κ]αὶ τοῦ ἐν Ταρά[[μπ]]τῶν ἐνηροσίου τὸ ἥμισυ· καρπευ-
 [έ]τω δὲ καὶ ἱερατευέτω τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκ Ποσει-
 20 δωνίου ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὧν αἰεὶ κατ' ἀνδρογένειαν, ν
 ἀποδιδούσας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν χρυσοῦς τέσσαρας ἀτελέ-
 III — ας □ ἔδοξεν | Ποσ[[ει]]δωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τοῖς
 ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσις ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ- ν
 σθαὶ ἐπιμηνίους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτό[ν,] ν
 25 οἵτινες ἀπολαμβάνοντες τῆς ὑποθήκης π[αρ]ὰ [τοῦ]
 ἱερέως ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ μηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου [χ]ρυσ[οῦς]
 τέσσ[α]ρας συντελέσουσιν τὰς θυσίας· ἂν δ[έ] μὴ ἀπο-
 διδῶν ἢ μὴ θέλησι καρπεύειν, εἶναι τὰ ὑποκείμενα κ[οι]νά, καὶ τοὺς
 ἐπι[μ]ηνίους ἐγιδιδόναι· τὸ δὲ τέμενος εἶναι [κο]ινὸν [κ]αὶ ν
 30 τ[οῦ]ς ἐπιμηνίους ἐγμισθοῦν, καὶ τὸ μίσθωμα καὶ τὸ ἐνη-
 [ρό]σιον κομιζόμενοι ν μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος ἐπιμελεῖ- ν
 τωσαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, τῶν ἱερέων τὰ νομιζόμε[ν]α ν
 παρέχον[[τε]]ς εἰς τὰς θυσίας πάντα, τῆι μὲν πρώτῃ
 θύειν Τύχηι Ἀγαθῇ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Ποσει[δ]ωνίου
 35 κριὸν καὶ Δαίμονι Ἀγαθῶν Ποσειδωνίου καὶ Γοργίδος
 κριὸν, τῆι δὲ δευτέρῃ Δίῃ Πατρῶϊω κριὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
 Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντι κρ[ιὸν] καὶ Μοίραις κριὸν ννν
 καὶ Θεῶν Μητρὶ αἴγα· ὁ δὲ ἱερ[ε]ὺς <λ>αμβανέτω ἐκάστου
 ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τεταρτημ[ο]ρίδα σπλάγχνων, ν
 40 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσόμοιρος ἔστω· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρέα οἱ
 ἐπιμηνιοὶ, ἀφελόντες ἱκανὰ τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν καὶ ν
 γυναιξίν, μερίδας ποησάντωσαν ἴσας καὶ ἀποδόντω-
 σαν ἐκάστῳ μερίδα τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων·
 τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοὶ ἔχόντων· τὰ δὲ
 45 κώδια πωλούντων ἐν τῶν θιάσῳ, καὶ τῆι δευτέρῃ
 λόγον ἀπο<δ>όντωσαν πρὸ τοῦ δειπνοῦ ἀνα- ν
 γράψαντες εἰς ὃ ἕκαστον ἀνήλωται, καὶ τὸ ν
 περιγινόμενον ἀναλίσκειν εἰς ἀναθήματα· ν
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ τὴν ὑποθήκην
 50 κ[αὶ] τὸ δόγμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶν ν
 τεμένει· τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν καὶ ποιοῦ- ν
 σιν ἄμεινον γίνοιτο ὑπὸ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον. ννν

vacat

There are clear *paraphrasi* in the left margin between lines 11–12 and 22–23, originally probably measuring ca. 1 cm or more in length, or about 2 letters

wide. These marks, along with the unusual punctuation in line 22, clearly distinguish the three sections of the inscription.

Several errors and revisions went unremarked or were inconsistently noted in previous editions. Where traces of letters are concerned, minor *variae lectiones* and small improvements are not noted here, particularly with regard to the readings of Hirschfeld before the cleaning of the stone (and which for the most part were already noted in Paton and Myres).

1: [χρ]ησά[μεν]ου Hirschfeld etc., [χρ]ησά[σθα]ι Daux and Sokolowski, the final traces are perhaps the lower half of ΙΙ or ΛΙ. | 2: τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, τί ἂν αὐτῷ Hirschfeld, Paton and Myres, presenting the text with *iota subscriptum* passim, but in fact one consistently finds *iota adscriptum* in this inscription, as most later copies have correctly printed. | 9: a small *omicron* inscribed over ΑΓΑΘΝ, between *theta* and *nu*, as a correction. | 16: ὁμοροῦντα Hirschfeld etc. | 18: ΜΠ inscribed over [[TN]] as a correction; traces after καρπευ-, perhaps the lower half of Α, though these must be either illusory or erroneous. | 19: ἥμισυ Paton and Myres etc. | 21: A probably original gash in the stone, about a letter wide, has intervened, causing the letters to be inscribed as Ε ν ΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ. | 22: Faint markings in the margin before -ΑΣ, though not an *iota*; elements of punctuation framing ἔδοξεν already noted in Paton and Myres, but as ΙΓ and Ι respectively, more correctly in Hirschfeld, the first element of punctuation being almost like *gamma* but with a small horizontal lower bar, the other is a vertical bar as tall as *iota* but without serifs and squeezed into the usual space between letters; ΕΙ inscribed over the error [[IT]]. | 25: [παρὰ τοῦ ἰ]- Hirschfeld etc. | 26: In ἱερέως, the trace of an *iota* is faint and at very edge of the left margin, perhaps squeezed closely together with the *epsilon* much like in line 39; [χ]ρυσ[οῦς] Hirschfeld etc. | 33: ΤΕ over [[ΕΙ]]. | 38: ΔΑΜΒΑΝΕΤΩ lapis, <λ>αμβανέτω Hirschfeld. | 39: τεταρτή[ν με]ρίδα, Hirschfeld, τεταρτή[με]ρίδα Paton and Myres etc. | 46: ΑΠΟΛΟΝΤΩΣΑΝ lapis, ἀπο<δ>όντωσαν Paton and Myres etc.; ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ lapis, δήμου Paton and Myres etc. | 52: γένοιτο Hirschfeld etc.; ὑπὸ θε<ῶ>ν καὶ ἄνθρωπ<ῶ>ν Dareste et al., Dittenberger etc.

Translation:

I: When Poseidonios sent away to make an oracular enquiry to Apollo, (asking) what would be better and more good for him and his descendants who are and who will be born, both from male and female offspring, to do and to attempt, the god replied that it would better and more good for them to propitiate and to honour, as their ancestors did, Paternal Zeus, and Apollo who rules over Telemessos, and the Fates and the Mother of the Gods. And they are also to honour and propitiate the Good Daemon of Poseidonios and of Gorgis. And may it be better for those who maintain and enact these (commands).

II: Poseidonios the son of Iatrokles gave as a pledge to his own descendants, to their descendants both from male and female offspring, and to those who take (wives?) from them, for the sacrifice to the gods whom the god prescribed: the field in the Ancient-Town (Astypalaia) which borders with (the land of) Anthes and Damagetos, and the courtyard, and the garden, and the land

surrounding the tomb, as well as half of the rights of tillage at Taramptos. Let the one who is the oldest among the descendants of Poseidonios, according to the line of male descent, always exploit (these endowments) and serve as priest, handing over four gold pieces net each year.

III: It was decided by Poseidonios, the descendants of Poseidonios and those who have taken (wives?) from them to select three ‘monthly officials’ (*epimenioi*) each year from their ranks, who, when they have received the four gold pieces, (derived) each year from the pledge, from the priest during the month of Eleutherios, will put on the sacrifices. And if he (the priest) fails to pay or refuses to exploit (the endowments), then the pledged properties are to be (held in) common and leased out by the monthly officials; the sacred precinct is also to become common property and to be leased out by the monthly officials. And having obtained the rent money and the money from the rights of tillage ... let them supervise the rites for two days in the month of Hermaion, providing all the customary necessities for the sacrifices to the priest: on the first day, sacrifice a ram to the Good Fortune of the father and mother of Poseidonios as well as a ram to the Good Daemon of Poseidonios and Gorgis; on the second day, a ram is to be sacrificed to Paternal Zeus, a ram to Apollo who rules over Telemessos, a ram to the Fates and a goat to the Mother of the Gods. Let the priest obtain from each animal a thigh and a quarter-portion of the entrails, and he is to have an equal share of the other parts. The monthly officials, having extracted sufficient quantities of the remaining meat for the banqueters and the wives, let them make equal portions and give such a portion to each of those present and absent. But let them reserve the heads and the feet for themselves. And they must sell the fleeces in the cult group (*thiasos*) and give an account on the second day before the dinner, writing up for what each sum was spent, and the remainder (i.e. the profit) is to be spent on votive offerings. The oracle, the pledge and the decree are to be written up on a marble stele and set up in the sacred precinct. May it be better under god and man for those who observe and enact these (commands).

Commentary: The dossier of Poseidonios is introduced in the preceding article, and some elements are discussed in detail there, particularly the clauses concerning the priest (lines 18–20), and the *epimenioi* (23–32, etc.). However, a brief commentary can be offered here on specific lines and noteworthy topics.

Line 1. This is perhaps the first line of the stele, beginning with a genitive absolute construction. The phrase is a fairly common expression for sending a delegation or a messenger to consult an oracle: compare e.g. *IG IV² 1*, 122, line 77 (Epidauros, fourth c. BC), *IScM I 5* (Istros, third c. BC), or somewhat later *I. Kaunos 56* (second–first c. BC, lines 5–6: ἀποσταλείς εἰς Γρύνειον | ἀνήνεγκεν χρησμόν). Despite the best conjectural efforts of different scholars, it is not

possible to be certain about which oracle Poseidonios consulted. Parke and Wormell (1956: II, 136 no. 335), along with Fontenrose (1978: 256 H36), presume that this oracle comes from Delphi, claiming to follow Daux (and cf. recently also Eidinow 2007: 50–51); but Daux (1941), with commendable caution, only argued that a major oracle, like Delphi, was more plausible than a strictly local one. Indeed, Telemessos itself is unlikely (see below on lines 8–9), and any information about the source of the oracle, perhaps contained in earlier lines, is now lost.

Lines 2–6. The oracular question and the reply given by Apollo follow rather standard formulae, but employ pleonastic formulations perhaps to even greater extent than elsewhere. On the typical phrasing of oracular consultation and response, cf. most recently Lhôte 2006: 336–349. The expression λώϊον καὶ ἄμεινον is quite standard, but here we find other exhaustive pairings, ποιούσιν καὶ πράσσουν, ἰλασκομένοις καὶ τιμῶσιν, etc. in greater concentration than what appears to be normal. Compare perhaps again the oracle from Gryneion at *I. Kaunos* 56, lines 8–12: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων | ἐπερωτᾷ τίνας θεῶν | ἰλασκομένου αὐτοῦ καρπο[ῖ] | καλοὶ καὶ ὄνησιφόροι γίνονται. | *vacat* θεὸς ἔχρησεν· | τιμῶσιν Λητοῦς Φοῖβον ...

Lines 8–9. On the composition of the ancestral pantheon, see p. 96–98 of our article above and my forthcoming monograph. Here, it is the epiklesis of Apollo, Τελε|μεσσοῦ μεδέοντα, which warrants further comment. It need not indicate the source of Poseidonios' oracle, since Poseidonios sent a consultation to a probably relatively distant sanctuary (line 1), and since it is unlikely that Telemessos was much more than a community known for its interpreters (*exegetai*), whether diviners or seers (see Daux 1941 and Harvey 1991, who collect the relevant sources). However, it perhaps suggests an explanation for Poseidonios' oracular inquiry, since he had a degree of kinship with the Telemessians, or the oracle's response, which invoked an ancestral Apollo in the neighbourhood of the inquirer. Telemessos is an epichoric name whose spelling varies and is regularly confused with its Lycian homonym (lyc. Telebehi), which may also have had exegetes (though in later sources one finds a somewhat consistent distinction between the spellings Τελμισ(σ)ος for the Carian, and Τελμήσσος for the Lycian). The Carian Telmessos is still not definitively located: traditionally a site in the western Halicarnassus peninsula is given (Bean/Cook 1955: 151–155 for the site at Gürice, west of Halicarnassus; see also *IACGP* no. 936, with Barrington Atlas pl. 61; compare *SEG* 29.1087, ca. 200–150 BC, a decree of the *koinon* of the Telmissians, invoking their Archegetes Apollo Telmisseus, found at nearby Belen). However, a location in the eastern peninsula, whether at the site identified as Syangela or nearby, may be envisaged (on the basis of *SEG* 40.991, Sekköy ca. 350 BC, line 14, an Ἄρτεμίδωρος ἐς

Τεμοεσσου among the delegates of the Syangeleis; if it was the site now identified as Syangela [Alazeytin], then that community should probably be located at the same site as the later Theangela, i.e. Etrim [cf. *IACGP* no. 931]; this might therefore involve a Hellenistic evolution into a *nom parlant* that was appropriate for the larger community of exegetes: “divine messages”). For recent work on the site of Alazeytin, also suggesting an identification with Carian Telemessos, cf. Descat 2013. The designation location + μεδέων is poetic in origin (cf. already Hirschfeld). Cf. e.g. *SEG* 30.869B (Leuke, ca. 500–450 BC) for the metrical characteristics: Γλαῦκος με ἀνέθηκεν Ἀχιλλῆι Λευκῆ<ς> μεδέοντι, παῖ[ε]ς Ποσιδῆῶ, and for an explicitly oracular character, cf. *I. Cos* EV 232 = *IG* XII 4, 532 (first c. BC): Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[α]λίῳ Καλύμνας | μεδέοντι, κατὰ χρῆσζμόν | Διδυμέως κτλ. Compare also *IG* I³ 1491 and 1495 (fifth c. BC, boundary stones of Athena set up by the Athenians on Cos and at the Samian Heraion, probably sanctioned by oracles).

Lines 9–10. The Daimon Agathos, or Good Daemon, of Poseidonios and Gorgis is an intriguing inclusion among the oracle’s prescriptions. The idea of worshipping a *daimon* tied to an individual warrants further discussion than is possible here. It is doubtless a notion that already had some dissemination among the Presocratic philosophers, whether Ionian or Dorian (cf. e.g. Epicharmos of Cos, ca. 540–450 BC, fr. 17: τρόπος, ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποις δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακός). In Caria, however, the worship of the (Agathos) Daimon, or Agathoi Daimones, usually followed by a series of individuals in the genitive can be traced back to the Hekatomnid period (cf. *I. Mylasa* 350 and Descat 2011), and it remains prevalent into the Roman era. This particularity is enigmatic and cannot yet be linked with inscriptions in the Carian language, but it might be epichoric to some extent (cf. already von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1932, vol. 2: 307–308: “Karischer Glaube kann sich einmischen”). Though some connotation of the “founder’s genitive” is perhaps involved in this appellation (cf. above p. 69 with n. 20), the idea of a daimon belonging to an individual must to a degree imply the worship of his divinised soul or of his personal protecting spirit. One might accordingly but also tentatively speak of a process of “daimonisation” not unlike the forms of heroisation found outside of Caria (cf. already Carbon 2005). Yet it is striking that other early instances of this form of worship also appear to involve couples; compare *SEG* 52.1064 (Koranza, ca. 350–300 BC), which at lines 5–6 should likely read: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ βω[μὸν τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ] | Δαίμονος Λερῶ καὶ [Κοσινᾶς] (compare lines 8–9: κριὸν ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ [Δαίμονι | Λερῶ] καὶ | Κοσινᾶς). Just like Gorgis, Kosina can be a male or a female name (for the latter, cf. *I. Mylasa* 336 and also *SEG* 49.812, Thermi; contra, Rigsby 2009: 75–77). We may thus be dealing here with a form of heroisation involving the Good Daemon of married couples, eventually encom-

passing the kindly spirits of whole families or communities (cf. *I. Mylasa* II s.v., notably for a priest of Agathoi Daimones at Olymos in ca. 200–150 BC).

Lines 10–11. The oracle concludes with a somewhat unusual injunction, which is echoed *in fine*, lines 51–52. Such oracular language appears to be based on a twofold formulation: a blessing if the commands are obeyed and respected: τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν | καὶ ποιῶσιν ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι; and a correspondingly implicit curse if they are disregarded. This curse is only rarely explicitly stated, as far as I can tell, but compare possibly an early example from Didyma, *Milet* I 3, 178, lines 3–5 (ca. 600–550 BC): καὶ [τῷ μὲν πειθομέ|νωι λῶιον καὶ ἄ|μεινον ἔσται, τῷ | vacat δὲ μὴ πειθομένω[ι τού|ναντίον]. This formulation readily parallels the twofold optative statements found much prominently in oaths. In the analogous foundation of a cult of the (Agathos) Daimon of Leros and Kosina at Koranza (*SEG* 52.1064, above), the text concludes similarly, lines 14–15: καὶ εἶ|ναι ταῦτα συντελοῦσι|σιν ἀ|τοῖς λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον, perhaps indicating there too an oracular source for the prescriptions.

Line 12. The second document on the stele, marked by a paragraphos, is a list of lands which Poseidonios has pledged (ὑπέθηκεν) to his descendants. While the concept of *hypotheke* involves something like the etymological sense of ‘mortgage’, here it probably does not refer to properties which are mortgaged for a specific surety or sum of money, whether under the supervision of the *polis* or a creditor. Rather these represent pledges or endowments (compare τὰ ὑποκείμενα, line 28), made during Poseidonios’ lifetime, which are to serve as a sort of perpetual ‘trust fund’ for his family and which are to be administered directly or rented out. If the main ‘trustee’, i.e. the eldest among his male descendants who serves as priest, is otherwise indisposed or does not wish to administer the bequest, then this is to be held in common among the descendants and exploited by their monthly officials, notably through renting (cf. lines 27–31).

Line 14. For a discussion of the implied object of the phrase τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, see above p. 81 with n. 58 and p. 97 with n. 105; compare τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν at line 23.

Lines 15–16. The arable land or field pledged by Poseidonios raises several questions about the topography of his properties (see also below on lines 17–18). It is not clear which Astypalaia (Ancient-Town) or what territory is meant here. The island of that name, over 100 km from the Halicarnassus peninsula, and the Astypalaia found on Cos (cf. *IACGP* no. 498) may both be thought unlikely candidates. Indeed, the land is described as neighbouring Anthes and Damagetos. The first of these names matches that of the purported founder of Halicarnassus, as well as perhaps Myndus and Theangela, a colonist who led a group from Argos and Troizen. This Anthes and his descendants, the cultic

family of the Antheadai, form an integral part of the mythical landscape of the peninsula (cf. now Jameson 2004, who omits Poseidonios' stele however). Taken together with the resonant name Damagetos ('Leader-of-the-People'), which is found most frequently in the Dorian Peloponnese as well as on Rhodes and in its Peraia, the individual Anthes in this inscription can be seen either as a possible member of the Antheadai or, much more conjecturally, as the hero Anthes himself, whose tomb might be adjacent to the field, a connection that would of course be particularly appropriate in Poseidonios' case. In any case, this Astypalaia must therefore be sought in the peninsula. The likeliest candidate is the ancient city of Myndus, before it was relocated as a result of the synoikism ordered by Mausolus, though this is normally called Palaemyndus (cf. *IACGP* no. 914; but Strabo 14.2.20 describes it as a citadel or promontory below the Myndia; for the Mausolan synoikism of the peninsula, cf. still the seminal discussion of Hornblower 1982: 81–99, invoking several of the sites mentioned here). An alternative would be to think of an ancient city site at Halicarnassus itself, or perhaps in connection with Telemessos and other sites on the peninsula, though evidence is lacking. For the unusual spelling ὄμουροῦντα, probably a local or Ionian variant, compare: *SEG* 43.713, line 61 (Halicarnassus ca. 425–350 BC); *I. Stratonikeia* 502, line 7 (Koranza, ca. 350 BC); *I. Labraunda* 8B, line 19 (ca. 235 BC), and 69, line 22 (ca. 150–100 BC).

Line 17. The list of pledged properties continues, but it is again unclear where these are located. Probably they are not situated in Astypalaia like the field, but rather constitute what is later referred to as the sacred precinct or *temenos* (line 29). A courtyard and a grove are particularly apposite to a sacred precinct, as in Diomedon's dedication, *IG XII* 4, 368 lines 2–3 and 70; cf. also 80–86. The phrase τὰ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον refers to land or properties surrounding a tomb, most likely that of Poseidonios' parents (his father Iatrokles and his mother, lines 12 and 34). Where this was located is problematic. If we assume that the findspot of the fragments west of the Maussolleion is indicative of the location of this *temenos* (where the stele was erected, lines 50–51), then we might be able to situate this property within Halicarnassus itself. The context of a memorial set up in the shadow of the famous Maussolleion, half a century later, might also provide a suggestive image. But it might also be thought that such a burial within the city walls is comparatively unlikely in the case of Poseidonios and that we might instead have a *pierre errante*. In this light, compare two rock-cut tomb cult complexes on Göktepe Hill just north of Halicarnassus in Carstens 2010: 344–352.

Line 18. The last of Poseidonios' bequests is perhaps the most unusual and intriguing, granting a monetary share of the 'rights of tillage' at a specific site. The ἐνηροσίον appears to be etymologically related to the act of cultivating and

plowing soil, and must mean the proceeds which could be made by renting out or farming land that was arable and probably sacred (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). It is only found here outside of Delos, where this sense is well-attested in the sacred accounts: cf. e.g. *ID* 290 (246 BC, line 14: [καὶ τάδε] ἐνηρόσια εἰσήκει παρὰ τῶν μεμισθωμένων τὰ ἱερὰ τεμένη); *ID* 314 (ca. 235/4 BC, line 168: [τὸ] δὲ ἐνηρόσιον τῶν ἱερῶν χωρίω[ν]). For the spelling ἤμισυ instead of ἥμισυ, possibly an Ionic variant, cf. already *I. Erythrai* 17 (ca. 500–350 BC) lines 14–15. Does the fact that Poseidonios attribute only half of this ‘tillage’ money imply that the land was sacred and that the other half of the proceeds belonged to a sanctuary? Perhaps, but the location and status of this land is unclear. The site of Taramptos or Tarampton was perhaps problematic even for the stonecutter, who made a mistake here. In fact, there is only a single other possible mention of this site, namely in the Athenian Tribute Lists (cf. *IG* I³ 71, line 115, 425/4 BC). If the restoration is correct there, it might be thought to have been an independent community for some time before the Hecatomnid period, and it plausibly occurs among other sites in the eastern Halicarnassus peninsula: perhaps Amunanda (*IACGP* no. 873), the Syangeleis, and the Ouranietai (cf. no. 920). Yet, as elsewhere in this text, the topography of the Halicarnassus peninsula is not well known and the precise site of Taramptos/Tarampton is far from established. The current identification is with the island north of the peninsula, in the gulf of Iasos and Bargylia, once called by modern Greeks Tarandos and now by the Turks Salih Ada (Barrington Atlas pl. 61 and *IACGP* no. 933). The name Tarandos might not be etymologically related to this site, however, since the island was probably once known for a breed of deer, which were perhaps identified with reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the island is often thought to be the original site of Karyanda, which was later relocated on the mainland and eventually renamed Neapolis (cf. Bean/Cook 1955: 155–160). The ancient site of Taramptos/Tarampton, probably a name of Carian origin, should probably be sought elsewhere on the Halicarnassus peninsula, likely on its eastern and western halves rather than in the gulf of Iasos and Bargylia to the North.

Lines 20–21. The notion of what is involved behind καρπευ[έ]τω may not be fully clear. It is a standard verb for ‘exploiting’ or reaping financial benefits from property, particularly a sanctuary: compare e.g. *IG* XII 4, 310 (Cos, ca. 170 BC), lines 9–10, κ[α]ρπευέτω δὲ καὶ τὸ τέ[μενο]ς. In Roman Law, this is known

118 Deer were still to be seen on the island when Gertrude Bell visited it in 1907 (diary for the 17th of April, Bell Archive no. 1474, University of Newcastle; cf. http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=530). Compare also Bean/Cook 1955: 159 with n. 310.

as ‘usufruct’ (cf. already Hirschfeld, Paton and Myres). In the context of Poseidonios’ agricultural lands, involving a field, a grove, and the ‘rights of tillage’, a connotation of ‘cultivate for profit’ may also be implied, much like in our modern ‘harvest’ or ‘farm out’.

Lines 21–22. The phrase specifies that the priest must annually pay or provide four gold pieces or an equivalent sum in lesser denominations, after tax, from the money he makes off of the pledged lands. On first glance, one might think that a word such as *στατήρας* is to be implied here (so already Hirschfeld, Dareste et al.), but in this case perhaps an explicit mention of gold staters of Philip or Alexander or of another standard would have been expected. In fact, these *chrysoi* are likely to be seen as Ptolemaic staters, which were usually minted at Alexandria and could to some degree have been in circulation at Halicarnassus (cf. de Callataÿ and Le Rider 2006: esp. 36–37, 136–138; see however Konuk 2004, for Ptolemaic coins minted at Halicarnassus, which do not include any gold issues). At any rate, one could presume a weight of smaller denominations equal to four *chrysoi*. Assuming an equivalence of 20 silver *drachmai* for each *chrysos*, this would yield a total value of 80 *drachmai* which had to be given annually by the priest or by the appointed monthly officials. That would probably constitute an adequate amount to purchase the six sacrificial animals involved in both days of rituals. Since rams vary between 10–17 *drachmai* at Athens in the preceding century (cf. Rosivach 1994: 97–98), and the lower range of this price would be expected for the goat, a total of ca. 60–85 *drachmai* could thus be expended on animals, leaving remaining funds, if any, for other accoutrements and supplies. The finances of the cult would therefore be relatively healthy and the sale of hides would have probably resulted in a good system of accounting, recouping unforeseen costs or producing some profit which could then be turned into votive offerings to honour the gods (cf. lines 44–48). However, it is possible that Poseidonios left the precise standard of measurement of these gold pieces deliberately vague or unspecified, wishing to take into account monetary fluctuations. For ἀτελής meaning a ‘net’ sum, cf. Gauthier 1976: 138.

Line 22. □ ἔδοξεν | Ποσ[[ει]]δωνίωι. What appear to be elements of punctuation are inserted before and after ἔδοξεν, singling out this word, as well as drawing attention to the paragraphos between this line and the following.

Line 26. The month names mentioned in the text here (μηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου) and at lines 31–32 (μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος ἐπιμελείτωσαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας) are likely consecutive (so already Paton and Myres) or at any rate in close succession (perhaps allowing some time to purchase and fatten the sacrificial animals). The whole chronology of the rituals in Poseidonios’ stele remains intriguingly loose. Likewise, the calendar of Halicarnassus is not well understood, cf. Trümper 1997:

113–114 (compare 278, for Theangela). The month Hermaion is already found at Meiggs and Lewis no. 32, line 4 (ca. 450 BC), while Eleutherios/Eleutherion occurs perhaps at the earliest here (cf. Raaflaub 1985: 133 n. 288 for the hypothesis of a festival of Eleutheria in this context; this might then be tied to an important event at Halicarnassus in the early Hellenistic period).

Line 27. For συντελέσουσιν meaning to “put on”, cf. the application of this verb to festivals and other events larger than sacrifices: e.g. *I. Lampsakos* 9 (second c. BC) line 73, ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς ἂν αἱ ἔορταὶ συντελῶνται.

Line 30. The verb ἐγμισθοῶ appears to mean “put out to rent” or “farm out”, and is perhaps not much different from μισθοῶ.

Line 31. The small *vacat* in this line κομιζόμενοι ν μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος ἐπιμελεί|τωσαν appears to indicate a short pause, and perhaps more strongly, that the imperative reprises the obligations of the *epimenioi*, whether the conditional statements begun in lines 27–28 are realised or not. In other words, one is probably to infer that, whatever their financial responsibilities in the case of a default by the priest, the monthly officials are to assist the priest during the rites (cf. already a version of this explanation in Paton and Myres). For further discussion of the temporal scope of these nominally ‘monthly’ officials, see above p. 85–95.

Line 32. The phrase τὰ νομιζόμενα is often found in sacrificial provisions and may denote, in addition to the sacrificial animals, a variety of supplementary offerings, in the form of cakes, liquids for libations, etc. Compare for example the extensive lists of ἱερά associated with the offerings of sheep (ἱερεῖον) in the testament of Epikteta (Wittenburg 1990: lines 177–194).

Lines 33–38. In this list of sacrifices, one finds on the first day a sacrifice to the Tyche Agathe of the mother and father of Poseidonios which was perhaps inserted by decree, but was not apparently sanctioned in the oracle cited at the beginning of the text on the stele. This almost certainly refers to a wish by Poseidonios to honour his parents, and this form of ancestor-cult may already have existed at their tomb. The cult of the Good Fortune of individuals or cities is a prevalent concept, cf. now Meyer 2006: 342–348. Here, the relationship between this Agathe Tyche of the parents and the Agathos Daimon of Poseidonios and his wife, remains difficult to understand: it may be that there was a distinction between the Good Fortune of deceased individuals and the worship of the tutelary *daimon* of living ones, or perhaps the Agathe Tyche implied a lesser degree of divinisation and Poseidonios thus felt he could safely worship it without the sanction of the oracle. The ram is an animal often sacrificed in rural and heroic cults, much like sheep (compare also the ram in the cult of Leros and Kosinas at Koranza, above: *SEG* 52.1064, line 8; oxen are normally found in more important civic rituals or in ruler-cult). A goat is offered to the Mother of the Gods, but a

ram is sacrificed to the Moirai, contrary to the usual expectation that female deities received female animals (on the sacrifices to these deities, see recently Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2011: 103–109 and D. Ackermann in this volume). The meat from the first day of sacrifices was reserved for the dinner on the next day. It was probably kept raw, and the carcasses hung in a dry area, or butchered and perhaps even salted as a means of preservation for a distribution of meat on the day after the sacrifice (cf. lines 45–46; compare *SEG* 45.1508A, Bargylia ca. 120–100 BC, lines 10–13, for a distribution of meat on the next day).

Lines 38–40. The priest receives a thigh and a fourth of the entrails, which are standard perquisites not only at Halicarnassus but all over Caria. The restoration τεταρτημ[ο]ρίδα is based on parallels of this priestly perquisite at *LSAM* 73, lines 9–14 (Halicarnassus, perhaps ca. 200 BC or later), and *SEG* 29.1088 (Theangela, ca. 275–225 BC), lines 6–12. In both of those civic cases, the priest or priestess is also *ἰσόμοιρος* during a festival or a dinner. These priests also receive the hides of animals sacrificed at public expense (τὰ δημόσια), but not from those sacrificed privately (τὰ ἰδιωτικά). Again, these parallels demonstrate how Poseidonios' familial decree is modelled on a *polis* framework, assigning priestly perquisites which are comparable to those of civic priests in the case of private sacrifices. A similar case may probably be found in the fragmentary 'foundation' of a certain Epikrates, probably later in the Hellenistic or Roman period at Halicarnassus, cf. Robert 1937: 466–468 (the γέρα there too likely involved, lines 8–9, a [τεταρτημορίδα σ]πλάγχνων).

Lines 40–43. As elsewhere in the text, a wish to include all of the family members is manifest. Equal portions are distributed both to men who dine after the sacrifices and to women, whether these people are present in the *thiasos* or not. Though realistically there is no such thing as an equal portion of meat, a principle of fair and equitable division is prevalent in a vast majority of Greek sacrifices: cf. Ekroth 2008: 270–272. The verb ἀφαιρεῖν, much like ἐξαιρεῖν, is often found in reference to the act of extracting and cutting out meat from an animal carcass: compare e.g. *LSAM* 70, Chalketor (ca. 300 BC?), lines 4–8, ἐ[ξ]αιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν | [κρε]ῶν καὶ τὰ γέρα τῆι ἱερείαι ἀποδόντε[ς] | τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρείωσαν τῶι δήμωι, ἀφ[αιρ]οῦντες ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ [τὰ | ἐ]νδόθια (this text probably referred to *neopoioi* of a local Artemis, officials who act in a subsidiary capacity with regard to the priest much like the *epimenioi* of Poseidonios).

Lines 44. The 'monthly' officials are to reserve the head and feet for themselves. These portions of the sacrificial animals are sometimes part of the regular priestly portions (compare *LSAM* 59, Iasos ca. 450–400 BC, also with σπλ[άγχνων] τέταρτομ μέρος); at other times the head and the feet constitute the whole of the priestly portion (e.g. in the sales at Hyllarima, *SEG* 55.1113, ca.

197 BC, col. B lines 16–18; col. C, lines 17–21). However, they are also attributed to officials acting in an ancillary capacity to the priest (see *LSAM* 70, above, for the head).

Lines 44–45. A *thiasos* appears for the first time here, probably not as the whole familial body who passed the decree, but presumably as shorthand for referring to those members of the family or community of the cult group who actively participate in the rites on a given occasion, excluding those who are absent (compare already the *thiasotai* of the Demotionidai at Athens, *IG* II² 1237, 396/5 BC). The sale of the hides of sacrificial animals, here the fleeces of rams and goats, is a well-documented practice, e.g. at Athens (among others, cf. Rosivach 1994: 48–49), but not at Halicarnassus itself.

Lines 51–52. The text is still part of the decree, but concludes with the prescription to obey it, a form of blessing and an implied curse which partly repeats the phrases of the oracle: the pleonastic datives διαφυλάσσουν καὶ ποιοῦσιν and the comparative ἄμεινον. The spelling of the optative as γίνοιτο may be similarly paralleled to (usually) later prescriptions taking the form of blessings (*LSAM* 17, Smyrna, first c. AD?, lines 11–16: τοῖς δὲ συμφυλάσσουν | καὶ ἐπαύξουσιν τὰ τῆς | θεοῦ τίμια καὶ τὸ ἰχθυο|τρόφιον αὐτῆς βίου καὶ | ἐργασίας καλῆς γίνοιτο | παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ ὄνησις), and perhaps to the language of oaths (cf. *Milet* I 3, 37, ca. 223 BC, lines 87–8, if the restoration is correct: [καὶ μοι εὐορ|κοῦν]τι γ[ί]νοιτο ἄμεινον). The final phrase ὑπὸ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον (though earlier editors have been tempted to correct it as genitives) probably should be retained as it is and interpreted as “under both god and man” (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ὑπὸ, C.II. for “under” + accusative in the sense “of subjection, control, dependence”). This formula seems again to take up phrasings found in oaths, for example the shorthand expression ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον found in records of manumission (e.g. *CIRB* 1123, Gorgippia, 41 AD).

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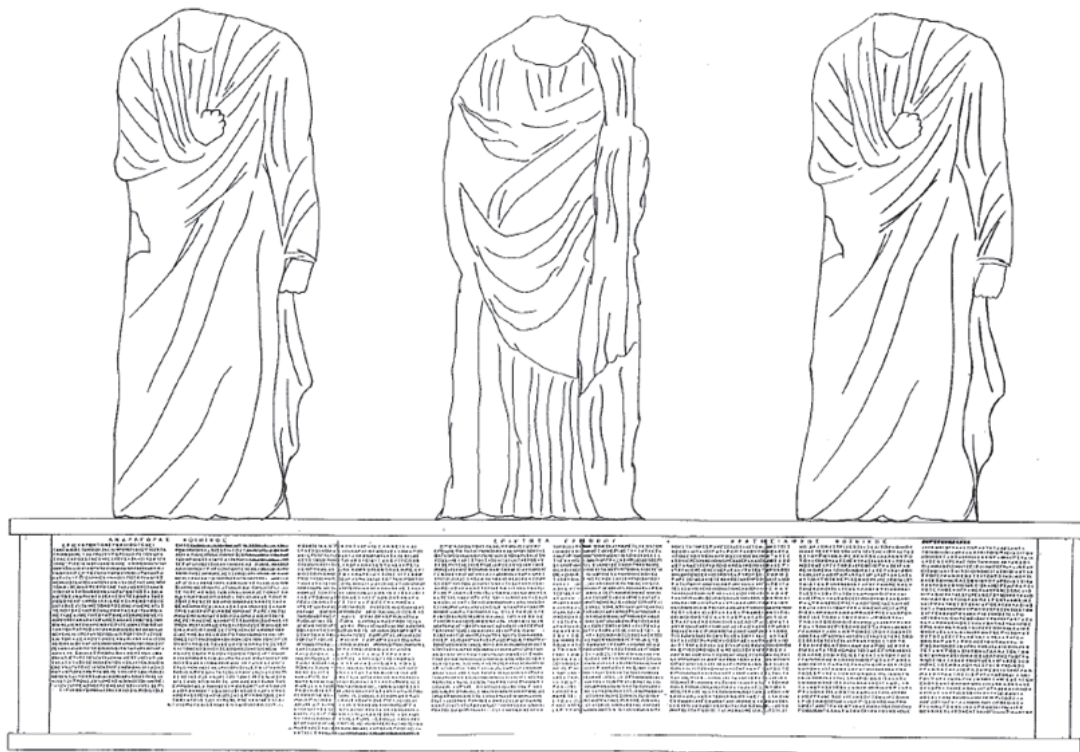


Fig. 1 Hypothetical reconstruction of the monument displaying the inscribed testament of Epikteta (from Wittenburg 1990: plate 2). Reproduced with kind permission of the author.



Fig. 2 Stele of Poseidonios from Halicarnassus (© Trustees of the British Museum, inv. no. 1876,0701.1)