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# Reconstructing the Dedicatory Experience: Flexibility and Limitation in the Ancient Greek Dedicatory Process

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Reconstructing the Dedicatory Experience:  
Flexibility and Limitation in the Ancient Greek Dedicatory Process

by

Nicole M. Colosimo

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
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## Abstract

Identifying the factors that affected dedicatory practices has long been an area of consideration in the study of ancient Greek religion. However, this discussion is largely dominated by two concepts, those of divine specialization and appropriateness. Whereas the former assumes that divine beings had responsibilities specific to them and that this specialization limited the range of offerings a deity could receive, the latter assumes that worshippers not only selected gifts in accordance with those divine specializations but also based on preconceived notions of gender roles of worshippers and deities alike. In addition, there is a tendency to deprive worshippers of their agency and, thus, their ability to shape their own dedicatory experience.

This study reconsiders the role that worshippers play in the dedicatory process by reconceptualizing it as a series of choices. Thus, it considers the flexibility and limitation of ancient Greek dedicatory practices by identifying the factors that affected a worshipper's experiences when offering gifts to divine beings. It also examines a wider range of sources, considering a fresh and broader selection of literary sources coupled with archaeological and epigraphical evidence. By bringing together material from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period from all across the Greek world, this dissertation creates a more nuanced reconstruction of the dedicatory process and thus demonstrates that each worshipper had a unique dedicatory experience when offering a gift to a divine being.

Factors that did restrict worshippers in their choices included regulations limiting access to sanctuaries and areas within them, personal aspects of worshippers, such as social status, membership in certain groups, and gender, as well as the inheritance of a vow. A careful review of the evidence suggests that notions of specialization and appropriateness were less limiting than previously thought. Worshippers could dedicate an offering of their choice to a deity or hero because they were flexible beings and capable of aiding worshippers in a variety of activities. Similarly, the gender of the worshipper and the deity did not necessarily dictate the choice of gift.

To Bruce,

whose love and patience know no bounds

and whose sense of humor keeps me sane.

Thank you for pulling me up, dusting me off, and

wading back into the fray at my side.

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## Vita

Nicole Marie Colosimo was born in Cleveland, Ohio on March 27, 1980 to Fred and Linda Colosimo. After graduating from Wellington High School in Wellington, Florida, she attended Agnes Scott College in Decatur, GA from 1998 to 2002. There she received her bachelor's degree in Anthropology and Religious Studies with Classics. Nicole also attended the University of Georgia from 2004 to 2007, from which she received a bachelor's degree in Classical Culture.

An early love of history and the ancient world encouraged her to follow her dreams and enroll at Bryn Mawr College in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology. She completed her M.A. thesis, entitled "The Unwritten Hera: A Comparison of the Argive Heraion and the Heraion at Perachora" under the guidance of Dr. Astrid Lindenlauf in 2009. She passed her doctoral exams in the areas of Greek Sanctuaries, Greek Architecture, Greek Historians and the Art and Archaeology of Ancient Mesopotamia in the Spring of 2011. From 2008 until 2016, Nicole was a Graduate Assistant in the Visual Resources Center of Bryn Mawr College with the primary responsibility of database management for images used for the teaching of Archaeology, History of Art, and the Architecture of Cities. In 2011, she received a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Curatorial Internship to analyze and process a collection of *terra sigillata* in Bryn Mawr College's Special Collections. Nicole continued working in Special Collection as a Graduate Assistant from 2011–2014, aiding



the staff in the management of the College's collection of art and artifacts. She has also had the opportunity to participate in a number of excavations and study seasons in Greece, Italy, Egypt, and Bulgaria. Nicole completed her dissertation under the guidance of Professor Astrid Lindenlauf in the Fall of 2017.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1, The Aim of the Study**

Dedications, alongside sacrifice and prayer, were key components of Greek religion and allowed worshippers to communicate directly with divine beings. They are physical testimonies of worshippers eagerly attempting to capture the attention of gods and heroes in order to ask or thank them for aid in various aspects of their lives, such as for victory in battle, a good harvest, safe childbirth, and healing. While these gifts were given to ensure that deities and heroes received their due, they were also intended as ornaments to please and impress the divine recipients. The latter purpose may also be true for a mortal audience since dedications rooted worshippers within their community. Through their choice of offering, recipient deity, and location within a sanctuary, worshippers could make personal statements out of a public act regarding their status, familial ties, and group membership. Thus, dedications provide insight into how ancient Greeks understood the function and power of their deities and heroes, their responsibilities towards those immortal beings, and a worshipper's place within his or her own society.

Scholars have studied ancient Greek dedications for more than a century, typically guided by the concepts of specialization and appropriateness. Encouraged by select literary sources that have endorsed these concepts, they have interpreted dedicatory practices under the assumption that divine beings possessed specialized responsibilities and that worshippers selected gifts in accordance with those abilities. The concept of



appropriateness also extended into the realm of gender, resulting in the conclusion that certain dedications were more suitable for either male or female worshippers to dedicate and for deities of the respective gender to receive. This approach, however, has inadvertently led to scholars inaccurately imposing limitations on some aspects of the dedicatory process. More specifically, worshippers had little freedom to choose either the deity or the type of dedication, and thus had little or no control over their own dedicatory experience. Focusing on these concepts as a framework for interpretation has prevented scholars from evaluating other ways in which dedicatory practices could be shaped. These approaches have neither satisfactorily reconstructed what the process of dedicating gifts was like, nor fully represented how worshippers experienced this fundamental aspect of Greek religion.

This dissertation aims to demonstrate that evaluating dedicatory practices as a series of choices that in turn shaped how worshippers experienced the process of dedicating offerings is a more accurate and fruitful approach. This study first intends to show that the dedicatory process was much more flexible and complex than has often been considered and that concepts such as specialization and appropriateness have done more to hinder interpretations than aid them. It does so by showing that despite scholarly assumptions that deities and heroes specialized in certain areas, e.g. healing or women's concerns, divine beings in ancient Greece were much more flexible and were capable of aiding worshippers in a variety of tasks. This dissertation also reveals that dedications were flexible in meaning and that a worshipper's gender did not necessarily dictate the

type of gift that they would choose. Finally, this dissertation firmly establishes that the numerous factors that defined worshippers as individuals also ensured that they experienced the dedicatory process in vastly different ways. Factors that broadly affected worshippers in their dedicatory experiences included customs as well as the time and date of the dedicatory event. There were also a number of factors that were particular to worshippers, such as gender, familial ties, membership in social or political groups, membership in the priesthood, and his or her state of purity. Together, these aspects shaped each dedicatory experience so that it was distinct from any another and, in turn, ensured that the dedicatory process was flexible to those engaging in it.

This study focuses mostly on the dedicatory process and on the experiences of individual worshippers, though some mention of cities and groups dedicating offerings is also made. The dedicatory process as defined by this dissertation is the series of steps that is taken by a worshipper to dedicate a gift, beginning with the worshipper's first inclination to do so and ending with the dedicatory object being placed somewhere in the *temenos* or other sacred setting. Choices made during this process included the recipient deity, the type of gift, when the sanctuary could be accessed, and where in the *temenos* the gift could be placed. A worshipper's dedicatory experience, on the other hand, is explained as the combined and varied events he or she faced when engaging in the activity of dedicating a gift. The dissertation does not aim to reconstruct the emotions worshippers felt while dedicating gifts. Instead, it attempts to recreate the dedicatory experience as it was affected by a variety of different factors that may have impacted a

worshipper's choices. These factors include those that affected worshippers generally and include customs, the time, and the date. There are also factors that targeted worshippers more specifically such as gender, group membership, socio-economic status, and state of purity. In this study, the gender, rather than the sex, of a worshipper is discussed as a factor because the pressures that affected worshippers were social and cultural, rather than biological.

## **1.2, Previous Scholarship**

The concepts of specialization and appropriateness are pervasive in modern scholarship. Some scholars maintain a firm stance regarding the specialization of divine beings. For example, Matthew Dillon's and Lynda Garland's recent survey of Greek history and culture from the Archaic to the end of the Classical period speaks about deities who served as patrons for specific activities and people: "...craftsmen made dedications to Athena and Hephaistos, soldiers to Zeus or Enyalios, mothers to Artemis...."<sup>1</sup> Alternately, some scholars appear to accept the possibility that deities and heroes influenced other domains, but while still maintaining a thread of specialization in their arguments. This line of thinking is notable in Folkert van Straten's paper "Gifts for the Gods." Although he suggests that "the distribution of functions and specializations in the Greek pantheon was not applied quite as rigorously as is often supposed," later, in the same paper he promotes the thought that divine beings specialized in problems related to their own sex by suggesting that "[w]omen, with the typical problems of their sex

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<sup>1</sup> Dillon and Garland 2012, 114–115.

connected with fertility, pregnancy, and childbirth...might prefer one of the deities who specialized in gynecology, such as Artemis or Aphrodite."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, John Pedley's more recent book *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* states that "[e]ach god had areas of special concern." He goes on to list the major Olympic deities and their traditional specialized areas of interest, i.e. "Poseidon was the god of the sea, horses, and earthquakes," "Hera was the goddess of women and marriage," and "Aphrodite was the goddess of beauty, sex, and love."<sup>3</sup> While Pedley acknowledges that deities could have overlapping responsibilities as expressed in epithets, he nevertheless continues to embrace the concept of specialization. This is demonstrated by his suggestion that although Hera and Aphrodite could both oversee marriage and conception, "Hera was more closely tied to the family and fertility, Aphrodite to erotic love and sexuality."<sup>4</sup>

Concepts of specialization influence concepts of ideal or appropriate gifts for divine beings. Scholars who subscribe to specialization usually assume that deities received gifts that were reflective of the domains that they oversaw. According to Elizabeth Wayland Barber, the *peplos* given to Athena at Athens during the Panathenaic Festival was "particularly appropriate... since textiles were the special province of Athena - or, to put it the other way around, since Athena was in part the divine representative of the principle of weaving."<sup>5</sup> Virginia Anderson-Stojanović suggests that the miniature *hydriai* found at

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<sup>2</sup> Van Straten 1981, 100 and 149.

<sup>3</sup> Pedley 2005, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Pedley 2005, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Barber 1992, 103.

Demeter's sanctuaries at Isthmia, on the Acrocorinth at Corinth, at Thasos, and at Mytilene are suitable for the goddess as "[w]ater is an appropriate offering for Demeter, goddess of agriculture, because without it the earth will not yield its fruits."<sup>6</sup> Some scholars assume that certain items were more appropriate for either men or women to dedicate and for deities or heroes to receive. For example, according to Matthew Dillon most women preferred to dedicate small items that would have been used in a household setting, such as spindle whorls, loom weights, jewelry, and accessories, "because these fell within the scope of their private expenditure and/or because they had personal relevance or were appropriate to their gender, and could be dedicated at rites of transition (such as marriage, or the birth of a child) which were important for women; many were cheap household objects."<sup>7</sup>

Despite the long history of scholars analyzing ancient Greek dedications, none have yet considered the process by which worshippers went about dedicating an offering in a sanctuary. Sarah Aleshire has come the closest to addressing it, but the "process" she considers does not refer to the steps taken by a worshipper. Instead, it focuses on the "life history" of a dedication, specifically metal anatomical offerings and *typoi* that were dedicated at the Athenian Asklepieion in the third century B.C.E., "from the time when the dedicant decided to make a dedication until the time when the priest and the commissioners ordered it melted and recast." Ultimately Aleshire's analysis seeks to

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<sup>6</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 2002, 77.

<sup>7</sup> Dillon 2002, 14.

answer "how (...) a dedication [was] acquired, placed in the temple, preserved, and finally selected for liquidation and re-cast into a larger and grander dedication?"<sup>8</sup> Her examination of the "life history" of an offering endeavors to recreate the process of giving gifts to the gods by focusing on the object itself. As such, it does not include an examination of the human component, a consideration of how worshippers navigated the dedicatory process, or an analysis of the experiences they might have had in doing so.

On the other hand, some scholars have considered the dedicatory experience of a worshipper, as well as the factors that influenced it. Christopher Simon's dissertation on Archaic cults and dedications in Ionia suggests that custom may have dictated the types of dedications worshippers gave to deities and heroes. He argues that the "extensive repetition of types" at a wide range of sanctuaries are indicative of "a certain amount of social control...that regulated the giving of offerings."<sup>9</sup> Simon also proposes that such control could sometimes have been codified under sanctuary regulations, which would then have dictated the appropriate gift to be given.

The studies of Helmut Kyrieleis and of Sarah Aleshire on the Heraion on Samos and on the Asklepieion of Athens, respectively, focus on one aspect of a worshipper's identity that may have impacted their dedicatory experience: their socio-economic status. Kyrieleis believes that dedications can reflect the dedicator, "not so much his profession

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<sup>8</sup> Aleshire 1992, 86.

<sup>9</sup> Simon 1986, 417.

or character in the narrow sense of the word, but rather, primarily, his social position."<sup>10</sup> With this in mind, Kyrieleis further argues that dedications given by those of lower status can be identified among the assemblages of the Heraion on Samos by their "simpler execution and cheaper material." According to Kyrieleis, offerings from the Archaic period that were made from terracotta and wood with a "primitive" or "folk character," as well as those that were easily obtainable "natural pieces," like rock crystal and coral, were appropriate for worshippers with limited financial means. However, such associations seem questionable when presented with the results of Sarah Aleshire's two part study on third century B.C.E. temple inventories and stone dedications from the Athenian Asklepieion. The second part of her study has already been addressed above, while the first part is relevant for the immediate discussion. In her first part, Aleshire aims to identify who patronized the sanctuary, specifically what was the economic status of the visiting worshippers. She demonstrates that previous assumptions that the sanctuary was overwhelmingly visited by those of lower social and economic status was false. Her analysis reveals that not only were the worshippers a "heterogeneous group," but also that the presence of an inscription and the dedication's size did not necessarily speak to an individual's economic or social status.<sup>11</sup> For example, Aleshire notes that a priestess of Themis, who surely was the wife of a citizen dedicated a small, inexpensive gift weighing only 1 obol.<sup>12</sup> It seems then that worshippers had more flexibility in their choice of offering. Furthermore, although worshippers at the lower end of the socio-

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<sup>10</sup> Kyrieleis 1988, 215.

<sup>11</sup> Aleshire 1992, 92.

<sup>12</sup> Aleshire 1992, 91.

economic spectrum did not always have funds on hand to use for dedicating lavish gifts, it is also possible that saving money over the course of their lives would eventually enable them to purchase a more costly item for dedication.

Van Straten has contributed extensively to the study of ancient Greek dedications. His article "Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries" explores different ways in which worshippers experienced dedicating gifts.<sup>13</sup> He begins by reviewing the various ways that worshippers could display their offerings in a sanctuary, while the remainder of his analysis considers the relationship that worshippers had with their dedications. Van Straten analyzes how worshippers viewed dedications by studying depictions of offerings on vases and reliefs and how they were treated in literary and epigraphical sources. He observes that worshippers considered dedications to be typical and ornamental components of a sanctuary meant to be admired by visitors. As the quantity of these gifts could be substantial, sometimes it was necessary for sanctuary authorities to create regulations that kept items from being placed in areas of high traffic or from damaging buildings within the sanctuary. In the final third of his article, van Straten addresses how worshippers saw themselves and how they wanted others to see them. He concludes that worshippers could choose certain types of gifts that would represent them in a certain way. He, cautiously, suggests that men making private dedications did so as individuals, while women tended to present their private dedications as family matters. Also, worshippers used dedications to depict a limited range of activities such as praying,

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<sup>13</sup> Van Straten 1992.



sacrificing, and incubating. Van Straten tentatively offers a further conclusion that depictions of worshippers engaging in dancing and banqueting are rare because such activities are collective and dedications are, for the most part, private affairs.<sup>14</sup>

A more recent approach is provided by Pedley, who examines Greek sanctuaries through a variety of themes, including the experiences of individual worshippers. In fact, he devotes two chapters to exploring the activities in which worshippers could participate, including festivals, sacrificing, dancing, drinking and dining, healing, and oracular consultation. Although Pedley's Chapter 7 is entirely devoted to offerings, the focus of his analysis is not on how worshippers experienced the act of dedication. Instead, Pedley, only examines the types of offerings that were dedicated from the eighth to fourth centuries B.C.E.<sup>15</sup>

Thus far, scholars have not considered the challenges worshippers may have faced when placing their gifts on sacred ground. Instead, they have focused either on gifts within sacred areas or the messages conveyed through placement. The former approach is taken by van Straten in the above-mentioned article, "Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries." Similar approaches have also been undertaken by Brita Alroth and Eric Brulotte. Brita Alroth's examination of archaeological material from sixty sanctuaries across the Greek world from the Geometric to Classical periods aims at showing the

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<sup>14</sup> Van Straten 1992, 284.

<sup>15</sup> Pedley 2005, 100–118.

various ways offerings were placed in a sanctuary. The "how" includes the materials or architecture that were employed, such as benches, offering tables, niches, altars, or shelves.<sup>16</sup> Eric Brulotte limits his examination to the sanctuaries of Artemis in the Peloponnesus and provides a more thorough analysis of the ways of exhibiting dedications in these sanctuaries.<sup>17</sup>

The second approach to the placement of offerings explores how larger offerings such as sculptural monuments were received by those who viewed them. These analyses focus more on how dedications functioned in the sanctuary and not on the practical aspects of the dedicatory process. For example, Brunilde Ridgway's article "The Setting of Greek Sculpture" examines how Greek sculpture from the Classical to the Hellenistic period seems to have shifted its emphasis from a utilitarian focus, in which the sculpture honored the deity and at the same time impressed messages upon visitors, to one that was more decorative and worked to involve the surrounding landscape.<sup>18</sup> While emphasizing that sculpture in Greek sanctuaries was meant to have a particular effect on visitors, Robin Barber looks at the variety of means that sculpture used to convey messages, including making use of the subject of the piece, the style of representation, and the techniques of display.<sup>19</sup> Other factors shaping the dedicatory experience, such as

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<sup>16</sup> Alroth 1988.

<sup>17</sup> Brulotte 1994.

<sup>18</sup> Ridgway 1971.

<sup>19</sup> Barber 1990.

accessibility of sanctuaries and areas within them, gender, group membership, and state of purity, however, have received little scholarly attention.

This review of scholarship demonstrates that scholars have not previously characterized the dedication of gifts as a process with multiple junctures, through which worshippers navigated based on factors affecting their lives. Still, some scholars have given thought to how factors such as custom and socio-economic status may or may not have influenced how worshippers dedicated their gifts. Van Straten, for instance, addressed not only the placement of offerings within the *temenos* but also the selection of dedications. For the most part, however, the concept of "experience" as it relates to dedications revolves solely around the type of item given. Thus, there is room to take a closer look at how worshippers experienced the dedication of gifts and the degree to which factors such as gender, familial ties, and membership in groups shaped this experience.

### **1.3, Methodology and Terminology**

This study presents and discusses literary, epigraphical, and archaeological material from the Geometric to the Late Hellenistic periods from all across the Greek world. Previous scholarship typically has used sources like *The Palatine Anthology* to establish not only the spheres of responsibility for each deity, but also the types of gifts that were thought to be appropriate for them. This study, however, expands its analysis to include a wide range of literary sources and combines it with an examination of epigraphical and

archaeological material. The resulting approach allows for a more thorough characterization of deities and heroes than any one category of evidence could communicate. Additionally, a later literary source, Pausanias, is also included in the discussion. While some of his testimony regarding certain rituals and practices cannot always be relied upon to reflect those that were present in earlier time periods, Pausanias also observed many monuments and dedications in the sanctuaries of the Greek world, some of which have been found in the archaeological record and date to the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. Similarly, some practices, such as the closing and opening of sanctuaries during certain times of the year, are corroborated by earlier epigraphical and literary sources. Such testimony enables the information Pausanias presents to be considered credible and applicable for this study.

Dedications that are discussed in this work also include items that were smaller than architecture. Although, architecture was certainly a type of dedication, this study focuses on items that were accessible and affordable to most individual worshippers. This includes objects that were easily obtainable, such as personal items, items purchased from shops or workshops, or items won through combat from a third party.

#### **1.4, Organization**

This dissertation consists of three analytical chapters, concluding remarks, and three appendices. Chapters 2 and 3 explore the flexibility of the dedicatory process, while Chapter 4 presents various factors that could constrain dedicatory experiences.

Chapter 2 begins by examining two components involved in dedicatory practices, the divine recipient and the dedication, in order to discern whether worshippers were guided by the concept of specialization and appropriateness when choosing these two components. It approaches this examination by offering three potential explanations for the variability found in archaeological assemblages of sanctuaries and echoed in the literary and epigraphical material. Explanation 1 (Section 2.2) considers whether these observations can be explained by the presence of visiting deities. Explanation 2 (Section 2.3) focuses on whether deities and heroes specialized in certain tasks, while Explanation 3 (Section 2.4) considers whether certain types of dedications were fluid in meaning.

Chapter 3 evaluates dedications by revisiting the concept of appropriateness, although this time it does so from the perspective of gender. It addresses whether or not scholarship's tendency to identify certain types of dedications as masculine or feminine and therefore appropriate, respectively, for male or female worshippers to dedicate and male or female deities and heroes to receive is accurate.

Chapter 4 reviews factors that shaped the dedicatory experiences of worshippers, limiting some or all of the choices they could make during the dedicatory process. It presents how groups such as city and sanctuary authorities as well as groups whose membership was based in social, political, religious, and other ties could impact an individual worshipper's dedicatory experience. These groups exerted control over dedicatory experiences through general factors such as time, date, and location as well as

through specific factors that targeted particular worshippers, such as gender, familial ties, group membership, and state of purity.

The three appendices supplement the main body of this dissertation by providing full citations for the literary sources, epigraphical sources, and archaeological material discussed in this study.

## Chapter 2: "Unexpected" Dedications

### 2.1, Introduction

This chapter addresses two fundamental components of ancient Greek dedicatory practices, the divine recipient and the dedication. It considers the common modern perception that worshippers were encouraged to select one divine being over another, and that they chose dedications in accordance with the assumption that certain types of gifts would be more pleasing to particular gods, goddesses, and heroes. While excavations have revealed a great variability in the kinds of offerings found within a single sanctuary and that can be associated with specific deities or heroes, many modern scholars continue to interpret the archaeological record through the concept of specialization. They argue that worshippers perceived divine beings as specializing in specific domains, which dictated their choice of dedication and their choice of deity or hero based on the type of aid that was required. This view is heavily influenced by literary sources that portray ancient Greek deities as specializing in areas such as healing, women's concerns, the sea, craftsmanship, and other aspects of daily life. In order to determine how accurate specialization is as an interpretive tool, it becomes necessary to reanalyze the archaeological record.

This chapter analyzes archaeological material alongside epigraphical evidence and a broader range of literary sources for a more thorough examination of the dedicatory experience. It argues that specialization is not an effective method for interpretation as it

is unable to account for the variety emphasized in the archaeological record, epigraphical material, and literary sources. Instead, the choice of deity and of dedication appear to have been quite flexible, permitting worshippers a greater range of freedom than is commonly expected. The following discussion analyzes previous scholarship in three sections, each evaluating a way in which the range of offerings within a sanctuary or the variety of dedications associated with specific deity have been explained. Explanation 1 focuses on the assumption of the presence of visiting deities and heroes, while Explanations 2 and 3 examine the flexibility of the deity and of the dedication respectively. These three explanations should not be understood as universal guidelines for analyzing dedications and dedicatory behavior in a sanctuary. Indeed, such explanations cannot be valid all the time. This chapter approaches each of the three explanations with fixed variables so that problematic assumptions in modern scholarship may be identified and explored. These variables can neither be true in every situation, nor true at every time because any one variable is made more complicated by the inclusion of human behavior.

## **2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities**

*1. The character of deities is static. Therefore, unexpected dedications in an assemblage are explained as the result of another deity visiting the sanctuary.*

One explanation for the presence of unexpected offerings in an archaeological assemblage is that such items were meant for a visiting, or secondary, deity in the



sanctuary.<sup>20</sup> The presence of a visiting deity in a sanctuary is an appealing solution to the problem of variability in a sanctuary assemblage and it is also a viable explanation. There are multiple testaments to visiting deities in the archaeological record as well as in literary and epigraphical sources. For example, excavations at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros reveal cults dedicated to other deities such as Herakles, Hera, Nemesis, and Artemis.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, temple inventories from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos speak of a temple to Aphrodite, in which dedications to Hermes were placed (*IG* 12,6 1:261, lines 12–13 and 31–33).

However, this explanation assumes that the character of deities is static over time and that it does not vary across the ancient Greek world. Assigning unexpected dedications to a deity or hero other than the sanctuary's owner maintains the concept of specialization by suggesting that there was another divine being present in the sanctuary whose character those items matched. As noted above, scholars base their assumptions about specialization on information drawn from many literary sources spanning a variety of genres and dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. An early example from the *Iliad* firmly rejects Aphrodite as a goddess who could influence war and, instead, relegates her to the realm of marriage (5.330–351 and 5.426–430). Similarly, epigrams

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<sup>20</sup> For example, see Cipriani and Ardivino 1991, 343–44. The authors note that scholars have argued that the male terracotta figurines present in the assemblage of Demeter and Kore's sanctuary in the *chora* of Paestum are indicative of the presence of a divine male figure who would form a triad with Demeter and Kore. Similarly, Roy suggests that figurines with winged boots from the the sanctuary of Pan at Berekla represent the god Hermes, and subsequently concludes that Hermes was a visitor there (Roy 2010, 61–2). See also Simon 1986 and Baumbach 2004 and 2009, which will be discussed below.

<sup>21</sup> Salowey 1995, 18–9; Tomlinson 1983, 16–8; Hornum 1993, 196. For an altar to Hera at Epidauros see Lamprinoudakēs 1991, 71, pl. 27β, and *SEG* 43 128. For an altar to Nemesis at Epidauros, see *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 311.

from *The Palatine Anthology* have also been used to support the idea that deities have dominion over certain activities. For example, Artemis is often associated with childbirth (6.202 and 6.271) and Hermes with athletics and *epebes* (6.143 and 6.309). Epigraphical evidence from the Athenian Akropolis in the form of a dedicatory inscription on a statue base reads,

Naulochos (?) dedicated this maiden as a first-offering of the catch which the ruler of the sea, he of the golden trident, provided for him (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 828).<sup>22</sup>

Intertwined with the concept of divine specialization is a second, related assumption: types of gifts represented the aforementioned specialized domains, which made them appropriate or suitable for the deities who watched over them. For example, Athena is often discussed as the goddess of weaving and, therefore, an appropriate recipient of items related to its production, such as loom weights, spindle whorls, and, especially, of textiles.<sup>23</sup> This mindset encourages scholars to argue that unexpected dedications were not meant for the primary deity or hero because they do not coincide with their character; therefore, such dedications must be reassigned to a more appropriate, visiting figure. It portrays the parameters of divine recipient and of dedication as quite rigid, rendering it so that in each dedicatory event, worshippers had only one divine being to ask for aid and a very limited selection of gifts from which to choose, i.e. items that were indicative of that being's specialized role. Yet, relying too heavily on literary

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<sup>22</sup> Raubitschek 1949, 261–62, no. 229; Keesling 2003, 110–14. See also *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 4334, a dedication from the Athenian Akropolis that connects Athena with labor and craftsmanship through the epithet "Ergane."

<sup>23</sup> Barber 1992, 103–5.

sources to dictate the responsibilities of divine beings and gifts appropriate for them impedes a more comprehensive understanding of dedicatory practices. Scholars adhering too tightly to the concepts of specialization and appropriate gifts sometimes interpret the archaeological evidence to match their expectations instead of analyzing the material and drawing independent conclusions from it. This point will be demonstrated by discussing three publications in more detail. Christopher Simon and Jens Baumbach both analyze specific sanctuary assemblages through the lens of specialization. In contrast, Gloria Merker takes a more objective approach, identifying links between deity and dedication through a comprehensive analysis of different sanctuaries in a region.

Christopher Simon's survey of Archaic offerings from sanctuaries in Ionia acknowledges the tendency of modern scholars to associate offerings with deities and believes that some limited associations can be upheld based on literary evidence.<sup>24</sup> He sees items like jewelry, pins, belts, and mirrors as closely associated with goddesses, such as Artemis and Hera, who were connected to marriage and childbirth. Arms and armor were "common dedications" for Athena, Zeus, and Apollo "who might be thought suitable recipients for such war-like male gifts."<sup>25</sup>

Such associations encourage Simon to turn to visiting deities when faced with offerings that seem out of place in an assemblage. Regarding weaving equipment and

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<sup>24</sup> Simon 1986, 411–12.

<sup>25</sup> Simon 1986, 411.

jewelry in the sanctuaries of male deities, he states, "...it must always be remembered that other deities besides the principal one were worshipped in a Greek *temenos* and therefore loom weights or spindle whorls at the sanctuary of a male deity may belong to a goddess who shared the sanctuary."<sup>26</sup> He argues that fibulae<sup>27</sup> and jewelry<sup>28</sup> found in the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios at Phanai on Chios were not appropriate gifts for the god (figs. 1.a–b and 2.a–b). Instead, he proposes they were given to Artemis, who on the basis of pottery sherds<sup>29</sup> carrying the names of both siblings, may have been present in the sanctuary.<sup>30</sup>

There is some inconsistency in Simon's process, however, as not all unexpected offerings are reassigned to visiting deities. For example, temple inventories from the Heraion of Samos attest to the presence of other deities in the sanctuary (*IG* 12,6 1:261, lines 31–33).<sup>31</sup> Yet, Simon maintains Hera as the principal recipient of the arms and armor. He finds the presence of arms and armor in the assemblages of goddesses like Artemis, Hera, and Demeter to be "especially noteworthy." And, although Simon references literary sources that closely link Artemis and Hera to women during events

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<sup>26</sup> Simon 1986, 267.

<sup>27</sup> Lamb 1934/1935, 147, fig. 6, no. 1; 151–53, pl. 31, nos. 1–30 and 37. Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 46, no. 132, pl. 5; 47, no. 154, pl. 6; 56–7, nos. 300–310, pls. 10 and 11; 59, nos. 359–361, pl. 12; 72, no. 660, pl. 23; 77, no. 859, pl. 27; 83, nos. 1036–1043, pl. 31; 88, nos. 1169–1177, pl. 33; 95, no. 1276–1284, pl. 37; 96, no. 1289–1291, pl. 37; 102, no. 1462, pl. 42; 121, no. 1596, pl. 50; 122, no. 1606, pl. 50; 124, no. 1628, no. 51; 127, nos. 1659–1662, pls. 52 and 53; 128–29, nos. 1690–1695, pls. 53 and 54; 131, no. 1700, pl. 54; Simon 1986, 187, 191, and 194

<sup>28</sup> Lamb 1934/1935, 149, pl. 31, nos. 31 and 41; 150, pl. 32, nos. 18, 22, 24, 25, and 31–36.

<sup>29</sup> Lamb 1934/1935, 161.

<sup>30</sup> Simon 1986, 199 and 411.

<sup>31</sup> Both Aphrodite and Hermes appear in the Samian inventories as recipients of gifts.

like childbirth and marriage<sup>32</sup> and describes Demeter's association with arms and armor as "less obvious,"<sup>33</sup> he accepts that each goddess was the principal recipient of such items and that they were capable of influencing martial activities.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the same flexibility in divine character is not extended to male deities who received loom weights, spindle whorls, or jewelry and related items. In Simon's analysis, female deities exhibit a great deal more flexibility than their male counterparts.

Although his work aims to illustrate the potential versatility of a deity's character, Jens Baumbach's understanding of Hera is also firmly entrenched in the concept of specialization. His study, which analyzes assemblages from the goddess's sanctuaries at Samos, Tiryns, Argos, Perachora, and Paestum, argues for a close correlation between deity and dedication and assumes that the character of Hera is reflected in the types of offerings given to her. Baumbach's analysis relies on a major distinction between what he identifies as "purpose-made" and "secular" offerings. According to Baumbach, secular dedications are inherently ambiguous because their meaning is derived from an analysis of the purpose-made gifts and from supporting evidence such as "literary sources, finding places, architectural and topographical features, domestic and burial contexts, and evidence from other sanctuaries."<sup>35</sup> Secular gifts, like jewelry or tools, acquire their meaning from other offerings in the assemblage that were created specifically for

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<sup>32</sup> Simon 1986, 411.

<sup>33</sup> Simon 1986, 253.

<sup>34</sup> Simon 1986, 411.

<sup>35</sup> Baumbach 2004, 3.

dedication, such as figurines or statuettes, which Baumbach classifies as purpose-made. With this model in mind, Baumbach argues that he can discern the character of the deity at each sanctuary.

However, Baumbach, like Simon, is inconsistent in his approach. He suggests that, based on the types of dedications she received, Hera was a flexible deity, but he then denies a similar latitude for deities at other sanctuaries. For example, the Heraion of Perachora produced terracotta figurines of crouching boys dating to the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., "purpose-made" dedications that Baumbach believes are reflective of Hera's ability to oversee "pregnancy, childbirth, and growing up (fig. 3).<sup>36</sup> Baumbach describes similar figurines found at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia as unusual, especially given the lack of other items referring to similar concerns at the site. He states that "the lack of evidence for Poseidon's function as protector of children casts doubt on whether the crouching boys relate to his cult" and concludes that the figurines belonged to another deity in the *temenos*.<sup>37</sup>

Baumbach's denial of Poseidon's flexibility is inconsistent with the rest of his approach in two, related ways. The first involves Baumbach's definition of secular and purpose-made dedications. According to his distinction, the crouching boy figurines, as purpose-made dedications, should be able to inform the remainder of Poseidon's

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<sup>36</sup> Payne 1940, 254, no. 295, pl. 114; Baumbach 2004, 22–3, fig. 2.23.

<sup>37</sup> Baumbach 2004, 184–85.

assemblage at Isthmia and grant the god the ability to protect children. The second inconsistency involves the possibility that the items were given to another deity. There is evidence at Isthmia that other deities were worshipped in the sanctuary,<sup>38</sup> but in accordance with Baumbach's methodology this should not deny Poseidon the ability to protect children. In his analysis, Baumbach believes that he can eliminate the possibility of visiting deities by choosing sanctuaries that focused primarily, if not only, on Hera. But, should evidence exist to suggest the presence of visiting deities, Baumbach argues that most of the offerings would have been given to Hera anyway and that those given to visiting deities would still relate to her character since any visiting deities would necessarily reflect the main cult.<sup>39</sup> This approach is not applied to Poseidon at Isthmia, who, following Baumbach's argument, should then share the ability to protect children with any deity visiting his sanctuary.

Baumbach's use of his methodology, and reliance on visiting deities to explain unexpected dedications, is inconsistent. He adjusts his interpretation of dedications to fit his perceptions of Hera's, and even Poseidon's, character. While he suggests that the two deities overlapped in their areas of responsibility based on similar dedications in their assemblages at Perachora and Isthmia, it is not related to the protection of children.

Instead, Baumbach believes that two fishhooks,<sup>40</sup> a miniature terracotta boat,<sup>41</sup> and a

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<sup>38</sup> Gebhard 1993, 154–55.

<sup>39</sup> Baumbach 2004, 6–7.

<sup>40</sup> Payne 1940, 182, no. 6, pl. 80; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.67.

<sup>41</sup> Payne 1940, 97, no. 4, pl. 29; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.66.

terracotta statuette with a flower-decorated ship on her shoulder<sup>42</sup> found at Perachora indicate that Hera and Poseidon shared the ability to affect maritime activities (fig. 4.a–c).<sup>43</sup> If Hera could influence seafaring and fishing because of the gifts she received, then so, too, should Poseidon be considered as a possible protector of children. Like Simon, Baumbach seems to grant feminine deities greater flexibility than their male counterparts. Both deities had similar dedications in their assemblage, but only Hera is considered able to act outside the domains typically associated with her. Although Baumbach grants deities slightly more flexibility than Simon, he still operates under the assumption that some divine beings could exert their influence only over certain domains. Ultimately, the interpretations put forth by these two scholars are subjective.

Alternately, in her article on the development of terracotta figurines in Corinth, Gloria Merker takes a more cautious approach when considering dedications that appear unexpectedly in an assemblage. Her analysis of the coroplastic industry in Corinth goes beyond the often discussed Potter's Quarter to include finds from all over the city. She examines the assemblages from various shrines in Corinth and from the surrounding region and notices patterns in the dispersal of figurines, suggesting that it is possible to associate some types of figurines with certain types of shrines. For example, figurines carrying piglets were found only at the shrine of Demeter and Kore and all but one

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<sup>42</sup> Payne 1940, 244, no. 245, pl. 110; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.65.

<sup>43</sup> Baumbach 2004, 187.



figurine of a priestess with a piglet and torch were found at the same shrine (figs. 5–6).<sup>44</sup> Hero- and stele-shrines also have their own types, which are quite similar: handmade horse-riders and birds, goddess figurines with moldmade heads and applied necklaces, moldmade banqueters, and standing *korai* wearing the *polos* and holding various attributes like flowers, fruits, or birds" (fig. 7.a–d).<sup>45</sup> Thus, when similar figurines are found in the assemblage of Demeter and Kore, Merker suggests that a hero was also honored at the shrine.<sup>46</sup>

This explanation differs from that of Simon or Baumbach. Merker argues that a hero was worshipped at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore not because of associations found in literary sources that suggest ideas of specialization and appropriateness. Instead, her claim is based on a comprehensive analysis of shrines in the city and the surrounding region, as well as the distribution pattern of items, all of which demonstrate that certain kinds of figurines are linked to particular deities and heroes. Nevertheless, Merker does not abandon literary sources and specialization completely. She considers whether the standing *korai* with a *polos* and a varying attribute (flower, fruit, or bird) found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and the hero- and stele-shrines represent Kore. In regards to the latter shrine, she offers that "the goddess of the Underworld is a proper companion to the banqueters." Her argument is perhaps not entirely convincing as she herself admits

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<sup>44</sup> Merker 2000, 117–24 and 202–4, nos. H1–H22, pls. 24 and 25; 250–55 and 259–61, nos. H395–H411, pls. 56 and 57. Merker 2003, 238, figs. 14.12 and 14.13.

<sup>45</sup> Stillwell 1952, 55–79, pls. 8–14; 84–94, pls. 14–17; 104–112, pls. 18–23; 163–76, pls. 35–39; 184–86, pls. 41 and 42; Merker 2003, 235, fig. 14.5; 237–38, figs. 14.9–11.

<sup>46</sup> Merker 2003, 238.

that the versatility of the figurine allows for a variety of interpretations.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, Merker's approach is more objective than Simon's or Baumbach's and shows a more straightforward way of identifying visiting deities in the archaeological record.

In summary, many sanctuaries were home to multiple deities and some of the dedications found in sacred assemblages probably belonged to visiting deities. This is a viable explanation because there are multiple testaments to them in the archaeological record as well as in literary and in epigraphical sources. As noted above, Isthmia was home to Poseidon as well as Amphitrite, Melikertes-Palaimon, the Cyclopes, Demeter, and a number of other deities and heroes.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it is likely that many dedications were offered to the divine visitors of Isthmia and not to Poseidon himself. Nevertheless, it is not always necessary to transfer unexpected gifts to a visiting deities. There are other explanations as to why these gifts appear in a sanctuary assemblage.

### **2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible**

*2. Dedications carry a single, definite meaning. Therefore, the presence of unexpected dedications is explained by an inherent flexibility in the character of a deity.*

Other scholars rely on literary sources that emphasize specialization as a way to interpret the roles of deities and the gifts given to them, and in doing so explain the

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<sup>47</sup> Merker 2003, 238.

<sup>48</sup> Gebhard 1993, 154–55.

presence of unexpected dedications differently. One such example of this phenomenon is visible in the analysis of two sanctuaries with very different assemblages at Emporio on Chios, the Athena Temple on the Akropolis and the Harbor Sanctuary to an unknown deity.<sup>49</sup> Scholars have argued that the differences in the assemblages indicate that each sanctuary had a very different deity and function. By showcasing certain, related offerings from the Sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis in the form of miniature terracotta shields and life-sized arrowheads, spearheads, and blades, Athena's "martial" character becomes the focus (fig. 8.a–c).<sup>50</sup> Alternately, the Harbor sanctuary's wider variety of gifts, including bronze belts, which have often been linked by literary sources to women and marriage, fishing hooks, and foreign imports, such as a Phrygian cauldron, Cypriot clay figurines, Cilician seals, and Egyptian faience, has led scholars like Christopher Simon to emphasize the sanctuary as belonging to a deity able to tend to women's concerns, fishing, and visitors to the city (fig. 9.a–c).<sup>51</sup>

While Simon and Catherine Morgan may be correct in assuming that the sanctuaries had two different deities,<sup>52</sup> it is also possible that the assemblages are the result of worshippers seeking a more conveniently placed shrine in the harbor than one located high on the Akropolis. Perhaps the factor influencing worshippers in the case of

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<sup>49</sup> Boardman 1967, 23–31 and 62–4.

<sup>50</sup> Boardman 1967, 28–9 and 63; 226–27, nos. 399–406, fig. 148, pl. 93; 229–31, nos. 443–460 and 471, figs. 151–152; 232–33, nos. 483–496, fig. 153, pl. 94; Simon 1986, 113, 237, and 240.

<sup>51</sup> Simon 1986, 116. Boardman 1967, 63–4 and 188; 199, nos. 89–100, pl. 79; 214–21, nos. 275–349, pls. 87–91; 224, fig. 146, no. 383, pl. 91; 226, fig. 147, nos. 395 and 396, pl. 93; 237, fig. 160, no. 536, pl. 95; 241, no. 579, pl. 95.

<sup>52</sup> Simon 1986, 111–16; Morgan 1990, 230–32.

Emporio is the location of the shrine, not the character of the deity. John Boardman, the excavator of Emporio, alludes to something along these lines when he suggests that the presence of imported items in the Harbor Sanctuary indicate that foreigners used the shrine, leaving the local population to patronize the sanctuary on the Akropolis.<sup>53</sup> This also assumes that visitors to the city would have been able to access the sanctuary close to the harbor more easily than one further into the city. However, this does not preclude the local community from also dedicating at the Harbor Sanctuary. This is especially true since the settlement shifted from the akropolis to the harbor at the end of the seventh century B.C.E.<sup>54</sup> While activity continued at the Athena shrine on the Akropolis, the Harbor Sanctuary would have been easily accessible to the community on a regular basis. If so, the character of the deity, as defined by specialization, may not always have been a determining factor for worshippers, especially when applied to sanctuaries that were conveniently located and potentially were visited by worshippers unfamiliar with local customs. Similarly, certain types of dedications may not have always been associated with specific deities, nor indicative of a deity's character. Instead, it is conceivable that deities were not always quite as specialized as cult epithets would lead us to believe. Granting flexibility to the choice of deity and of dedication affords to worshippers a greater range of freedom. If deities did not specialize in certain areas, then worshippers could address whichever deity they preferred and dedicate gifts that were to their liking.

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<sup>53</sup> Boardman 1967, 188.

<sup>54</sup> Boardman 1967, 40 and 249.

This idea is perhaps best supported by an examination of evidence related to healing and focused for the most part on anatomical offerings and *typoi*. These dedications have been strongly associated with the god Asklepios, especially at Athens<sup>55</sup> and Corinth,<sup>56</sup> but are generally assumed to relate to the need for divine healing.<sup>57</sup> Still, a survey of similar examples from the sanctuaries of a variety of heroes and deities suggests that they also had the ability to improve the health of worshippers.<sup>58</sup>

### **2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing**

#### *Amphiaraios*

Two of the many reasons for visiting Amphiaraios's shrine at Oropos were for divination and healing. Excavations at the site uncovered a decree dating to the late third century B.C.E. that specified regulations for the recasting of old metal dedications into

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<sup>55</sup> Van Straten 1981, 106–8, nos. 1.4–24; Forsén 1996, 31–54, nos. 1.1–1.49, figs. 3–39; Aleshire 1989, 42; Greco 2010, 1:180–84, figs. 89–92; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 226–27, no. 97; 229–30, no. 101; 230, no. 102.

<sup>56</sup> De Waele 1933, 441–45, fig. 4; Roebuck 1951, 114–28, nos. 1–118, pls. 29–46 and 65; Van Straten 1981, 123–24, nos. 15.1–15.118; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 123–25, nos. 17 and 18; 217, no. 84; 220–21, nos. 89 and 90; 224, no. 94; 226, no. 96; 227–28, no. 98; 233–34, no. 106; 242–43, no. 115.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to mythological associations which speak of him as a mortal healer and later assign to him Apollo as a father, the numerous *iamata* from Epidauros record miraculous dreams of visitors to the sanctuary who were healed and aided by Asklepios. See Wickkiser 2008, 44–50 for a review of Asklepios's role as a healer in mythology. See LiDonnici 1995 for the inscriptions and translations of the *iamata*. See Hughes 2017, 25–61, for a recent treatment on Greek anatomical offerings from the fifth and fourth centuries. See Draycott and Graham 2017 for a recent volume consisting of papers drawn from the *Bodies of Evidence: Re-defining Approaches to the Anatomical Votive* conference in June 2012 as well as newly commissioned papers for a variety of new approaches to studying anatomical offerings.

<sup>58</sup> The Hieros Iatros was another hero in Attica with shrines in Athens, Marathon, Rhamnous, and Eleusis. His ability to heal was specified through the epithet "Iatros," a title which does not seem to have been attached to Amphiaraios or Amynos. See Wickkiser 2008, 52 for what little is known about the hero. See also Greco 2010, 3:801–4, fig. 459.

new (*IG* 7 303, lines 68–72).<sup>59</sup> The old dedications consisted of metal reliefs depicting faces, breasts, male genitals, and a hand.

### *Amynos*

Amynos was an Athenian hero who had a sanctuary on the south slope of the Areopagus at the corner of a busy city block. Numerous reliefs and inscriptions from the fourth century B.C.E. were found on site, some of which depicted a leg and lower body of a woman, male genitals, fingers, and a set of ears (fig. 10).<sup>60</sup>

### *Aphrodite*

Excavations in the Athenian Agora found a dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite from a woman named Athenagora, who offered a marble plaque that bore a representation of a no-longer extant face (fig. 11).<sup>61</sup> Marble reliefs depicting human body parts were also found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Athenian Akropolis. Excavators uncovered a set of male genitals, a fragmented marble plaque likely depicting part of a vulva, and an erect marble phallus (figs. 12–14).<sup>62</sup> Aphrodite

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<sup>59</sup> See also Petrakos 1997, no. 324.

<sup>60</sup> Körte 1893, 242–43, nos. 7–8 and 11–12, figs. 4 and 5; Körte 1896, 291, no. 6; Traulos 1980, 76–8, fig. 101; Van Straten 1981, 113–14, nos. 2.2 and 2.4–7; Forsén 1996, 54–6, nos. 2.1 and 2.3–4, figs. 40 and 42–3; Greco 2010, 1:265–67, figs. 153 and 154.

<sup>61</sup> Meritt 1941, 60, no. 24; Van Straten 1981, 115, no. 4.1.

<sup>62</sup> Broneer 1933, 346, fig. 18; 1935, 140–41, nos. 13 and 14, figs. 30 and 31. Van Straten 1981, 115, nos. 4.2–4.4; Forsén 1996, 57, nos. 4.1 and 4.2, figs. 45 and 46; Greco 2010, 1:154–56, fig. 77.

also received representations of vulvas on marble reliefs at her sanctuary at Daphni (fig. 15).<sup>63</sup>

### *Artemis*

Excavations at the shrine of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste uncovered a fragmentary marble slab from the third century B.C.E. representing a pair of female breasts and bearing a dedicatory inscription identifying the dedicator as a woman named Hippostrate (fig. 16).<sup>64</sup> The assemblage also contained un-inscribed reliefs representing vulvae (fig. 16).<sup>65</sup>

### *Demeter*

Demeter's sanctuary in Mesembria produced a hoard of repoussé *typoi* in bronze, silver and gold, likely dating to the fourth century B.C.E. and bearing representations of eyes, some with noses, and a single example depicting a right arm (figs. 17 and 18).<sup>66</sup> The Thesmophorion on Delos remains unidentified among the ruins on the island, but is known to modern scholars thanks to numerous inscriptions that reference it. Among them

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<sup>63</sup> Traulos 1937, 31–2, figs. 8–10; Van Straten 1981, 120–21, nos. 11.1–11.8; Forsén 1996, 78–82, nos. 11.1–11.9, figs. 78–82.

<sup>64</sup> Philadelphus 1927, 159, no. 3, fig. 3; Traulos 1980, 301–2 and 322, fig. 424; Van Straten 1981, 116, no. 5.1; Forsén 1996, 57–8, no. 5.1, fig. 47.

<sup>65</sup> Philadelphus 1927, 160, nos. 5 and 6, fig. 4; Traulos 1980, 301–2 and 322, fig. 424; Van Straten 1981, 116, nos. 5.2 and 5.3; Forsén 1996, 58, nos. 5.2 and 5.3, figs. 48 and 49; Greco 2010, 4:1437–1441, figs. 937–939.

<sup>66</sup> Vavritsa 1973, 77–81, pl. 93 b, nos. 1–5, and pl. 95 a and b; Van Straten 1981, 127, nos. 22.1–12. See also Petridou 2017 who cautions against interpreting anatomical offerings of eyes found in sanctuaries of Demeter only as references to healing. Instead, she suggests these items may have also been dedicated as mementos related to visual experiences during ritual activities connected to the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore.

is an inventory of offerings to the goddesses, listing anatomical offerings in the form of at least seven sets of eyes, one of them gold, and a leg.<sup>67</sup>

### **2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities**

Anatomical offerings and *typoi* are not the only indicators of healing. Other archaeological material and evidence found in literary and epigraphical sources testify to the fact that worshippers believed that the deities and heroes mentioned above as well as others including Apollo, Athena, Herakles, and Zeus were capable of healing.

#### *Amphiaraios*

A marble relief dedicated in the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. at the Sanctuary of Amphiaraios at Oropos depicts the experience of the worshipper Archinos as he slept overnight in the sanctuary.<sup>68</sup> The left part of the relief depicts a dream state, in which Amphiaraios attends to the arm of Archinos. The right side shows the waking world, in which a snake licks the wounded arm. The standing figure on the far right has been interpreted as Archinos setting up the relief pictured in the background of the scene, thanking Amphiaraios for his cure (fig. 19).

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<sup>67</sup> Bruneau 1970, 269–93.

<sup>68</sup> Petrakos 1968, 122, pl. 40α; Van Straten 1981, 124–25, no. 16.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 190–93, no. 70.



### *Aminos*

Indications of Aminos's connection to divine healing come in the form of numerous inscriptions and reliefs, including one dedicated by a man named Lysimachides. This relief dates to around 340 B.C.E. and depicts Lysimachides holding an oversized leg with a pronounced varicose vein.<sup>69</sup> At the bottom of the relief are a pair of feet settled into a niche near the ground, indicating the presence of other such items at the site (fig. 20).

### *Aphrodite*

During the middle of the third century B.C.E., the poet Leonidas of Tarentum wrote a large number of epigrams touching on the various dedicatory practices of his fellow Greeks, one of which identifies Aphrodite as a goddess capable of healing those in need.

Lathrian goddess, accept these offerings from Leonidas the wanderer, the pauper, the flourless: rich barley-cakes, olives easy to store, and this green fig from the tree. Take, too, lady, these five grapes picked from a rich cluster, and this libation of the dregs of the cup. But if, as thou has saved me from sickness so though savest me from hateful penury, await a sacrifice of a kid (6.300).

The epigram was popular enough to be copied by two other poets, Gaetulicus (6.190) and Longus (6.191), both of whom maintained Aphrodite's ability to heal her worshipper from sickness.

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<sup>69</sup> Traulos 1980, 76–8, fig. 100; Van Straten 1981, 113, no. 2.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 125–26, no. 19.

## *Apollo*

Numerous literary sources reference the god Apollo as being very active in the realm of divine healing. The *Iliad* represents Apollo as a god capable of both inflicting and lifting plague as well as one who could tend to the wounds of warriors on the battlefield. Apollo punishes the Greek camp with a plague (*Il.* 1.43–67) and later heals the wounded warrior Glaukos so that he may return to battle (*Il.* 16.523–529). Herodotus tells us that Alyattes, the king of Lydia, dedicated a great silver *krater* upon a welded iron stand to Apollo at Delphi after he recovered from a sickness (1.25) and in 414 B.C.E., Aristophanes referred to Apollo as “Iatros” in *The Birds* (584). During the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians gave Apollo the epithet “Alexikakos” in connection with his perceived aid in dealing with the plague that first struck Athens in 429 B.C.E. and then ravaged the city for many years (Paus. 1.3.4).

Not all of the evidence for Apollo’s connection to divine healing can be found literary sources. Evidence from the sanctuaries of Asklepios at Epidauros<sup>70</sup> and at Corinth<sup>71</sup> indicate worship of Apollo early in the history of these shrines, although Asklepios’s popularity soon superseded that of Apollo’s. Amidst the numerous buildings, temples, and altars on the island of Delos there is an altar dedicated to Athena and Apollo Paion (fig. 21).<sup>72</sup> A statue base from Hermonassa dating to the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. refers to Apollo as “Apollo Iatros” (Gavrilov 2004, 383, no. 1037).

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<sup>70</sup> Tomlinson 1983, 23.

<sup>71</sup> Roebuck 1951, 152–54.

<sup>72</sup> Etienne and Fraisse 1988, 752, fig. 10. See also *SEG* 19 517.

Another inscription to Apollo Iatros from Pantikapaion in Crimea commemorates the service of the dedicator's father in the priesthood of Apollo Iatros (Gavrilov 2004, 343, no. 6).

### *Artemis*

In Homer's *Iliad*, Artemis and her mother Leto tend to the wounds of the Trojan hero Aeneas, after Apollo removes him from battle and transfers him to his sanctuary on the Pergamus, the citadel of Troy (5.445–448).

### *Athena*

Among the many epithets under which the Athenians worshipped the goddess Athena, was "Hygieia," an association that began if not in the late Archaic period, then certainly during the Classical period in the 470s. Sometime after 430 B.C.E., Athens erected an altar and a bronze statue to Athena Hygieia against the southeast column of the east porch of the Propylaea, the monumental gateway to the Akropolis (fig. 22).<sup>73</sup>

Although it is likely these items were erected to combat a plague that ravaged the city in the 420s, Plutarch, in the second century C.E, linked the statue to an accident that occurred during the construction of the Propylaea under the Athenian statesman Perikles. He recounts the tale as follows:

One of the workmen, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of

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<sup>73</sup> Raubitschek 1949, 185–88, no. 166; Hurwit 2004, 192–94; Greco 2010, 1:91–2, fig. 20.

by the physicians. Perikles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the statue of Athena Hygieia on the Akropolis near the altar of that goddess...(*Per.* 13.8).

After 420 B.C.E., no dedications from individual Athenians have been assigned to Athena Hygieia, which may have been partly due to the introduction of the god Asklepios and his new sanctuary on the south slope of the Akropolis. Nevertheless, the city of Athens continued to pay homage to the goddess under the guise of "Hygieia" by including her in state sacrifices at the annual Panathenaia during the fourth century B.C.E.

### *Herakles*

Herakles had numerous cults in the Peloponnesos, many of which attest to worshippers approaching the hero for medical problems. Christina Salowey's research on the cults of Herakles in that region argues that the hero's connection to divine healing was expressed through the eradication of plagues and epidemics, often closely pairing him with Asklepios and with medicinal springs.<sup>74</sup> The connection between Asklepios and Herakles can be found in Athens as well. A fourth century B.C.E. relief depicting a woman worshipping Herakles was found in the Athenian shrine to Asklepios. In the foreground a woman kneels before Herakles, while the background shows a series of

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<sup>74</sup> Salowey 2002, 171–77.

anatomical offerings attached to the wall, including a head and the upper part of a female body, a female abdomen and thighs, two arms and two legs (fig. 23).<sup>75</sup>

A shrine to Herakles Alexikakos sits on the southwest slope of the Areopagus in Athens. Excavations have not revealed many finds in the shrine, but some information about its history survives thanks to the notes of a scholiast who worked on Aristophanes's play *The Frogs*. He relates that the shrine was founded sometime in the fifth century B.C.E. in response to a plague and that the cult statue was made by Hageladas the Argive, who was a student of the great Pheidias. According to the scholiast, the plague ended when the Athenians dedicated the cult statue to Herakles in the guise of Herakles Alexikakos.<sup>76</sup> Herakles also provided divine healing at the ancient Lakonian site of Geronthrai where a worshipper named Epandridas dedicated a spring to Herakles sometime in the fourth century B.C.E. in thanks for divine healing (*IG* 5,1 1119).

### *Zeus*

In his speech, *Against Meidias*, the orator Demosthenes quoted an oracle from Delphi advising the Athenians to pray to a certain set of divine beings for health. The oracle does not mention Asklepios, but instead informs Athens that it should direct prayers and sacrifices to "Highest Zeus, Herakles, and Apollo the Protector" (21.52).

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<sup>75</sup> Walter 1923, 61–2, no. 108; Van Straten 1981, 106, no. 1.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 215–16, no. 82.

<sup>76</sup> Salowey 2002, 171.

To sum up, ailing worshippers had numerous options from which to choose. Asklepios had the ability to heal, but he did not wield that power alone. Many gods, goddesses, and heroes could serve the need for medical attention. Even within the confines of a single city, for example Classical Athens, divine healing was spread out amongst numerous deities and heroes, indicating that worshippers did not perceive this power to be exclusive.

### **2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities**

It should be also emphasized that Asklepios was not limited to healing; he was a deity with his own diverse power set. A late fifth or early fourth century B.C.E. fragmentary marble relief from the Athenian Asklepieion illustrates his flexibility. A wagoner named Antimedon son of Hegemon dedicated a relief to Asklepios, thanking the god for saving him from some unspecified danger.<sup>77</sup> The relief depicts him with a horse and wagon standing before the god, the goddess Hygieia, and another of Asklepios's daughters, who is not preserved on the relief (fig. 24). The incomplete nature of the inscription does not allow for a full understanding of how Asklepios saved Antimedon; however, the danger to which Antimedon refers need not have been related to medical issues, as demonstrated in the *iamata* at Epidauros.

Some of the *iamata* relate how Asklepios acted in capacities other than healing. In one tale, Asklepios is both a healer and an athletic coach.

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<sup>77</sup> Svoronos 1908, 1:260–61, 38, (Inv. No. 1341), pl. 34; Kaltsas 2002, 140, no. 267.

Hagestratos, headache. This man was afflicted with insomnia on account of the pain in his head, but when he came into the *abaton*, he fell fast asleep and saw a dream. It seemed to him the god had cured the pain in his head and then stood him up straight, naked, and taught him the *pankration* thrust. When day came he left well, and not a long time after won the *pankration* at Nemea (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 50–55).

Other examples relate how the god located a lost boy, punished thieves, found a treasure, repaired a broken cup, and presided over the catch of a fishmonger.<sup>78</sup>

Just as Asklepios was able to preside over more than healing, he was also the recipient of a variety of gifts. The inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion record a diverse set of gifts including anatomical offerings, *typoi*, jewelry, crowns, cult equipment, medical equipment, vases, coins, clothing, musical instruments, and a variety of personal items.<sup>79</sup> At the time of his much later visit, Pausanias reports seeing a Sarmatian breastplate on display in the sanctuary (1.21.4–5). If the assumption that dedications carried a single, definite meaning is correct, then each of these types of dedications indicate that Asklepios was able to aid worshippers in a variety of activities.

This flexibility is equally true of other deities and heroes whose powers, like Asklepios's, extended beyond a specific realm of influence and whose worshippers gave them a variety of gifts. As noted above, Amphiaraos's sanctuary at Oropos served as an oracular site as well as one at which worshippers could seek healing.<sup>80</sup> Bronwen

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<sup>78</sup> *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 54–68 and 79–89; *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 19–26 and 50–55; *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 123, lines 8–21 and 21–29.

<sup>79</sup> Aleshire 1989, 39–45.

<sup>80</sup> Rouse 1975, 212.

Wickkiser observes that, originally, Amphiaraos was not a hero associated with healing and that myth treats him exclusively as an oracle. It was not until Aristophanes's play *Amphiaraos* in 414 B.C.E. that Amphiaraos became a healer. "Thereafter, Amphiaraos' function as a healer eclipsed his role as prophet and his cult spread to several places in Attica, but the myth of the living Amphiaraos appears never to have changed to accommodate his role as healer."<sup>81</sup> Like Asklepios, Amphiaraos extended his aid to athletes. The sanctuary produced a relief depicting a contestant in an *apobates* contest, likely a part of a commemorative monument for a victor's success at the Panathenaia in the late fifth century B.C.E. (fig. 25).<sup>82</sup>

A Hellenistic dedicatory inscription from Delos connects Apollo with the marble-working industry (*ID* 2473). On the Athenian Akropolis, excavators found a fragmentary inscribed pillar to Aphrodite dating to ca. 475 B.C.E. that once supported a relief. The dedicator, whose name is possibly Pythodoros, prays that Aphrodite bestow upon him an abundance of goods and protect him against anyone who would speak untrue words about him (Raubitschek 1949, 318, no. 296).<sup>83</sup> In his hymn, *To Artemis*, Callimachus attributes to the goddess the ability to calm inclement weather and the ability to protect those traveling the seas. Callimachus also indicates that the goddess was open to receiving ships or parts of ships as gifts.

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<sup>81</sup> Wickkiser 2008, 52.

<sup>82</sup> Svoronos 1908, 2:340–1, no. 88 (Inv. No. 1391), pl. 56; Petrakos 1968, 122, pl. 39; Kaltsas 2002, 139, no. 265.

<sup>83</sup> Raubitschek 1949, 318–20, no. 296.



Lady of many shrines, of many cities, hail! Goddess of the Tunic, sojourner in Miletos; for thee did Neleus make his Guide, when he put off with his ships from the land of Cecrops. Lady of Chesion and of Imbrasus, throned in the highest, to thee in thy shrine did Agamemnon dedicate the rudder of his ship, a charm against ill weather, when thou didst bind the winds for him, what time the Achaean ships sailed to vex the cities of the Teucri, wroth for Rhamnusian Helen (225–232).

Related gifts have also been linked to Artemis in the Delian inventories. In records for the "Artemision on the Island" dating to 229 B.C.E., steering oars and an old anchor are noted among other gifts belonging to the goddess (*ID* 320, face B, line 75). Elsewhere in the Delian inventories, a model silver trireme dedicated by Seleukos I is recorded in 278 B.C.E. as a gift of Apollo (*IG* 11,2 161 B, lines 78–79). Similar responsibilities and gifts were also attributed to Athena. According to Herodotus after a naval battle with the Samians who had settled on Crete the Aeginetans commemorated their victory by dedicating boar-head beaks from the prows of the Samian ships in Athena's sanctuary on Aegina (3.59.2–3). In fragment 109 from Callimachus's *Aetia* 4, the Argonauts stop at Kyzikos for fresh water and exchange an old anchor stone for a new, heavier one. The old stone was dedicated to Athena.<sup>84</sup> In Mothone, Athena was worshipped as a goddess who could calm bad weather (Paus. 4.35.8). The Chronicle of Lindos contains an entry of a dedication to both Athena and Poseidon in the form of steering oars and another thanking Athena for saving a ship (Blinkenberg 1941, 165, col. B, lines 73–77, and 171, col. C, lines 15–20).

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<sup>84</sup> Pritchett 1979, 3:268.

Many scholars use the epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* to support the idea that deities specialized in certain spheres. However, there are numerous other examples that show deities aiding worshippers in a variety of ways and receiving many different kinds of offerings. The epigram written by Leonidas of Tarentum attributes healing and the averting of poverty to Aphrodite has already been noted above (6.300). The poet Phanias speaks of dedicating farming equipment to Athena, gifts which the editors of the anthology, Gow and Page, find more naturally associated with Demeter.<sup>85</sup>

Alcimus hung up in Athena's porch, when he found a treasure (for otherwise his often-bent back would perhaps have gone down curved to Hades), his toothless-rake, a piece of his noisy hoe wanting its olive-wood handle, his..., his mallet that destroys the clods, his one-pronged pickaxe, his rake, and his sewn baskets for carrying earth (6.297).

Leonidas wrote an epigram in which a man dedicates his hunting equipment to Hermes upon his retirement. This activity is more often referenced in *The Palatine Anthology* as the domain of Pan and Artemis.<sup>86</sup>

Sosippus gives to Hermes, now that he has out-swum the greater part of his strength and the feebleness of old age fetters him, his securely fixed trap, his cane springes, his nets, this curved hare-club, his quiver, this quail-call, and the well-woven net for throwing over wild fowl (6.296).

Similarly, Poseidon is not the only god to whom epigrams related to fishing and the sea are composed. According to *The Palatine Anthology*, Hermes and Priapus were also associated with protecting this realm.<sup>87</sup> Like Asklepios, other divine beings were not

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<sup>85</sup> Gow and Page 1965, 2:470.

<sup>86</sup> Pan: 6.13, 6.35, and 6.188. Artemis: 6.111.

<sup>87</sup> 6.5, 6.23, and 6.192.

confined to one sphere of activity. Instead, worshippers believed that they adapted to meet the various concerns of their worshippers.

The versatility of gods is also indicated by worshippers who did not know which god they should pray to for help. If each deity and hero had a realm in which they specialized, then it should be obvious to which god worshippers should direct their prayers. The circumstances surrounding Xenophon joining the expedition of the Ten Thousand to aid Cyrus the Younger demonstrates such an uncertainty.

There was a man in the army named Xenophon, an Athenian, who was neither general nor captain nor private, but had accompanied the expedition because Proxenus, an old friend of his, had sent him at his home an invitation to go with him; Proxenus had also promised him that, if he would go, he would make him a friend of Cyrus, whom he himself regarded, so he said, as worth more to him than was his native state. [5] After reading Proxenus' letter Xenophon conferred with Socrates, the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god in regard to this journey. [6] So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice. [7] When Xenophon came back from Delphi, he reported the oracle to Socrates; and upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. "However," he added, "since you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed." (*Anab.* 3.1.4–7)

Although Socrates rebukes Xenophon for not asking whether he should have gone in the first place, Xenophon's question and the uncertainty surrounding it reveals an understanding of the gods as variable beings. If only one god were responsible for the safety of the Greeks in battle, then Xenophon would have known exactly which god required sacrifices and offerings.

Inquiries for the oracle at Dodona reveal that private individuals asked Zeus and Dione to which deity or hero they should pray for a positive outcome in a variety of endeavors. Some of the questions were rather broad, asking about the general prosperity of themselves or their family.

Gods. Good luck. Eu[b?]andros and his wife ask Zeus Naios and Dione by praying to which of the gods or heroes or *daimons* and sacrificing will they and their household do better both now and for all time (Carapanos 1878, 71, pl. 34, no. 3)?

There are also instances of more specific questions, such as those regarding having children. In addition to asking about the chances of having children with specific women, the possibility of survival, and whether the child would be male, worshippers also asked to which deities they should pray in order to have children.<sup>88</sup>

Hermon (asks) by aligning himself with which of the gods will there be from Kretaia offspring for him, in addition to those he has now (Parke 1967, 264, no. 5)?

God, good fortune. Anaxippos asks Zeus Naios and Dione about male children from Philiste his woman. By praying to which of the gods would I do best and excellently (Parke 1967, 266, no. 9)?

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<sup>88</sup> Eidinow 2007, 87–93.

Eidinow's analysis revealed that most of the questions related to health and disease also expressed a desire to know to which deity or hero the worshipper should pray in order to be healed or to maintain their health.<sup>89</sup> The inquiries could refer to the worshipper themselves or to a third party.

She asks by sacrificing and praying to which of the gods would she do better and be released from this disease? (Carapanos 1878, 73, pl. 35, B)

He asks...by praying and sacrificing to Zeus and Dione and to which of the gods or *daimons* or heroes might he be healthy? (Collitz et. al. 1899, 2.1:106–107, no. 1566a)

The variety of deities and heroes discussed above that were capable of offering aid in health related matters is reaffirmed by such inquiries, as they emphasize that Asklepios did not have a monopoly on healing.

The uncertainty about which gods and heroes could best aid worshippers, as reflected in the Dodona oracle inquiries, stresses the flexible nature of divine beings in ancient Greek religion. If deities and heroes specialized in specific areas of influence or had clearly defined responsibilities, worshippers would not need to ask an oracle for the best divine being to address.

In summary, the presence of unexpected items in a sanctuary assemblage may also be explained as the result of worshippers viewing deities and heroes as fluid beings with diverse abilities. However, as noted above, this observation is often obscured or even

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<sup>89</sup> Eidinow 2007, 104.

forgotten by modern scholars who rely too heavily on select literary sources as a guide to interpreting dedications and the roles of deities. This results in a very focused interpretation that is not always echoed in the archaeological material. For example, literary sources like Homer and epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* encourage the view that deities and heroes served very specific roles in the pantheon. Homer places Aphrodite firmly in the domain of marriage (*Il.* 5.330–430) and the authors of many of the epigrams portray her as a goddess specializing in sexuality (5.199, 5.201, 5.203, and 6.162). Yet, archaeological and epigraphical evidence reveal that the goddess was seen as a capable deity in many different realms. The dedication of anatomical offerings and *typoi* discussed above indicate that the goddess had the capability to heal her worshippers. Jenny Wallensten’s analysis of dedicatory inscriptions to Aphrodite reveal a complex goddess who acted as a protectress of sexuality and marriage, but also could be related to marine activities and a variety of different magisterial offices.<sup>90</sup> Making use of all three categories of evidence provides a more comprehensive and balanced understanding of dedicatory practices. It becomes clear that Greek deities and heroes did not always have neatly divided tasks and that worshippers could choose any deity or hero they wanted.

#### **2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible**

*3. There is no visiting deity and the character of a deity is static. Therefore, unexpected dedications can be explained in terms of any dedication being appropriate for any deity.*

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<sup>90</sup> Wallensten 2009, 170.

Often, modern scholars mine literary sources for the meaning worshippers implanted into their dedications. Some ancient authors speak about certain types of dedications as being given in connection with certain activities. For example, *The Palatine Anthology* has numerous epigrams in which arms and armor are spoken of in reference to success in battle (6.123, 6.124, and 6.129) as well as instances in which clothing and jewelry are connected to childbirth (6.202 and 6.274).

Nevertheless, even with examples that seem to suggest a straightforward explanation of the meaning behind the type of dedication, scholars can engage in the subjective interpretation of dedications, accepting the meaning that best fits their understanding of the deity or dedication. For example, Jens Baumbach's analysis of dedications to Hera at her sanctuary at Perachora argues that thirty-eight bone pipes from the sixth century B.C.E. relate to the goddess's ability to protect children (fig. 26).<sup>91</sup> Baumbach interprets the objects as such because the frequency of these items at the sanctuary suggests that they were not cult equipment and because training children to learn to play musical instruments was part of their education.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, he argues that terracotta building models dedicated at Perachora,<sup>93</sup> the Argive Heraion,<sup>94</sup> and the Samian Heraion<sup>95</sup> attest to the goddess's ability to protect the home and family (figs. 27–29). He

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<sup>91</sup> Dunbabin 1962, 450–51, nos. A394–432, pl. 190; Baumbach 2004, 29, fig. 2.37.

<sup>92</sup> Baumbach 2004, 29.

<sup>93</sup> Payne 1940, 39–40; Schattner 1990, 33–9, nos. 6–9, figs. 6–10; Baumbach 2004, 32–3, figs. 2.46 and 2.47.

<sup>94</sup> Schattner 1990, 22–6, no. 1, figs. 1 and 2; Baumbach 2004, 89–90, fig. 4.36.

<sup>95</sup> Schattner 1990, 40–85, nos. 10–43, figs. 11–41; 97, no. 52, fig. 45; Baumbach 2004, 160, figs. 6.28 and 6.29.

finds support for this in the fact that the models "seem to occur only in sanctuaries of female deities, whose cults probably shared similar characteristics" and because of the presence of other dedications that he defines as characteristic offerings related to the categories of home and family.<sup>96</sup> Nassos Papalexandrou's review of Baumbach's work, however, acknowledges that while Baumbach has generally been careful, "one gets the feeling that the material has sometimes been made to fit snugly into one or another aspect of the model."<sup>97</sup> Papalexandrou, instead, suggests that the pipes could have been ritual paraphernalia or used in festivals, much like vessels carried in processions. He also points out that there is no evidence to support the view that early dedicators of the building models specifically associated "home" and "family" with these items.

Papalexandrou's reluctance to attribute a single meaning attached to a specific type of item echoes the work of other scholars who argue that dedications were much more versatile. For example, Mareile Haase's entry on "votive practice" in *Brill's New Pauly* is one of the few modern scholarly treatments that promotes the idea that dedications were fluid in meaning.

The votive object bears a significant relation to other components of the action: to the dedicator, to his or her request, to the addressed deity. This relationship is variable: the images could express an already existing function of a deity, but they can also create such a function for the first time during the performance of the action. That is why, contrary to a widespread opinion of scholars, implicitly based on structural-functional conceptions, it is not possible to necessarily conclude similar requests by

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<sup>96</sup> Baumbach 2004, 32–3, 89–90, and 160.

<sup>97</sup> Papalexandrou 2005.



the executors and similar functions of the deities starting from the same or similar image motives.<sup>98</sup>

It is conceivable that dedications fluctuated in meaning and were responsive to each dedicator and their environment. According to archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence, worshippers could assign any meaning they liked to their gifts, suggesting that dedications were flexible. As with the recipient deity, it seems that worshippers had a great deal of freedom in their choice of dedication.

#### **2.4.a, Archaeological Material**

Archaeological evidence attests to a great variety in the types of dedications found in sanctuaries. As noted above, Simon's analysis of Archaic offerings from sanctuaries in Ionia observed the many different types of gifts that worshippers offered to their deities. His work is divided into two parts, the second of which explores each type of dedication in turn and compares these items to those found elsewhere in the Greek world. One need only glance through each category to see the breadth of deities who received the gifts. Furthermore, his comparison to other sanctuaries in the Greek world finds that, while there are some local versions, most of the dedication types appear all over the Greek world and that the similarities between Ionia and the rest of the Greek world are striking.<sup>99</sup> Although Simon argues for some general associations between deities and dedication types, he ultimately concludes that the broad distribution of offerings suggests

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<sup>98</sup> New Pauly Online, s.v. "Votive Practice"

<sup>99</sup> Simon 1986, 419.

that "one can not hope for any close correlation between votive offered and receiving deity."<sup>100</sup>

Similar sentiments are echoed in the entry on dedications in the second *ThesCRA* volume: "Virtually any object could be taken as suitable for dedication."<sup>101</sup> The authors of this entry and the accompanying catalogues acknowledge the incredible breadth of gifts found in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. Like Simon, the work is arranged around types of offerings and reviews many different categories of gifts, including those that Simon's analysis did not address, such as buildings and decorative monuments.<sup>102</sup>

One can turn to the god Asklepios as a good example of a god who received many different gifts from worshippers, despite modern scholarship's focus on the anatomical offerings and *typoi* given to him. The sanctuary of Asklepios in Corinth is renowned for such gifts, which often overshadow the numerous other offerings found in the *temenos*. De Waele's excavations in the 1920s and 1930s records vases of all shapes and sizes, a few marble sculpture fragments, terra-cotta statuettes, a possible mask of Asklepios, a terra-cotta leg of a goat, terra-cotta cocks, a terra-cotta egg, fragment of a terra-cotta quince, plaques depicting various iconography including a helmeted warrior or a gorgon, a bronze mirror, a bronze vase, a knife, and about one hundred and fifty terracotta male and female figurines representing around fifty different types with some carrying doves,

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<sup>100</sup> Simon 1986, 419.

<sup>101</sup> Boardman et al. 2004, 282.

<sup>102</sup> Boardman et al. 2004, 288–89.

holding fruit or flowers and seated, standing, or reclining.<sup>103</sup> The archaeological record attests to many kinds of offerings in sanctuaries. Like the Asklepieion of Corinth, each sanctuary could boast a variety of different gifts, indicating that worshippers thought anything could be given to a deity as a thanks-offering or as a request for aid.

#### **2.4.b, Literary Sources**

Literary sources relay instances in which a single kind of item represents a variety of meanings, each respective of an individual dedicator. Some of the following examples include foreign worshippers like the Lydian kings and Egyptian Pharaohs mentioned by Herodotus or the Trojan men and women of Homer's *Iliad*. Despite their different ethnic origins, their dedications are still valid for this discussion. The ancient authors who included them in their works were Greek and they present the dedicatory habits of those foreign rulers alongside those of Greek worshippers, suggesting that their Greek audiences would have found them relatable. The same can be said of personified deities, like Plutus, who are sometimes included in literary sources. Ancient authors portrayed the dedicatory practices involving these deities as similar to those of other deities and heroes, suggesting that they did not perceive these divine beings differently. With this in mind, an examination of a few literary sources and how they relay the variety of meanings that could be present in each type of dedication can proceed.

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<sup>103</sup> De Waele 1933, 440–48. See also Roebuck 1951, 111–51.

Herodotus relates in his work the tale about the *kraters* given to Apollo at Delphi by some members of the Mermnad dynasty who ruled over Lydia. The founder of the dynasty, Gyges, dedicated six gold *kraters*, in addition to numerous other offerings, as thanks for supporting his seizure of the kingdom of Lydia through an oracle (1.14). A few generations later, Alyattes chose to thank Apollo for curing his sickness by bestowing luxury items, including a silver *krater* and welded iron stand, on the god (1.25). His son, Croesus, also sent many offerings to Apollo, among them two enormous *kraters*, one gold and one silver, in order to please Apollo and sway him to his side (1.51). The reasons behind the different instances of dedicating the *kraters* varied even though they were contained within one family, albeit the spanning of several generations, and were focused solely upon Apollo at Delphi.

Another telling example of variation in meaning can be seen in the circumstances surrounding the dedication of *peploi*. Hecuba and the women of Troy dedicate an exquisite *peplos* to Athena in order to end Diomedes' reign on the battlefield (*Il.* 6.269–278). In the *Ion*, *peploi* dedicated by Herakles to commemorate his victory over the Amazons are used as decoration for a feast (1143–1145). Euripides's *Iphigenia in Tauris* claims that the *peploi* dedicated at Brauron for Iphigenia were in honor of women who had died in childbirth (1462–1467). An epigram from *The Palatine Anthology* recalls the dedication of a *peplos* and a pair of shoes to commemorate the safe and happy birth of a boy.

Artemis, the son of Cichesias dedicated the shoes (*pedila*) to thee, and Themistodice the simple folds of her gown (*peplos*), because that coming in gentle guise without thy bow thou didst hold thy two hands over her in her labor. But Artemis, vouchsafe to see this baby boy of Leon's grow great and strong (6.271).

It is interesting to pair this epigram with a scene from Aristophanes's play *Plutus*, although there is no *peplos* as part of the dedication in the play. One scene focuses on the character "Just Man," who wishes to dedicate a pair of worn shoes and an old cloak to the god Plutus as thanks for his recent good fortune after thirteen years of suffering while wearing these items (840–849). The gifts were intended to commemorate the Just Man's reversal of fate and acknowledge the god's part in it. This passage and the epigram show that a similar flexibility of meaning is imbued into shoes and *peploi*. Dedications of *peploi* reflected events on the battlefield and during childbirth as well as the needs of men, women, and children. The shoes similarly varied in meaning, commemorating a safe childbirth as well as a reversal of fortune.

Literary sources also relate that worshippers could imbue different objects with similar meaning. A dedication of multiple items at one time for a single purpose can be found in the gifts given by the Lydian king Croesus in his attempt to win the favor of Apollo. Herodotus records the numerous expensive and varied gifts that were either placed upon a pyre and burnt or sent to Delphi for placement within the *temenos*: couches, golden libation cups, garments, gold ingots, a statue of a gold lion, gold and silver *kraters*, silver storage jars, gold and silver vessels for sprinkling water, silver round

cast objects, a golden statue of a woman, and his wife's necklaces and belts (1.50–52).

The items are varied, but all are luxurious and, thus, meant to gain Apollo's favor.

Other sources, both literary and historical, reveal that the tithe of dedications taken from the spoils of battles could take a variety of forms. In Aeschylus's play *Seven Against Thebes*, the dedications are in the traditionally expected form of the enemy's arms and armor. As Eteocles defends Thebes from his brother's siege, he promises to dedicate the spoils of the enemies to the gods should everything go well and the city be saved (271–279). Similarly, after their deeds in the Trojan camp, Odysseus and Diomedes set aside the spoils they took from Dolon (a cap, bow, and spear) until they can ready an accompanying sacrifice for the goddess Athena (10.454–468 and 10.570–579).

Spoils from battle could be converted into statue groups and/or involve architecture and newly-founded shrines. Herodotus tells us that when the Phocians defeated the Thessalians, they divided the shields of their enemy equally at Apollo's sanctuaries at Abae and at Delphi and also erected statue groups at each of the sanctuaries as tithes from the battle (8.27). Similarly, the tithe meant for the gods after the battle at Plataea resulted in a tripod to set up a bronze three-headed serpent near the altar at Delphi, a bronze figure of Zeus at Olympia, and a bronze figure of Poseidon at Isthmia (9.81.1). Diodorus Siculus reports that after the war between Carthage and Sicily, Gelon of Syracuse commissioned many gifts for the gods, among which was a golden tripod for Apollo at Delphi worth sixteen talents (11.26.7). Xenophon's *Anabasis* describes his account of the

Ten Thousand's trek homeward and the numerous battles and troubles that the Greeks experienced as they marched. When the army reached the Greek city of Cerasus, they divided the money from the sale of their spoils and set aside a tithe for Apollo and Artemis of the Ephesians, giving each general a portion for safe keeping. Xenophon commissioned a gift for Apollo at Delphi, but chose instead to buy a piece of land to erect a shrine to Artemis of the Ephesians at Scillus, near Olympia (5.3.7–13).

Worshippers could also ask for aid or thank a deity for aid in battle with an item of clothing. Euripides's *Ion* claims that Herakles himself dedicated at Delphi *peploi* that had been taken as spoils of war from the Amazons (1143–1145). In Book 6 of the *Iliad*, the Trojan women bring the most beautiful *peplos* in Hecuba's possession to Athena, hoping to sway the goddess to their side and end the battle prowess of Diomedes (269–278).

The dedication of arms and armor alongside statue groups in order to influence the outcome of battle or to commemorate military matters is perhaps not surprising given the prevalence of such items in the archaeological record at sanctuaries throughout Greece. However, literary sources show that other items were also acceptable gifts. Therefore, the range of items for many other needs and desires, such as childbirth or a reversal of fortune, should also be considered.

Finally, literary sources indicate that worshippers could dedicate items with the intention that they would carry a different meaning than the one they had before

dedication. For example, in two separate instances Herodotus indicates that offerings carried new sentiments with them upon their dedication. As noted above, the Lydian king Croesus offered to Apollo at Delphi a variety of gifts in order to influence the god. Herodotus also mentions that Croesus sent gifts to the hero Amphiaraos in the form of a shield and a spear, both made of solid gold (1.52). The gifts were not meant to bring Croesus victory in battle, but to recall the hero's own courage in battle and to reference Amphiaraos's suffering, i.e. his subsequent flight from that battle and his fate to be swallowed by the earth. More notably, the offerings do not reference the sanctuary's ties to oracles or healing. Instead, the shield and spear were largely symbolic and commemorative of the mythology surrounding the hero.

Herodotus presents a similar situation when describing the gifts of the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis to the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos. Amasis gave Athena two stone images and a linen breastplate (2.182). The items were not meant to celebrate a military victory or the martial prowess of the pharaoh. Rather, they were meant to commemorate the mythical founding of the sanctuary, to which Amasis could claim a tangential link. These gifts and those given to Amphiaraos are important indicators of the flexibility in meaning imbued into dedications. If the meaning of an item could change from daily use to its function as an offering, it is also impossible to assume that it would carry the same meaning from worshipper to worshipper. This further emphasizes how dedications could serve a variety of worshippers and divine beings.



### 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

Epigraphical sources show that worshippers also chose to dedicate items, such as coins, that carry no immediately apparent symbolism or meaning discernible to modern scholars. The inventories from the Athenian Asklepion include records of coins among the offerings. In fact, Aleshire's analysis of the inventories finds that coins were frequent dedications and that they made up about a sixth of the total number of dedications.<sup>104</sup> Coins listed in the inventories are not treated merely as a financial addition to the temple coffers. Instead, they are often listed as if they were placed on display much like other dedications in the inventories; they were attached to tablets (πινάκιον), ribbons, and the interior of the temple. At times they could be placed in a case.

...Diopieithes (dedicated) 50 drachmas on a tablet. Kallimachos (dedicated) 40 drachmas on a tablet on the wall. Mnesarete (dedicated) 10 drachmas... (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 2).

...Kallisto (dedicated) 2 drachmas, attached to the lintel. Aischylides (dedicated) 1 drachma 3 obols, attached to a ribbon, and another drachma on a tablet... (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 3–4).

...Pasilea (dedicated) 20 drachmas, in a case on the wall (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 9–10).

Dedications of coins are also found in the fourth century B.C.E. inventories from the Temple of Artemis on Delos (*ID 104*, lines 57–59 and 70–73). The coins vary in amount and can be linked to a named dedicator and their place of origin. Coins are also recorded in the fourth century B.C.E. inventories from the Athenian Akropolis. The "Treasures of the Hekatompedon" include 43 gold Darics belonging to Demeter and Kore

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<sup>104</sup> Aleshire 1989, 43.

(*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1401*, line 27) as well as dedications of coins linked specifically to individual worshippers (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1388*, lines 69–70). The Athenian "Treasures of the Opisthodomos" records gold pieces dedicated to Demeter and Kore that weigh the equivalent of 300 dr. (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1445*, line 34). The Opisthodomos inventories also list a coin dedication that was displayed much like those from the Athenian Asklepieion.

A half-drachma piece set in a silver mount (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1455 frag. b.col. III*, line 36).

Dedications of coins are also listed in an Athenian decree from 220/19 B.C.E. related to melting down and recasting dedications that had been given to the Hieros Iatros (*IG 2<sup>3</sup> 1154*, lines 55–56 and 68). The coins are listed among the other dedications and, like the various anatomical votives and *typoi*, were melted down in order to create new gifts for the hero. Gifts of coinage suggest that worshippers were not always looking to offer gifts such as tools, weapons, or figurines depicting animal or human figures. In addition, these items appear to have been placed in sanctuaries with the intention of display much like other dedications.

The very nature of the dedications in the ancient Greek world involved a flexibility that scholars have a tendency to forget; anything could be an offering and, more importantly, anything could be dedicated for any reason. For example, a worshipper was never restricted to dedicating an anatomical offering as thanks for curing an ailment associated with a certain body part. It is possible that some worshippers associated certain items with certain deities, thus leading to some of the expressions found in literary

sources, such as *The Palatine Anthology*. However, these associations are often contradicted by other literary sources, epigraphical sources, and the archaeological record. Locking onto one meaning for one object discounts important alternate approaches and ignores the flexibility of dedications.

## **2.5, Conclusion**

The chapter has explored two components that have often been addressed in modern scholarship: the choice of divine recipient and the choice of dedication. An over-reliance on literary sources has led to the repeated characterization of these components as restrictive, so that in each dedicatory event worshippers had only one deity to ask for aid and a very limited selection of gifts that based on items indicative of that deity's specialized role.

On the surface, specialization and the presence of visiting deities seem to account for the variability observed in sanctuary assemblages. Explanation 1 acknowledges that visiting deities were present in many sanctuaries and accepts that some dedications found in assemblages were likely given to them instead of to the primary deities in the *temenos*. Merker's study of the dispersal pattern of figurines in the shrines of Corinth and the surrounding region shows that a more balanced approach to the archaeological evidence supports the argument that visiting deities received some of the gifts in sanctuary assemblages and does so without inaccurately treating the material. Scholars who rely too heavily on literary sources and on the concept of specialization sometimes subjectively

interpret the archaeological evidence to match their expectations, instead of analyzing the material and drawing independent conclusions from it. Both Simon and Baumbach inconsistently treat the material in their analyses with the result that they characterize female deities as being much more flexible than male deities, a conclusion that the material discussed in Explanation 2 helps to discount. Certainly, visiting deities can account for some of the dedications in a sanctuary assemblage, but Explanations 2 and 3 reveal that there are other ways to make sense of the variability of dedications and items that seem out of place.

Moreover, a critical review of Explanations 2 and 3 suggests that the idea of specific functions and meanings for objects is problematic. An analysis of all three categories of evidence, archaeological, epigraphical, and literary, provides a fuller understanding of how worshippers viewed their gods and the gifts that they gave them. Together, the evidence supports viewing the divine recipient and the dedication as more flexible than previously considered, which in turn grants worshippers a greater amount of freedom in their choices.

Explanation 2 emphasized the versatility of deities and heroes. This chapter has shown that literary sources are useful tools in the interpretation of Greek religion, but only when a greater variety of authors and genres are consulted and used in consultation with epigraphical and archaeological material. In practice Greek deities did not always have neatly divided tasks and worshippers had the opportunity to address themselves to

any deity they preferred. Explanation 3 further confirms a worshipper's range of freedom. Again, examining all three categories of material reconstructs a more accurate representation of dedicatory practices and reveals that dedications were fluid in meaning. Dedications responded to the individuality of each worshipper's situation and, therefore, were able to carry different meanings for each worshipper and for each dedicatory event. Together, Explanations 2 and 3 account for the variability of offerings found in sanctuary assemblages across the Greek world and even the variability that could be present within the confines of a single shrine. The deity and the dedication were flexible, permitting worshippers to dedicate whatever they wanted to whichever divine being they preferred.

In conclusion, worshippers do not appear to have operated within the neat categories envisioned by scholars, in which deities operated in specific fields and worshippers approached the one who fit their needs with appropriately themed gifts. Worshippers appear to have been less restricted in their ability to choose whatever item they found appropriate and to dedicate it to any deity or hero they felt would best aid them. Exploring the components of deity and of dedication in this chapter demonstrates the need for modern scholarship to shift its focus to the other ways in which the dedicatory habits of worshippers were influenced. The complexity of human behavior, noted above, emphasizes the potential for individuality in dedicatory practices. As human beings, worshippers are complicated; they are individuals with their own needs, desires, and opinions on what is best or appropriate in their own situation. Thus, their decisions concerning what to dedicate and to which deity or hero it should be given would not

always match that of their family members, friends, and neighbors. Nor did it have to be aligned with what they had done in previous dedicatory events. As such, there is a need to study each dedicatory event in its own right, considering personal, social, and political factors as well as those related to status, wealth, ethnicity, and so on. Perhaps even practicality was an influence, so that a worshipper was drawn to an easily accessible sanctuary. Further exploration of a variety of parameters will continue to elucidate the range of freedom worshippers had in their dedicatory practices.

## Chapter 3: Gender and Appropriateness

### 3.1, Introduction

Today, many scholars believe that certain items were more "appropriate" or "suitable" than others for some worshippers to dedicate and some deities to receive. Often, modern concepts of these terms are explicitly or implicitly influenced by gender biases. More specifically, scholars identify certain dedications as either "feminine" or "masculine" and believe them to be appropriate gifts from female or male worshippers, respectively. The argument is then projected into the divine sphere, so that the types of dedications given by female worshippers must be particularly appropriate for goddesses, while those by men are necessarily for gods.

For example, garments have long been emphasized as dedications related to the feminine sphere. Scholars, such as Elizabeth Wayland Barber, Lin Foxhall and Karen Stears, and Mireille Lee, argue that the involvement of women in the production of textiles strongly characterizes these items as feminine and, therefore, mark them as particularly appropriate gifts for women to dedicate.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, small household objects, such as loom weights and spindle whorls, as well as jewelry and accessories are also commonly thought of as feminine dedications. Such sentiments are presented in the work of Christopher Simon, Uta Kron, and Lee who presume that because these items were primarily used by women, they were strongly linked to the feminine sphere. Like

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<sup>105</sup> Barber 1992, 105; Foxhall and Stears 2000, 12; Lee 2015, 91.

garments, they are described as particularly appropriate gifts for women to dedicate and, moreover, for a goddess to receive.<sup>106</sup>

In like manner, men are closely linked to the dedications of arms and armor. Alastair Jackson believes that this association runs very deep within the Greek mindset and that it is conveyed to boys from a very early age. Jackson suggests that, coupled with the teachings and stories of men in their lives, the display of arms and armor in the homes and temples of the city would have shaped the way boys understood their role in the military and in society as a whole, the role of such items as dedications, and the influence of the gods in the sphere of war.<sup>107</sup> Simon also argues for the connection between men and dedications of arms and armor, as do Foxhall and Stears and Lee, who portray these dedications as the masculine equivalent to women offering garments, jewelry, and accessories.<sup>108</sup>

The pattern of gendered division of dedications is also projected into the divine sphere, resulting in the belief that certain items were more appropriate than others for either goddesses or gods. Simon, Kron, and Baumbach argue that the personal items of adornment, including accessories such as mirrors and small domestic items were appropriate for goddesses.<sup>109</sup> This is echoed in the work of Foxhall and Stears, who

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<sup>106</sup> Simon 1986, 199 and 221; Kron 1996, 159; Lee 2015, 140–41.

<sup>107</sup> Jackson 1991, 233.

<sup>108</sup> Simon 1986, 415; Foxhall and Stears 2000, 3; Lee 2015, 219.

<sup>109</sup> Simon 1986, 199 and 221; Kron 1996, 159; Baumbach 2004, 34–8, 61, 91–3, 116, 139, and 160.



suggest that clothing was given to Artemis because it was a typical item offered during rites of passage and because Artemis was a goddess especially concerned with the life stages of women.<sup>110</sup> The dedication of arms and armor are most often referenced in relation to Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia, all of which had male gods as their primary deity. Simon's analysis of the dedication of arms and armor speaks about the common association of these items with male deities. While he notes that Athena was also a common recipient for such gifts, he continues to associate male gods with arms and armor by finding it noteworthy and unusual that such items were placed in the sanctuaries of other goddesses.<sup>111</sup>

Such approaches to analyzing the dedicatory practices of women and men are quite typical in most of modern scholarship, although there are notable exceptions that argue against such a divisive approach. Recently, Anne Jacquemin has cautioned scholars against "catégorisations rapides," noting that the dedicatory system was more open than commonly acknowledged and that it allowed male and female worshippers to visit the shrines of gods and goddesses and offer items that did not necessarily adhere to their own gender.<sup>112</sup> Likewise, Clarisse Prêtre warns scholars of falling into clichés, such as the opposition of genders, when discussing dedications and argues for a more prudent approach when attempting to analyze the connection between dedicator and gift.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Foxhall and Stears 2000, 13. See also Cole 1998 and Lee 2012.

<sup>111</sup> Simon 1986, 411.

<sup>112</sup> Jacquemin 2009, 69–79.

<sup>113</sup> Prêtre 2009, 12.

This chapter will expand upon Jacquemin's and Prêtre's assertions by systematically analyzing some of the dedications commonly identified in modern scholarship as either feminine or masculine: garments and items related to their production, jewelry and accessories, and arms and armor. Although the chapter focuses mostly on evidence dating to the Classical and the Hellenistic periods, some literary sources that fall outside of the date range are considered as they are often referenced in modern scholarship as supporting evidence for the gendered division of social roles and the dedications related to them. The chapter also considers earlier material in the archaeological record. The presence of earlier examples in the sanctuaries of gods and goddesses indicates an established dedicatory practice spanning centuries. Furthermore, the accessibility of these items to both male and female deities coincides with examples drawn from literary and epigraphical sources from the Classical and the Hellenistic periods.

### **3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness**

Ideas of appropriateness and suitability in modern scholarship are often based on various examples found in literary sources. Many scholars use the material to explore the perceived realms of men and women in relation to social roles and, by extension, dedicatory practices. Thus, women are identified as dedicators of garments, due to their connection to the production of clothing, and items like jewelry, which, as noted above, scholars have argued to be heavily gendered feminine in the ancient Greek World. For example, as early as the eighth century B.C.E. literary sources expressed a connection between women and textile production. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod relates the story

of Pandora's creation and the gifts that were bestowed upon her by the gods and goddesses. Athena clothed her and was responsible for instructing her in textile work (63–64).

Homer also references the connection in the *Iliad*. In Book 6, Hector instructs his mother Hecuba to dedicate her finest *peplos* to Athena in an attempt to stop Diomedes from raging on the battlefield (6.269–278). The association is also repeatedly mentioned in the dedicatory epigrams of *The Palatine Anthology*, in which women dedicate items related to textile production (6.160 and 6.289). Literary sources also present accessories like jewelry as items that were typically feminine. In addition to fine garments, the gods also dressed Pandora in jewelry, clothing, a crown of flowers, and all kinds of ornament and decoration, signified by the term *kosmos* (*Op.* 72–76). Epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* also depict jewelry and other accessories as typical gifts from female dedicators (6.211). Often, the epigrams present the offering of these items at significant moments in the lives of women, usually marriage or childbirth (6.276).

Alternately, literary sources frequently present men as dedicators of arms and armor, items that reference their role on the battlefield. In the *Seven Against Thebes*, Eteocles vows that the citizens will sacrifice to the gods and set up trophies, while he personally dedicates the enemy's arms and armor in the temples of the city (271–279). *The Palatine Anthology* records numerous examples of men dedicating their personal arms and armor after a lifetime of engaging in battle (6.178 and 6.264).

Literary sources also imply that certain kinds of gifts should be associated with either goddesses or gods. Some sources present certain deities as more closely associated with gendered activities, such as marriage, childbirth, and war. For instance, the division between feminine and masculine spheres, and therefore potential items for dedication, is considered in Callimachus's hymn *On the Bath of Pallas*. The hymn explores the masculinizing and feminizing of certain objects in daily use. According to Callimachus, perfume, alabasters, and mirrors are not appropriate items for Athena, a goddess whose martial feats are emphasized throughout the poem and who anoints herself with "manly olive oil," just as the heroes Castor and Herakles do (13–32). Greek mythology characterizes Athena as a goddess who straddles the masculine and feminine realms. In this hymn, Callimachus continually emphasizes the masculine side of Athena and, in doing so, assigns the items not to be brought to her as "feminine" and therefore inappropriate for her, but which appear to be appropriate for Aphrodite.

Much like in the mortal world, literary sources often link goddesses with garments and jewelry. One widely-discussed example of the dedication of a garment is the *peplos* offered to Athena at the Athenian Panathenaia each year. The generally accepted understanding of this practice involves a group of women, referred to as the *ergastinai*, who were responsible for weaving the *peplos*, which was decorated with scenes of Athena's victory in the Gigantomachy. The *ergastinai* began nine months before the Panathenaia at the Chalkeia festival, during which priestesses were aided by two young girls, called *arrephoroi*, in warping the robe. Eventually, they handed the finished product

to representatives from the clan of the Praxiergidai, who then placed the garment around the olive-wood statue of Athena in the Temple of Athena Polias.<sup>114</sup> Athena was not the only goddess for whom a garment was woven, however. Pausanias noted a similar practice for Hera at Olympia (5.16.2 and 6.24.10) and Callimachus suggests that maidens wove one for Hera at Argos (*Aet.* III 66).<sup>115</sup>

A famous passage from Euripides's *Iphigenia in Tauris* associates garments with women, goddesses, and the heroine through childbirth, an activity that is exclusive to and representative of the feminine sphere. Euripides states that garments, specifically *peploi*, are gifts that should be dedicated to Iphigenia (*IT* 1462–1467). This passage and the inventories recording garment dedications for Artemis Brauronia have solidified the idea that garments were appropriate items for women to give to the goddess at this sanctuary during life transitions, like childbirth. Epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* repeat the dedication of garments in the context of childbirth and suggest that jewelry and other accessories were also appropriate gifts for a goddess who aided in childbirth (6.202 and 6.274).

Alternately, many instances from literary sources associate male deities with war and, therefore, suggest that arms and armor are appropriate dedications. Such associations can be found throughout the corpus of ancient Greek literary sources, but the epigrams

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<sup>114</sup> Barber 1992, 113.

<sup>115</sup> It is possible that the practice also occurred for Athena at Argos. See *Anecd. Bekk.* 1:231, line 30.

from *The Palatine Anthology* emphasize a strong connection among arms and armor, battle, and the masculine sphere. Weapons and armor that had been tested in battle are particularly appropriate (6.9, 6.178, and 6.264) and are even preferred according to an epigram by Antipater of Sidon (9.323).

### **3.3, Reviewing the Evidence**

Many ancient literary sources seem to present a very straightforward account of the selection of dedications. They appear to relate a world in which gods and goddesses held sway over the masculine and feminine spheres of life, respectively, and worshippers addressed themselves to those who they thought could best aid them in certain areas, such as marriage, war, and childbirth. Whether or not ancient authors originally intended to link certain offerings to certain gods, modern scholarship has used these examples as absolute guidelines for what was "appropriate" or "suitable" for mortal men and women to dedicate, and for gods and goddess to receive. In the following section, literary, epigraphical, and archaeological sources are reviewed in order to determine whether this view was widely held in antiquity and whether modern scholarship should continue to understand the process of selecting dedications in terms of gender. The section is divided into three subsections, Literary Sources (3.3.a), Epigraphical Sources (3.3.b) and Archaeological Material (3.3.c), each of which are separated further into alphabetically arranged discussions focusing first on goddesses and then on gods. Mortal dedicators and their gifts are discussed under the recipient deity.

### 3.3.a, Literary Sources

#### Goddesses

##### *Artemis*

Two epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* mention the dedication of armor to Artemis by valiant men who fought for many years (6.127 and 6.128). The dedication by Epixenus (6.127) is suggestive of a more complex worship of Artemis. The poem speaks of dedicating a battle-worn shield to Artemis in a sanctuary in which girls sing and dance to honor the goddess. The activity and the youth of the girls calls to mind the Arkteia, a rite in which young girls served the goddess at her sanctuary at Brauron. At the very least, the epigram emphasizes the variation in worshippers present in a sanctuary of Artemis and suggests that her cult could address the needs of a warrior while also welcoming the songs and dances of young girls.

Men's worship of Artemis also occurs elsewhere in *The Palatine Anthology*. As previously discussed, there are many epigrams that present the close association of women dedicating garments as thanks for a successful childbirth. However, one example among them shows that men too may have wished to express their thanks.

Artemis, the son of Cichesias dedicated the shoes to thee, and Themistodice the simple folds of her gown (*peplos*), because that coming in gentle guise without thy bow thou didst hold thy two hands over her in her labor. But Artemis, vouchsafe to see this baby boy of Leon's grow great and strong (6.271).

The epigram explores the familiar connections between women, clothing, and childbirth.<sup>116</sup> It extends the concern of a safe childbirth, however, to men as well. Themistodice dedicated her *peplos* to Artemis, while her husband Leon expressed his thanks through the gift of an accessory, his shoes. Although modern scholarship tends to speak of childbirth as a concern for women, this epigram and the epigraphic evidence below, reveals that men could also choose to express their relationship with it. Support for men's concerns regarding marriage and children also appear at Dodona in the form of inquiries to the oracle. Esther Eidinow's analysis of the published questions and the responses on-site revealed that men consulted the oracle in order to determine if they would do better to marry a particular woman and whether they would profit from a relationship with a certain girl.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps even more interesting is that most of the questions regarding the birth of children were asked by men only occasionally named the woman involved.<sup>118</sup> These inquiries indicate that men also had an interest in their own marriages and their potential children, concerns which appear more often to be connected to women in literary sources.

### *Athena*

As noted earlier in this chapter, a passage in Book 6 recounts the dedication of a luxurious *peplos* to Athena by Hecuba and other elder women in Troy (6.269–278). The

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<sup>116</sup> Gow and Page 1965, 2:454. The authors note that the poem is slightly unusual, since typically the mother who makes the offering and the addition of the sandals is unprecedented. This example could very well be another trope, an author making their own twist on a popular theme, or it is possible that the offering is legitimate.

<sup>117</sup> Eidinow 2007, 82.

<sup>118</sup> Eidinow 2007, 87–8.



*peplos* was dedicated by women, but not in accordance a transitional life event. The Trojan women's prayer asks Athena to end the battle prowess of Diomedes in an effort to protect the Trojan people.

On the other hand, Book 10 recounts the deeds of Odysseus and Diomedes in the camp of the Trojan army and how they foiled the spy, Dolon, sent by Hector. Odysseus and Diomedes kill Dolon and offer Athena the spoils of their Trojan enemy (10.454–468). The *peplos*, cap, bow, and spear are all items meant to address the goddess in relation to military matters; Diomedes and Odysseus thank her, while also asking for further aid in their raid. The *peplos* of the Trojan women and the spoils of the two Greek warriors show that worshippers of each gender could dedicate different types of gifts for the same purpose and that the poet himself believed both types were appropriate to give the goddess Athena. Although, whether she accepted them and their prayer is another matter entirely. Both the Trojans and the Greeks understood Athena as a goddess who could aid their people in matters of war; however, the dedications chosen by the groups were quite different. These passages clearly depict the flexibility of dedications; as discussed in Chapter 2.4.b, different types of dedications could carry the same meaning.

Herodotus also provides evidence that offerings given to deities were not divided along gender lines. Among the gifts the historian recorded that were given to Athena of Lindos by the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis was a linen breastplate (2.182). In the passage, Herodotus relates that the breastplate was not meant to commemorate a military victory,

the martial prowess of the dedicator, or to commemorate his retirement from military life. Instead, Amasis chose to offer a gift to Athena at Lindos because of Egypt's role in the mythological founding of the sanctuary. Although it is uncertain whether this was the true reason behind the dedication, it is clear that it was considered valid in the opinion of Herodotus. This example, like the *peplos* of the Trojan women and the spoils of Dolon, recalls another argument from Chapter 2.4.b: when items became dedications, they did not necessarily carry the same associations that they had in daily life. Worshippers could dedicate weapons and armor without intending for them to represent a connection to martial experiences. If the meaning of an item could change from daily use to its function as a dedication, then it is impossible to assume that it would also carry the same meaning from worshipper to worshipper. Thus, the concept of the appropriateness of offerings for one gender or the other breaks down for both mortal worshippers and for divine recipients.

Even though many epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* present certain patterns of gender associations and of types of gifts, there are still many other examples that demonstrate that these authors believed in a less stringent assignment of gifts to divine beings. These examples reveal that arms and armor were just as often dedicated to female deities as to males and that very often, Athena is the goddess to whom these offerings are given (6.122, 6.123, 6.124, 6.129, 6.130, and 6.131).

## *Cybele*

Elsewhere in *The Palatine Anthology* a series of four epigrams relate slightly differing versions of a tale in which men dedicated clothing to commemorate a lucky escape. Each epigram tells the story of a eunuch priest of Cybele scaring off or taming a lion that he encountered on his travels (6.217–220). Not every epigram specifies that a gift was given to Cybele as thanks for her assistance, but of the three that do, the epigram written by Simonides has the priest dedicate his robes (ἐνδύτά) and his "yellow hair" to Cybele (6.217). Although Simonides describes the priest as ἡμιγύναικα, "half woman-like" or "half-girlish," it should not be seen as the reason why the item of clothing was dedicated. The numerous other examples discussed in this chapter reveal that items of clothing were regularly dedicated by men and to male gods. Instead, the term likely refers to his physical state as a eunuch. As noted above, the presence of multiple versions of this epigrams suggests that various authors engaging in a literary exercise. While it is not necessary to view this epigram as a representation of an actual dedication, it is possible to credit it with some truth. Simonides chose to have the priest dedicate his robes, a dedicatory pattern already observed elsewhere in this section and one which will be repeated below. Simonides may have chosen this gift because of a real practice among men in the ancient world.

## *Demeter*

According to Pausanias, the sanctuary of Demeter in Argos held the bodily remains and the shield of Pyrrhus of Epeirus (2.21.4). Similarly, he describes a set of three shields

in a sanctuary of Demeter in Thebes that were taken as spoils from the Lacedaemonians (9.16.5).

### *Hera*

Pausanias also relates that such items were dedicated to the goddess Hera. His description of the *pronaos* of the Argive Heraion identifies several notable offerings, including a Trojan shield dedicated by the hero Menelaos (2.17.3). The authenticity of the shield is not relevant to this discussion; what is important is that Pausanias, and whoever gave him the information about the shield's history, believed that armor was a suitable gift to find in the temple of Hera.

### *Leto*

*The Palatine Anthology* includes an epigram in which Leto received spoils of war from the Battle of Salamis (6.215).

### Gods

#### *Apollo*

Examples of men dedicating and of gods receiving garments, related accessories, and jewelry occur in literary sources for a variety of reasons. Apollo received such items from male worshippers at his sanctuaries at Delphi, Didyma, and Amyklæ.

Croesus, the king of Lydia, tried to win the favor of Apollo at Delphi through sacrifice and dedications. While Croesus was not a Greek, his dedication is not unparalleled by mortal men in the Greek world, as will be seen below. Part of his offering was to burn purple garments (*chitons* and *himations*), among other objects made from precious materials (Hdt. 1.50.1). In addition to these, Croesus dedicated other offerings, including the necklaces and belts of his wife (Hdt. 1.51). While Herodotus classifies them as average gifts in comparison to the other dedications, the necklaces and belts must have been quite luxurious as belongings of the queen of Lydia. It is important, however, to recognize that these items were not dedicated by Croesus's wife; Herodotus speaks only of them as gifts from the king himself.

In the *Ion* of Euripides, Ion brings forth beautifully decorated *peploi* from the temple treasuries of Delphi to serve as decoration for a feast. The *peploi* were spoils of war dedicated by Herakles in commemoration of his victory over the Amazons (1143–1145). An interesting aspect of this dedication is that the *peploi* seem to have had a second life at Delphi among many such cloths that were available to use as suitable decoration for a feast. Much like the gifts of Croesus, Herakles's offerings are presented as luxurious garments worthy of dedication. As noted in Chapter 2.4.b, dedications did not always carry the same meaning from daily life to sacred gift. While the *peploi* may have once belonged to a woman, as dedications they are not restricted to the feminine sphere, much like the necklaces and belts of Croesus's wife. Their former use does not prevent them from being an appropriate gift for Herakles to dedicate because they do not

carry a previous association with a woman once they have been dedicated. Furthermore, neither Herodotus nor Euripides depict these men as behaving in an unusual manner. Instead, the dedications are a matter of course. The gifts were described as luxurious and, therefore, as appropriate dedications at one of Apollo's major sanctuaries. Neither the gender of the dedicator, nor that of the god are limiting factors in these cases.

According to Herodotus, the Egyptian Pharaoh Nechos II offered his own garments to Apollo at Didyma (2.159). Herodotus specifically mentions that it is ἐσθής, clothing or raiment, that Nechos II offers to Apollo, not armor. The passage recalls the dedication of the *peplos* by the Trojan women in the *Iliad*, in which clothing was dedicated with a military need in mind.

As noted above, the weaving of the *peplos* for Athena is only one among several examples in the ancient Greek world. Of the few that are known, one was in honor of Apollo at Amyklai (Paus. 3.16.2). The practice of ritual weaving was rare, and it is important to note that a male deity was one of the few recipients of this dedicatory practice. The participation of a male deity in such an infrequent ritual indicates that it was not limited to the feminine sphere, but was important to men and women as well as gods and goddesses. In fact, these rituals may have a strong communal nature at their core. John Mansfield, whose dissertation explores the *peplos* of Athena at Athens, suggests that the rituals originated in the eighth century B.C.E. and "were 'synoecismic' in character: Attica, Argos and Sparta underwent political unification in the ninth and eighth centuries

B.C.E.; this political unification was accompanied by the development of communal cults of Athena (Panathenaia), Hera (Heraia) and Apollo (Hyakinthia), respectively."<sup>119</sup> If the weaving of a garment for the deity was meant as a gift from the entire community, as it certainly did in Athens, it therefore represented both women and men as dedicators and should not be limited to signifying one gender over another.

### *Plutus*

A scene from Aristophanes's comedic play *Plutus* also connects men and gods to garments. The play tells the tale of a poor, old man named Chremylus and his slave Cario who work to restore the sight of the god Plutus, so that wealth and prosperity can be justly distributed. Once Asklepios heals the god's sight, Plutus is able to ensure that worthy individuals receive his blessings, removing it from those who are not. Plutus adjourns to the home of Chremylus to celebrate and the household is soon approached by the character "Just Man" and his slave, who carries a very old cloak and worn shoes that the Just Man intends to dedicate to the god (840–849). Unlike Croesus, Nechos II and Herakles, the "Just Man" brings a garment and an accessory that are old and tattered, but, nevertheless, they remain appropriate items for him to dedicate because of his prior experience in them.

Aside from once again noting that men had ample opportunity to dedicate the garments and accessories they wore, more information can be gleaned from this passage.

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<sup>119</sup> Mansfield 1985, 443.

First, Cario's initial assumption that they were items in which the Just Man was initiated indicates that it was common practice to dedicate clothing items to commemorate that experience. The Mysteries at Eleusis were open to any Greek, man or woman, who was free, freed, or enslaved and who had not committed murder. Therefore, it was appropriate for men and women to dedicate clothing in that context. Furthermore, this possibility demonstrates that clothing dedications by women could fall outside the often assumed occasions of marriage or childbirth. Finally, there was never any question as to whether the items that the Just Man was bringing were appropriate for both the male deity, Plutus, and the female deities Demeter and Kore.

### *Priapus*

*The Palatine Anthology* also attests to gods receiving garments. An epigram written by an anonymous author treats the theme of commemorating a night between two lovers, with Priapus as the divine recipient (5.200).

## **3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources**

### Goddesses

#### *Aphrodite*

The inventory of the Eileithyiaion on Delos records two chains decorated with precious stones, belonging to the goddess Aphrodite, that were dedicated by a man named Aristonikos (*IG* 11,2 199 face B, line 67). The entry is important for two reasons. First, the entry continues the pattern of men dedicating jewelry to gods and goddesses, which is



not often depicted in the literary sources. Second, it demonstrates the practice of storing gifts for one god in the temple of another, a complication that is repeated elsewhere in temple inventories and further emphasizes the difficulty in identifying what gifts were appropriate for certain deities.

### *Artemis*

Among the gifts to Athena kept in the Hekatompedon on the Athenian Akropolis were some gifts for Artemis Brauronia. These include an entry of gold earrings for the goddess by a dedicator whose name is incomplete, but who may have been male (*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1388, lines 60–61). There is also a record of an offering of cavalry equipment to Artemis at Brauron by a man named Xenotimos (*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1388, lines 73–4).

The Brauronian inventories record many names of female dedicators, suggesting that women may have been the primary dedicators to Artemis. Liza Cleland suggests as much, but concedes in a footnote that "[s]ome of the uninscribed dedications may have been made by men, there is no way to tell."<sup>120</sup> In her analysis of textiles and temple inventories, Cecilie Brøns observes that the list also includes garments that were identified as being for men or children, and that many of the unassigned clothing items were those that could be worn by women, men, or children.<sup>121</sup> For example, the

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<sup>120</sup> Cleland 2005, 91.

<sup>121</sup> Brøns 2015, 48.

inventories record entries for items under the following terms: *chiton*,<sup>122</sup> *chitonion*,<sup>123</sup> *chitoniskos*,<sup>124</sup> *chlaniskion*,<sup>125</sup> and *himation*.<sup>126</sup> There are also other entries with no assigned dedicator that provide only a general term for clothing or do not specify a type of garment. These are mostly identified as luxury garments, and are often embroidered or described as being dyed purple.<sup>127</sup>

There are other possible indications that men dedicated some of these garments. First, as the literary sources have shown, men dedicated garments and did so for a variety of reasons. It would not be completely incorrect to consider that any of the unassigned items noted above could have been dedicated by men. Second, men appear elsewhere in the inventories. One fragmented entry among a list of garments records what may have been a masculine name in the nominative (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517 face B.frag. b.col. I, line 179*).<sup>128</sup> In a list of objects made of precious metal, the name of a man, "Euthymachos son of Euthyd-", is clearly recorded (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517 face A.frag. b.col. I, line 48*). Two other entries in that section are more fragmented than that of Euthymachos, but Tullia Linders

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<sup>122</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: lines 66, 157, 221, 241–242, 253, 256, 299, 301, 307–308, 320, and 336.

<sup>123</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: lines 61, 65–66, 73–74, 106, 108–109 (children's garments), 152–154, 187, 295, and 322–323.

<sup>124</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: lines 14, 28–29, 40–41 (children's garments), 41–43, 45–47, 58 (child's garment), 86, 107, 121–122, 127, 145–147, 166, 258, 286–287, 303, and 314.

<sup>125</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: line 138 (child's garment).

<sup>126</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: lines 69, 80, 163–164, 321, and 332.

<sup>127</sup> See Cleland 2005, 132–47: lines 38–39, 49, 67, 79, 83, 103, 106, 126–127, 134, 151–152, 202–203, and 218–219.

<sup>128</sup> Linders (1972, 44) follows a previous suggestion that the surviving "ve-" should be completed to form "neokoros" and that the entry therefore references a temple official since male dedicators in the clothing lists are otherwise absent.

acknowledges them as possible names of male dedicators (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 65–66).<sup>129</sup>

One final entry of the inventory to address is the gift given by the wife of Kallistratos of Aphidnaios.

...The wife of Kallistratos...of Aphidnaios: a spotted breastplate (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1524* face B.col. II, lines 192–193).<sup>130</sup>

The term used for the breastplate is θώρακα (θώραξ, *thorax*). Linders identifies the item as a decorated corselet and includes it, among other instances of men's clothing, in the inventories, but provides no further commentary.<sup>131</sup> Cleland, however, translates θώρακα as "jerkin" and makes no reference to the item as a piece of armor, instead treating the thorax as a clothing item.<sup>132</sup>

All the same, *thorax* is the same term used to describe the linen breastplate dedicated by Amasis to Athena at Lindos (Hdt. 2.182) and the three Phoenician linen breastplates dedicated by Gelon at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.7). It is also the term used in the inventories of Athena in Athens, which record metal versions numbering fourteen breastplates in the Parthenon in 434/3 B.C.E. (*IG 1<sup>3</sup> 343*, line 13), sixteen in 428/7 B.C.E. (*IG 1<sup>3</sup> 349*, line 54), and one ceremonial breastplate in 319/18 B.C.E. (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1473*, lines

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<sup>129</sup> Linders 1972, 38.

<sup>130</sup> See also *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1523* col. II, lines 19–20 (before 334/3 B.C.E.): ...Καλλιστρ[άτου γυνή Ἀ]- [20] φιδναίου θώρακα κατάστικτον...

<sup>131</sup> Linders 1972, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Cleland 2005, 144, lines 271–272.

6–11). It is possible, based on these examples and the use of *θώρακα*, that the wife of Kallistratos dedicated a piece of armor known as the *linothorax*, a *thorax* made out of linen or other textiles. As noted above, linen breastplates were referenced in the works of authors like Herodotus and Pausanias. A recent analysis by Gregory Aldrete, Scott Bartell, and Alicia Aldrete explores ancient evidence for the *linothorax*, which has largely been overlooked in modern scholarship and could shed light on the *θώρακα κατάστικτον* of the Brauronian inventories.<sup>133</sup>

This study on the *linothorax* indicates that this type of armor was well known in the ancient world and was understood to be a kind of armor distinct from its metal equivalents.<sup>134</sup> As an item made from linen or another textile, it is possible that the Brauronian sanctuary officials found it appropriate to list it with other items made from fabric. This classification would coincide with the Brauronian inventories' division of offerings into lists based on material type, including garments, bronze, "mountain-copper," iron, silver, gold, ivory, and wooden objects.<sup>135</sup> A *linothorax* would be recorded with other garments. Also, the adjective *κατάστικτον*, used to describe the *thorax*, may refer to motifs decorating the *linothorax*, which ancient visual evidence indicates could be richly decorated.<sup>136</sup> Or, if one wishes to maintain Cleland's definition that evokes the idea of pricking or tattooing, one could consider that the *thorax* was sewn or quilted

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<sup>133</sup> Aldrete, Bartell, and Aldrete 2013.

<sup>134</sup> Aldrete et al. 2013, 11–20.

<sup>135</sup> For references to lists of items that are not clothing see Linders 1972, 8, 24, 27–9, 35–9, 41, 43, 45–6, and 48–54.

<sup>136</sup> Aldrete et al. 2013, 41–6.

instead of laminated with glue.<sup>137</sup> This would have maintained a more garment-like appearance. Thus, it is quite possible that the wife of Kallistratos dedicated a piece of armor to Artemis Brauronia.

On Delos, the inventory from the Temple of Artemis indicates that the goddess received armor and jewelry, the latter of which were dedicated by women and some men (*ID* 296 face B, line 44 and *IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 24–25 and 63). A dedication made by Stratonike, the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes and queen of the Seleucid Empire, specifies that the necklace and anklets she gave to Artemis belonged to her father (*IG* 11,2 164 face A, lines 74–75). Stratonike's gifts recall the literary sources discussed above in which men are described as wearers of jewelry. The assignment of these gifts as having belonged to Demetrios further emphasizes that jewelry should not be considered as only feminine belongings or dedications. The limitations of the epigraphical sources do not aid in understanding why Stratonike dedicated her father's necklace and anklets, but the entry allows us insight into the use of jewelry by men.

The inventories also demonstrate that garments could be shared among deities of different genders. In 146/5 B.C.E., the inventories recorded that a *chiton* once worn by a statue of Artemis was transferred and placed on the statue of Dionysos, where it was recorded five years later, in 141/0 B.C.E (*ID* 1442 face B, lines 54–55 and *ID* 1444 face A, line 38).

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<sup>137</sup> Aldrete et al. 2013, 110.

## *Athena*

Among the gifts recorded for Athena in the "Chronicle of Lindos" are two shields given by the mythical figure of Herakles (Blinkenberg 1941, 162–63, col. B, lines 23–36). The Chronicle also records gifts from those who sailed to fight at Troy. Warriors, such as Tlapolemos, the son of Herakles, and Menelaos, gave Athena shields, daggers, leather caps, greaves, and quivers (Blinkenberg 1941, 165, col. B, lines 54–61, 62–69, and 78–87). Historical figures, such as Alexander the Great, Hieron of Syracuse, and Pyrrhos, are also listed as having dedicated shields, helmets and caps, various kinds of swords, caltrops, armor, and other unspecified weapons (Blinkenberg 1941, 169–171, col. C, lines 1–10; 175–77, col. C, lines 65–74; 177, col. C, lines 85–93; 179, col. C, lines 97–109; 179–181, col. C, lines 114–131).

The inventories from the Parthenon and Erechtheion record a wide range of items, including garments and arms and armor. Since dedications given to one deity can be stored in the temple of another it is not certain that these gifts were directed at Athena herself. The association of Athena and the dedications of arms and armor that is found in literary sources, however, supports the possibility that they were for her and, therefore, will be discussed as such under this section.

Records from the Hekatompedon note that a man named Pharnabazos dedicated a robe (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1421, line 118)<sup>138</sup> and that among the gifts of Phryniskos of Thessaly was a

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<sup>138</sup> Pharnabazos was a Persian satrap from Daskyleion.

gold ring (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1388*, lines 58–59). Offerings stored in the Parthenon, the Hekatompedon, and Erechtheion also include full-sized items as well as small or miniature items made of bronze, gold, silver, wood, and ivory in the form of swords, sabers, knives, helmets, spears, greaves, spear-points, arrows, a sling, Persian daggers, breastplates, shields, javelins, and one full panoply.<sup>139</sup> The inventories of the Erechtheion specifically record the dedication of a miniature shield by a woman:

... A small gold shield, which Phylarche dedicated...(*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1456*, lines 6–7).

Jennifer Larson suggests that miniature arms and armor were "less heavily gendered" and observes that such items were more affordable and, thus, more accessible to all worshippers, including women.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps the accessibility and affordability of miniature arms and armor is at play in the selection of the miniature shield by Phylarche. The cost of a full-sized weapon or piece of armor may have been too expensive for many worshippers. Furthermore, the presence of numerous miniature arms and armor in bronze, silver, and gold listed in the Akropolis inventories suggests that many worshippers found such items to be appealing gifts and could choose them in a variety of materials, some more affordable than others. A mortal women like Phylarche may have been more conscious of her financial means than the expectations of her gender when choosing her dedication.

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<sup>139</sup> Harris 1995, 57–8, 82–7, 115–19, and 206–8; See also *IG 1<sup>3</sup> 343*, line 13; *IG 1<sup>3</sup> 349*, line 54; *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1473*, lines 6–11.

<sup>140</sup> Larson 2009, 130.

## *Hera*

The inventory from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos is inscribed on a marble stele dating to 346/5 B.C.E. The items are listed under the heading "the *kosmos* of Hera," but other deities are mentioned as well. An important aspect of this inventory is that only one dedicator is named: Diogenes, a man who dedicated a Lydian *chiton* (*IG* 12,6 1:261, lines 12–13). It is uncertain why only one individual was named in the inventory, but its presence is fortunate because it helps illustrate the fact that men dedicated garments elsewhere in the ancient Greek world and to the goddess Hera.

## *Unknown Deity*

A fragmentary temple inventory from Miletos dating to the second century B.C.E. provides a list of metal objects and then transitions into textiles, organized according to size. The deity to whom these gifts were given is unknown, even though it has been linked to Artemis Kithone.<sup>141</sup> Although the text is fragmentary, there are many items listed and, among them, one dedicator: a man named Aianaïos. Furthermore, Aianaïos is identified as a dedicator of two earrings (πλάστρα), two worn earring holders (ἐγκαλύμματα),<sup>142</sup> and a linen belt (*SEG* 38 1210, lines 3–5 and 20–21). Much like the inventory of Artemis Brauronia, the Miletos inventory is filled with garments that could be worn by men, women, or children, any of whom may have been the dedicators of these items. The records include four old ephebic capes (*SEG* 38 1210, lines 11–12), two

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<sup>141</sup> Brøns 2015, 53.

<sup>142</sup> See the commentary for *SEG* 38 1210 for the terms used for earrings and earring holders.



old, decorated belts (lines 18–19) and two small purple mantles meant for children (lines 22–23).

## Gods

### *Apollo*

Inventories for Apollo's temples on the island of Delos record gifts of jewelry among other offerings stored in the god's temples. The inventory for the Poros Temple of Apollo included silver and gold rings as well as iron rings covered in silver (*ID* 298 face A, lines 29–30, 32a–33, and 41; *ID* 358, lines 7–8).<sup>143</sup> The inventory also lists a gold collar with a silver chain that was dedicated by a man named either Batesis or Patesis (*ID* 103, lines 65–66).

A silvered iron ring (*ID* 104(30), lines 13–14) was stored in the Temple of the Athenians.<sup>144</sup> Among the various offerings listed in the Temple of Apollo are iron rings, gilded iron rings, silvered iron rings, gilded bronze rings, silver rings, a ring with a Phocian spearhead as a stamp, gold rings, necklaces, and earrings, although without named dedicators.<sup>145</sup> There are also entries linking jewelry items to both male and female dedicators, some of whom were Roman. Men by the name of (M)Onasikrates, Dexilaos, Gaius son of Quintus Kritonios, Sextus of Rome, and Timon dedicated rings (*IG* 11,2 161

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<sup>143</sup> Hamilton 2000, 33 and 41. The temple was originally called The Temple of the Delians, but was changed to The Poros Temple during the period of Independence.

<sup>144</sup> Hamilton 2000, 34. The name of the temple was later changed to the Temple of the Seven Statues after the Amphictyonic period.

<sup>145</sup> See Hamilton 2000, Apollo Treasure B, 33–35, 37, 61, 64c, 68a, 71c, 76b, 77, 99; Apollo Treasure C 27e, 30, 31, 138, 142, 143, 181, 182; Temple Treasure D, 135, 252, 286, 608, 620, 645?, 649?, 650, 750.

face B, line 81; *IG* 11,2 203 face B, line 40; *ID* 1429 face A.col. II, lines 22–24; *ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 66–68 and 76–77). Men dedicated other types of jewelry as well: Datis gave a collar,<sup>146</sup> Philon an anklet, and Lucius of Rome a gold pin (*IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 95–96; *ID* 1421 face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 18–19; *ID* 439, line 77). A woman named Sappho dedicated a ring and another, identified as Queen Philia, dedicated a pin on a small wooden column (*IG* 11,2 161 face B, line 82; *ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 78–79).

Two other entries in the inventories are worth exploring in greater detail. Both items were given by Stratonike the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes. One was a gold ring with a carnelian stone that depicted an image of a Nike. An inventory dating to 240 B.C.E. describes the ring as having been placed upon a statue of Apollo in his temple.

... Gold ring with carnelian with Nike image, which the god wears with the circle... (*ID* 298 face A, lines 29–30).

A later inventory from 179 B.C.E. identifies the ring as having been dedicated to Artemis and Apollo.

... Gold ring which Stratonike dedicated to Apollo and Artemis, stamped with a Nike, weight with the circle 36 dr. 4 ob. (*ID* 442 face B, line 5).<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Hamilton (2000, 87, note 7) observes that this collar is nearly of the same weight as that given by Batesis or Patesis above.

<sup>147</sup> See also *ID* 461 face B.frag. a, lines 5–6 from 169 B.C.E.

The two entries consistently identify the gift as connected to, and appropriate for, Apollo. The ring is placed on the god's statue in his temple and, despite the extension of the gift to Artemis in later entries, it is still an appropriate gift for Apollo to receive.

Elsewhere in the inventories of Apollo, Stratonike dedicated a quiver and bow to Apollo.

... Gilded quiver with a Scythian bow and ribbon, a dedication from Stratonike ... (*ID* 1408 face A.col. I, lines 28–29).

Unlike the miniature gold shield offered by Phylarche in the Athenian Akropolis inventories, Stratonike chose to dedicate a full-sized weapon. It is possible that her financial means did not prohibit her from offering such a gift, which may have been out of the reach of a woman like Phylarche. It also appears that Stratonike did not feel that her gender prevented her from offering jewelry or weapons to a god.

The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi also provides insight into the connection between men and garments and jewelry. Mansfield's study on the "robe" and *peplos* of Athena also explores outfitting temple statues with adornment, *kosmos*, which included both garments and jewelry. He notes that garments and jewelry placed on the statues could be offerings of individuals or of sanctuary officials and that similar offerings at the larger sanctuaries could be provided by financial administrators.<sup>148</sup> In some of these situations, individual men were responsible for dedicating the *kosmos*, which was then placed on the statue. For

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<sup>148</sup> Mansfield 1985, 447–49.

example, at Delphi, two decrees of the Amphiktyones honor men who provided the *kosmos* for the statue of Athena Pronaia (Collitz et. al. 1896, 2.2:687, no. 2514 and *SIG* 3 422). The *kosmos* of Athena Pronaia recalls the passage found in Hesiod regarding the creation of Pandora. Athena, the Charities, Persuasion, and the Hours provided Pandora with beautiful clothing, jewelry, and other accessories (*Op.* 59–82). These pieces of ornament and decoration, which are associated with women by Hesiod, have become the duty and responsibility of men for Athena's statue at Delphi. Furthermore, Menekrates and Melanthios of Lamia and Mentor son Damosthenes of Naupaktos are richly rewarded by the Amphictyony for their generosity, with priority of consultation of the oracle for themselves and their descendants, security, asylum, and immunity.

### *Asklepios*

Asklepios received garments, jewelry, and accessories at his sanctuaries in Athens and Delos. Not every dedicator is named in the inventory of the Athenian Asklepieion, but it is clear that both men and women dedicated jewelry to Asklepios. Inventories from 343/2 and 329/8 B.C.E. record rings, in various materials (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1532 frag. A, lines 2–3 and 15–16; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, lines 1, 18, 25–27, 99, and 107), and sealstones (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, line 18, 25–26, and 28). The god also received cloaks (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, lines 8 and 18), hairnets (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, line 102), and shoes (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, lines 30–31). Two sealstones were dedicated by women (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1533, lines 25 and 28), recalling Lee's discussion of men using signet rings in administrative functions. She posits that women may have had practical uses for jewelry as well, employing them to secure their own personal

property.<sup>149</sup> The inventories show a continued dedicatory pattern of both women and men dedicating jewelry and of the gods receiving it, as well as a tendency for sealstones to be considered a viable option for women to offer.

An inventory dating to 274/3 B.C.E. lists dedications on the ridge beam of the temple's ceiling. In addition to a crystal necklace whose dedicator does not survive in the inscription, the inventory lists rings, dedicated by a man named Euboulides and an unnamed doctor, as well as an anklet dedicated by a woman named Myrrhine (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534* face A.frag. A, lines 40, 44, and 78). Another inventory dating to the same year records dedications that were marked for recasting into new cult equipment. Like the other inventories, jewelry (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534* face B.frag. a–k, lines 171 and 281) is included among the dedications as well as a bronze mirror (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534* face B.frag. a–k, line 196), an item that Matthew Dillon regards as an appropriate dedication for a goddesses by women as it is a feminine item.<sup>150</sup> The name of the dedicator is not preserved, but the inclusion of this among the gifts to Asklepios indicates that it, and jewelry, was considered an appropriate gift for the god.

There are also inventories for Asklepios's sanctuary on Delos. Most of the dedicators listed in the inventories are men, some of whom are repeatedly listed.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Lee 2015, 151.

<sup>150</sup> Dillon 2002, 13.

<sup>151</sup> Hamilton 2000, 191.

However, one woman named Lysidike gave a ring with a stone threaded through a ribbon to Asklepios (*ID* 1442 face A, line 83).

### *Hermes*

As noted above, the temple inventory from the sanctuary of Hera on Samos mostly lists the various items that were part of the "*kosmos* of Hera," but other deities were mentioned as well. One is the god Hermes, who is listed as having several garments, some of which were kept in the Temple of Aphrodite (*IG* 12,6 1:261, lines 31–33). Much like the inventories from the Athenian Akropolis and from Delos, the Samian inventory is a further example illustrating how dedications were stored in a sanctuary and the caution necessary when attempting to identify offerings as appropriate or suitable to one gender or the other. In this instance, a god, Hermes, received garments, which were then recorded in the inventory of items under the heading of Κόσμος τῆς Θεοῦ, the *kosmos* of Hera and also partially stored in the temple of Aphrodite. It appears that the officials of this sanctuary did not divide such items along gender lines. Furthermore, it affirms that garments were appropriate gifts for both Hermes and Hera.

### **3.3.c, Archaeological Material**

#### Goddesses

The Panhellenic sanctuaries of Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon were filled with monuments, many of which were adorned with arms and armor, commemorating victories in battle over fellow Greeks or foreign foes. Still, one should not assume that

arms and armor were more appropriate items for gods simply due to the large number of them found within these sanctuaries. Larson points out the "exceptional" nature of these shrines and suggests that the large amounts of arms and armor dedicated at these shrines had "more to do with the inter-state function of the sanctuaries than with the gender of the presiding deities."<sup>152</sup> Despite the popularity of these sanctuaries as places of commemoration and competition, other sanctuaries, including those belonging to goddesses, also received arms and armor as offerings.

### *Aphrodite*

Aphrodite's sanctuary at Axos on Crete produced life-sized representations of spears, helmets, a breastplate, and *mitres* (fig. 30.a–c).<sup>153</sup> Although the attribution of Aphrodite as the owner of the sanctuary is not entirely certain, one should not dismiss the possibility based on her gender, or even her presumed close associations with sex and fertility. Jenny Wallensten's analysis of the epithets related to Aphrodite's role as a protectress of magistrates determined that Aphrodite is more complex than most scholars assume. Wallensten finds that, while there are some epithets that place her in the spheres of sexuality and marriage, most of Aphrodite's other epithets link her to marine activities and to magisterial protection.<sup>154</sup> Worshippers would address Aphrodite by epithets derived from the name of their office, e.g., Aphrodite Stratagis, Nomophylakis, Nauarchis, Synarchis, and Epistasia, which would then particularize Aphrodite's

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<sup>152</sup> Larson 2009, 127.

<sup>153</sup> Levi 1930–1931, 58–70, figs. 13–27; Simon 1986, 235, 250, and 251.

<sup>154</sup> Wallensten 2009, 170.

concerns, while also expanding them into areas of influence not often connected with the goddess.<sup>155</sup>

### *Artemis*

Artemis received both life-sized and miniature weapons and armor at a number of her shrines. At Ephesos, examples of life-sized arms and armor include spears, arrowheads, blade fragments, a sword blade (fig. 31.a).<sup>156</sup> The crest of a miniature helmet and miniature shields in bronze and silver also appear (fig. 31.b–e).<sup>157</sup> A similar assemblage was found at the shrine of Artemis Enodia at Pherai, although *phalara* replace the presence of helmets (fig. 32.a–e).<sup>158</sup> Artemis Orthia's shrine at Sparta received arrowheads, *phalara*, and miniature shields in bronze and other materials (fig. 33.a–c).<sup>159</sup> Her sanctuaries at Cyrene (spears and arrowheads)<sup>160</sup> and Delos (arrowheads or spear points and a miniature shield)<sup>161</sup> received a more limited range of items (fig 34.a–c and fig. 35.a–b).

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<sup>155</sup> Wallensten 2008, 144.

<sup>156</sup> Hogarth 1908, 153–54, no. 6, pl. 16; 322; Simon 1986, 234 and 237.

<sup>157</sup> Hogarth 1908, 113, no. 7, pl. 10; 115, no. 23, pl. 9; 118, nos. 31 and 40, pl. 11; 322; Simon 1986, 245 and 249.

<sup>158</sup> Kilian 1975, 212, pl. 88, no. 13; 213, pl. 92, nos. 1–13 and 15–19; 214, pl. 93, nos. 3–10 and 18–22; Fellmann 1984, 95, fig. 28 (left); Simon 1986, 236, 239, 247, and 249.

<sup>159</sup> Dawkins 1929, 201, pl. 87, h and pl. 88, g; 279, pl. 200, nos. 24–28; Fellmann 1984, 88–90, nos. 1–3; Simon 1986, 239, 246, and 247.

<sup>160</sup> Pernier 1931, 195–196, fig. 21, and 197, no. 17.

<sup>161</sup> Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947, 233–35, nos. 81 and 82, figs. 27 and 28, pl. 40, no. 3. Simon 1986, 245.



## *Athena*

Much like the high degree of association of Athena with arms and armor in the literary sources, Athena appears to have received these items at a great many of her shrines. The goddess received shields, spears, arrowheads, helmets, greaves, and *phalara* (fig. 8.a–b and figs. 36.a–c–fig. 43).<sup>162</sup> After defeating the Persians at Granikos in 334 B.C.E., Alexander the Great sent spoils of armor to Athens as gifts for Athena and had fourteen shields affixed to the east architrave of the Parthenon.<sup>163</sup>

Athena also received a large amount of miniature arms and armor. Miniature bronze and/or terracotta shields appear in the assemblages of her sanctuaries at Lindos<sup>164</sup> and Kamiros on Rhodes,<sup>165</sup> Emporio on Chios,<sup>166</sup> the Athenian Akropolis,<sup>167</sup> Syracuse,<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 186–96 (Lindos; nos. 566–612, pls. 22 and 23); Boardman 1967, 226–27 (Chios; nos. 399–406, fig. 148, pl. 93) and 229–31 (nos. 443–460 and 471, figs. 151 and 152); Cook 1952, 106 (Smyrna); De Ridder 1896, 89–90 (Athens; nos. 252–254), 92 (no. 263), 94–104 (no. 266–309, figs. 61–68), 104–5 (nos. 310–315, figs. 69 and 70), 105–6 (nos. 316–318); Dugas 1921, 378–79 and 389 (Tegea; nos. 178–180, figs. 40 and 41); Fellmann 1984, 83 (Marmaria of Delphi; no. 12, fig. 23, pl. 44.6); Keramopoulos 1915, 28–9 (Athens; figs. 27 and 29); Jacopi 1932, 335 (Kamiros; fig. 81) and 347–48 (nos. 31–36); Orsi 1918, 576 (Syracuse; fig. 163); Perdrizet 1908, 101–2 (Marmaria of Delphi, nos. 499 and 512*bis*, figs. 347*bis* and 351*bis*); Stoop 1980, 172–75 and 185–86 (Francavilla-Marittima; figs. 23, 24, 26, and 28–30); Woodward et al. 1926/1927, 93–4 (Sparta; fig. 6). Simon 1986, 234–35, 237–39, 245, 248–52.

<sup>163</sup> Andrews 1902, 30–32; Hurwit 2004, 245; Greco 2010, 1:101–15, figs. 30–47.

<sup>164</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 391–92, nos. 1564–1566b, pl. 63; Simon 1986, 238 and 243.

<sup>165</sup> Jacopi 1932, 337, fig. 83; 356, no. 66; Simon 1986, 243.

<sup>166</sup> Boardman 1967, 232–33, nos. 483–496, fig. 153, pl. 94; Simon 1986, 240.

<sup>167</sup> De Ridder 1896, 92–3, nos. 263a–265; Gräf et al. 1925–1933, 1:241–42, nos. 2484–2492, pl. 100, and 2:96–7, nos. 1069, 1070 and 1072, pl. 83; Simon 1986, 241 and 244.

<sup>168</sup> Orsi 1918, 566–67, fig. 156, and 581–82, fig. 170; Simon 1986, 242 and 245.

Tegea,<sup>169</sup> Sounion,<sup>170</sup> Francavilla-Marittima,<sup>171</sup> and the Spartan Akropolis<sup>172</sup> (fig. 8.c and figs. 44–fig. 47.a, fig. 48, and fig. 49.b). She also received miniature helmets at Tegea,<sup>173</sup> Francavilla-Marittima<sup>174</sup> and Leukas<sup>175</sup> as well as miniature helmets and breastplates at her sanctuary on the Spartan Akropolis (figs. 47.b, fig. 49.a, and fig. 50.a–b).<sup>176</sup> In addition to the miniature shield dedicated by Phylarche in the Athenian Akropolis inventories, a woman named Phrygia dedicated a miniature bronze shield decorated with a gorgon to Athena on the Akropolis around 500 B.C.E. (fig. 51).<sup>177</sup> Similar items were found in the Marmaria of Delphi.<sup>178</sup>

### *Demeter*

Simon finds Demeter to be a surprising recipient for arms and armor. "In other cases, arms and armor are less obvious gifts for the deity to whom they are dedicated, when, for example, they are given to the goddess Demeter."<sup>179</sup> In addition to the literary sources discussed above, archaeological material also indicates that the goddess received

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<sup>169</sup> Dugas 1921, 365, fig. 19, nos. 190 and 192; 382, fig. 42, no. 195; 391–92, nos. 190–192 and 195; Simon 1986, 241 and 244.

<sup>170</sup> Stais 1917, 207, fig. 18; Simon 1986, 244.

<sup>171</sup> Stoop 1980, 173–75 and 185, figs. 25 and 27; Simon 1986, 245.

<sup>172</sup> Woodward et al. 1927/1928, 99–100, fig. 9, no. 56; Simon 1986, 241.

<sup>173</sup> Dugas 1921, 382, fig. 42, no. 181; 389–90, no. 181; Simon 1986, 250.

<sup>174</sup> Stoop 1980, 173, fig. 25. The item is a miniature crest of a helmet and may have been part of a statuette.

<sup>175</sup> Preuner 1902, 363; Simon 1986, 251.

<sup>176</sup> Woodward et al. 1926/1927, 91, pl. 8, no. 22; 92, pl. 8, no. 23; Simon 1986, 241.

<sup>177</sup> Bather 1892–1893, 128, no. 60; De Ridder 1896, 92–3, no. 264, fig. 60. See also *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 546.

<sup>178</sup> Perdrizet 1908, 122, no. 659–661, figs. 450–452.

<sup>179</sup> Simon 1986, 253.

arms and armor. In the Archaic period, Demeter Malophoros received spears, arrowheads, and life-sized shields at her sanctuary at Selinus (fig. 52).<sup>180</sup> Miniature terracotta shields were found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth,<sup>181</sup> Eleusis,<sup>182</sup> and at the City Eleusinion in Athens.<sup>183</sup>

She also received similar items at Knossos during the Classical and the Hellenistic periods. A series of miniature metal disks from the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. were found at Knossos (fig. 53.a).<sup>184</sup> In addition to the sixteen complete or nearly complete examples, there are forty-five fragments of other disks. The interpretation of these disks as representations of shields is not certain, however. Coldstream does not identify the disks as miniature shields, stating that "a shield would be a surprising gift for Demeter."<sup>185</sup> Instead, he suggests the disks are miniature versions of the cymbals or tympana that were part of the nocturnal musical rites at the sanctuary. However, it is not necessary to consider Demeter as an unusual recipient of these gifts. Pausanias's observations at Thebes and Argos identified shields, most of which were spoils of war, hanging in the temples of the goddess (2.21.4 and 9.16.5).

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<sup>180</sup> Gàbrici 1927, 363–67, fig. 157 b–f, h and i, fig. 158; Simon 1986, 237, 240, and 249.

<sup>181</sup> Merker 2000, 271 and 279, pl. 62, no. V18. Merker links the shield, and other items in the assemblage, to a hero cult in the sanctuary; see 271 and 332–33.

<sup>182</sup> Wolters 1899, 120, note 12; Simon 1986, 242.

<sup>183</sup> Miles 1998, 17, 19–20, 109, and 110.

<sup>184</sup> Coldstream 1973, 143–45, nos. 98–114, fig. 33, pl. 89; Simon 1986, 245.

<sup>185</sup> Coldstream 1973, 143.

Another gift recorded for Demeter at Knossos is a ring with a flat bezel dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. (fig. 53.b). The ring bears an image of a wild sow surrounded by an inscription, which links the ring to a man named Nothokrates and references a number of victories.<sup>186</sup> Coldstream suggests that the inscription with its digamma possibly relates that Nothokartes was a victor six times in a local contest.<sup>187</sup>

At Olympia, a man named Hermaios dedicated an armband from a shield to Demeter Chthonia sometime between 475–450 B.C.E (fig. 54).<sup>188</sup>

### *Hera*

Hera also received arms and armor at her sanctuaries during the Archaic period. A variety of weapons were found at the Heraion at Perachora: a complete sword, a dagger, separated blades and hilts, spearheads and points, and small javelins likely to be miniature copies of the originals. Also, there were arrowheads and three sling bullets, one of which has a fragmentary inscription from the mid-sixth century B.C.E. (fig. 55).<sup>189</sup> There are also possible examples of terracotta shields.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Coldstream 1973, 131–32, no. 14, fig. 29, pl. 83.

<sup>187</sup> Coldstream 1973, 131.

<sup>188</sup> Philipp 1981, 220, no. 813, pl. 14.

<sup>189</sup> Payne 1940, 75, pl. 17, nos. 13–15; 77, pl. 18, no. 21; 181–82, pl. 82, nos. 14–20; 190, pl. 86, nos. 1–8, 24–25, and 28; Dunbabin 1962, 400, no. 166; 519, pl. 131, F39–41, and pl. 194, F35–37; Simon 1986, 235 and 238; Baumbach 2004, 41.

<sup>190</sup> Dunbabin 1962 268, pl. 109, nos. 2580–2583.

The Argive Heraion similarly lacks body armor and life-sized shields. Instead, Hera received *phalara*, a life-sized spearbutt, and a stone arrowhead as well as possible miniature bronze shields (fig. 56.a–b).<sup>191</sup> The arms and armor at Paestum are numerous, but also focus on offensive items and miniature defensive items. In addition to examples of life-sized arms such as arrowheads, swords, and sling bullets, Hera also received miniature bronze greaves and terracotta shields.<sup>192</sup> Excavations also uncovered a silver disk bearing an inscription that reads something akin to, "I am sacred to Hera; strengthen our bows" (fig. 57).<sup>193</sup>

At Tiryns, the goddess received two elaborately decorated terracotta shields. One depicts the Amazonomachy on the obverse, with a centaur among a herd of deer and fawns on the reverse, while the other shows a chariot on the obverse and two fighting warriors on the reverse (fig. 58).<sup>194</sup> At the Samian Heraion, however, Hera's gifts of arms and armor included both life-sized and miniature defensive items. In addition to *phalara* and real shields, she also received over seventy terracotta shields and miniature bronze shields (fig. 59.a–b).<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Waldstein 1902, 2:267–69, nos. 1600–1718b, pls. 99–101; 299, nos. 2258–2261, pl. 127; 323–24, no. 2712, pl. 133; 354; Simon 1986, 235, 238, and 245–46.

<sup>192</sup> Pedley 1990, 88; Cipriani 1997, 217–18, fig. 11; Baumbach 2004, 120–21, fig. 5.29.

<sup>193</sup> Pedley 1990, 50–1 and 53; Cipriani 1997, 217, fig. 9; Baumbach 2004, 119–20, fig. 5.27.

<sup>194</sup> Lorimer 1950, 170–71, pls. 9 and 10.

<sup>195</sup> Technau 1929, 15, pl. 7, no. 6; 24, fig. 18; Eilmann 1933, 118–25; Walter and Vierneisel 1959, 32, pl. 74, nos. 2 and 3; Kopcke 1968, 285–86, nos. 103–105, pl. 114, no. 2, and pl. 115, nos. 1 and 2; Jantzen 1972, 60, nos. B 368 and 1228, pl. 57; Furtwängler 1981, 99–100, fig. 11, and 136, no. II/3, pl. 24, no. 2; Brize 1997, 132–34, figs. 16–19; Simon 1986, 240, 242, 246, and 248.

### *Other Goddesses*

Arms and armor were dedicated to other goddesses as well. At the sanctuary of Nemesis in Rhamnous, a bronze helmet bears an inscription identifying it as a spoil of war, possibly from the capture of Lemnos in 499 B.C.E. (fig. 60).<sup>196</sup>

The Rhamnousians in Lemnos dedicated (this) to Nemesis (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 522bis).

Two helmets were dedicated at the sanctuary of Persephone at Lokroi in the late Archaic period (fig. 61).<sup>197</sup>

Xenai(des?) dedicated me to Periphonai. (*IG* 14 631)

Phrasiades dedicated (this) to the goddesses. (Carpenter 1945, 455)

### Gods

As noted above, scholars have often argued that jewelry and associated items, including pins and fibulae, were linked to women and feminine concerns. Jewelry and other accessories are conceived of as gifts given at major transitions in life, such as to commemorate childbirth or marriage, and therefore the most appropriate recipient of such gifts are goddesses who protect women during these events.<sup>198</sup> Items related to weaving, like loom weights and spindle whorls, are treated much the same. The archaeological record shows that jewelry, pins, fibulae, mirrors, and weaving equipment were also appropriate gifts for many different gods. These gifts have also been discovered at

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<sup>196</sup> Petrakos 1984, 54, figs. 75 and 76; Simon 1986, 251.

<sup>197</sup> Simon 1986, 251; Carpenter 1945, 455, fig. 2.

<sup>198</sup> Baumbach 2004, 38, 61, 93, 139, and 160. Simon 1986, 200.

Panhellenic sanctuaries, which are most often referenced in regards to the dedication of arms and armor or large monuments commemorating military or athletic victories.

### *Apollo*

Fibulae dating to the Geometric and Archaic periods have been found at the sanctuaries of Apollo at Kalymnos,<sup>199</sup> Aegina,<sup>200</sup> and Klopede on Lesbos (fig. 62.a–c).<sup>201</sup> Excavations at the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios at Phanai on Chios uncovered fibulae, bronze bracelets or anklets, bronze and silver rings, and bronze earrings (fig. 1).<sup>202</sup> Fibulae, pin heads, and rings were also found at the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklae near Sparta (fig. 63.a–b).<sup>203</sup> Rings were found in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros.<sup>204</sup>

Although the presence of other deities in the *temenos* of Apollo at Delphi makes it difficult to assign similar items directly to the god, his link to textiles and textile production, as discussed in the literary sources, as well as the dedication of such items to

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<sup>199</sup> Sapouna-Sakellarakē 1978, 15; 82, no. 1018, pl. 30; 87, nos. 1143 and 1144, pl. 33; 96, no. 1337, pl. 38; 101, no. 1456, pl. 41; 108, no. 1514, pl. 46.

<sup>200</sup> Sapouna-Sakellarakē 1978, 38, no. 30, pl. 2; 50, nos. 207 and 208, pl. 7; 56, no. 297, pl. 10; 83, no. 1035, pl. 31; 92–3, nos. 1211, 1217, 1231, and 1231A, pls. 35–7; 95, no. 1275, pl. 37; 118, no. 1589, pl. 49.

<sup>201</sup> Sapouna-Sakellarakē 1978, 24; 83, no. 1026, pl. 31; 89, no. 1181, pl. 34; 91, no. 1205, pl. 34.

<sup>202</sup> Lamb 1934/1935, 147, fig. 6, no. 1; 149, pl. 31, nos. 31 and 41; 150, pl. 32, nos. 18, 22, 24, 25, and 31–36; 151–53, pl. 31, nos. 1–30 and 37. Sapouna-Sakellarakē 1978, 46, no. 132, pl. 5; 47, no. 154, pl. 6; 56–7, nos. 300–310, pls. 10 and 11; 59, nos. 359–361, pl. 12; 72, no. 660, pl. 23; 77, no. 859, pl. 27; 83, nos. 1036–1043, pl. 31; 88, nos. 1169–1177, pl. 33; 95, no. 1276–1284, pl. 37; 96, no. 1289–1291, pl. 37; 102, no. 1462, pl. 42; 121, no. 1596, pl. 50; 122, no. 1606, pl. 50; 124, no. 1628, no. 51; 127, nos. 1659–1662, pls. 52 and 53; 128–29, nos. 1690–1695, pls. 53 and 54; 131, no. 1700, pl. 54; Simon 1986, 187, 191, and 194.

<sup>203</sup> Von Massow 1927, 36–8, pl. 8, nos. 1, 2, and 4–7; 381; Simon 1986, 264.

<sup>204</sup> Lamprinoudakēs 1978, 41.

other gods, including Herakles and Hermes, support the possibility that Apollo could have received these gifts. Excavations at Delphi uncovered spindle whorls, loom weights, hair spirals, necklaces, bracelets, fibulae, and pins (fig. 64.a–b).<sup>205</sup>

Spindle whorls and loom weights were also found at the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklae at Sparta, at which Apollo was honored with a ritual weaving of a *peplos* (Paus. 3.16.2).<sup>206</sup>

Sanctuaries to Apollo have also produced mirrors. Excavations at the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklae at Sparta uncovered the handle of a mid-sixth century B.C.E. caryatid mirror.<sup>207</sup> Another was found in a mixed context at Didyma,<sup>208</sup> several were given to him at Kourion on Cyprus,<sup>209</sup> and one to him as Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros (fig. 65).<sup>210</sup> A mirror found at Delphi may have either been given to Apollo or another deity or hero in the *temenos*.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Perdrizet 1908, 108–16, nos. 545, 548–603, and 607–612, figs. 374–409, and 412–415; 197–200, nos. 598–618 and 626, figs. 871–884; 207, no. 693, fig. 902; 212, no. 731, fig. 927; Simon 1986, 189, 197, 237, and 265.

<sup>206</sup> Von Massow 1927, 381; Simon 1986, 264.

<sup>207</sup> Congdon 1981, 130–31, no. 7, pl. 5; Simon 1986, 220 and 237.

<sup>208</sup> Naumann and Tuchelt 1963/1964, 56, no. 58, pl. 31.1; Simon 1986, 218.

<sup>209</sup> Simon 1986, 218.

<sup>210</sup> Lamprinoudakēs 1978, 41; Simon 1986, 218.

<sup>211</sup> Perdrizet 1908, 108–9, no. 547, fig. 373.



### *Herakles*

The discovery of an inscribed loom weight in Athens provides further support for the suggestion that such gifts were appropriate for male deities. The loom weight, which was found on the Pnyx, dates to ca. 420 B.C.E. and bears the inscription “HEPAKLHE” (fig. 66).<sup>212</sup>

### *Hermes*

Inside a cave of Hermes Kranaeus on Crete, excavators found an inscribed loom weight (fig. 67). The inscription is a woman's name: Ἀρχαρέστας.<sup>213</sup>

### *Poseidon*

As one of the Panhellenic shrines of the ancient Greek world, the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia received large quantities of arms and armor from many cities to commemorate their victories over enemies. In addition to helmets, shields, spears, and other items, Poseidon received jewelry and other related accessories like pins and fibulae.

Sometime between 470 and 450 B.C.E., a fire destroyed the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia. While most of the debris was cleared for the construction of a new temple, layers of debris were left in place in order to act as fill for the floor of the new Classical temple. Elizabeth Gebhard studied these deposits in order to discover what sort

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<sup>212</sup> Davidson et. al., 1943, 82, fig. 33, and 87, no. 85.

<sup>213</sup> Halbherr 1896, 593, no. 77.

of offerings were stored in the temple at the time of the fire. Among the 508 objects found were various kinds of jewelry such as rings, earrings, and anklets (fig. 68.a).<sup>214</sup> During the reconstruction, jewelry was removed from the debris of the Archaic temple in order to serve as fill for areas farther away from the temple. This included the terracing on the east side of the Long Altar and the fill that supported the Classical road between Corinth and the Isthmus, as well as areas known as the Great Circular Pit and the West foundation, though in much smaller numbers.<sup>215</sup> Excavations at the sanctuary have also produced metal items related to textile production. A bronze comb or scraper, a spinning whorl and spindle hooks, loom weights, and bronze thimbles and needles were found on site, although only a few were found within the *temenos* grounds and could be considered to be dedications (fig. 68.b).<sup>216</sup> There were also bronze mirror handles found in the sanctuary.<sup>217</sup>

Excavations have also produced numerous straight pins that were offered from the Protogeometric to Roman periods, although most date to the Archaic period. Fibulae were also dedicated there from the Protogeometric to the Byzantine period.<sup>218</sup> These items were found in the layers of fill under the Classical temple as well as in deposits in the sanctuary that held other offerings. The jewelry found in the sanctuary of Poseidon also

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<sup>214</sup> Gebhard 1998, 105–6. See Raubitschek 1998, 61–9 and 70, nos. 224–247A, 248–260, and nos. 267 A and B, pls. 38–41.

<sup>215</sup> Raubitschek 1998, 43.

<sup>216</sup> Raubitschek 1998, 115, no. 399, pl. 63; 116, nos. 401–403 and 405–405A, pl. 63; 117, nos. 413–419, pls. 64–65.

<sup>217</sup> Raubitschek 1998, 115, nos. 396–397, pl. 62.

<sup>218</sup> Raubitschek 1998, 44–54, nos. 177A–196 and nos. 197–208, pls. 34–37.

spanned a long period, from the Protogeometric to the Byzantine period. Furthermore, given that such items were found directly inside the temple and alongside other material identified as offerings, this suggests that jewelry was an acceptable offering for Poseidon. Admittedly, temple treasuries could hold gifts that had been dedicated to other deities, therefore making it possible that some of these items were not dedicated to Poseidon. Nevertheless, gender cannot be used as the deciding factor. Poseidon was not the only god to have jewelry in his sanctuary.

### *Zeus*

At Dodona, Zeus received a mirror and an unspecified sum of money from a woman named Polyxena (fig. 69).<sup>219</sup> It should be emphasized that Polyxena chose to dedicate these gifts to Zeus, and not Dione, despite the fact that the goddess was present in the sanctuary and received other offerings from worshippers there. Polyxena apparently thought that Zeus, not Dione, was an appropriate recipient for her mirror. Her mirror, as well as those given to Apollo and Asklepios, reveals that a more complex situation was occurring in dedicatory practices than the arguments of Dillon or of Baumbach take into account. Excavations at Dodona have uncovered both jewelry and arms and armor, any of which could have been dedicated to Zeus or Dione.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Carapanos 1878, 45, pl. 25, no. 1; Simon 1986, 219.

<sup>220</sup> Carapanos 1878, 93, pl. 50, nos. 1–4 and 19; 94, pl. 50, nos. 6, 7, and 9; 94, pl. 50, nos. 11 and 12; 94, pl. 50, nos. 10, 22, and 23; 94–5, pl. 51, nos. 1 and 3–9; 101, pl. 55, nos. 1–6, and pl. 56, nos. 6–10; 102, pl. 56, nos. 1–5 and 1 bis; 102 and 109, pl. 57, nos. 1–3 and 5; 102 and 109–10, pl. 57, nos. 7–12, and pl. 58, nos. 1–12 and 16–18; 110, pl. 58, nos. 13–15; Simon 1986, 189 and 236.

Excavations at other sanctuaries to Zeus have also produced jewelry and accessories. On Crete, fibulae were found at Palaikastro in the Zeus Temple, in the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, and in the Idaian Cave on Mount Ida (fig. 70.a–b).<sup>221</sup> Zeus's sanctuary at Nemea has also produced similar items: iron pins,<sup>222</sup> a bronze pin of the Illyrian type,<sup>223</sup> bronze pins,<sup>224</sup> and fibulae<sup>225</sup> (fig. 71.a). Bronze finger rings with bezels bearing images dating to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.E. were also found; one depicts a Pegasos and the other has two heraldic sphinxes crowned by two heraldic goats (fig. 71.b).<sup>226</sup> Fibulae, bracelets, neck collars, rings, pins, a few mirrors, and earrings appear at Olympia, but, like at Delphi, they may belong to Zeus or another deity in the sanctuary (fig. 72.a–b).<sup>227</sup>

### 3.4, Conclusions

This chapter has shown that it is inaccurate to assume that certain dedications were gender appropriate for both worshippers and deities. A worshipper's gender certainly affected their daily lives and even in some sacred contexts, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.3.b. All the same, gender did not consistently dominate the choice of

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<sup>221</sup> Sapouna-Sakellaraké 1978, 43, no. 62; 47, no. 150, pl. 5; 113, no. 1542, pl. 47; Simon 1986, 191 and 196.

<sup>222</sup> Miller 1976, 191, nos. IL 25 and 26, pl. 37d.

<sup>223</sup> Miller 1980, 179, no. BR 691, pl. 35b.

<sup>224</sup> Miller 1981, 51–2, no. GJ 67, pl. 14i.

<sup>225</sup> Miller 1981, 54–5, nos. GJ 47 and GJ 48, pl. 16e; 1984, 176, no. GJ 99, pl. 34c.

<sup>226</sup> Miller 1981, 50, nos. GJ 61 and GJ 52, pl. 13c and d.

<sup>227</sup> Furtwängler 1890, 51–6, nos. 342–379, pl. 21 and 22; 56–8, nos. 380–398, pls. 22 and 23; 58, no. 399, pl. 23; 59–60, pl. 23, nos. 404–409; 66–8, nos. 474–492, pl. 25; 181; 184–85, nos. 1155–1162, pl. 66; 185, nos. 1163–1166, pl. 66; 186–89, nos. 1185–1195a; Simon 1986, 189, 192, 195, 196, 219.

dedication. This conclusion is consistent with the observations revealed in Chapter 2, in which the deity and dedication were demonstrated to be much more flexible than modern scholars have often allowed. When choosing their dedications, worshippers were not limited by the concept of specialization, nor by assumptions of gender appropriate gifts. Instead, it appears that they selected their gifts with more freedom than is commonly thought. Thus, it is necessary to adopt a more nuanced approach when analyzing dedicatory practices. A range of considerations must have dictated the gifts that worshippers chose, including personal, social, or political factors as well as those of status, wealth, ethnicity, and profession. While it is not possible to discern the motivation for every dedication discussed in this chapter, some observations can be made that demonstrate the need to look beyond the influence of gender.

Freedom of choice is especially apparent in the case of women. Conveniently, it is showcased in the dedications of Stratonike, who dedicated both jewelry and arms. While Stratonike was a powerful woman whose royal status likely allowed her greater freedom than most worshippers, the dedications of Phylarche, Phrygia, and the wife of Kallistratos support the assertion that women engaged in a complex, versatile dedicatory process. It is important to acknowledge the presence of the *thorax* dedicated by the wife of Kallistratos. Modern scholarship's focus on gender appropriate gifts has overlooked this dedication. In doing so, it has also failed to realize the freedom that women had in choosing their gifts and also the *thorax's* part in demonstrating, along with the equipment from Xenotimos, that a complex cult of Artemis existed at Brauron that likely went

beyond the concerns of girls and women as represented by textile dedications. Returning to the motivations that obviously superseded concerns of gender, it is difficult to discern why these women chose to dedicate arms and armor based on the available information. What is possible to note, however, is that such freedom of choice extended across the socio-economic spectrum, from a lower class woman named Phrygia, who made her living selling bread, to Stratonike who was a queen of the Seleucid Empire.

Similar freedom can be applied to men and their gifts. Nechos II and Croesus are not Greek, but Herodotus portrays their textile dedications as no different than those of the Greeks. Their gifts are also comparable to those made by the literary figures of Aristophanes's "Just Man," Euripides's Herakles, and perhaps even in the priests of Cybele, in addition to historical worshippers like Diogenes and Aianaios whose offerings are recorded in temple inventories. Due to the concise nature of the inventories, the motivations behind Diogenes's and Aianaios's choice of offerings are indeterminable. The context provided by Herodotus, Aristophanes, Euripides, and the poets of *The Palatine Anthology*, however, give some insight into what may have encouraged these men to choose textiles. The gifts of Nechos II, the priests of Cybele, and the "Just Man" were dedicated in order to commemorate very different, personal events in their lives. The offerings of the priests of Cybele and the "Just Man" are not new or even of fine quality. The extensive travels implied for the priests would result in very worn clothing, though perhaps not as ragged as those of the "Just Man" who had to make due with his items for more than a decade. The "Just Man's" dedications are tied to a reversal in fortune, which

could very well have permitted him to dedicate a more lavish item in keeping with his renewed status and wealth. However, he chose to dedicate items that carried a more personal message. Regarding Nechos II, as a pharaoh his clothes were likely already of such a high quality that they could serve as a fitting dedication for any deity. It is also possible that Nechos II meant to send a strong political message by dedicating the clothes he was wearing while engaged in military ventures in the south-eastern Mediterranean. As for Croesus and Herakles, the luxurious nature of the textiles they dedicated most likely recommended their suitability as offerings. Croesus's status and wealth permitted him to choose the most luxurious items at his disposal in his attempt to please Apollo. The quality of the *peploi* Herakles won as spoils from the Amazons recalls the practice of offering the *akrothinion*, the best of the battle spoils.

Men also dedicated jewelry; specifically, they most often gave rings. Such practices may surprise scholars who, relying on some literary sources that treat men who wore jewelry as effeminate, assume that jewelry was primarily worn and dedicated by women.<sup>228</sup> Yet, other literary sources portray men wearing rings as a normal occurrence. For example, Herodotus describes Polykrates of Samos as very proud of his signet ring, a much valued heirloom that had an emerald set in gold and was made by Theodoros of Samos (3.41). In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the Ten Thousand reward the man who guided them to the sea with riches from the group's common reserves. Many of the men

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<sup>228</sup> Perhaps one of the most explicit statements is that by Mireille Lee, who says that jewelry "is clearly gendered feminine in the Greek mindset..." See Lee 2015, 140. Two passages Lee relies on for support are from Aristophanes's plays, *The Clouds* (331–334) and *The Ecclesiazusae* (631–634), in which men are mentioned as wearing rings and depicted unfavorably.

acquiesce when he requests to be paid with their rings (4.7.25–27). Xenophon does not mention whether the items were as lavish as the ring of Polykrates, but the guide's desire to have them marks them as valuable items. And, in a scene from Aristophanes's *Plutus*, the "Just Man" attempts to repel an "Informer" with a ring he has bought to act as an amulet (874–885).

Although men seem to have closer associations with rings, it is worth remembering that they also dedicated other types of jewelry. Batesis (or Patesis), Aristonikos and Datis dedicated necklaces, Aianaios earrings and an earring holder, Philon an anklet, and Lucius of Rome a gold pin (*ID* 103, lines 65–66; *IG* 11,2 199 face B, line 67; *IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 95–96; *SEG* 38 1210, line 3–5; *ID* 1421 face A.frag. B.col. I, lines 18–19; *ID* 439, line 77). There is also visual evidence from statuettes and decorated vases that supports these associations. A series of bronze statuettes from Arkadia depict shepherds and peasants, many wearing hats and boots, draped with cloaks, and carrying sheep and calves. Among them is distinct subgroup that "appear muffled from neck to ankles in a heavy cloak, pinned at the neck with an enormous pin" (fig. 73.a–b).<sup>229</sup> The style of this subgroup began in the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.E. and continued on into the fifth century, showing a long history of artists explicitly depicting men making use of pins and fibulae in their daily lives.

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<sup>229</sup> Lamb 1925/1926, 134 and 138–139, nos. 13–16, pl. 24.



Similar use of jewelry by male figures is found on decorated vases. An Attic white-ground double-disk dating to 460–450 B.C.E. and attributed to the Penthesiea Painter connects jewelry with youthful male beauty.<sup>230</sup> Depicted on one side is a winged male figure, possibly identified as Eros, and a nude youth holding a lyre. While the youth wears a mantle and a diadem, the winged male figure wears a diadem, a fillet on his upper right arm, and a bracelet on his right wrist (fig. 74). The other side of the disk shows a winged goddess, possibly a Nike, awarding a fillet to a nude youth who wears a mantle and diadem and carries a sprig of ivy. This youth also wears jewelry; there is a bracelet on his right arm and an anklet on his left leg (fig. 75). Additionally, the winged goddess wears bracelets on each arm, one of which is slightly covered by the fillet she brings with her, and possible earrings. Joan Mertens notes the emphasis on youthful male beauty and the erotic connotations of this imagery on the vase.<sup>231</sup> In fact, the appeal of each youth is explicitly stated by the inscription on each side, "the boy is beautiful" (*hopais kalos*). Like the winged figures, their beauty is emphasized by the accessories they carry, including the jewelry. Although the meaning behind these objects is uncertain, both of the male youths appear to be desirable figures and it seems that jewelry could be part of their identification as "beautiful" (*kalos*). The disk may also help to make sense of the necklaces and anklets of Demetrios Poliorketes that were dedicated by his daughter Stratonike to Artemis on Delos (*JG* 11,2 164 face A, lines 74–75).

Perhaps one could look at these items beyond statements of luxury and extravagance,<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Mertens 2006, 220–21, no. 61.

<sup>231</sup> Mertens 2006, 220–21.

<sup>232</sup> Macurdy 1932, 27–8.

and consider them as part of the *kosmos* for the ideal youthful male figure, whose beauty much like that of the winged goddess, is emphasized through adornment.<sup>233</sup>

Men may have chosen to dedicate jewelry for any number of reasons, but it is reasonable to suggest that, at times, their fiscal value as jewelry items may have recommended them as gifts, much like the luxurious quality of some garments. It is also possible that when and if rings fulfilled the function of an amulet, they may have been dedicated to deities as a commemoration of that event. If jewelry served both women and men as adornment, it stands to reason that such gifts could serve as dedications for any number of life events or transitions.

Before concluding this chapter, it is also worth recalling modern scholarship's assumption that there was a rigid feminine connection to mirrors. For example, in his discussion of women and dedications, Dillon lists a number of mirrors dedicated to goddesses, including Athena in Athens, Artemis at Brauron, Eileithyia at Delphi, Hera at the Argive Heraion, Hera at Perachora, Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta, Athena in Paestum, and Persephone at Lokris. He says, "[a]ll the mirrors are dedicated to goddesses, as might be expected, as items which women could afford, or would have possessed."<sup>234</sup> Dillon, however, does not mention the various mirrors given to gods that have been presented in this chapter. Similarly, Baumbach speaks of these items as representative of the feminine

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<sup>233</sup> Her elaborate garment, the *sakkos* covering her hair, and the jewelry she wears are similar to the *kosmos* described by Hesiod.

<sup>234</sup> Dillon 2002, 13.

sphere and therefore as appropriate for the goddess Hera.<sup>235</sup> While Simon references the mirrors that were given to male deities, he continues to argue that the link between mirrors and mortal, female dedicators makes them less likely to be given to gods:

Again we are dealing with a feminine possession dedicated to a deity on a special occasion. The personal nature of such a dedication may explain the rarity of mirrors at the more public Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi. Also, being a female possession, they are perhaps less likely to be found at sanctuaries of male gods.<sup>236</sup>

Nevertheless, if mirrors were less likely to be given to gods, it does not mean that they were inappropriate offerings for them. This is, perhaps, best observed in the mirrors given to Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros and Zeus at Dodona, both of which carry dedicatory inscriptions specifically identifying them as gifts to gods. Mirrors may have been mostly used by women, but, like so many other dedications, they did not maintain those close, gendered associations when they became offerings and, instead, were gifts for any deity.

In conclusion, the concept of gender appropriateness as applied to dedicatory practices is extremely appealing. The assignment of arms and armor to men and gods, as well as clothing, textile production, jewelry, and accessories to women and goddesses fulfills a desire for tidy categories that corresponds to how modern scholarship often interprets social roles in the ancient Greek world. Yet, evidence discussed in this chapter demonstrates that gender expectations did not always guide worshippers in their

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<sup>235</sup> Baumbach 2004, 38–9, 93–4, 116, 139, 160–61

<sup>236</sup> Simon 1986, 221.

dedicatory habits. Though only Greek men wore arms and armor into battle and women primarily worked the loom to make clothing for the household, such roles did not always dictate what worshippers would, or could, dedicate. There are a number of exceptions to the notion that dedications were gender appropriate, which indicates that a polarity of dedications along gender lines, mortal or immortal, is too simplistic. Of course, there may have been more men dedicating weapons or armor and women dedicating clothing or jewelry, but the fact that these gifts were also offered by the opposite sex to either gods or goddess cannot be over-emphasized and reveals the need to reconsider what was "appropriate" in ancient Greek dedicatory practices.

## Chapter 4: Entities Shaping Dedicatory Practices

### 4.1, Introduction

Chapter 4 examines how dedicatory experiences could be constrained. At times, external agents, i.e. an individual or group other than the worshipper, controlled some or all of the choices made during the dedicatory process. Examples of these agents include city and sanctuary authorities as well as communal groups whose membership was based on religious, social, political, or other ties. Additionally, social customs such as inheriting the vow of a family member had the ability to impact dedicatory practices. These agents and customs shaped worshippers' dedicatory experiences by exerting control over a variety of factors. Some, like time, date, and location affected all worshippers equally, while other parameters keyed into specific personal traits of an individual and included aspects like gender, familial relationship, membership in a certain social or political group, status in the priesthood, and state of purity. Supervision over such parameters allowed external agents to impact a worshipper's dedicatory experience. While such limitations may not have applied to all worshippers all of the time, they certainly could affect some worshippers some of the time.

Due to the inability of the archaeological record to display clearly how the choices of worshippers were limited, this chapter focuses on examples found in epigraphical and literary sources. Section 4.2 reviews how the governing bodies of a community could regulate the dedicatory experiences of its people through various parameters. Here, civic

legislation over dedicatory practices is distinguished from the sacred laws and sanctuary regulations discussed in 4.3, which occurred within the confines of specific sanctuaries and affected worshippers who dedicated in those *temenoi*. While some decrees reveal that the *boule* and *demos* were involved in regulations controlling the activities of worshippers inside the *temenos* (e.g. *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 35 and *IG* 12,7 4), the regulation discussed in 4.2 focuses on ways in which city authorities shaped the dedicatory experiences of people outside sanctuaries. Sometimes the *boule* and *demos* could use aspects such as membership in political and social groups as well as the location of an offering's placement to exert varying degrees of control over dedicatory events. Legislation by the *boule* and *demos* could require worshippers acting as city officials to dedicate statues or refrain from doing so in certain circumstances. It could also withhold permission to dedicate from certain social groups like the *ergastinai* who acted on behalf of the city of Athens in annual religious matters. Furthermore, the city could also regulate the placement of offerings through the collection of fees.

Section 4.3 explores how sacred laws and regulations governing a sanctuary's *temenos* impacted dedicators. As the management of dedications has already received some attention,<sup>237</sup> this discussion concentrates on how such laws limited the accessibility of sanctuaries (or areas within them) to worshippers based on the parameters mentioned above. This section, first, focuses on how time and date could keep worshippers from entering sacred space, forcing them to schedule their dedicatory events carefully

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<sup>237</sup> For example, see Lupu 2005, 31–3, and Lombardi 2009.

throughout the day and year. The discussion then turns to how rules governing some sanctuaries could use aspects such as gender, state of purity, and membership (or lack thereof) in the priesthood to force worshippers to adjust their expectations and to reevaluate the choices available to them. It also presents how the supervision of sanctuary officials could be required in order to complete the dedication and how, at times, officials could completely regulate a dedicatory experience.

Section 4.4 looks beyond city and sanctuary authorities to other agents, i.e. political and social groups, that may have limited the freedom a worshipper had in their dedicatory experience. This section shows how maintaining membership in a tribe or in a city's gymnasium could require worshippers in very specific situations to surrender their freedom of choice in order to emphasize the larger group and their affiliation with it.

Finally, section 4.5 examines how membership in familial groups could dictate dedicatory experiences through the custom of inherited vows, in which worshippers were expected to fulfill promises made to divine beings by family members who were unable to complete the dedication. Such offerings were unplanned, but it is clear that society expected them to be fulfilled by those left with the responsibility. Nevertheless, inheritors used the contractual nature of these dedications to showcase themselves to the divine and to their own mortal community.

## 4.2, City Authority

Civic legislation varied in its application. It could shape the dedicatory practices of worshippers in very specific situations, affecting only city officials in certain circumstances. Legislation could also extend to other parts of the populace, impacting groups working on behalf of the city and, potentially, the larger city population.

The discussion, first, examines legislation focused on group membership, in this case those who are civic officials. Still, the legislation is very focused in its purpose. Literary sources mention an Athenian practice in which officials who had violated their sacred oath of office would be forced to make a dedication. According to Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* written in 350 B.C.E., the Nine Archons who had passed examination by the Boule would...

... go to the stone on which the victims are cut up for sacrifice (the one on which Arbitrators also take oath before they issue their decisions, and persons summoned as witnesses swear that they have no evidence to give), and mounting on this stone they swear that they will govern justly and according to the laws, and will not take presents on account of their office, and that if they should take anything they will set up a golden statue. After taking oath they go from the stone to the Akropolis and take the same oath again there, and after that they enter on their office (55.5).<sup>238</sup>

Written only slightly earlier in 360 B.C.E., Plato's *Phaedrus* provides an extra detail that is absent from Aristotle's work. According to Plato, the statues were to be life-sized and dedicated at Delphi (235D–E). The situation is similar to a practice mentioned by Pausanias in the second century C.E. in which athletes who cheated in the Olympic

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<sup>238</sup> See also *Athenian Constitution* 7.1.



games were required to pay fines that would be used to purchase a bronze statue of Zeus (5.21.2). The seriousness of the crime is evident not only from the expense of a life-sized gold statue, but also because it was erected not within the confines of the *polis* itself, but at a Panhellenic sanctuary where it would cost even more to transport and, more importantly, where it was visible to the entire Greek world.

Athenian laws could also completely deny certain worshippers the ability to dedicate, at least for a time. Aeschines's speech *Against Ctesiphon* from 330 B.C.E. demonstrates another way in which the Athenian *polis* could extend control over its officials in terms of dedicatory regulations. The topic of the speech details Aeschines's indictment against Ctesiphon for proposing to grant Aeschines's rival, Demosthenes, a gold wreath, a move that Aeschines knew was illegal. In his speech, Aeschines details the restrictions placed upon officials who were under audit.

...and so strong is his distrust of men facing audit that right at the beginning of the laws he says: "An official subject to audit is not to leave the city." "Hercules!" A man might reply. "Just because I have held office am I not to leave the city?" Yes, to prevent you from exploiting public money and policy for your own advantage and then running away. Then again, he does not permit a man subject to audit to consecrate his property or to make a dedication or to be adopted or to dispose of his property by will or to do a range of other things. In sum, the legislator holds the properties of men facing audit as security, until they account for themselves to the city (3.21).

The regulation ensures that officials under audit would be unable to, in effect, liquidate property and resources through the dedication of gifts. While their dedication could be delayed for some time, upon completion of the audit it seems reasonable to

assume that an official would have been free to fulfill the outstanding offering, if he was still able.

Thus, in two very specific situations worshippers who were Athenian officials could face heavy restrictions over their potential dedications. As noted, the first instance recalls other, similar situations in which individuals who have violated some sacred law are forced to dedicate an item as a penalty. Alternately, the second law denies dedication completely, although only for a limited period of time. The two examples reveal that civic legislation over dedications, at least in Athens, could span the full spectrum, from triggering an unintended dedication to completely banning any dedicatory event at all. Of course, as already stated, the laws are specialized and are meant to address an individual who meets a certain set of criteria; thus, they do not impact a wider range of worshippers.

There are also civic laws that shape the dedications of other groups of worshippers and, at times, the entire population of a city. An example of the former can be identified in Athens where the *polis* extended its control over dedications of individuals holding sacred offices, such as the *ergastinai* who were tasked with weaving the annual *peplos* given to Athena during the Panathenaic festival in the month of Hekatombaion. A decree dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> of Metageitnion in 108/7 B.C.E. commemorates the work of the *ergastinai* who had completed their work just a month earlier. The decree lays out a process by which the fathers of the *ergastinai*, acting on behalf of their daughters, asked the Boule for permission to commemorate the participation of the *ergastinai* in the ritual

weaving and and the subsequent festival procession. The fathers asserted that the *ergastinai* had properly fulfilled their duties and requested that the Boule allow their daughters to commemorate their service with a dedication.

...and] they [have prepar]ed from their own funds also a *phiale* worth one hundred drachmai which they wis[h to dedicate t]o Athena as a memorial of their reverence towards the goddess and they appea[l to the *boule* and the *d]emos* to permit the dedication of the *phiale*...(IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1036, lines 15–17).

According to the decree, the Boule deliberated and agreed to pass along their recommendation that the *ergastinai* be granted permission to dedicate the *phiale*:

...with good fortune, it was decreed by th[e *boule* that the *proedroi* [who were chosen by lo]t at the next *ekklesia* delib[erate on these matters and report the opinion] of the *boule* to the *demos* that it is decreed by the *boule* to per[mit the dedication of the *phia]le* which the maidens have prepared for the goddess (lines 17–20).

The inscription is similar to IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1034, dating to 103/2 B.C.E., both in the content and in the accompanying list of the participating *ergastinai*.<sup>239</sup> In each instance, the *ergastinai* have already commissioned and prepared a silver *phiale*, but seek permission from the Boule to dedicate it in commemoration of their service to the *polis*. After deliberation, 1036, and presumably 1034, affirms that the Boule granted permission and that the *ergastinai* were able to dedicate their gift.

Having the *phiale* already on hand may seem to characterize the process as a mere formality. However, it is clear that the dedication could not occur without the Boule's

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<sup>239</sup> Aleshire and Lambert 2003, 65–86.

endorsement. This is evident when the dates of the two decrees are compared with the occurrence of the Panathenaic festival. 1034 dates to Gamelion, some six months after the celebration of the Panathenaia, while 1036 dates only a month after the celebration, in Metageitnion. It appears that the Boule was not always required to handle these matters immediately after the celebration of the festival. Of course, one cannot be certain how long after the festival the *ergastinai* sought the Boule's permission. In the case of 1036, the *ergastinai* must have petitioned the Boule less than a month after the completion of the Panathenaia. It may also have been the case for 1034. Nevertheless, the actual completion of the activity that they sought to commemorate could not have taken place any sooner than one month later in the case of 1036 and six months later in the case of 1034. Regarding the six month delay of 1034, Lambert suggests that, "it is not implausible that the making of the dedication and concomitant arrangements and, for a non-urgent matter such as this, the due process of consideration by the Council prior to submission to the Assembly, might have consumed this amount of time."<sup>240</sup> Whatever the reason for the delay, neither the *ergastinai* of 1036 or 1034, groups of worshippers acting in an official capacity for the *polis*, could dedicate the *phiale* until the Boule granted permission.

Cities could also have an impact on the dedications of individual worshippers, going so far as to derive income from their dedicatory events. A decree from Laodicea by the Sea, dating to 174 B.C.E., references a practice requiring worshippers to pay a fee

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<sup>240</sup> Aleshire and Lambert 2003, 77.

when placing statues on a piece of city-owned property (*IGLSyr* 4 1261).<sup>241</sup> It appears that, after the initial practice had been implemented, the city passed this decree at the request of the priests of a privately owned sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis. The priests feared that their sanctuary would be damaged by the overflow of worshippers seeking to bypass the placement fees by dedicating on private land. The decree acknowledged that the situation was potentially disruptive for the private shrine and created an exception for it, obliging worshippers not to pay a fee for setting up a statue in that precinct, but to pay a fee for the statue itself. According to Joshua Sosin, by transferring the fee from the land to the sanctuary "the *polis* removed the financial incentive to dedicate in the one place rather than the other. Dedicating a statue would cost the same on public and private land alike. The pious would dedicate statues in accordance with religious, not economic, preference."<sup>242</sup> Laodicea by the Sea would continue to make revenue off of worshippers wishing to erect statues as dedications and the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis would remain protected.

In summary, civic legislation varied in how it affected worshippers in a city. Examples discussed here indicate that often the civic legislation regarding dedicatory practices was directed at very specific individuals. City officials were the target of several laws, which were further restricted to only certain officials, namely those who had broken oaths or were under audit. Legislation also affected groups like the *ergastinai* who acted

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<sup>241</sup> Sosin 2005, 130–39.

<sup>242</sup> Sosin 2005, 137.

on behalf of the city. While permission may have been a formality, it was necessary for the Boule and the Demos to grant it. This requirement is reminiscent of sanctuary regulations, discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.c below, that required the supervision of priests or priestesses for any new dedication that was set up in the *temenos*. While the dedication of the *ergastinai* did not necessarily relate to the need to ensure the protection of a sanctuary and its other offerings, perhaps the need to control their dedication addressed a similar need to ensure the sanctity of their role and the city's responsibility toward the goddess. Both decrees stipulate that the fathers of the *ergastinai* assured the Boule and the Demos that their daughters had...

[followed closely the decre[es of the] *demos* [conce]rning all of these matters and they mad[e the prop]er things and they took part in the procession according to the appointment so that it might be as b[eautiful] and eleg[ant] as possible (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1034*, lines 6–12).<sup>243</sup>

Perhaps controlling their dedication ensured that Athena received her due, a theme further explored in section 4.5. Granting the dedication of these women acknowledged that the city believed it had appropriately celebrated the Panathenaia and had honored Athena. The city certainly benefited from the *ergastinai's* services and dedications. A *phiale* worth one hundred drachmas brought a great deal of prestige not only to the families involved in the dedication, but also to Athens and to the goddess herself. City control over dedicatory processes benefitted in other ways too. Legislation from Laodicea by the Sea ensured that the city could earn income from some dedications. The factor, here, however was related to placement. Worshippers were only charged if they chose

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<sup>243</sup> See also *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1036*, lines 11–15.

city-owned land. It seems, therefore, that most worshippers may have not had to face civic legislation in their dedications. Only in certain circumstances would worshippers have had to adjust their plans to meet standards imposed upon them by governing bodies.

### **4.3, City Authority and/or Sanctuary Authority**

Control over dedicatory events also extended into sanctuaries themselves. One might assume that sanctuary officials were the only entities governing the *temenos*, but city authorities could also regulate sacred space. In fact, a variety of different entities could pass decrees, laws, and regulations that managed activities in the *temenoi*, entities including, but not limited to, federations, cities governing bodies such as the *boule*, and even sanctuary officials.<sup>244</sup> The overlap makes determining whether the limitations were imposed by city or sanctuary authorities difficult. Discerning the source is made even more complicated when the relevant inscription or ancient author does not identify the entity involved or when the inscription is fragmentary. As many situations are too murky to be able to discern which entity was responsible, this section analyzes the regulations on sacred space passed by both city and/or sanctuary authorities.

As Matthew Dillon notes in his analysis of pilgrimage in ancient Greece, "[o]bviously, the most important prerequisite for a pilgrim visiting any sacred place is the ability to enter the sacred site."<sup>245</sup> Many sanctuaries were likely open year round and

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<sup>244</sup> See Lupu 2005, 4–5.

<sup>245</sup> Dillon 1997, 149.

welcomed worshippers of all backgrounds, enabling dedications to be made with a great deal of freedom. Ancient authors relate tales in which worshippers easily approached cult statues and placed dedications in areas of their own choosing without sanctuary officials presiding over them (Hdt. 6.61.3 and Herod. 4.1–20). Similar freedom of access and action without a priest may be found in the cult regulations for the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos dating to 386–374 B.C.E., whose patrons were largely served by the *neokoros* but were still permitted to sacrifice by themselves if the priest was not present (*IG* 7 235). The Sacred Law of Andania from 91 B.C.E. also implies such accessibility for worshippers to the Karneiasion through the provision of *thesauroi* and of an offering table to be set near the fountain to receive offerings from visitors at any time (*IG* 5,1 1390, lines 84–95).

However, city and/or sanctuary authorities could limit accessibility and, in doing so, could shape the dedicatory experiences of worshippers.<sup>246</sup> Restricting entry into a sanctuary could be based on specific factors like time and date, thereby affecting the entire worshipping population. Alternately, authorities could target individual worshippers through other personal aspects, denying access temporarily or permanently based on gender, membership (or lack thereof) in the priesthood, and his or her state of

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<sup>246</sup> It is important to note that there is a distinction between access to a sanctuary and participation in the performance of a cult. A worshipper might be forbidden to participate in a sacrifice to a specific god, while still being able to dedicate an item in that god's sanctuary. The following discussion includes only regulations related to accessing the sanctuary or buildings within the *temenos*, whether temporarily or permanently. See Lupu 2005, 18, footnote 82.



purity.<sup>247</sup> In some cases, these aspects may not have barred worshippers from entering into the sanctuary itself, but they could have prevented them from freely accessing all of the *temenos*, including the temple or areas within it. Of course, the ability to enter a sanctuary did not necessarily guarantee a worshipper the opportunity to dedicate with complete freedom. City and/or sanctuary authorities could also control the actual dedicatory event by either completely denying a worshipper the ability to do so, or to control it completely by dictating every aspect of the dedication. The degree of control exercised by city and/or sanctuary authorities over sanctuaries varied, but ultimately had the chance to deny worshippers choice and the freedom to act on their own.

Before commencing an examination of sanctuary accessibility and how it could affect dedicatory experiences, it is important to acknowledge a difficulty inherent in the vocabulary describing sanctuaries and temples, which makes it particularly difficult to identify which areas city and/or sanctuary authorities were restricting. Peter Corbett finds in his analysis of entry into sanctuaries and temples that "[i]nterpretation is made more difficult by the Greek use of words; τὸ ἱερόν can mean either a sacred precinct or the temple within that precinct."<sup>248</sup> As Corbett notes, the context of the passage is important when attempting to distinguish between them and it is important to consider the implications of this as it concerns dedicatory practices. Entry into a sanctuary was different from entry into a temple. A temple, ὁ ναός, did not need to be open in order for a

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<sup>247</sup> See also Nevin 2017, 10–11. Her brief summary on appropriate behavioral standards in sanctuaries notes restrictions on entry could be based on a worshipper's purity as well as their gender, status, and ethnicity.

<sup>248</sup> Corbett 1970, 149.

worshipper to place an offering to a deity, hero, or heroine. This is especially clear in the fourth mime of Herodas, dating to the third century B.C.E., in which the poet describes the visit of two women, Cynno and Phile, and two slaves.<sup>249</sup> At opening of the mime, Cynno prays to Asklepios, thanking him for healing her family with a sacrifice of a cock and the gift of a *pinax* (1–20). She instructs her slave, Coccale, to place her *pinax* to the right of a statue of Hygieia (19–20). The mime continues to describe how the two women spend time admiring the various statues in the *temenos*, until the temple-warden, the *neokoros*, finally unlocks the temple and pulls aside the curtain for the worshippers to view the gifts placed within (55–56). Thus, Cynno has prayed, sacrificed, and dedicated a gift all before the temple itself was unlocked for visitors to enter or look inside. Open sanctuaries made it possible for a worshipper to complete a dedication, even if the temple was closed. However, should a worshipper prefer to place their gift inside a temple, perhaps by or on a cult statue located inside, they would have to wait until the temple was open. The following discussion notes the term used by authors and how access to the sanctuary or temple would affect dedicatory practices differently.

#### **4.3.a, General Restrictions**

##### Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

Scholars have given much thought to the placement of offerings, both large and small, in sanctuaries.<sup>250</sup> Brita Alroth's analysis of literary and archaeological evidence, for

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<sup>249</sup> See also Corbett 1970, 150.

<sup>250</sup> For a few examples, see Ridgway 1971; Barber 1990; Van Straten 1992, 248–54; and Brulotte 1994.

example, finds that worshippers seem to have been able to place gifts anywhere in the sanctuary.<sup>251</sup> They could complete their dedications by placing their gifts in various places in the *temenos*, such as at the foot of a statue, on a branch of a tree, or on the walls of a stoa. But, not all sanctuaries were open to worshippers on a regular basis. An inscription from the Athenian Akropolis, dating to ca. 450 or ca. 438 B.C.E, provides details for the provision of the cult of Athena Nike. The decree states that the sanctuary was to be provided with gates according to the specifications of Kallikrates (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 35, lines 5–6). A gated *temenos* is also described in Herodotus's account of the siege of Paros by the Athenian commander Miltiades. The siege did not go according to plan, which led to Miltiades taking advice from a captive priestess of Demeter and Kore. Although the full extent of her counsel is not provided, it is clear that Miltiades was required to gain entry into the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. Upon arrival at the sanctuary, however, Miltiades found the sanctuary closed and, as he could not open the doors, had to leap over the *temenos* wall (6.134.2). Herodotus does not indicate whether the sanctuary was closed most of the year or on a more temporary basis. Given the clandestine nature of Miltiades's mission, however, it is likely that the action took place at night when there would have been few people present to witness the break-in. Thus, it is quite possible that the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was simply closed to visitors at night.

Gated sanctuaries suggest that officials did not want worshippers to have access to these areas at all hours of the day. Instead, many sanctuaries could have had operating

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<sup>251</sup> Alroth 1988, 203.

hours, during which they could be open to worshippers at certain times and then close at another time of day or night. This also applies to buildings like temples with lockable doors. Support for such hours of operation has already been noted in Herodas's fourth mime, which describes the visit of women to the sanctuary of Asklepios. In that example, the temple of Asklepios was closed to a large crowd of worshippers until the sanctuary attendant opened the doors and drew aside the curtain for visitors (54–56). Similarly, an inscription from Kos, dating to the first century B.C.E., states that on days permitted by religious custom to open the temple, the priestess was required to open the temple at sunrise (Segre 1993, ED 236, lines 8–10). While some worshippers may have been content to place their gifts elsewhere in the *temenos*, others may have needed access to temples to complete their dedication.

Archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence indicate that the interiors of temples were very popular places for dedications. Excavations inside temples have found larger items, such as statue bases and, in some rare cases, smaller dedications, still in situ on benches, against walls, and on or near altars.<sup>252</sup> Literary and epigraphical sources also attest to dedications located in the interior of temples. Herodotus, for instance, saw the gold shield and spear dedicated by Croesus in the temple of Amphiaraos (1.52) and two wooden images of the Pharaoh Amasis behind the temple doors of the Heraion on Samos (2.182). Hellenistic epigrams from *The Palatine Anthology* speak of offerings being hung in the houses of various deities (6.123, 6.128, and 9.323). Furthermore, during his travels

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<sup>252</sup> Alroth 1988, 195–203.

Pausanias saw many dedications set inside the interior of temples, such as those in the temple of Athena Polias in Athens (1.27.1), in the *pronaos* of the Argive Heraion (2.17.3), and in the temple of Zeus at Olympia (5.12.4–5). The inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion record dedications located inside the temple on the woodwork of the roof, the walls, and on the cult statue itself.<sup>253</sup> Noting the variety of literary sources that speak of praying before cult statues, Corbett suggests that worshippers may have desired entry into temples because they believed that praying before the statues was especially effective.<sup>254</sup>

Despite this popularity, city and/or sanctuary authorities could control how accessible temples were to the worshipping community. Sanctuaries and temples may have adhered to hours of operation or, as argued by Joannis Mylonopoulos, they may have been closed most of the time. Mylonopoulos's conclusion is based on the presence and implied use of barriers around cult statues, most of which belong to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E..<sup>255</sup> He believes that barriers are "an important physical regulator of ritual activity inside the temple" and suggests that they are a very basic, yet crucial, indicator of how accessible a temple was to visitors. According to Mylonopoulos, a barrier erected in front of a cult statue was "a physical, symbolic, and religious boundary between the divine image and the worshipper in temples that were open on a more or less regular basis." Therefore, those without such barriers, which may have been the majority

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<sup>253</sup> Aleshire 1991, 43–6.

<sup>254</sup> Corbett 1970, 151.

<sup>255</sup> Mylonopoulos 2011, 269–91.

of temples, were closed most of the time and opened only by a sanctuary official, thereby negating the need for any such boundary.<sup>256</sup>

Mylonopoulos's argument has great implications for sanctuary accessibility and dedicatory practices. As noted, the interior of a temple was a popular place for dedications. If most of the temples in the ancient Greek world were closed for a large part of the time, those worshippers wishing to enter for dedicatory purposes would have had to delay or carefully schedule their dedications to coincide with when the buildings were open. There were, however, other options. It is possible that worshippers could request that a sanctuary attendant open the temple for them to enter, a scenario played out in Herodas's fourth mime. The character Cynno directs the slave, Cydilla, to fetch the temple warden so that he could open the temple for them to view the statues placed inside (39–45). Cynno, having already dedicated her gift in the *temenos* beside a statue to Hygeia, wishes merely to view the gifts set inside the temple. Yet, she is not the only one; Cynno complains about a crowd that has gathered outside the temple (54–56). Thus, it is quite possible that worshippers could access the interior of a temple in order to dedicate or view previous dedications by simply asking a sanctuary attendant. Alternately, worshippers could choose to complete their dedication without involving sanctuary authorities by choosing a space in the open *temenos* or even in the colonnade of the temple. An epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum relates that a woman, named Calliclea, dedicated a silver statuette of Eros, an anklet, a hairnet, a girdle, a mirror, and a comb in

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<sup>256</sup> Mylonopoulos 2011, 288.

the colonnade of Aphrodite's temple (6.211). Another epigram by Hegesippus places a shield dedicated by a man named Archestratus in the porch of a temple of Herakles (6.178).

#### Date: Sanctuary "Days"

Some sanctuaries operated under an even more limited schedule. At times, the opening and closing of a *temenos* could be dependent upon the presence of city and/or sanctuary authorities. For example, a fourth century B.C.E. decree from Arkesine on Amorgos denied worshippers access to the sanctuary of Demeter unless properly supervised by sanctuary authorities. It appears that the priestess of the cult of Demeter had complained to the *prytany* about the behavior of women in the shrine. The decree forbade women from entering the shrine unless the priestess was present, but its fragmentary nature does not indicate what might have led to such measures (*IG* 12,7 4).<sup>257</sup> Franciszek Sokolowski suggests that the decree was meant to cease sacrifices that were occurring without the priestess on site, therefore safeguarding the rights due to her.<sup>258</sup> Whatever the reason for the restriction, the decree makes it clear that worshippers would have had to wait to enter until the priestess was present. While this might seem like a situation that would cause little inconvenience, it is worth recalling the cult regulations for the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos. There, the regulations required the priest to be in the sanctuary on a seasonal basis, but permitted him to be absent for

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<sup>257</sup> See also Dillon 1997, 151.

<sup>258</sup> Sokolowski 1969, 196.

days at a time (*IG 7 235*, lines 1–8). The regulations did not insist that the priest of Amphiaraos follow a regular schedule and it is possible that a similar situation existed at the Demeter sanctuary at Arkesine on Amorgos. Whether the priestess entered the shrine at her leisure or on a more consistent basis, worshippers would not have been able to enter the sanctuary to dedicate their gifts without her presence and, possibly, her supervision.

At times, access to sanctuaries could be extremely limited. Some *temenoi* were rarely opened by city and/or sanctuary authorities, which further restricted the opportunity for worshippers to dedicate. Some of the sanctuaries Pausanias visited were open only at certain times of the year. In Thebes, Pausanias located the temple (ὁ ναός) of Dionysus Deliverer near the Proetidian gate and theater. He mentions specifically that the Thebans open the sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν) of the god only once every year on specific days (9.16.6). The sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν) of Artemis at Hyampolis in Phokis was open only twice each year, even though, as Pausanias relates, Artemis was their chief divinity (10.35.7).<sup>259</sup> As a further example, the sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν) of Eurynome was located not far from Phigalia and had been long regarded as holy (ἅγιος). While the approach to the sanctuary was difficult given the rough terrain, it was located in a picturesque spot, where the Lymax and the Neda streams met and a grove of cypress trees grew lushly around it (Paus. 8.41.4–6). Pausanias's treatment of the sanctuary mostly concerns the landscape of the sanctuary and no mention is made of a temple to Eurynome, making it likely that it

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<sup>259</sup> See also Hewitt 1909, 90.



was the entire sanctuary that was opened only once a year on the same day, one that did not coincide with Pausanias's visit. Alternately, Pausanias did arrive on the correct day to enter the sanctuary of the Dindymene Mother near Thebes, enabling him to view the cult statue, which was dedicated by Pindar and made by the sculptors Aristomedes and Socrates from Thebes (9.25.3).<sup>260</sup> Worshippers with the intent of dedicating gifts at these sanctuaries had to arrive on the very day that the sanctuary was open if they wished to complete their offering. If they arrived too late, they would have to wait months, if not an entire year, before getting another chance.

Perhaps many worshippers scheduled their dedications to coincide with such infrequent openings and to take advantage of other activities, such as the oracular consultation of the Pythia at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. While tradition relates that the Pythia held consultation on the seventh day of the month of Bysios, supposedly Apollo's birthday, by the second century C.E. it is clear that the oracle was open for consultation one day each month, although it was closed during the winter months.<sup>261</sup> The closure of the sanctuary for three months of the year decreased the window of opportunity that worshippers had to visit the sanctuary and that window may have been further restricted due to the sanctuary's remote location. The danger, expense, and potential hardships involved in travel could have encouraged worshippers who were visiting Delphi for consultation to also dedicate offerings while visiting the sanctuary.

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<sup>260</sup> Corbett 1970, 155–56, footnote 11. Corbett identifies the τὸ ἱερόν in this case as a precinct.

<sup>261</sup> Dillon 1997, 153–54. See also Corbett 1970, 149.

Such factors may also have encouraged those worshippers who only wished to dedicate a gift to join the entourage of those traveling for consultation. Individuals who traveled with public representatives from their city likely enjoyed greater safety in their journey as well as the benefit of awards such as *promanteia*, a reward giving a city or person the priority of consultation over others.<sup>262</sup>

Finally, two Athenian festivals, the Anthesteria and the Plynteria, should be considered for the effect that their celebrations had on the accessibility of other temples, or sanctuaries, in the city of Athens. The Anthesteria, a festival in honor of Dionysus Limnaion, was held in the month of Anthesterion. Among the various events celebrated during the festival were the opening and tasting of the new wine, the arrival of Dionysus and his marriage to the Archon Basileus's wife, the return of the dead to the mortal world, and the crowning of young children with flowers in connection to the Choes rite.<sup>263</sup> The festival lasted three days, from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup>. According to speech *Against Neaera* by pseudo-Demosthenes, the temple of Dionysus Limnaion was open once a year, only on the 12<sup>th</sup> of Anthesterion (*Against Neaera* 59.76). Other sources report that there was also activity in the sanctuary on the following day, which could mean that the sanctuary was open for three days each year. Scholarship, however remains divided on this, and many other details of the festival,<sup>264</sup> but regardless of whether the sanctuary was open for

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<sup>262</sup> Arnush 2005, 99–100.

<sup>263</sup> Parke 1977, 107–20; Simon 1983, 92–9; Parker 2005, 290–316.

<sup>264</sup> Parker 2005, 290.

one or three days each year the dedicatory processes of worshippers in this sanctuary were confined to a limited window of time.

One characteristic of the festival should be emphasized, as it greatly affected the accessibility of other temples or sanctuaries during this time. On the second day of the festival, the opening of the new wine was celebrated with both public and private drinking rites that included a silent drinking competition and the feasting of masters with their slaves. This was also the day on which it was believed that the souls of the dead returned to roam the world of the living freely. During the festivities on this day the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnaion remained open, but the other temples or sanctuaries, or at least most of them, in Athens were closed to worshippers. The *aition* of the drinking rites explains that Orestes, having recently arrived in Athens, was still polluted from murdering his mother. In an effort to entertain his guest while protecting the sanctuaries of Athens and his people from contamination, King Demophon closed the temples and instituted an approach to tasting the new wine that focused on an individual supply and consumption of the wine instead of the usual communal mixing and sharing.<sup>265</sup> The closure of the temples has also been explained as a measure taken to protect against contamination by the dead, who rose from the underworld.<sup>266</sup> Thus, it is possible that most, if not all, of the temples or sanctuaries of Athens were closed to worshippers on this day. Any worshipper who sought the help of gods other than Dionysus Limnaion would

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<sup>265</sup> Parke 1977, 113–14; See also Parker 2005, 293–95.

<sup>266</sup> Parke 1977, 113–14 and Parker 2005, 294–95. Parke assigns this occurrence to the third day of the festival, while Parker moves it to the second.

have had to wait at least a day before entering another sanctuary or temple to sacrifice or dedicate a gift.

Another part of the *aition* of the Anthesteria drinking contest relates specifically to dedicatory practices, showing the potential immediacy of dedications related to festival activities. According to the *aition*, King Demophon commanded that, because the wreaths had been under the same roof as Orestes, participants of the drinking contest were to wrap their wreaths around their *choes*, dedicate them in the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnaion, and perform appropriate sacrifices.<sup>267</sup> It seems that dedications could still occur on this day or, at the very least, those specifically related to the festival's activities. Moreover, the wreaths were a type of dedication that occurred only once a year during this celebration. Thus, the festival itself created a situation in which a certain type of gift was appropriate for a specific deity and was to be dedicated on one day each year. The customs of the Anthesteria dictated a dedicatory practice for worshippers and a dedicatory time frame as well.

A similar situation regarding access during a festival is found in the Plynteria, which was held on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of Thargelion in Athens and was connected with another festival called the Kallynteria.<sup>268</sup> Herbert Parke describes the two as "concerned with

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<sup>267</sup> Parke 1977, 115–16 and Parker 2005, 293–94.

<sup>268</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (2011, 158–80 and 193–205) argues that the Plynteria extended over the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> with the Kallynteria beginning on the 27<sup>th</sup> and ending on the 28<sup>th</sup>.

spring-cleaning Athena and her temple."<sup>269</sup> The Kallynteria, it seems, was concerned with cleaning the temple, while the Plynteria focused on the image of Athena. During the Plynteria, the image of Athena Polias in the Old Temple was prepared by the women of the Praxiergidai *genos* for being washed in the sea. The image was disrobed, veiled, escorted in a procession to the Phaleron by the *ephebes* of the city, and finally returned to the temple for reinstallation by a torch-lit procession.<sup>270</sup>

The removal of the goddess from her shrine and the veiling of her statue resulted in a rather unsettling day for the Athenians. According to Parke, the day was "highly inauspicious. The fact that the goddess was otherwise preoccupied might be regarded as making it unwise to do anything which might need her attention."<sup>271</sup> This resulted in the closing of temples or sanctuaries of the city on this day and the denial of access to visitors, much like the second day of the Anthesteria. In the *Hellenica*, Xenophon characterizes the day as grim and foreboding when he records the untimely arrival of Alcibiades during the Plynteria in 408 B.C.E..

And when he found that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that they had chosen him general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, he sailed in to Piraeus, arriving on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria and the statue of Athena was veiled from sight,—a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business (1.4.12).

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<sup>269</sup> Parke 1977, 152.

<sup>270</sup> Parke 1977, 152–55; Simon 1983, 46–8; and Parker 2005, 478. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 134–224.

<sup>271</sup> Parke 1977, 154. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 136–37.

It is possible that the temple itself was closed for the entire month of Thargelion. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's reconstruction of the Plynteria festival includes a very fragmentary mid-fifth century B.C.E. inscription, in which the Praxiergidai record an oracle's response that detailed their ancestral rites and prerogatives.<sup>272</sup> Among the restorations is a clause that may indicate that the archon sealed the temple for the month of Thargelion, handing over his key to the Praxiergidai. As Sourvinou-Inwood notes, this would have closed the temple to the public while still allowing the Praxiergidai access to complete their duties. The celebration of the Plynteria on the 25<sup>th</sup>, however, created an ill-omened day and made it necessary to close the temple, and others throughout the city, to the public.

It is not certain how many temples or sanctuaries were closed during the celebration of the Plynteria or on the second day of the Anthesteria. Worshippers would have had access to at least the sanctuary of Dionysus Limnaion during the latter. Either way, some worshippers would have had to plan around the festivals, either scheduling their dedications before-hand or postponing them until the affected sanctuaries were once again open.

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<sup>272</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 145–51. The inscription is IG 1<sup>3</sup> 7.

### 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions

#### Gender

Some sanctuaries had more specialized restrictions that targeted specific types of worshippers. In some cases, regulations prohibited men or women from entering during certain times of the year. In Geronthrae, there is a temple (ὁ ναός) and a grove (τό ἄλσος) to Ares. During the festival held each year in honor of the god, women were not allowed to enter the grove (Paus. 3.22.6–7). This suggests that men could enter and dedicate offerings to the god year round, but that women could do so only in the temple during the festival. Should they wish to place a dedication in the grove, their dedicatory event would have to fall outside of the confines of the annual festival. Similar gender restrictions and accessibility can be found in the sanctuary of Kore at Megalopolis in Arcadia. In this instance, women have access to the sanctuary, τὸ ἱερόν, throughout the year, while men could enter it only once a year (Paus. 8.31.8). Corbett correctly assumes that it was more likely that the sanctuary allowed men to enter once a year on the same day, as the logistics of limiting access year-round would have been complicated and would not have been in keeping with other, similar regulations.<sup>273</sup> Restricting access to an entire group at one time coincides with other sacred legislation and follows a similar pattern of accessibility.

Even if a sanctuary was open on a more regular or even daily basis, it did not guarantee that every worshipper had access to the entire *temenos*. Much like regulations

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<sup>273</sup> Corbett 1970, 155–56, footnote 11.

dictating where worshippers could place their gifts, laws regarding where worshippers could go in a *temenos* would limit where they could place their dedications. For example, the gender of an individual could determine whether or not they could enter the temple. Only women were allowed to enter the temple of Dionysus at Bryseae (Paus. 3.20.3) and men into the temple of an unidentified deity in Eresos, although the second century B.C.E. sacred law permitted the priestess and the prophetess to enter (*IG 12 Suppl.* 126, lines 18–20). In these two examples, women and men were denied the ability to enter a specific place and, therefore, were denied the possibility of setting up their dedications in those areas. Worshippers who were banned from the temple would have had to set their gifts somewhere else in the *temenos*, whether in the open air or in another building on site. Other sacred spaces in or connected with sanctuaries could have restrictions as well. For example, a sanctuary to Demeter in the Marsh near Megalopolis in Arcadia had a temple and a sacred grove. Pausanias relates that only women were permitted to enter the grove (8.36.6). Men may not have been able to enter the grove to place their gifts, but they still had access to the temple.

### Priesthood

Regulations could also deny individuals who were not members of the priesthood entry into the temple or certain parts of the temple. As noted above, the law from Eresos stipulates that, aside from the priestess and the prophetess, no women were allowed in the temple (*IG 12 Suppl.* 126, lines 18–20). This is similar to a restriction on a sacred grove of Artemis Soteira at Pellene, into which no men save the priests were allowed to enter



(Paus. 7.27.3). According to Pausanias, the temple of Eileithyia at Olympia was divided into two parts and allowed worshippers only to access the outer chamber. The inner part of Eileithyia's temple was devoted to Sosipolis and was visited only by the female attendant of the god, while other women performed ritual activities in the other part of the temple (6.20.3). There was a similar situation at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Sikyon. There was a double chambered building within the sanctuary, the inner chamber of which belonged to Apollo Karneios and could only be accessed by the priests (Paus. 2.10.2). Worshippers would have been able to leave gifts for the goddess and god inside the temple, but only in the outer chamber. On the other hand, worshippers were completely denied entry into the temple of Aphrodite at Sikyon. Context is key in determining accessibility in Pausanias's description of the sanctuary. Although he uses the word τὸ ἱερόν to speak of the temple of Aphrodite, Pausanias sets the scene for his readers by using the word ὁ περίβολος to denote the sanctuary of the goddess. According to Pausanias, only the goddess's attendant was allowed to enter the temple and worshippers would have to gaze upon the goddess from the building's entrance and leave dedications for her there (2.10.4).

### State of Purity

Purity laws dictated the conditions under which worshippers were permitted to enter sanctuaries and, thus, could prevent some worshippers from offering gifts for a span of time. The main concern of this subset of sacred laws was to keep sacred spaces free of *miasma*. Robert Parker describes *miasma* as a condition that would make a person

"ritually impure, and thus unfit to enter a temple: it is contagious: it is dangerous, and thus danger is not of familial secular origin."<sup>274</sup> Hippocrates's *Sacred Disease* acknowledges that boundaries into sanctuaries were meant to prevent those who were polluted from entering; he also speaks of the practice of purification through lustration at entry points (148.55–61). Sources of pollution, such as sexual intercourse, death, feminine related activities (i.e. abortion, miscarriage, and menstruation), and diet, could prevent worshippers from entering sanctuaries for a time and, thus, delay their dedications.<sup>275</sup>

### *Sexual intercourse*

Sexual purity was a requirement for entry into the *temenos* of some cults. Susan Cole's exploration of gender differences in the sacred laws found that these regulations were normally from the man's point of view and that sexual activity with women was popularly understood to be a source of pollution.<sup>276</sup> For example, two fragmentary laws from Tegea (Sokolowski 1962, 69–70, no. 31, line 6) and Delos (Sokolowski 1969, 184–85, no. 95, line 5) retain enough information to indicate that men could be required to abstain from sexual intercourse with women in order to enter the sanctuary. Therefore, most of the examples discussed in this section refer to the ability of men to enter sanctuaries, with a few notable exceptions that include women as well.

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<sup>274</sup> Parker 1983, 3–4.

<sup>275</sup> While some Sacred Laws specifically state that polluted worshippers were restricted from participation in sacrifice and initiation, the focus here is on laws that prevented polluted worshippers from entering sacred ground. For restrictions on participation see Cole 1992.

<sup>276</sup> Cole 1992, 107.

Some sacred laws stipulated no delay other than the time it would take to bathe after sexual intercourse. Two second century B.C.E. laws, one for the cult of the Mother Goddess in Maionia (Sokolowski 1955, 50–1, no. 18, lines 9–13) and the other for an unknown cult in Eresos (*IG 12 Suppl.* 126, line 9), allowed admittance to men who had bathed after sexual intercourse without any additional delay. This allowed men quick access to the shrines and the ability to dedicate gifts and engage in other ritual activities at their leisure. A sacred law from Cyrene dating to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. also makes use of bathing as a purification measure, but does not view it as one that could sufficiently guard against pollution and provide unrestrained access for worshippers at Cyrene. The law differentiates between pollution contracted from sexual activity at night and during the day (Sokolowski 1962, 185–96, no. 115 face A, lines 11–15). Sexual activity at night permitted a man to engage in ritual practices immediately, allowing him full access to the divine. And, while sexual intercourse during the day required bathing for admittance, a man's access to the divine was still restricted, although in an unknown capacity given the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

Bathing was not always viewed as a sufficient deterrent to pollution. Some sacred laws stipulate that those who engaged in sexual activity should be excluded from the cult or its sacred ground for a period of time, which would in turn delay a worshipper's dedicatory event. In the second century B.C.E., a man named Pythion founded a cult to Artemis, Zeus Hikesios, and the Theoi Patrooi at Isthmos on Kos. The inscription

instructed men to wait three days after having sexual intercourse with a woman (*SEG* 14 529, lines 16–17). Similarly at the end of the second century B.C.E., men would have had to wait until the third day after having sexual intercourse with a woman to enter the shrine of a Syrian deity on Delos (Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54, line 4). In some cults, a distinction between intra- and extramarital sex was made and, in turn, influenced the length of time that a man was required to wait. In the fourth century B.C.E., men had to postpone their entry into the shrine of Mater Galesia in Metropolis in Ionia for two days after having sexual intercourse with their wives or three days when it was with a *hetaira* (Sokolowski 1955, 83–4, no. 29, lines 3–6).

While most of the regulations concerning sexual intercourse are directed at men, women sometimes also receive instructions, aiding in reconstructing how purity measures may have affected their dedicatory events as well. In the second century B.C.E., *hetairai* seeking to enter the sanctuary of the Mother Goddess in Maionia were more regulated than men, who had only to bathe after sexual intercourse should they desire to enter the sanctuary. Instead, the *hetairai* had to wait three days before entry, at which point they were also required to perform a lustration before entering the *temenos* (Sokolowski 1955, 50–1, no. 18, lines 13–15). On the other hand, in some cults male and female worshippers received the same instructions concerning sexual purity. A first century B.C.E. law from Ptolemaïs states that both men and women should be pure from one another for two days before entry into the sanctuary, which would have established similar time frames for both sexes (Sokolowski 1962, 201–2, no. 119, lines 7–9). A law from Pergamon, dating to

sometime after 133 B.C.E., for the cult of Athena Nikephoros creates a similar situation for male and female worshippers, but provides different measures for those engaging in intra- or extra-marital sex (Sokolowski 1955, 36–9, no. 12, lines 4–6). Either way, men and women worshipping at the sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros could face a similar delay.

### *Death*

Ancient sources relate that death was a source of pollution. Thucydides reports that it was forbidden to give birth or die on the sacred island of Delos (3.104.1–2).<sup>277</sup> Similar sentiments are expressed in Euripides's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in which the heroine states that worshippers who had been touched by blood or who had been in contact with corpses or women in childbirth were polluted (380–384). Such prohibitions are echoed in many sacred laws, which prohibit those who had contact with a corpse from entering shrines for a time. For example, a decree from the fourth century B.C.E. regarding the cult of Mater Galesia at Metropolis in Ionia required worshippers to wait twelve days after funeral rites (Sokolowski 1955, 83–4, no. 29, lines 1–3). An unknown cult from Ptolemaïs in the first century B.C.E. required worshippers to wait only seven days after coming into contact with the dead (Sokolowski 1962, 201–2, no. 119, lines 3–4).

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<sup>277</sup> For other such examples, see *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1035, which dates to the 1st century B.C.E. and describes the custom of not giving birth or dying on sacred ground as a matter of ancestral custom. Sokolowski 1969, 184–85, no. 95, lines 5–6 specifies that worshippers, presumably male, should enter "from women and from the dead." See also Cole 1992.

At times, the laws specified different waiting periods depending on whether the deceased was a relative or an acquaintance. A sacred law from Eresos, dating to the second century B.C.E., specifies that an individual entering the sanctuary must wait twenty days after funerary rites for a relative, but only three for an acquaintance (*IG 12 Suppl.* 126, lines 2–4). The long duration prescribed for this cult was not echoed in the second century B.C.E. laws from Maionia and Pergamon. In the former, worshippers visiting the sanctuary of the Mother Goddess needed to wait only until the fifth day after a funeral of a relative and until the third for a non-relative (Sokolowski 1955, 50–1, no. 18, lines 6–8). Regulations for the cult of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon only required worshippers to delay one day if it was a funeral for a relative. If it was a non-relative, they needed only to wash and could then immediately access the sanctuary (Sokolowski 1955, 36–9, no. 12, lines 6–9). The anxiety of death and pollution in the ancient Greek world likely means that such requirements applied to both men and women. Therefore, the dedications of worshippers, in these instances, could be affected based on their relation to the deceased, rather than based on their gender.

#### *Feminine Related Activities and States*

As noted in the section above, Thucydides and Euripides both relate that childbirth was akin to death in its ability to pollute. This is also well-illustrated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. by the Epidaurian *iama* of Kleo, who gave birth to her child the moment she crossed over into non-sacred ground, as if the god (or perhaps the woman

herself?) was preventing her from doing so in an effort to maintain the purity of the sanctuary (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 3–10).<sup>278</sup>

Sacred laws relating purity regulations most often mention childbirth, but could also include prohibitions against miscarriage, abortion, and menstruation. As with sexual intercourse, women are described as the source of pollution, and not the action of birthing a child.<sup>279</sup>

Many of the laws at these sanctuaries do not specify how long the woman herself was polluted, once again making it difficult to reconstruct how long women who had just given birth would have had to delay their dedications. In fact, when consulting purity regulations for sanctuaries and restrictions on entry, sacred laws most often focus only on those who were polluted by proximity to her. For example, the cult of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon required a short waiting period of only a day for those who had come into contact (Sokolowski 1955, 36–9, no. 12, lines 6–7). The delay from the sacred law from Cyrene dating to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. is not that much longer. Those inside the house and those who came in during that period were polluted for three days (Sokolowski 1962, 185–96, no. 115 face A, lines 16–20). Other cults insisted on a longer waiting period. In the second century B.C.E., the sanctuary of a Syrian deity on Delos specified six days (Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54, line 5) and the sanctuary of Artemis,

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<sup>278</sup> See also the *iama* of Ithmonika of Pellene, *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 10–22.

<sup>279</sup> Cole 1992, 109.

Zeus Hikesios, and the Theoi Patrooi from Isthmos on Kos denied entry for ten days (*SEG* 14 529, lines 15–16). As for the mothers themselves, there are a few laws that provide information regarding how long mothers could expect to wait before being allowed to enter sanctuaries. Regulations in the second century B.C.E. for the sanctuary of an unknown cult in Eresos state that the mother herself was polluted for ten days, but that those she polluted were considered as such for only three days (*IG* 12 *Suppl.* 126, lines 6–7).<sup>280</sup>

Miscarriage and abortions could have also detained worshippers, specifically mothers and those that they polluted, from entering sanctuaries to dedicate offerings and to engage in other activities. Again, specifications for the mother herself are not always provided. The sacred law from Cyrene bases delays for miscarriages and abortions on whether or not the embryo was visible, so that "a visible embryo pollutes like a death and an invisible embryo pollutes like a birth," but it does not provide specific time periods for those distinctions.<sup>281</sup> Regulations for the cult of Artemis, Zeus Hikesios, and the Theoi Patrooi from Isthmos require the same amount of time for men who have been exposed to birth, ten days, before entry (*SEG* 14 529, lines 15–16). This is a relatively short amount of time when compared to other regulations in the second century B.C.E., which required forty-four days, and those and other texts from later periods, which specify forty days.<sup>282</sup> For example, the sacred law from Delos for the sanctuary of a Syrian deity requires

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<sup>280</sup> Cole 1992, 110 and note 65.

<sup>281</sup> Cole 1992, 110 and note 67; See also Parker 1983, 346 and Lupu 2005, 77–9.

<sup>282</sup> Cole 1992, 110.



worshippers to wait until the fortieth day after being polluted by a miscarriage or abortion (Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54, lines 6–7). Cole suggests that "the extremely long waiting periods for miscarriage, abortion, and exposure may have resulted from the belief that these processes compounded birth and death, and the resulting concern must have multiplied the period of waiting accordingly."<sup>283</sup>

Menstruation does not appear regularly in sacred laws.<sup>284</sup> Of those that have been discussed here and relate to entry into a sanctuary, the only one that is relevant is the law for a Delian sanctuary to a Syrian deity, which states that a woman could enter the sanctuary on the ninth day (Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54, lines 7–8).

### *Diet*

In the ancient Greek world, there were no animals or kinds of food that the Greeks generally considered to be impure, but at times some cults could require worshippers to refrain from eating certain kinds of foods in order to maintain ritual purity for entering the sanctuary or for participating in certain activities.<sup>285</sup> At the end of the second century B.C.E., the sanctuary of a Syrian deity on Delos required worshippers to be pure from fish for three days before entering the sanctuary and to bathe after having eaten pork (Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54, lines 2–3). Similarly, in the city of Aegeira,

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<sup>283</sup> Cole 1992, 110–11.

<sup>284</sup> Cole 1992, 111. Only six inscriptions mention it, and these do not date before the second century B.C.E..

<sup>285</sup> See Parker 1983, 357–65.

worshippers were permitted to enter the sanctuary of a goddess with the epithet "Syrian," although with certain stipulations. In the second century C.E., Pausanias reported that entry was restricted to certain days and required certain purificatory measures, including those related to diet (Paus. 7.26.7).

#### **4.3.c, Sanctuary Supervision and Control**

Aside from rules that affected the accessibility of sanctuaries or areas within the *temenos* and, thus, the placement of offerings, there are also instances of regulations that controlled dedicatory practices in their entirety. City and/or sanctuary authorities could deny dedications from occurring unless a priest or priestess was on site to supervise.

There are several regulations specifically stipulating that a priest or priestess needed to supervise the setting up of dedications in sanctuaries. From the fourth century B.C.E. comes a decree from the Peiraeus that permitted visitors to enter the local Thesmophorion when the priestess was not present, but strictly regulated the activities of those worshippers during her absence. The decree dictates that the priestess must be present or that it must be a festival day (specifically the Thesmophoria, Plerosiai, Kalamaia, and Skira) for visitors to free slaves, set up dedications, perform purifications, approach the altars or *megaron*, or for *thiasoi* to gather (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1177*, lines 2–12).<sup>286</sup> The *demarch* was responsible for fining any visitors who performed such acts and for bringing them before a court for prosecution (lines 13–17). In this case, it seems that

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<sup>286</sup> See also Lupu 2005, 11–2.

worshippers could wander the *temenos* freely, but could not perform any serious activity unless the priestess was on site.

An inscription from Loryma dating to the third century B.C.E. and another dating to the mid second century B.C.E. from Athens directly relate to dedications. In addition to protecting dedications by forbidding their removal from the sanctuary, any damage be done to them, and from anyone rearranging the order of the *pinakes*, the Loryma regulation required the priest to oversee any worshipper wishing to set up a dedication in the sanctuary (Sokolowski 1955, 172–73, no. 74, lines 8–10). The supervisory power over dedications given to the priest in the Athenian inscription seems as though it was in response to unwanted dedicatory behavior by worshippers in the sanctuary (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 995*). The inscription is fragmentary, but some of the extant provisions appear to grant the priest permission to remove dedicated *pinakes* that blocked the cult image and to relocate items from the temple to the stoa that were not of a sufficient quality (lines 6–10). Like the inscription from Loryma, the inscription also closes with instructions that any worshipper seeking to dedicate an offering is to speak with the priest (lines 10–12).

These inscriptions emphasize further difficulties facing worshippers who wished to dedicate. Even if they could enter a sanctuary or their preferred area of placement within the *temenos*, a worshipper sometimes faced a second level of regulation. Accessibility of space did not necessarily guarantee that a worshipper would be able to place the item and complete a dedication with ease. Instead, as these regulations, and those dictating

placement,<sup>287</sup> demonstrate sanctuary officials may have often been on hand to oversee and ensure orderly dedicatory, or otherwise, behavior. As with regulations concerning entry into sacred space, worshippers visiting sanctuaries with regulations that oversaw dedicatory practices would have had to adjust their expectations to correspond with directions from the priest or priestess. In the face of such regulations, worshippers would have had to seek permission from sanctuary officials to dedicate and would have had to concede to their instructions in order to complete their dedication. These instructions may have most often been related to placement, but they could by extension affect the type of offering. An Athenian regulation emphasizes that a certain standard, perhaps related to worth, was expected from dedications placed inside the temple (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 995*, lines 9–10). Worshippers that were determined to place their offering as close to the cult statue as possible may have had to rethink their choice of gift or settle for placement elsewhere in the *temenos*.

Sanctuaries could also regulate dedicatory practices by dictating every aspect of the dedication. This occurs most clearly in a tale related by Herodotus and, like the law from the Peiraeus (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1177*, lines 12–17), shows that there could be a penalty for not complying with such regulations. In Book 1, Herodotus speaks of the ethnically-based sanctuaries of the Ionians, the Panionion, and of the Dorians, the Triopian. At one point in time, six Dorian cities made collective use of the Triopian, until a competitor from Halicarnassus, named Agasikles, broke one of the sanctuary's regulations. As a result, the

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<sup>287</sup> For a summary of sanctuary regulations dictating placement, see Lupu 2005, 31–2.

other five cities of Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Kos, and Knidos excluded Halicarnassus and all its citizens from participation in the Triopian's games. The regulation Agasikles broke related to his victory tripod and, more importantly, to regulations dictating its dedication.

In the games held in honor of Triopian Apollo they used to award tripods to the victors, but the victors were forbidden to take their prizes out of the sanctuary; they were required to dedicate them directly to the god there (1.144.2).

The six Dorian cities worshipping at the Triopian regulated the dedicatory practices of the festival's victors. Not only were the victorious competitors specifically instructed on what they should dedicate, their victory tripod, they were also given instructions as to in which sanctuary they should place it and when to do it, i.e. in the Triopian before leaving for home. Regulations governing the Triopian left victors in the games no freedom of choice in any aspect of their dedication.

Agasikles's situation illustrates a theme that will resurface later in this chapter pertaining to regulation of dedicatory practices by various groups within a city. His actions reveal how a single person's dedicatory behavior could affect an entire community. Refusing admittance to other neighboring Dorian communities (Hdt. 144.1), the six cities worshipping at the Triopian adhered to a set of rules that bound them together as a group and as a sub-community, setting them apart from other Dorians in that region. A single individual's disregard for common dedicatory practices put the entire community at risk and required punishment so that order could return and be maintained

in the community at large. In this case, denying individual worshippers freedom to express themselves and their victories in their own way served to unite and define the community of cities from others.

To summarize, the control exercised by city and/or sanctuary authorities over *temenoi* could greatly impact the dedicatory experiences of worshippers. A sanctuary's hours or days of operation are only part of the overall picture. While some worshippers may only have had to schedule their dedications to coincide with when sanctuaries were admitting visitors, others may have had to take further steps to meet purity requirements or may have had to delay their dedications until another time. That is, of course, if worshippers met the basic entry requirements and were not excluded from the sanctuary because of their gender or lack of membership in the priesthood. Still, admission into a sanctuary was only the first step. Once inside, some worshippers may have had to readjust their expectations of placement, should regulations deny them freedom of movement throughout the *temenos* or buildings. Furthermore, worshippers could still be denied the ability to dedicate unless an official was on hand to supervise their activity. Other times, every choice they had may have been replaced with strict directions from sanctuary officials. Overall, city and/or sanctuary authorities could extend great control over sacred space and, therefore, over dedicatory experiences.

#### 4.4, Group Legislation

City and sanctuary authorities were not the only groups that could control a worshipper's dedicatory experience. Membership or participation in familial or social groups could also dictate how worshippers could dedicate their gifts. In this section, two inscriptions are presented to show how tribes and city institutions, like gymnasiums, could regulate dedicatory experiences. While dedicatory practices in both cases are heavily regulated, withdrawing most if not all of the choices, only individuals in a specific situation are targeted.

##### 4.4.a, Tribal Regulation

A decree by the Hyarbesytai tribe in Mylasa, dating to the end of the second century B.C.E., details specific dedicatory requirements for those members who were honored by the tribe.

... whoever  
of the tribe that may be honored by the tribe during the office of  
the crown-holder Antipater each must dedicate to Zeus  
[10] Hyarbesytai a silver cup or *phiale* worth  
100 Alexandrian drachmas, inscribed, having been made and fully  
equipped,  
with the name of the honored one, and  
having been honored that he dedicated it to Zeus Hyarbesytai, and the  
weight, and  
each must make the dedication within six months after being honored  
(*SEG* 15 648, lines 7–14).

Not only does the decree dictate the type of dedication, its value, and the recipient deity, it also enforces a time frame in which the process must be completed. These

regulations are also extended to members of other tribes who were honored by the Hyarbesytai tribe, with a rather expensive variation requiring them to dedicate three cups or *phiale* worth 300 drachmas (*SEG* 15 648, lines 15–20). Even with the greater expense of the offerings, non-Hyarbesytai tribe members were still required to maintain the time limit, suggesting that there was a strong desire to complete the dedication in a timely manner. In this case, the six month deadline indicates that a delay may have been expected, but that an extensive one was not tolerated.

Although the dedications of honored individuals are heavily regulated, thereby permitting no freedom of choice, the affected worshippers are a very specific group. The decree regulates the dedications of certain people in a very defined situation. Furthermore, although the tribe bestowed honors upon their own members and upon others in the larger community, it is made clear through this decree that the practice was meant to focus attention on the Hyarbesytai tribe. It is continually at the center of the activity: they begin the process by honoring tribesmen and others in the community, the recipient deity is one of their choosing and related to their tribe (Zeus Hyarbesytai), the timeline begins just after someone has been honored by that tribe, and the high value of the offerings portrays the tribe as wealthy and prestigious. The strict deadline indicates that the tribe preferred to maintain a timely acknowledgment of the honors that they gave out to members of the community.



#### 4.4.b, Gymnasiarchal Regulation

Participation in a community's social groups could also lead to restrictive dedicatory behavior for worshippers. A gymnasiarchal law from Beroia dating to around 180 B.C.E. was imposed to strictly enforce the behavior of its members and was extended to specify the necessary arrangements for the Hermaia, a festival celebrated in the month of Hyperberetaios in honor of Hermes. The law dictates a very strict time frame for the dedication of prizes by the festival's victors.

As for the prizes which the winners receive, they shall dedicate them under the following gymnasiarch within eight months. Otherwise, the gymnasiarch shall fine them one hundred drachmas (*SEG* 27 261 face B, lines 67–69).

The prizes, at least one of which seems to have been a weapon, were given for victory in "command appearance (*euexia*), discipline (*eutaxia*), and endurance (*philoponia*) for those up to thirty years of age" (face B, lines 45–47), and were paid for by revenues generated from those visiting the gymnasium (face B, lines 59–60).<sup>288</sup> As the inscription says, victors had eight months within which to dedicate their prize. Much like the above passage from Herodotus on the Triopian, the dedicatory practice associated with the Hermaia was strictly regulated. The item and time frame were dictated to the victor and should he not comply, he was faced with a hefty fine.

The need for a strictly enforced time limit in which to dedicate the prize likely related to why the gymnasiarchal law was initially created and then placed in the

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<sup>288</sup> Lupu 2005, 257.

gymnasium and public archives. The introduction of the law explains that the magistrates crafted the law in order to instill order among the young men who were using the gymnasium:

For, once this has been done, the young men will have more sense of shame and will obey the gymnasiarch, and their revenues will not be lost, as the elected gymnasiarchs will serve according to the law and will be liable to be sued (*SEG 27 261*, face A, lines 11–16).

The law lays out strict disciplinary measures that guided activities and hindered inappropriate behavior with anything from denying access to the facility to fines and whipping, depending on the status of the offending individual. The lengths to which this law ensured an orderly environment in the gymnasium indicates that an unruly group of young men presented a problem to the community. Lupu notes that "[t]he gymnasium may be portrayed as a crossroads of Greek civic life, where exercise, education, and socializing all come together."<sup>289</sup> The young men that used this gymnasium were among those who would take their place in society in order to both govern and protect it. The law, therefore, was created so that these young men could be crafted into positively contributing members of society. While the regulation of dedicatory behavior in this case also created a cohesive group of worshippers, it does not seem specifically meant to contrast them against others in the community. Instead, the regulated time limit in which to dedicate their prizes continues the theme of maintaining order among the group. Perhaps the rule was meant to instill the need to adhere to communal laws or, more

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<sup>289</sup> Lupu 2005, 262.

broadly speaking, Panhellenic religious laws, and to meet their obligations to the gods in a more defined and appropriate way.

In sum, like the tribal decree from Mylasa, the gymnasiarchal law from Beroia demonstrates that worshippers would have had situations in which their participation in certain community groups would dictate certain dedicatory events. In both cases, very specific individuals, i.e. those the tribe honored and those who were proclaimed victors, had to follow regulations laid down by the group. Group membership in both cases overruled other factors including their choice of deity/sanctuary, type of dedication, and the time frame in which to complete it. As noted, worshippers facing these strictly regulated dedicatory events were select individuals and they would have only been regulated in these instances. There would be other dedications in their lives that allowed them greater flexibility.

#### **4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows**

According to Walter Burkert, the fulfillment of a successful vow, made before as many witnesses as possible, "was an irrevocable duty, as well as an opportunity to parade one's success before the eyes of gods and men."<sup>290</sup> Not every offering in the ancient Greek world, however, was made directly by the worshipper who had originally promised it. There are many examples of family members fulfilling the vows of their fathers, mothers, siblings, and other extended family members. For example,

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<sup>290</sup> Burkert 1985, 148.

A vow of his mother, Aison,  
to you this *agalma*  
Patrokles dedicated,  
the son of Mallos from Oresstheia (*IG* 9,2 1098).

The child of Alektorides, Krino from Paros, dedicated me, this (-)  
she fulfilled the promise of her father, having accomplished the vow -  
as large as herself, the Delian Artemis (*ID* 53).

Phanostratos ---.  
*vacat*  
Delophanes from Cho(largos?) dedicated (this image?)  
after his daughter D--- vowed it.  
The Mother Lysimache .....  
the great savior... the hand.....  
*vacat*  
When Pataikos was priest (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 4368).

The factor influencing worshippers in these cases was membership within a familial group. While those who inherited such vows may not have anticipated them, they would not have been surprised by the sudden responsibility. Inherited vows were a widespread custom in the ancient Greek world and, despite familial ties that dictated these dedications, the terms governing inherited vows appear to have been flexible. Often information related to the initial worshipper could be minimized, or even excluded, so that the inheritor became an active part or even the focus of the dedication. For example, Pausanias, writing in the second century C.E., relates that the much earlier fifth century B.C.E. ruler Hieron I of Syracuse died before he had the chance to dedicate the gifts he had vowed to Zeus for his victories at Olympia. Hieron's son, Deinomenes, fulfilled his father's obligation (6.12.1 and 8.42.8–10). Like the above inscription detailing Patrokles's inherited vow from his mother, the inscriptions of Hieron's gifts recorded by Pausanias

demonstrate that worshippers could insert themselves into the dedication, highlighting the part they played in ensuring its completion. The vow may have been Hieron's, but Deinomenes ensured that the god, and those who viewed the dedication, knew his involvement. According to Pausanias, the dedicatory inscription read:

"For his victories in they august contests, Olympian Zeus, one victory with the four-horse car, and two with the race-horse, Hieron bestowed these gifts on thee: they were dedicated by his son, Deinomenes, in memory of his Syracusan sire." (8.42.9–10).

Observing how the initial worshipper is referenced in these inscriptions reveals the flexibility of inherited vows. Deinomenes emphasizes his father's role in winning the victories and mentions that the initial dedication was Hieron's, while also including his own name and relation to Hieron. On the other hand, Patrokles excludes the name of his mother, the actual worshipper who had vowed the gift. Although it may seem like a bold move on the part of Patrokles, this seems to have been a common practice. The inclusion of the initial worshipper's name was not required. This is apparent even in dedications in which parents fulfilled the vows of their own children.

Diophanes dedicated me to Athena, this *agalma* as a tithe of his estate, having been vowed by his child (Raubitschek 1949, 303, no. 283).

The actual fulfillment of the vow was more important than acknowledging the initial worshipper's full identity. It seems that the vowing worshippers could take a secondary role to the inheritor of the vow.

As Diophanes's inherited vow indicates, parents could become responsible for the vows of their children. It seems plausible to assume that the child had died prematurely, leaving behind the vow to be fulfilled by the surviving parent. Otherwise, there would have been no reason for the parent to pay for the dedication, since a child could have fulfilled the vow later in their adulthood. Certainly, there were instances in which worshippers with inherited vows ran into financial difficulties. As Keesling notes, "a gap in some cases was as long as a generation - dedicators may have saved their money for months, years, even most of a lifetime, to dedicate a single statue."<sup>291</sup> Yet, there are other, more complicated possibilities that such assumptions overlook. Perhaps a child vowed a gift, but did not have the funds to complete it, thus leaving a parent with the responsibility for the dedication. One might protest that delays were an expected part of the dedicatory process and, referring to Keesling's argument, contend that worshippers need only have waited until a more financially friendly time. There are, however, indications that a worshipper was required to fulfill a vow in a timely manner.

A fourth century B.C.E. *iama* from Epidauros relays the story of a father and his mute son who were made to promise by a sanctuary attendant that they would repay the god by sacrificing within a year if the son was cured:

A mute boy. He came to the sanctuary for a voice. He performed the opening sacrifices and did the required things; and then the boy who carries fire for the god, looking over at the boy's father, bid him to promise to sacrifice within a year, if what he came for occurred. Suddenly the boy said, "I promise." The father was amazed and told him to repeat it.

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<sup>291</sup> Keesling 2003, 6.

The boy spoke again and from this he became well (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>, 1 121, lines 41–48).

Although Asklepios's aid is meant for the son and although any potential dedication that was set up would most likely focus on the boy and his malady, the sanctuary attendant looks to the father to complete the vow. This may have been due to the boy's inability to speak or because the boy was not expected to have the funds to complete the vow; either way, the boy was not a viable candidate to ensure fulfillment. Of course, children could interact with divine beings and could bear the responsibility of completing their own vows, as demonstrated by another *iama* in that inscription.

Euphanes, a boy of Epidauros. Suffering from a stone, he slept here. It seemed to him the god came to him and said, "What will you give me if I should make you well? The boy replied, "Ten dice." The god, laughing, said that he would make it stop. When day came he left well (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>, 1 121, lines 68–71).

Euphanes is the recipient of Asklepios's aid and vows to repay the god himself. Although it may not have been much, the god seems to have found it a fitting payment. In the case of the mute boy, all attention is directed at the father and it is he who is asked to promise to return should the god aid his son. To be sure, the *iama* emphasizes the miraculous cure, juxtaposing the father's intention to speak for his son with the son's sudden ability to speak. Nevertheless, the fact that the father could confirm their return to the sanctuary to repay the god within the year indicates that the father could act as an agent for his son.

One further aspect to take note of in this example is the emphasis on a timely completion; the father and son have only a year to fulfill the vow. While it may have been possible that the boy had a sum of money with which to fund the sacrifice,<sup>292</sup> the interaction with the sanctuary attendant does not include him as the potential candidate to see to its completion. Thus, while at first it seems that worshippers could have had a lifetime to fulfill their vows to the gods, this was not always the case. The need to impose time limits on some vows, and on dedications as is explored in Sections 4.3.c and 4.4, suggests the importance of ensuring that the gods received their due. This is reiterated in a variety of epigraphical and literary sources that relate tales that demonstrate that a certain level of anxiety urged worshippers to maintain proper relations with divine beings. For example, Homer's *Iliad* recounts a tale in which Artemis sent a great boar to ravage the land of Calydon because their king, Oeneus, had neglected to include her in the first fruits of the harvest from his orchards (9.529–542). Lessons regarding the consequences of neglecting the gods continue into later periods as can be seen from two fourth century B.C.E. *iamata* from Epidauros. In one, Amphimnastos the fishmonger denied his promised tithe to Asklepios, who in turn destroyed the entire catch. Only when Amphimnastos prayed for forgiveness and promised to complete his vow did Asklepios restore the fish to life (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 123, lines 21–29). In the second, Hermon of Thasos visited the sanctuary to be cured of his blindness, but he never brought an offering with which to thank the god. As punishment, the god made him blind again. Hermon returned to the

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<sup>292</sup> This dissertation does not suggest that sacrifices are subsumed under dedications. Such an argument is a dissertation for another time and place. This example is meant to show that repayment of vows could be limited by time. Timely dedications are also discussed in Sections 4.3.c and 4.4.



sanctuary once again for help and his sight was restored (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 7–9).

Although the *iama* does not specify that Hermon completed the dedication, one might assume that he did so in order to not repeat his mistake. The Epidaurian *iamata* demonstrate how the gods could punish the health and fortune of neglectful worshippers, focusing their wrath on a single individual. As seen in the *Iliad's* tale of the destruction of Calydon, however, it is obvious that the failure of one worshipper to tend correctly to the gods could lead to negative consequences not only for themselves, but, more importantly, for the entire community.

Vows were expected to be fulfilled, whether by the initial worshipper or by their inheritors. To neglect the gods was to risk punishment, not only for the offender but also for the entire community. This communal concern and the importance placed on the completion of an inherited vow is also demonstrated in a lawsuit over the estate of a man named Dicaeogenes II who died in 411 B.C.E. in a battle off Knidos. Dicaeogenes II died without naming an heir, which left his estate, and the vows he had inherited from his father Menexenus, to whomever eventually claimed the inheritance. A forged will identified Dicaeogenes III, the actual son of Proxenus, as the heir. By 389 B.C.E., however, the remaining daughters of Dicaeogenes II and their families were seeking restitution from Dicaeogenes III, who had laid claim to the entire estate and the inheritance of the remainder of the family.

In his speech criticizing Dicaeogenes III, Isaeus severely calls the man's character into question. Among the many accusations, Isaeus shames him for failing to dedicate the vowed gifts of his adoptive grandfather Menexenus:

You have never even transported to the Akropolis the dedications upon which Menexenus expended three talents and which his death prevented him from setting up, but they are still knocking about in the sculptor's workshop; and thus, while you yourself claimed the possession of money to which you had no title, you never rendered up to the gods statues which were theirs by right (5.44).

Twenty-two years passed between Dicaeogenes's II death and the trial. The dedications were not vowed by Dicaeogenes II, but by his father Menexenus, which means that likely more than twenty-two years had passed between the time these items were vowed and the time the trial took place. The length of time between the vow and its fulfillment, however, is not the issue. Instead, Isaeus chastises Dicaeogenes III for not completing the vow at all. He combines this example with many others in order to show that he is a contemptible character who has "wickedly and disgracefully" squandered the inheritance, directing none of the money towards his family, friends, or his city (5.40–43). His overall behavior is contrasted against that of Dicaeogenes II and Menexenus, both of who held office, contributed to the defense of the city both personally and financially, dedicated the first fruits of their wealth, and commemorated their achievements on behalf of the city through dedications on the Akropolis. The delay of more than twenty-two years does not seem to incite Isaeus's condemnation; the problem lies in the fact that the items appear to be ready, but there is no action on the part of Dicaeogenes III to complete the dedication.

Isaeus's criticism of Dicaeogenes III's inaction concurs with how the Greeks understood responsible action toward the gods and further reveals the importance of the custom of inherited vows. It also provides a deeper understanding of the role of dedications in maintaining a positive connection to the divine realm, the responsibility of worshippers and their inheritors, and the societal implications of this category of gifts. A completion of the vow would have ensured that Menexenus, through the action of his heirs, maintained a proper relationship with the recipient deity. At the same time, fulfilling the vow also would have displayed the appropriate behavior of a member of Athenian society, both towards the gods and his community. Because Dicaeogenes III did not complete his adoptive grandfather's vow and, therefore, his duty to the gods, his neglectful behavior was seen as dangerous not only to himself, but also to Menexenus, his kin, and to all of Athens as well.

While inherited vows have an element of procrastination embedded in them, a vow left unfulfilled was a concern, not only for the worshipper who could not, or refused to, meet that promise, but for the entire community. Dicaeogenes's III negligence reveals that an individual's dedicatory behavior could have greater implications for society and could impact the way in which society subsequently viewed that worshipper. Often, the influence a community had on dedications is thought of in terms of messages of prestige and power. In this instance, however, it is clear that society also concerned itself with the actual fulfillment of vows. An individual worshipper may have been personally motivated to offer a gift to a divine being, but they remained a member of a society that would in

turn influence their behavior. The lawsuit against Dicaeogenes III reveals that, to some extent, the members of Athenian society were aware of their neighbor's vows and dedicatory behavior. It is possible that a certain amount of pressure existed to ensure that worshippers completed their vows and maintained a healthy and pious relationship with their pantheon.

#### **4.6, Conclusion**

Dedicatory events were not always straightforward events in which worshippers placed an offering wherever they liked in the grounds of the *temenos*. Freedom to exercise personal choice may not have always been an option. Given the regulations meant to protect sanctuaries and the various fees involved in other ritual activities such as initiation, oracular consultation, and incubation, the degree to which dedicatory practices were regulated should not be surprising.<sup>293</sup> City authorities, sanctuary officials, communal groups, and families could also shape the dedicatory experiences of worshippers. The regulation imposed by these agents targeted numerous factors so that, at some point in their lifetime, a worshipper would have experienced a dedicatory event in which some, if not all, of their choices were modified. This chapter concludes by envisioning how regulated factors could shape a dedicatory experience by chipping away at a worshipper's range of freedom to create an ever-narrowing path. Reflections on how these limitations may have encouraged worshippers to make different choices will also be discussed.

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<sup>293</sup> For example, see Sokolowski 1954 and Lupu 2005.

Time and space had the potential to impact any worshipper's dedicatory experience. Simply gaining access to a sacred space may have been an obstacle for many worshippers. Entry into a *temenos* revolved around a sanctuary's hours and days of operation. Worshippers would have had to schedule their dedicatory events to coincide with when a sanctuary was open or risk postponing their dedication, a situation that was more serious when the sanctuary was open only once or twice a year. Still, even if a sanctuary was open, not every worshipper could access it regularly or, in some cases, at all. Sacred space could also be permanently closed to worshippers. As a general rule, those who had committed murder were denied entry into sanctuaries.<sup>294</sup> Further limits to accessibility to either the sanctuary itself or areas within it were established according to individual aspects such as gender and membership in the priesthood, which imposed additional constraints on the choices available to worshippers. Moreover, fees accompanying the placement of gifts may have created socio-economic boundaries for some worshippers. Regulations related to time and space had the ability to shape the dedicatory experiences of a broad range of worshippers without appearing to focus on one group more than another: all worshippers had to comply with operating hours, men and women equally may have been denied entry into sacred space, and any worshipper who was not part of the priesthood could find themselves unable to access the entire *temenos*. Considering the examples discussed in this chapter and the factors of time and space alone, one can say that those of a lower socio-economic class faced more limitations when there were fees accompanying dedicatory events. Alternately, those in

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<sup>294</sup> Lupu 2005, 210–11.

the priesthood seem to have had more freedom, as they had access to sacred space both in terms of time and space. These were not the only aspects influencing dedicatory experiences, however; they acted in concert with others that were tied to a worshipper's identity.

When acting in accordance with time and space, aspects specifically linked to individuals, such as gender, state of purity, and membership in familial and tribal groups created vastly more complex dedicatory experiences and could further chip away at a worshipper's range of freedom. Gender, already briefly mentioned, could keep worshippers from fully accessing sacred space. Some sanctuaries could temporarily or permanently exclude men or women from the *temenos* or areas within it. Gender could also be tied to another aspect, the worshipper's state of purity, to create even more obstacles that adversely affected some worshippers more than others. An impure state may have only been a temporary obstruction, but purity laws targeted women more heavily than men and, therefore, left them with less freedom in their dedicatory experiences. Similarly, as members of families and tribes, worshippers could be confined to acting in accordance with specified patterns of dedicatory behavior. Inherited vows were an obligated dedication that men and women were expected to complete. And, despite the freedom they seem to have had when considering the parameters of time and space, those in the priesthood could not escape this duty. Tribal ties may have also lead to unexpected compulsory dedications, some of which required a worshipper to relinquish every bit of freedom that they had. While not every instance may have been as tightly

controlled as found in the example of the Hyarbesytai tribe, tribal members were bound together by political ties that likely guided many of their dedications. As noted above, factors that were dependent upon a worshipper's identity operated alongside those of time and space, creating an incredibly complex dedicatory system that required worshippers to be aware of regulations that affected themselves and the sanctuary they intended to visit.

Further still, some worshippers may also have operated under the influence of other, more specialized parameters, such as membership in social groups or holding positions as city officials or members of the priesthood. Such positions were typically elective, though some priesthoods were inherited, and thus were not applicable to every worshipper. These positions were mostly optional, but the dedicatory experiences of those involved were often more tightly controlled. Membership in some social groups may have required individual worshippers to relinquish their freedom in some dedicatory events or face consequences. Members of the Beroia gymnasium and the Triopian sanctuary were punished for not adhering to the dedicatory requirements established by these groups. As a dedicating group, the *ergastinai* appear to have relied on tradition to guide them through a dedicatory experience. Together, the group sought permission to dedicate a single gift to a specific deity and then faced the delay created by the ensuing bureaucratic procedures. There seems to have been no individual input in this matter. Following these rules allowed worshippers to maintain their identity as a member of the group. It seems as though the benefits of such membership outweighed the lack of individual freedom in these dedicatory practices. The same can be said for officials, who

could also face strong controls on dedicatory experiences. In some situations they were obliged to make a specified dedication, while in others they were completely denied the ability to dedicate for a period of time. Alternately, membership in the priesthood seems to have allowed a greater range of freedom than other elective parameters. Certainly, priests and priestesses could be obliged to fulfill inherited vows, but their position brought a great deal of power with it. They had greater access to sanctuaries, bypassing restrictions on time, space, and gender, and had the power to supervise and shape the dedicatory experiences of other worshippers. Thus, it appears that elective parameters could vary widely in the way they affected a worshipper's dedicatory experience.

In conclusion, dedicatory practices were much more complex than has been previously considered. Most of the time, it is likely that worshippers could choose whichever deity or hero they desired and similar freedom likely applied to their choice of gift. Nevertheless, such freedom did not necessarily apply to every dedication they made in their lifetime. At some point, worshippers would have had to alter their dedicatory practices in response to external factors. Furthermore, parameters such as gender, status as an official (sanctuary or civic), membership in certain groups, etc. could have shaped the practices of some worshippers. Many worshippers would have had to adjust their plans to meet the requirements placed upon them. Worshippers would make numerous dedications throughout their lifetime. Some may have been quite straightforward, allowing worshippers to choose their path freely. However, there would be other times in which a worshipper would have had to relinquish control, meeting the stipulations of an



external agent; perhaps they would have had to make only a few minor adjustments, while other times they would have had to submit completely.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

Making a dedication in the ancient Greek world involved, at the very least, four components: a worshipper, a divine recipient, a gift, and a sanctuary or other setting in which the gift would be placed. While these components defined ancient Greek dedicatory practices, they do not adequately describe them. Indeed, many factors shaped the dedicatory experience. The dedicatory process, for example, could be delayed due to financial woes, lengthy wait times for commissioned items, and even inclement weather that disrupted travel. Just as no two worshippers had the same life experience, no two navigated the dedicatory process in the same way. Also, as Greeks would engage in this process multiple times throughout their life and at different sanctuaries, the dedicatory experience varied from one dedicatory event to the next. In order to achieve a more nuanced reconstruction of the dedicatory process and to demonstrate the variability of dedicatory experiences, this dissertation has brought together literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence from the Geometric to the late Hellenistic period from all across the Greek world.

This dissertation has explored the dedicatory process from the perspective of a worshipper, beginning with the initial impulse to dedicate to the completion of the event with the placement of a gift in a sacred setting. Previously, scholars have used the narrowly-defined concepts of appropriateness and divine specialization to explain why worshippers chose certain divine recipients, offerings, and places for their gifts.

Alternately, this study identifies the worshipper as an active participant who navigated an ever-branching path of choices. Thus, the main goal of this dissertation was to determine how factors such as gender, group membership, customs, and regulations, shaped dedicatory experiences, from simply influencing the decision making processes to dictating every aspect of the dedicatory process.

Three of the components of the dedicatory practice were discussed in separate chapters. Chapter 2 mostly examined the divine recipient, questioning whether deities and heroes were chosen based on the idea that they specialized in certain domains. Chapter 3 focused on dedications and sought to answer whether worshippers chose certain types of dedications because they believed they were appropriate for particular deities. Among the different ways in which the dedicatory process could be controlled, Chapter 4 analyzed the accessibility of sanctuaries to worshippers and the obstacles that affected the placement of gifts within them. In addition, the prominence of worshippers in this process necessitates some remarks about their varied dedicatory experiences as impacted by factors such as their gender, status, and membership in or affiliation with various groups. This additional section will be presented before the summary of the analytical chapters.

### **5.1, The Worshipper**

Although there is not a specific chapter dedicated to the worshipper, their presence is considered throughout this dissertation. Their dedicatory experiences were altered

based on a variety of individual aspects, including gender, social status, and affiliations or memberships with groups.

Chapter 3 addressed associations between divine beings and gifts. It demonstrated that a worshipper's gender did not necessarily dictate the type of offering that they chose to dedicate. Instead, men and women were free to dedicate arms, armor, garments, jewelry, and accessories like mirrors, pins, and fibulae to whichever divine recipient they preferred. On the other hand, Chapter 4 revealed that gender did play a role in how worshippers accessed sacred ground. Men and women could be denied entry, temporarily or permanently, into the *temenos* or the temple, or parts of it, based on their gender. It also played a part in purity laws. While these laws only temporarily denied access to worshippers, women faced greater restrictions than men, which, in turn, placed more limitations on their dedicatory experiences.

A worshipper's socio-economic background could also play a part in their dedicatory experience. Those with limited funds would not be likely to commission large dedications or to travel abroad to sanctuaries outside their community. Chapter 4 noted that some worshippers were required by city authorities to pay fees when placing their dedications on city owned land. A worshipper's status could also affect their choice of gift. While Chapter 3 found that gender did not necessarily guide a worshipper's choice of gift, leaving women free to dedicate arms and armor, women like Phylarche and Phrygia may have had to choose miniature versions of their gifts due to limited financial means.

Other, wealthy worshippers, like Stratonike, had greater opportunities to dedicate full-sized arms and armor.

Memberships in social, political, religious, and other groups could sometimes require that worshippers follow strict guidelines that denied them some or any measure of control over their dedicatory process. In some cases, dedicatory events may not have even been voluntary. Inherited vows dictated by familial ties are the most obvious instance, but individuals honored by the Hyarbesytai tribe as well as the victors at the Triopian and in the games of the Hermaia held by the gymnasium in Beroia triggered situations in which their membership in or affiliation with the group required a dedication. And, although their dedicatory events doubled as punishment, Athenian officials who broke their oaths and athletic competitors who cheated at Olympia were members of groups that were held to a specific standard, and their inability to maintain those standards was necessarily met with a very public, obligated dedicatory event that commemorated their shameful act.

## **5.2, The Divine Recipient**

Chapter 2 considered the worshipper's choice of deity or hero. In the case of inherited vows, the deity was already specified, though perhaps not the exact shrine.<sup>295</sup> On the other hand, some worshippers may not have known to which divine being they should address themselves and sought the aid of oracles like those at Delphi and Dodona

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<sup>295</sup> Our current understanding of inherited vows does not specify whether the actual sanctuary was always stipulated in the vow, or whether there may have been some flexibility that allowed the inheritor to choose.

for the identity of the deity or hero who could best aid them. Of course, some worshippers may have been guided by family tradition. Sarah Aleshire's analysis of the evidence at the Athenian Asklepieion found that some families chose to patronize the sanctuary, creating a tradition of dedicatory experiences between the god and those families spread out among numerous members over several generations.<sup>296</sup> Similarly, *orgeones* and other worshipping associations that focused their attention on a single deity or hero would direct gifts and sacrifices to that recipient when the group operated as a unit. In other cases, membership in political and social groups could control the choice of divine recipient. Affiliations with groups like the Hyarbesytai tribe, the Athenian officials, those worshipping at the Triopian, and the Beroia gymnasium led to some dedicatory events that were tightly controlled, leaving no freedom to choose the deity or hero.

The chapter also critically examined the underlying assumption that deities and heroes specialized in specific domains. A prominent example of specialization is represented by the god Asklepios, who has long been thought of as *the* god of healing. Nevertheless, it is clear that many other deities and heroes had the ability to heal worshippers. Furthermore, Asklepios, like all divine beings, was capable of aiding worshippers in a variety of activities. Thus, worshippers must have chosen their divine recipient based on other factors. Perhaps practicality prompted worshippers to choose certain deities or heroes. At the end of the seventh century B.C.E., the settlement at

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<sup>296</sup> Aleshire 1989, 63–5.

Emporio shifted closer to the harbor, and its shrines. The Athena Temple on the Akropolis, though functional, was now further away from the population center, while the Harbor Sanctuary was more conveniently located for those visiting the city via the harbor and, more importantly, to the local inhabitants. For worshippers constrained by factors such as time or even the prospect of traversing the expanse of an unknown city, any deity or hero could do.

### **5.3, The Dedication**

Chapter 3 examined the selection of the offering. Sometimes worshippers had no say in the matter and instead were directed by deities or heroes. One way the divine recipient could make their preference known was through oracles. After the battle at Salamis, for instance, the Greeks asked Apollo's oracle at Delphi if the god was pleased with his gifts. In response, Apollo demanded, and was given, the prize awarded to the Aeginetans for their courage in the battle at Salamis (Hdt. 8.122). Similarly, many years after his return from the trek to Persia with the Ten Thousand, Xenophon asked the oracle at Delphi for the best place to found a sanctuary to Artemis of Ephesos, in order to fulfill the *dekate* due to the goddess from the Ten Thousand's many battles (*An.* 5.3.7–13). Deities and heroes could also direct worshippers in their dreams. The phenomenon is typically alluded to on reliefs depicting reclining or sleeping dedicators, but perhaps the most concrete evidence for it is found in dedicatory inscriptions that commonly use formulae like ἀνέθηκε κατ' ἐνύπνιον, κατ' ὄνειρον, and κατ' ὄναρ ("dedicated according

to a dream") to indicate a divine hand in the dedicatory event.<sup>297</sup> Two of the *iamata* from Epidauros record that Asklepios required the dedication of specific items as thanks for his divine healing. As payment for curing her blindness and as punishment for ridiculing some of the other cures referenced in the sanctuary, and the god's power by extension, Ambrosia from Athens was instructed in a dream to dedicate a silver pig (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 33–41). In the dream of Pandaros of Thessaly, the god tied a fillet around Pandaros's forehead and told him to dedicate it after leaving the *abaton*. The fillet, once removed, took his tattoos with it and, once dedicated in the temple, became a visual display of the god's power (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 48–54).

Membership in some groups could also severely limit a worshipper's ability to choose their own dedication. For example, the type of offering, i.e. a gold statue to be dedicated at Delphi, was specified in the oaths of Athenian officials, and the decree of the Hyarbesytai tribe explicitly states the type and value of the gift. A slightly different approach was imposed upon the victors at the Triopian and in the Hermaia of Beroia's gymnasium. In these cases, the victors still had no freedom to choose, but they were not required to obtain the gifts on their own. Rules governing these groups required that the victors dedicate the prizes awarded to them.

Priests and priestesses could also have power over the choice of dedication. In some situations, they could impose limitations on the quality of gifts. As noted above, the

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<sup>297</sup> Van Straten 1976, 1–12 (summary of the visual evidence) and 13.



sanctuary regulation from Athens stipulates that priests had the final say as to what kind of offerings were worthy of the temple (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 995*, lines 6–10). If a worshipper was determined that his or her gift should remain in the temple, they would have to ensure that it met the priest's standards. There is also an example in which a worshipper transferred the choice of gift to a sanctuary official. In the *Anabasis*, Xenophon reveals that, for a time, he left a portion of Artemis of Ephesos's *dekate* from the Ten Thousand in the stewardship of a sanctuary official named Megabyzus. He instructed the man that should Xenophon die he was then to fulfill the dedication, choosing the form of the dedication in accordance with whatever he thought the goddess would like best (5.3.4–6).

There may have been another way that sanctuary officials controlled the type of dedications. As noted in Chapter 2.2, Gloria Merker's study of the terracotta figurine industry of Corinth found close associations between particular sanctuaries and certain types of terracotta figurines. She suggests that this may have been the result of focused distribution by workshops that would work with sanctuary officials to provide batches of figurines for sale at the sanctuary. Her analysis leads to a very important observation, "[i]f this method of distribution indeed was employed, the cult officials could have had some control over the cult imagery as expressed by the figurines, since they could themselves have commissioned batches of figurines from the workshops."<sup>298</sup> If true, such control should not be all that surprising, as this dissertation has demonstrated how a variety of groups, including sanctuary officials, could control the dedicatory experience, even the

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<sup>298</sup> Merker 2003, 238.

type of offering. The connection of certain kinds of figurines with certain sanctuaries may indicate that the concept of appropriateness guided sanctuary officials in their order, but it is not clear how or if this was transferred onto worshippers. The figurines may have been on sale in the sanctuary, but were worshippers required to purchase them for dedication, either year round or at specific events? The great variety of offerings that can be found within a single sanctuary assemblage would seem to argue against this possibility, instead implying that a flexibility of choice existed for most worshippers.

The interpretation of archaeological assemblages within sanctuaries can be quite difficult. One of the aims of this study was to detect inconsistencies in how modern scholarship approached this material, identifying arguments that were clouded by modern assumptions. Dedications that seem "unusual" need not be explained only by the presence of another undocumented deity or hero. Even if worshippers ascribed to the concept of specialization, they did not have to dedicate situationally appropriate gifts. For example, Naulochos accepted Poseidon as the god of the sea and, therefore, as responsible for his catch of fish, but he did not choose an item reflective of that event. Instead, the dedicatory inscription relates that Naulochos dedicated a *kore*, a statue of a maiden similar to many others found on the Akropolis (IG 1<sup>3</sup> 828). Dedications could carry whatever meaning the worshipper wished to impart upon it in a single dedicatory event. The ability to shift in meaning is also why this study was able to dissociate gender and appropriateness from the selection of dedications. A worshipper's gender did not necessarily govern their choice of gift, nor did it dictate what type of gift a god or

goddess would receive. Women were free to dedicate arms and armor, although it may be possible that financial constraints limited many of them to miniature representations instead of life-sized versions. While men may have most often dedicated rings, they also gave other types of adornment, as well as garments. As for the divine recipients, the literary sources, temple inventories, and sacred assemblages of both gods and goddesses indicate that any gift could please them.

#### **5.4, The Sanctuary**

Chapter 4 demonstrated how dedicatory experiences within a sanctuary could be restricted. This included limiting the accessibility of sanctuaries. General restrictions like operating hours based on either the date or time of day could require worshippers to schedule their dedicatory events. This is especially important for sanctuaries that were open infrequently, e.g. once or twice a year. Targeted restrictions, however, could make accessing a *temenos* more difficult. Worshippers could be denied entry because of their gender, lack of membership in the priesthood, or state of purity. While restrictions related to purity could be temporary, the other two factors could be used to permanently bar worshippers from entering a *temenos*. There were also cases in which a worshipper who was able to enter a sanctuary could still encounter rules that used their gender or lack of membership in the priesthood to control their movements within the *temenos*. The temple, or parts of it, and sacred groves, for example, could be closed to worshippers who met certain criteria, which then limited the potential areas for the placement of gifts. Perhaps worshippers were able to bypass these restrictions by asking a third party for

assistance; a family member, friend, or even sanctuary official who could access the area could place the gift for them. When one considers the limited accessibility of sanctuaries, the possibility that dedications were given by a third party on behalf of another individual becomes more likely. In fact, the act of dedicating a gift on behalf of another is not unheard of in the ancient Greek world, as noted from inscriptions discussed above in Chapter 2.3 (*CIRB* 6 and 1037). Could a woman who was convinced it was absolutely necessary to place a dedication before the cult statue within a temple that she was barred from entering have her husband place the gift for her?<sup>299</sup> Could the anxiety of birth and death have encouraged others to seek aid for their loved ones and friends when they themselves could not do it? Perhaps it was less important for the worshipper to set the object in place personally than has been commonly thought. In Herodas's Fourth Mime, it is a slave who actually sets Cynno's dedication down (19–20). Regulations may have kept worshippers out, but that may not have applied to their dedications.

Once inside the sanctuary and at their preferred area of placement, worshippers may have been able to proceed at their leisure or, in some cases, the dedicatory event may have been placed under the supervision of a sanctuary official. In other cases, the event was dependent upon the presence of the official, which, again, would require worshippers to schedule their activities carefully. They could also face adjustments to their plans, such as paying a placement fee, selecting a different place to set their gift, or meeting a standard of quality determined by the official. Any of these elements could alter the

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<sup>299</sup> See Corbett 1970, 151. Corbett suggests that one major desire that drove worshippers to enter a temple was that praying before a cult statue was especially effective.

dedicatory experience of a worshipper, possibly to the extent that worshippers would have to forego offering their gift until they met the demands of the official. Of course, worshippers who held positions of authority at the sanctuary may have been able to bypass some, or all, of these restrictions.

## **5.5, Summary**

In summary, this dissertation argues that modern scholarship has too narrowly defined concepts like appropriateness and specialization when interpreting dedicatory practices. In many cases, worshippers not only selected a gift that they considered suitable, but also dedicated it to their preferred deity or hero. Gender was also a less influential factor in the choice of gift than has previously been argued. Perhaps more surprising than men dedicating garments and jewelry is the fact that women dedicated arms and armor and could do so for any occasion. Still, in order to fully understand the degree of choice and flexibility involved in the act of dedication, future avenues of research should explore the presence and role of visiting deities and heroes in sanctuaries. Examinations employing the methodology demonstrated by Gloria Merker could shed further light on associations between certain gifts and divine beings.<sup>300</sup> In doing so, however, scholars should carefully consider the extent to which this form of appropriateness was influenced by sanctuary authorities and the control that they may have exercised over the sale of offerings within the *temenos*. Also, while recalling the power sanctuary authorities had over the placement of offerings, scholars should be

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<sup>300</sup> Merker 2003.

mindful of the degree to which that control was influenced by ideas of what was appropriate for certain areas of the sanctuary, as demonstrated in an Athenian regulation (*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 995*, lines 9–10). This study also drew attention to the fact that in their dedicatory practices worshippers would have to confront practical concerns. Factors such as the weather, hours of operation, and limited access to areas within the *temenos* could frustrate the process and would have to be met with careful scheduling and planning. In short, making a dedication was a common practice in the ancient Greek world, but no two dedicatory experiences were ever the same.

## APPENDIX A: Literary Sources (including Concordance)

Appendix A presents the literary sources by author in alphabetical order. Each entry lists the name of the author, title of the work, relevant passage in Greek and in English, the date when the text was likely composed, and citations. At the end of each entry a reference is provided for the chapter(s) and section(s) in which a passage is discussed.

### Aeschines

1. Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 3.21. 330 B.C.E.

[21] καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων, ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, φησί, 'μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.' ὧ Ἡράκλεις, ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις, ὅτι ἦρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμαῶν χρήσῃ. πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν, οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι, οὐδ' ἐκποιήτον γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά: ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀποδῶσι τῇ πόλει.

[21]...and so strong is his distrust of men facing audit that right at the beginning of the laws he says: "An official subject to audit is not to leave the city."  
"Hercules!" A man might reply. "Just because I have held office am I not to leave the city?" Yes, to prevent you from exploiting public money and policy for your own advantage and then running away. Then again, he does not permit a man subject to audit to consecrate his property or to make a dedication or to be adopted or to dispose of his property by will or to do a range of other things. In sum, the legislator holds the properties of men facing audit as security, until they account for themselves to the city. (Carey 2000, 172–173)

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City Authority

### Aeschylus

1. Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 271–279. 467 B.C.E.

[271] ἐγὼ δὲ χάρας τοῖς πολισσούχοις θεοῖς,  
πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις,  
Δίρκης τε πηγὰς ὕδατί θ' Ἴσμηνοῦ λέγω,  
εὔ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσωμένης  
[275] μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν  
θήσειν τροπαῖα πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμασι  
λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις.  
τοιαῦτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς

[271] I say to the gods who inhabit this land, both those who dwell in the plains and those who watch over the market-place, and to the springs of Dirce and the waters of Ismenus, that if all turns out well and the city is saved, we will redden the altars of the gods with the blood of sheep, set up monuments of victory, and fix the spoils of the enemy, gained by the stroke of the spear, in their holy temples. (Sommerstein 2009, 181–183)

Cf: Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

### Aristophanes

1. Aristophanes, *Birds* 577–584. 414 B.C.E.

[577] Πισθέταιρος: ἦν δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας εἶναι νομίσωσι τὸ μηδέν, τούτους δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ; τότε χρὴ ἀστρούθων νέφος ἀρθέν καὶ σπερμολόγων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τὸ σπέρμ' αὐτῶν ἀνακάψαι·  
[580] κάπειτ' αὐτοῖς ἢ Δημήτηρ πυροὺς πεινῶσι μετρεῖτω.

Ἐυελπίδης: οὐκ ἐθελήσει μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὄψει προφάσεις αὐτὴν παρέχουσαν.  
Πισθέταιρος: οἱ δ' αὖ κόρακες τῶν ζευγαρίων, οἷσιν τὴν γῆν καταροῦσιν, καὶ τῶν προβάτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκοψάντων ἐπὶ πείρα·  
εἶθ' Ἀπόλλων ἰατρός <γ> ὦν ἰάσθω· μισθοφορεῖ δέ.

[577] Pisthetaerus: But if out of ignorance they still think that you're nothing and the Olympians are gods, then a cloud of sparrows and seed pickers must arise and gobble up their seed in [580] the fields. When they're famished, let Demeter dole out grain to them!

Euelpides: She'll certainly renege; mark my words, she'll just make excuses.

Pisthetaerus: And let the ravens peck out the eyes of the oxen harnessed to plough their land, and of their sheep, as a challenge. Then let Apollo the Healer heal them—and earn his fee! (Henderson 2000, 99)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo

2. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 331–334. 423 B.C.E.

[331] Σωκράτης: οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' οἶσθ' ὅτι πλείστους αὐταὶ βόσκουσι σοφιστάς, Θουριομάντις, ἰατροτέχνας, σφραγιδονυχαργοκομῆτας·  
κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἄσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένακας,  
οὐδὲν δρῶντας βόσκουσ' ἄργούς, ὅτι ταύτας μουσοποιοῦσιν.

[331] Socrates: You didn't because you're unaware that they nourish a great many sophists, diviners from Thuri, medical experts, long-haired idlers with onyx



signet rings, and tune bending composers of dithyrambic choruses, men of highflown pretension, whom they maintain as do-nothings because they compose music about these Clouds. (Henderson 1998, 53–55)

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

3. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 631–634. ca. 391 B.C.E.

[631] Πραξάγορα: νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω· καὶ δημοτικὴ γ' ἡ γνώμη καὶ καταχίγη τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἔσται πολλή καὶ τῶν σφραγίδας ἔχόντων, ὅταν ἐμβάδ' ἔχων εἴπη πρότερος, “παραχώρει κἄτ' ἐπιτήρει, ὅταν ἦδη γὼ διαπραξάμενος παραδῶ σοι δευτεριάζειν.’

[631] Praxagora: Absolutely. What's more, it's an idea that favors ordinary people, and it'll be a great joke on the big shots with signet rings when a guy wearing clogs speaks up and says, "Step aside and wait tip I'm finished; then I'll give you seconds!" (Henderson 2002, 329–331)

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

4. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 840–849. 388 B.C.E.

[840] Δίκαιος: ... ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν προσευξόμενος ἦκω δικαίως ἐνθάδε.  
Καρίων: τὸ τριβώνιον δὲ τί δύναται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὃ φέρει μετὰ σοῦ τὸ παιδάριον τουτί; φράσον.  
Δίκαιος: καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναθήσων ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν.  
[845] Καρίων: μῶν ἐνεμυήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα;  
Δίκαιος: οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐνερρίγωσ' ἔτη τριακαίδεκα.  
Καρίων: τὰ δ' ἐμβάδια;  
Δίκαιος: καὶ ταῦτα συνεχειμάζετο.  
Καρίων: καὶ ταῦτ' ἀναθήσων ἔφερερ οὖν;  
Δίκαιος: νῆ τὸν Δία.  
Καρίων: χαρίεντά γ' ἦκεις δῶρα τῷ θεῷ φέρων.

[840] Just Man: But not now. That's why I'm here to pay the god my due respects.  
Cario: But what in heaven's name is that cloak doing here, the one your child is carrying? Do explain it.  
Just Man: I'm bringing this too, as a dedication to the god.  
Cario: [845] That's not what you wore for your initiation at the Great Mysteries, is it?  
Just Man: No, it's what I wore to freeze in for thirteen years.  
Cario: And those shoes?

Just Man: They too braved the winters with me.

Cario: And you've brought them to dedicate as well?

Just Man: I certainly have.

Cario: Charming gifts you've brought for the god! (Henderson 2002, 543–545)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Plutus

5. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 874–885. 388 B.C.E.

[874] Συκοφάντης: σὺ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἰὼν ταχέως οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις·

[875] ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ γὰρ δεῖ σ' ἐκεῖ στρεβλούμενον  
εἰπεῖν ἅ πεπανούργηκας.

Καρίων: οἰμῶξ' ἄρα σύ.

Δίκαιος: νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, πολλοῦ γ' ἄξιος

ἅπανσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, εἰ

τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐξολεῖ κακοὺς κακῶς.

[880] Συκοφάντης: οἴμοι τάλας· μῶν καὶ σὺ μετέχων καταγελαῖς;

ἐπεὶ πόθεν θοιμάτιον εἴληφας τοδί;

ἐχθρὸς δ' ἔχοντ' εἶδόν σ' ἐγὼ τριβώνιον.

Δίκαιος: οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου· φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος

τὸν δακτύλιον τονδί παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς.

[885] Καρίων: ἀλλ' οὐδέν' ἔστι συκοφάντου δῆγματος.

[874] Informer: You, sir, had better report to the marketplace at once; that's where you'll be broken on the wheel and made to confess your crimes.

Cario: You'll regret that!

Just Man: By Zeus the Savior, all Greece will be much obliged to our god if he puts these miserable informers to a miserable death!

[880] Informer: Damn it, are you on their side too and deriding me? Just where did you get this cloak? Yesterday I saw you wearing a jacket.

Just Man: I'm paying no attention to you; I'm wearing this amulet I bought from Eudamus for a drachma.

[885] Cario: But there's no antidote for an informer's bite! (Henderson 2002, 547–549)

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

## Aristotle

1. Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 7.1. 350 B.C.E.

[1]...οἱ δ' ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὁμνύντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ κατεφάτιζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἐάν τινα παραβῶσι τῶν νόμων· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὁμνύουσι.

[1]...and the Nine Archons used to make affirmation on oath at the Stone that if they transgressed any one of the laws they would dedicate a gold statue of a man; owing to which they are even now still sworn in with this oath. (Rackham 1935, 27)

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City Authority

2. Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 55.5. 350 B.C.E.

[5]...δοκιμασθὲν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, βαδίζουσι πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἐφ' οὗ τὰ τόμι' ἔστιν (ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ διαιτηταὶ ὁμόσαντες ἀποφαίνονται τὰς διαίτας καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἐξόμνουνται τὰς μαρτυρίας), ἀναβάντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὁμνύουσιν δικαίως ἄρξιν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ δῶρα μὴ λήψεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα, κἄν τι λάβωσιν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθήσειν χρυσοῦν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὁμόσαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν βαδίζουσιν καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ὁμνύουσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσέρχονται.

[5]...And when the matter has been checked in this way, they go to the stone on which the victims are cut up for sacrifice (the one on which Arbitrators also take oath before they issue their decisions, and persons summoned as witnesses swear that they have no evidence to give), and mounting on this stone they swear that they will govern justly and according to the laws, and will not take presents on account of their office, and that if they should take anything they will set up a golden statue. After taking oath they go from the stone to the Akropolis and take the same oath again there, and after that they enter on their office. (Rackham 1935, 152)

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City Authority

### Callimachus

1. Callimachus, *Aetia* III, 66 (The Fountains of Argos). ca. 240s B.C.E.

[1] ἠρῶσσαι[...] ἱ ἄς Ἰασίδος νέπ[ο]δες·  
νύμφα Π[ο]σειδάωνος ἐφυδριάς, οὐδὲ μὲν Ἥρης  
ἄγνὸν ὑφαινέμεναι τῆσι μέμηλε πάτος  
στῆναι [πὰ]ρ κανόνεσσι πάρος θέμις ἢ τεὸν ὕδωρ  
[5] κὰκ κεφαλῆς ἱρὸν πέτρον ἐφεζομένης  
χεύασθαι, τὸν μὲν σὺ μέσον περιδέδρομας ἀμφί·  
πότνι' Ἀμυμώνη καὶ Φυσάδεια φίλη  
Ἴπη τ' Αὐτομάτη τε, παλαίτατα χαίρετε νυμφέων  
οἰκία καὶ λιπαραὶ ρεῖτε Πελασγιάδες.

[1]...heroines, children of...Io. Nor was it proper, o water-nymph bride of Poseidon, that the maidens that were to weave the pure robe of Hera should stand

by the weaver's rods, before sitting on the sacred rock about which you flow, and pouring your water over their head. Venerable Amymone, and beloved Physadea and Hippe and Automate, hail, most ancient homes of nymphs; flow, brilliant Pelasgian maidens. (Trypanis *et. al.* 1973, 49)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

2. Callimachus, Hymn III, *To Artemis* 225–232. third century B.C.E.

[225] πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι, χαῖρε Χιτώνη  
Μιλήτω ἐπίδημε· σὲ γὰρ ποιήσατο Νηλεὺς  
ἡγεμόνην, ὅτε νηυσὶν ἀνήγετο Κεκροπίηθεν.  
Χησιὰς Ἴμβρασίη πρωτόθρονε, σοὶ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
πηδάλιον νηὸς σφετέρης ἐγκάθθετο νηῶ  
[230] μείλιον ἀπλοΐης, ὅτε οἱ κατέδησας ἀήτας,  
Τευκρῶν ἠνίκα νῆες Ἀχαιίδες ἄστεα κήδειν  
ἔπλεον ἀμφ' Ἑλένη Ῥαμνουσίδι θυμωθεῖσαι.

[225] Lady of many shrines, of many cities, hail! Goddess of the Tunic, sojourner in Miletos; for thee did Neleus make his Guide, when he put off with his ships from the land of Cecrops. Lady of Chesion and of Imbrasmus, throned in the highest, to thee in thy shrine did Agamemnon dedicate the rudder of his ship, a charm against ill weather, when thou didst bind the winds for him, what time the Achaean ships sailed to vex the cities of the Teucry, wroth for Rhamnusian Helen. (Mair 1921, 79–81)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

3. Callimachus, Hymn V, *On the Bath of Pallas* 13–32. third century B.C.E.

[13] ὦ ἴτ' Ἀχαιιάδες, καὶ μὴ μύρα μηδ' ἀλαβάστρωσ  
(συρίγγων αἰὼ φθόγγον ὑπαξονίων),  
[15] μὴ μύρα λωτροχόοι τᾷ Παλλάδι μηδ' ἀλαβάστρωσ  
(οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναία χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ)  
οἴσετε μηδὲ κάτοπτρον· αἶε καλὸν ὄμμα τὸ τήνας  
οὐδ' ὄκα τὰν Ἴδα Φρυξὲς ἐδίκαζεν ἔριν,  
οὔτ' ἐς ὀρείχαλκον μεγάλα θεὸς οὔτε Σιμοῦντος  
[20] ἔβλεπεν δίναν ἐς διαφαινομένην·  
οὐδ' Ἥρα· Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἐλοῖσα  
πολλάκι τὰν αὐτὰν δις μετέθηκε κόμαν·  
ἀ δέ, δις ἐξήκοντα διαθρέξασα διαύλωσ,  
οἷα παρ' Εὐρώτῃ τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
[25] ἀστέρες, ἐμπεράμωσ ἐνετρίψατο λιτὰ λαβοῖσα

χρίματα, τᾶς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς·  
ὧ κῶραι, τὸ δ' ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε, πρόιον οἶαν  
ἢ ρόδον ἢ σίβδας κόκκος ἔχει χροῖαν.  
τῶ καὶ νῦν ἄρσεν τι κομίζατε μῶνον ἔλαιον,  
[30] ὧ Κάστωρ, ὧ καὶ χρίεται Ἡρακλῆης·  
οἴσετε καὶ κτένα οἱ παγχρύσειον, ὡς ἀπὸ χαίταν  
πέζηται, λιπαρὸν σμασαμένα πλόκαμον.

[13] O come, daughters of Achaea, and bring not perfume nor alabasters (I hear the voice of the axle-naves!); bring not, ye companions of the Bath, for Pallas perfume nor alabasters (for Athena loves not mixed unguents), neither bring ye a mirror. Always her face is fair, and, even when the Phrygian judged the strife on Ida, the great goddess looked not into orichalc nor into the transparent eddy of Simois, nor did Hera. But Cypris took the shining bronze and often altered and again altered the same lock. But Pallas, after running twice sixty double courses, even as beside the Eurotas the Lacedaemonian Stars, took and skillfully anointed her with simple unguents, the birth of her own tree. And, O maidens, the red blush arose on her, as the color of the morning rose or seed of pomegranate. Wherefore now also bring ye only the manly olive oil, wherewith Castor and wherewith Herakles anoint themselves. And bring her a comb all of gold, that she may comb her hair, when she hath anointed her glossy tresses. (Mair 1921, 113–115)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

### Demosthenes

1. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 21.52. ca. 350–351 B.C.E.

[52] "Μαντεῖαι"

[Ἀὐδῶ Ἐρεχθείδησιν, ὅσοι Πανδίουνοσ ἄστν ναίετε καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοισι ἰθύνεθ' ἔορτάσ, μεμνηῖσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρουσ κατ' ἀγνιάσ ιστάναι ώραίων Βρομίῳ χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντασ, καὶ κνισᾶν βομοῖσι κάρη στεφάνοισ πυκάσαντασ.

Περὶ ὑγείασ θύειν καὶ εὔχεσθαι Διὶ ὑπάτω, Ἡρακλεῖ, Απόλλωνι προστατηρίῳ· περὶ τύχασ ἀγαθᾶσ Απόλλωνι ἀγνιεῖ, Λατοῖ, Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ κατ' ἀγνιάσ κρατήρασ ιστάμεν καὶ χοροὺσ καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν κατὰ πάτρια θεοῖσ Ὀλυμπίοισ πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαισ, ἰδίασ δεξιᾶσ καὶ ἀριστεράσ ἀνίσχοντασ, καὶ μνασιδωρεῖν.

[52] "The Oracles"

You I address, Pandion's townsmen and sons of Erechtheus, You who appoint your feasts by the ancient rites of your fathers. See you forget not Bacchus, and joining all in the dances down your broad-spaced streets, in thanks for the gifts of the season, crown each head with a wreath, while incense reeks on the altars.

For health, sacrifice and pray to Zeus Most High, to Herakles, and to Apollo the Protector; for good fortune to Apollo, god of the streets, to Leto, and to Artemis; and along the streets set wine-bowls and dances, and wear garlands after the manner of your fathers in honor of all gods and all goddesses of Olympus, raising right hands and left in supplication, and remember your gifts. (Vince 1935, 39–41)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Zeus

2. (Pseudo) Demosthenes, *Against Neaera* 59.76. before 339 B.C.E.

[76] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμναις (καὶ αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα), μαρτυρίαν ποιούμενος ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ παρακαταθήκην καταλείπων τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ὅτι τὴν γε θεῶν γυναῖκα δοθησομένην καὶ ποιήσουσαν τὰ ἱερὰ τοιαύτην ἀξιοῦμεν εἶναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐν Λίμναις ἔστησαν, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ εἰδῶσιν τὰ γεγραμμένα: ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ἀνοίγεται, τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός.

[76] This law they wrote on a pillar of stone, and set it up in the sanctuary of Dionysus by the altar in Limnae (and this pillar even now stands, showing the inscription in Attic characters, nearly effaced). Thus the people testified to their own piety toward the god, and left it as a deposit for future generations, showing what type of woman we demand that she shall be who is to be given in marriage to the god, and is to perform the sacrifices. For this reason they set it up in the most ancient and most sacred sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnae, in order that few only might have knowledge of the inscription; for once only in each year is the sanctuary opened, on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion. (Murray 1939, 409–411)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

### **Diodorus Siculus**

1. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 11.26.7. first century B.C.E.

[7] ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος ὁ Γέλων ἐκ μὲν τῶν λαφύρων κατεσκεύασε ναοὺς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, χρυσοῦν δὲ τρίποδα ποιήσας ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι χαριστήριον. ἐπεβάλετο δὲ ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτηνκατασκευάζειν νεῶν Δήμητρος νεῶς

ένδεούσης: τοῦτον μὲν οὐ συνετέλεσε, μεσολαβηθεὶς τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης.

[7] After this incident Gelon built noteworthy temples to Demeter and Kore out of the spoils, and making a golden tripod of sixteen talents value he set it up in the sacred precinct at Delphi as a thank-offering to Apollo. At a later time he purposed to build a temple to Demeter at Aetna, since she had none in that place; but he did not complete it, his life having been cut short by fate. (Oldfather 1946, 195–197)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources

### Euripides

1. Euripides, *Ion* 1141–1165, especially 1143–1145. 414–412 B.C.E.

[1141] λαβὼν δ' ὑφάσμαθ' ἱερὰ θησαυρῶν πάρα  
κατεσκίαζε, θαύματ' ἀνθρώποις ὄρᾶν.

πρῶτον μὲν ὀρόφῳ πτέρυγα περιβάλλει πέπλων,  
ἀνάθημα Δίου παιδός, οὓς Ἡρακλῆης

[1145] Ἀμαζόνων σκυλεύματ' ἤνεγκεν θεῶ.

ἐνῆν δ' ὑφάνται γράμμασιν τοιοῖσδ' ὑφαί·  
Οὐρανὸς ἀθροίζων ἄστρ' ἐν αἰθέρος κύκλῳ·

ἵππους μὲν ἤλαυν' ἐς τελευταίαν φλόγα

Ἥλιος, ἐφέλκων λαμπρὸν Ἑσπέρου φάος·

[1150] μελάμπεπλος δὲ Νυξ ἀσείρωτον ζυγοῖς

ὄχημ' ἔπαλλεν, ἄστρα δ' ὠμάρτει θεᾶ·

Πλειὰς μὲν ἦει μεσοπόρου δι' αἰθέρος

ὃ τε ξιφῆρης Ὠρίων, ὑπερθε δὲ

Ἄρκτος στρέφουσ' οὐραῖα χρυσήρη πόλῳ·

[1155] κύκλος δὲ πανσέληνος ἠκόντιζ' ἄνω

μηνὸς διχῆρης, Ὑάδες τε, ναυτίλοις

σαφέστατον σημεῖον, ἢ τε φωσφόρος

Ἔως διώκουσ' ἄστρα. τοίχοισιν δ' ἐπι

ἤμπισχεν ἄλλα βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα·

[1160] εὐηρέτους ναῦς ἀντίας Ἑλληνίσιν

καὶ μιζόθηρας φῶτας ἰππείας τ' ἄγρας

ἐλάφων λεόντων τ' ἀγρίων θηράματα.

κατ' εἰσόδους δὲ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας

σπεύραισιν εἰλίσσοντ', Ἀθηναίων τινὸς

[1165] ἀνάθημα·

[1141] Then he took sacred tapestries from the storerooms and draped them for shade over the frame, a marvelous sight for men to see. First on the top he put a covering of garments dedicated by Herakles, garments which the son of Zeus [1145] offered the god as spoils from the Amazons. On them were woven the following. Heaven was mustering the stars in the circle of the sky. Helios was driving his horses toward his final gleaming, bringing on the brightness of Eveningstar. [1150] Night, robed in black, was making her chariot, drawn by a pair with no trace horses, swing forward, and the stars were accompanying the goddess. The Pleiades were passing through mid heaven and so was Orion with his sword, while above them the Bear turned its golden tail about the Pole. [1155] The circle of the full moon, as at mid month, darted her beams, and there were the Hyades, the clearest sign for sailors, and Dawn the Daybringer putting the stars to flight. On the walls of the tent he spread as a covering other tapestries, barbarian work: [1160] there were finely oared ships facing ships of the Greeks, half-beast men, horsemen chasing hinds, and the hunting of wild lions. Near the entrance he put Cecrops, winding himself in coils, standing next to his daughters, a work dedicated by [1165] an Athenian. (Kovacs 1999, 455–457)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Apollo

2. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 380–384. 414–412 B.C.E.

[380] τὰ τῆς θεοῦ δὲ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,  
 ἥτις βροτῶν μὲν ἦν τις ἄψηται φόνου,  
 ἢ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγη χεροῖν,  
 βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη,  
 αὐτὴ δὲ θυσίαις ἥδεται βροτοκτόνοις.

[380] I do not approve of the goddess's cleverness. Any mortal who has had contact with blood or childbirth or a corpse she keeps from her altars, deeming him unclean. Yet she herself takes pleasure in human sacrifice! (Kovacs 1999, 187)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death



3. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1462–1467. 414–412 B.C.E.

[1462] σὲ δ' ἀμφὶ σεμνάς, Ἴφιγένεια, λείμακας  
Βραυρωνίας δεῖ τῆδε κληδουχεῖν θεᾶ:  
οὗ καὶ τεθάγη κατθανοῦσα, καὶ πέπλων  
[1465] ἄγαλμά σοι θήσουσιν εὐπῆγους ὑφάς,  
ἃς ἂν γυναῖκες ἐν τόκοις ψυχορραγεῖς  
λίπωσ' ἐν οἴκοις.

[1462] And you, Iphigenia, in the holy meadows  
of Brauron must serve this goddess as her temple warder.  
When you die, you will lie buried here, and they will dedicate  
for your delight the finely woven garments  
which women who die in childbirth leave behind  
in their houses. (Kovacs 1999, 307–309)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

### Herodas

1. Herodas, *Mime* 4: Women Dedicating and Sacrificing to Asklepios. third century B.C.E.

[1] (KY.) χαίροις, ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης  
καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κηπίδαυρον ὄικηκας,  
σὺν καὶ Κορωνίς ἢ σ' ἔτικτε κώπόλλων  
χαίροιεν, ἧς τε χειρὶ δεξιῇ ψαύεις  
[5] Ἵγεία, κῶνπερ οἶδε τίμοι βωμοὶ  
Πανάκη τε κηπιῶ τε κηισὼ χαίροι,  
κοὶ Λεωμέδοντος οἰκίην τε καὶ τείχεα  
πέρσαντες, ἠτηῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων,  
Ποδαλείριός τε καὶ Μαχάων χαιρόντων,  
[10] κῶσοι θεοὶ σὴν ἐστίνη κατοικεῦσιν  
καὶ θεαί, πάτερ Παίηον· ἴλεωι δεῦτε  
τῶλέκτορος τοῦδ', ὄντιν' οἰκίης τοίχων  
κήρυκα θύω, τὰπίδορπα δέξαισθε.  
οὐ γάρ τι πολλὴν οὐδ' ἔτοιμον ἀντλεῦμεν,  
[15] ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἂν βοῦν ἢ νενημένην χοῖρον  
πολλῆς φορίνης, κοῦκ ἀλέκτορ', ἦτρα  
νούσων ἐποιεύμεσθα τὰς ἀπέψησας  
ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χειῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας.  
ἐκ δεξιῆς τὸν πίνακα, Κοκκάλῃ, στήσον  
[20] τῆς Ἵγείης.

[39] (KY.) ἔπευ, Φίλη, μοι καὶ καλόν τί σοι δείξω

[40] πρῆγμ' οἶον οὐκ ὄρηκας ἐξ ὄτευ ζώεις.

Κύδιλλ', ἰοῦσα τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον.

οὐ σοὶ λέγω, αὐτή, τῆι ὧδε κῶδε χασκεύση;

μᾶ, μή τιν' ὄρηγ ὧν λέγω πεποίηται,

ἔστηκε δ' εἷς μ' ὀρεῦσα καρκίνου μέζον.

[45] ἰοῦσα, φημί, τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον.

[54] (KY.) ἀλλ' ἡμέρη τε κῆπι μέζον ὠθεῖται·

αὐτή σύ, μεῖνον· ἡ θύρη γὰρ ὤικται

κάνειτ' ὁ παστός.

[1] <Cynno> Greetings, Lord Paeon, who rulest Triikka and hast settled sweet Kos and Epidauros, and also may Coronis who gave thee birth and Apollo be greeted, and she whom thou touchest with thy right hand Hygieia, and those to whom belong these honoured altars, Panace and Epio and Ieso be greeted, and the sackers of Laomedon's house and walls, curers of cruel diseases, Podalirios and Machaon be greeted, and whatsoever gods and goddesses live at thy hearth, father Paeon: may ye graciously come hither and receive this cock which I am sacrificing, herald of the walls of the house, as your dessert. For our well is far from abundant or ready-flowing, else we should have made an ox or a sow heaped with much crackling, and not a cock, our thank-offering for the diseases which thou hast wiped away, Lord, stretching out thy gentle hands. Coccale, set the tablet on the right of Hygieia. (Rusten and Cunningham, 2003, 227–229)

[39] Come with me, Phile, and I'll show you a lovely thing such as you have never seen in all your life. Cydilla, go and call the temple-warden. Am I not speaking to you, who gape this way and that? Ah, she has paid no heed to what I say, but stands staring at me more than a crab. Go, I say, and call the temple-warden. (Rusten and Cunningham, 2003, 231)

[54] <Cynno> But it is day and the crush is getting worse. You there, wait, for the door has been opened and the curtain unfastened. (Rusten and Cunningham, 2003, 231)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3, City Authority and/or Sanctuary Authority; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours;" 5.4, The Sanctuary

## Herodotus

1. Herodotus 1.14. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[14] τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. [2] ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα: ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. [3] ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἄξιοθέτον: κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

[14] Thus the Mermnads obtained the kingship by taking it from the Heraklids. When Gyges became king, he sent quite a few dedications off to Delphi, and of all the silver dedications in Delphi, most are his. Besides silver, he dedicated an unbelievable amount of gold. Most worthy of mention among them are the bowls; six golden bowls are his offerings; [2] they weigh thirty talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, although the truth is that it is not the treasury of all the Corinthians, but of Kypselos son of Eetion. Of all barbarians known to us, it was Gyges who first dedicated offerings to Delphi, after Midas son of Gordians, the king of Phrygia. [3] Midas in fact dedicated a royal throne worth seeing, on which he sat when he gave judgments. This throne sits in the same place as Gyges' bowls. The gold and silver dedicated by Gyges is called "Gygian" by the Delphians, named after its dedicator. (Strassler 2009, 9–10)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources

## 2. Herodotus 1.25. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[25] Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πενήκοντα. [2] ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μόνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

[25] Alyattes the Lydian died after concluding his war against the Milesians; he had reigned for fifty-seven years. [2] This man was the second of his family to make a dedication to Delphi; when he was relieved of his sickness, he dedicated a large silver krater and a welded iron stand, worth seeing among all the dedications

at Delphi. It is the work of Glaukos of Chios, the only man to discover the art of welding iron. (Strassler 2009, 16)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo;  
2.4.b, Literary Sources

3. Herodotus 1.50–52. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[50] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰλάσκετο: κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι: Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. [2] ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυσε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιῶν ἐξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. [3] ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἴδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον: ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. [51] ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. [2] μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δωδέκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους: ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. [3] φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω: οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσειόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες: [4] ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. [5] ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἶδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. [52] ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ

ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσειον: τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῶ τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

[50] After this he tried to please the god at Delphi with generous offerings. He sacrificed 3,000 of every kind of appropriate animal. He piled up gold- and silver-plated couches, golden libation cups, and purple garments, and then burned them on a huge pyre, hoping thereby to gain a bit more of the god's favor. He ordered all the Lydians to sacrifice according to their means. [2] After the sacrifice, Croesus melted down a great amount of gold and beat it into ingots, 117 in all, each measuring eighteen inches long, nine inches wide and three inches high. Of these, four were made of refined gold, weighing two and a half talents each, and the rest were made of white gold, weighing two talents each. [3] He also had a statue of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple at Delphi burned down, this lion fell from the ingots on which it had been sitting, and was set up in the treasury of the Corinthians; it now weighs six and a half talents, since three and a half talents melted off in the fire. [51] When Croesus had finished preparing these offerings, he sent them to Delphi together with two bowls of enormous size: one of gold, which was set on the right of the temple entrance, and the other of silver, which was set on the left. [2] These also were moved when the temple burned down. The golden bowl is now displayed in the treasury of the Klazomenaians and weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minas; the silver one is in the corner of the temple's front hall and holds 600 amphoras. I know this because they are now used by the Delphians for mixing wine at the Theophania festival. [3] The Delphians say they are the work of Theodoros of Samos, and I believe them, since they do not look to me like any ordinary pieces. In addition, Croesus sent four large silver storage jars, which are in the treasury of the Corinthians; and he dedicated two vessels for sprinkling holy water, of gold and silver. Of these, the golden jar has an inscription that claims it is a dedication of the Spartans, but that is incorrect, for [4] this, too, came from Croesus; but a Delphian inscribed it thus in order to ingratiate the Spartans. I know his name but will not mention it. There is, however, a statue of a boy with water flowing through his hands which is really from the Spartans, but neither of the sprinklers are theirs. [5] Together with these offerings, Croesus sent many other less remarkable items: these included some round cast objects of silver, a golden statue of a woman four and a half feet tall, which the Delphians say is an image of Croesus' baker, and his own wife's necklaces and belts. [52] Those were his offerings to Delphi, but he also sent some things to the shrine of Amphiaraos when he learned of this hero's valor and suffering. He dedicated a shield made entirely of gold, as well as a spear of solid gold, shaft and spearhead alike. Both of these could still be seen in my day at Thebes, displayed there in the temple of Ismenian Apollo. (Strassler 2009, 28–29)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Apollo; 4.3.a., General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

4. Herodotus 1.143.3–144. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[143.3] οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι: αἱ δὲ δωδέκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἴώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι): [144.1] κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσουνται ὧν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, [2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλα τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. [3] ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μὲν νῦν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

[143.3] Now these other Ionians - including the Athenians - shunned the name and did not wish to be called Ionians, and even now many of them seem to me to be ashamed of the name. But these twelve cities gloried in it and even built a sanctuary just for themselves, calling it the Panionion, and they decided in joint council that none of the other Ionians should share it with them (although none wanted to except the people of Smyrna). [144.1] In the same way the five cities of the Dorians (formerly known as the six cities of the Dorians) refuse to admit any neighboring Dorians to their Triopian sanctuary. Moreover, they bar all those who break any of the rules of the sanctuary from participating in the rites and activities there. [2] In the games held in honor of Triopian Apollo they used to award tripods to the victors, but the victors were forbidden to take their prizes out of the sanctuary; they were required to dedicate them directly to the god there. [3] And so, when a man by the name of Agasikles of Halicarnassus ignored the rule and, taking the tripod he had won to his home, hung it up on pegs there to display it, the other five cities, Lindos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Kos, and Knidos, prohibited Halicarnassus (which had been the sixth Dorian city) from any further participation in the games. That was the penalty they imposed on the Dorians of Halicarnassus. (Strassler 2009, 77)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.c, Sanctuary Supervision and Control

5. Herodotus 2.159. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[159] παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτρέπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορρῆι θαλάσσει ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσει, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὄλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. [2] καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἴλε. [3] ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδί Ψάμμι παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.

[159] Having discontinued work on the canal, Nechos turned his attention to military projects. He had triremes built both for the Mediterranean Sea and for the Erythraean Sea in the Arabian Gulf, where slipways can still be seen today, [2] and put these to use as he needed them. He also engaged the Syrians in a land battle and won a victory at Magdolos. After this, he captured Gaza, a great city in Syria, [3] and he dedicated the clothes he happened to be wearing while he achieved these victories to Apollo at Branchidai in Milesia. After ruling for sixteen years altogether, he met his end and passed on the government to his son Psammis. (Strassler 2009, 193)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Apollo

6. Herodotus 2.182. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[182] ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ διαφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. [2] ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἴνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρῦσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἴλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

[182] Amasis also dedicated offerings to other sanctuaries in the Greek world: he offered a gilded statue of Athena and a painted image of himself in Cyrene; to Athena in Lindos he sent two stone statues and a spectacular breastplate of linen; to Hera on Samos he sent a pair of wooden images of himself, which were set up in the huge temple there and were still standing in my time behind the doors. [2] His gifts to Samos acknowledged his bond of guest-friendship with Polykrates son of Aiakes, while those he sent to Lindos had nothing to do with guest-

friendship but were given because the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos is said to have been founded by the daughters of Danaos when they came to shore there after running away from the sons of Aigyptos. Those, then, were the offerings that Amasis dedicated. He was also the first man to capture Cyprus and subject it to payment of tribute. (Strassler 2009, 203)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses ; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

7. Herodotus 3.41. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[41] ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ’ ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὗρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγίς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. [2] ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίησε τοιάδε: πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκάς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν συμπλόων ρίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρᾶτο.

[41] When Polykrates read this letter, he realized that Amasis had given him very good advice, so he searched for the one heirloom in his possession whose loss would most afflict his heart and selected a signet ring that he wore, an emerald set in gold which had been crafted by Theodoros of Samos, son of Telekles. [2] And so when he decided that this ring was the object he should throw away, he manned a penteconter, got on board, and ordered the men to put out to sea. When they had reached a distance far from Samos, he took off his ring and, as all the men sailing with him looked on, tossed it into the sea. That done, he sailed home and mourned his loss. (Strassler 2009, 225)

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

8. Herodotus 3.59.2–3. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[59.2] ἔμειναν δ’ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ’ ἕτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν. [3] ἔκτω δὲ ἕτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ.

[59.2] These Samians then remained on Crete and prospered for five years. They are the ones who built the sanctuaries that now exist in Kydonia, including the



temple of Diktyne. [3] But in the sixth year, the Aeginetans with the Cretans conquered them in a naval battle and enslaved them. They cut off the boar-head images from the prows of the Samian ships and dedicated them to the sanctuary of Athena in Aegina. (Strassler 2009, 234)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

9. Herodotus 6.61.3. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[61.3] ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρῶσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε: ἐφόρει αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένη ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβίου ἱροῦ. ὅκως δὲ ἐνεΐκειε ἢ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷγαλμα ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον.

[61.3] For her appearance was once quite homely. Her nurse, however, realizing that the unattractive girl was the daughter of wealthy people who regarded her appearance as a disaster, developed the following plan. Every day she took the girl to the sanctuary of Helen, which is located in the district called Therapne above the sanctuary of Phoibos. Whenever the nurse brought her here she would stand her at the statue and pray that the goddess would deliver the child from her ugliness. (Strassler 2009, 451)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3, City Authority and/or Sanctuary Authority

10. Herodotus 6.134.2. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[134.2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξει, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα: πρὸς τῆσι θύρησι τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴεσθαι, καταθρόσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιὴν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι: οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπαῖσαι λέγουσι.

[134.2] After hearing her counsel, Miltiades went to the hill that lies in front of the city and, since he was unable to open the doors, leapt over the wall enclosing the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. Then, once he had jumped to the inside, he went toward the hall of the temple in order to do whatever he intended within, perhaps to remove some object that was not supposed to be moved or maybe to do something else. As he approached the doors, however, he was suddenly overcome with trembling and ran back the way he had come, but as he jumped down from

the wall, he badly twisted his thigh, though others say he injured his knee.  
(Strassler 2009, 485)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

11. Herodotus 8.27. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[27] ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεῖτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. [2] ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. [3] ἐπεῖτε γὰρ κατελήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους τῶν φωκέων τοὺς, ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. [4] τούτους ὧν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἢ στρατιῇ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοῦς: [5] ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβησι ἀνακέαται.

[27] Meanwhile, right after the defeat at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, because they had always felt bitter anger toward them, and it was at this moment extremely intense due to the recent disaster. [2] For not many years before this expedition of the King, the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocian territory in full force and had suffered rough treatment by them, and indeed were defeated. [3] The Phocians had taken refuge on Mount Parnassus, and they had with them the prophet Tellias of Elis, who devised a clever stratagem for them. He made 600 of the best Phocian men completely white with chalk, did the same to their weapons, and had them attack the Thessalians by night, with the order that they should kill anyone they saw who was not chalky white like they were. [4] The Thessalian sentries were the first to see them, and they immediately panicked, supposing that they were seeing some strange portent. After the sentries, the troops themselves saw them and panicked as well, so the result was that the Phocians took possession of 4,000 corpses and shields, half of which they dedicated at Abai and the rest at Delphi. [5] The tithe of their profits from this battle was the huge statues standing together around the tripod in front of the temple at Delphi, and another group like those set up at Abai. (Strassler 2009, 611)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources

12. Herodotus 8.122 450s–420s B.C.E.

[122] πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρη καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινήτων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσοῦς, οἳ ἐπὶ ἰστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

[122] After they sent the victory offerings to Delphi, they made a joint inquiry to the god concerning whether the offerings he had received seemed sufficient and pleasing to him. He answered that he had received what he wanted from all the Hellenes except for the Aeginetans, from whom he demanded the prize for valor they had won for their role in the sea battle at Salamis. Upon learning this, the Aeginetans dedicated three golden stars, which are on a bronze mast standing in the corner of the temple entrance next to the bowl of Croesus. (Strassler 2009, 653)

Cf. Chapter: 5.3, The Dedication

13. Herodotus 9.81.1. 450s–420s B.C.E.

[81] συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρῆνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχον χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχους χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια.

[81] After bringing all the goods together, the Hellenes took out a tenth for the god at Delphi, and from this they dedicated a golden tripod set upon a three-headed serpent of bronze, which stands next to the altar. They removed another tenth for the god at Olympia, and from it dedicated a bronze statue of Zeus fifteen feet tall, and another for the god at the isthmus, from which was made a bronze Poseidon even feet tall. After taking out these tithes, they divided the rest, and each took what he deserved of the Persians' concubines, gold, silver, other goods, and the pack animals. (Strassler 2009, 704)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources

## Hesiod

1. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 59–82. eighth century B.C.E.

[59] ὣς ἔφατ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

[60] Ἥφαιστον δ' ἐκέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα  
γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴν  
καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὄπα εἴσκειν  
παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην  
ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἰστὸν ὑφαίνειν:

[65] καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην  
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδώνας·  
ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος  
Ἑρμείην ἦνωγε, διάκτορον Ἀργεῖφόντην.

ὣς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο Διὶ Κρονίῳ ἀνακτι.

[70] αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ γαίης πλάσσειν κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις  
παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς·  
ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη:

ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ Χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια Πειθῶ  
ὄρμους χρυσεῖους ἔθεσαν χροῖ· ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε

[75] ὦραι καλλίκομοι στέφον ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν·  
πάντα δὲ οἱ χροῖ κόσμον ἐφήρμοσε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ στήθεσσι διάκτορος Ἀργεῖφόντης  
ψεύδεά θ' αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος  
τεῦξε Διὸς βουλήσι βαρυκτύπου· ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνὴν

[80] θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα  
Πανδῶρην, ὅτι πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες  
δῶρον ἐδώρησαν, πῆμ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφιστήσιν.

[59] So he spoke, and he laughed out loud, the father of men and of gods. He commanded renowned Hephaestus to mix earth with water as quickly as possible, and to put the voice and strength of a human into it, and to make a beautiful, lovely form of a maiden similar in her face to the immortal goddesses. He told Athena to teach her crafts, to weave richly worked cloth, and golden Aphrodite to shed grace and painful desire and limb-devouring cares around her head; and he ordered Hermes, the intermediary, the killer of Argus, to put a dog's mind and a thievish character into her. (69) So he spoke, and they obeyed Zeus, the lord, Cronus' son. Immediately the famous Lamé One fabricated out of earth a likeness of a modest maiden, by the plans of Cronus' son; the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, gave her a girdle and ornaments; the goddesses Graces and queenly Persuasion placed golden jewelry all around on her body; the beautiful-haired Seasons crowned her all around with spring flowers; and Pallas Athena fitted the whole ornamentation to her body. Then into her breast the intermediary, the killer of Argus, set lies and guileful words and a thievish character, by the plans of deep-

thundering Zeus; and the messenger of the gods placed a voice in her and named this woman Pandora (All-Gift), since all those who have their mansions on Olympus had given her a gift—a woe for men who live on bread. (Most 2007, 91–93)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.4, Conclusions

### Hippocrates

1. Hippocrates, *Sacred Disease* 148.55–61. 400 B.C.E.

αὐτοί τε ὄρους τοῖσι θεοῖσι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν τεμενέων ἀποδείκνυμεν, ὡς ἂν μηδεὶς ὑπερβαίνειν ἢν μὴ ἀγνέῃ, ἐσιόντες τε ἡμεῖς περιρραϊνόμεθα οὐχ ὡς μαινόμενοι, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ πρότερον ἔχομεν μύσος, τοῦτο ἀφαγνιούμενοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν.

And we ourselves fix boundaries to the sanctuaries and precincts of the gods, so that nobody may cross them unless he be pure; and when we enter we sprinkle ourselves, not as defiling ourselves thereby, but to wash away any pollution we may have already contracted. Such is my opinion about purifications. (Jones 1923, 149–151)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity

### Homer

1. Homer, *Iliad* 1.43–67. sixth century B.C.E.

[43] Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων χωόμενος κῆρ,  
[45] τόξ' ὄμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην.  
ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀιστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο,  
αὐτοῦ κινήεντος. ὁ δ' ἦε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.  
ἔζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἔηκε·  
δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο.  
[50] οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφίεις  
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.  
Ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄχετο κῆλα θεοῖο,  
τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἀγορήνδε καλέσσατο λαὸν Ἀχιλλεύς·  
[55] τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη·  
κῆδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ῥα θνήσκοντας ὀράτο.  
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὀμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο,

τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “Ἄτρεΐδη, νῦν ἄμμε παλιμπλαγχθέντας οἴω  
 [60] ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν, εἴ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν,  
 εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾶ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῦς.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείοιμεν ἢ ἱερῆα,  
 ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν,  
 ὅς κ' εἴποι ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 [65] εἴτ' ἄρ' ὅ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἶθ' ἑκατόμβης,  
 αἶ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων  
 βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι.”

[43] So he spoke in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him. Down from the peaks of Olympus he strode, angry at heart, with his bow and covered quiver on his shoulders. The arrows rattled on the shoulders of the angry god as he moved; and his coming was like the night. Then he sat down apart from the ships and let fly an arrow; terrible was the twang of the silver bow. The mules he attacked first and the swift dogs, but then on the men themselves he let fly his stinging arrows, and struck; and ever did the pyres of the dead burn thick. For nine days the missiles of the god ranged through the army, but on the tenth Achilles called the army to the place of assembly, for the goddess, white-armed Hera, had put it in his heart; for she pitied the Danaans because she saw them dying. So, when they were assembled and met together, among them rose and spoke Achilles, swift of foot: “Son of Atreus, now I think we shall be driven back and return home, our plans thwarted—if we should escape death, that is—if indeed war and pestilence alike are to subdue the Achaeans. But come, let us ask some seer or priest, or some reader of dreams—for a dream too is from Zeus—who might tell us why Phoebus Apollo has conceived such anger, whether it is because of a vow that he blames us, or a hecatomb; in the hope that perhaps he may accept the savor of lambs and unblemished goats, and be minded to ward off destruction from us.” (Murray 1924, 15–17)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo

2. Homer, *Iliad* 5.330–351 and 5.426–430. sixth century B.C.E.

[330] ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπώχετο νηλεί χαλκῶ,  
 γινώσκων ὅ τ' ἀναλκις ἔην θεός, οὐδὲ θεάων  
 τάων αἶ τ' ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,  
 οὔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίη οὔτε πτολίπορθος Ἐνωά.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκίχανε πολλὸν καθ' ὄμιλον ὀπάζων,  
 [335] ἔνθ' ἐπορεξάμενος μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς  
 ἄκρην οὔτασε χεῖρα μετάλμενος ὀξεί δουρὶ  
 ἀβληγρῆν· εἶθαρ δὲ δόρυ χροὸς ἀντετόρησεν

ἀμβροσίῳ διὰ πέπλῳ, ὃν οἱ Χάριτες κάμον αὐταί,  
πρυμνὸν ὑπὲρ θέναρος· ῥέε δ' ἄμβροτον αἷμα θεοῖο,  
[340] ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·  
οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθοπα οἶνον,  
τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.  
ἢ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν υἱόν·  
καὶ τὸν μὲν μετὰ χερσὶν ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
[345] κυανῆ νεφέλῃ, μὴ τις Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων  
χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο·  
τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
“εἶκε, Διὸς θύγατερ, πολέμου καὶ δημοτῆτος·  
ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ὅττι γυναῖκας ἀνάκτιδας ἠπεροπεύεις;  
[350] εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσεται, ἦ τέ σ' οἴω  
ῤῆγῃσιν πόλεμόν γε καὶ εἶ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθῃαι.”

[426] Ὡς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,  
καὶ ῥα καλεσσάμενος προσέφη χρυσοῖν Ἀφροδίτην·  
“οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆια ἔργα,  
ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο,  
[430] ταῦτα δ' Ἄρηι θεῶ καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει.”

[330] But he had gone in pursuit of Cypris with his pitiless bronze, knowing that she was a weakling goddess, and not one of those goddesses who lord it in the battle of warriors—no Athena she, nor Enyo, sacker of cities. But when he caught up with her as he pursued her through the great throng, then the son of great-hearted Tydeus thrust with his sharp spear and leapt at her, and cut the surface of her delicate hand, and immediately through the ambrosial raiment, which the Graces themselves had toiled over making for her, the spear pierced the flesh on the wrist above the palm, and out flowed the immortal blood of the goddess, the ichor, such as flows in the blessed gods; for they eat not bread nor do they drink ruddy wine, and so they are bloodless, and are called immortals. She then with a loud cry let fall her son, and Phoebus Apollo took him in his arms and saved him in a dark cloud, lest one of the Danaans with swift horses might hurl a spear of bronze into his chest and take away his life. But over her shouted aloud Diomedes good at the war cry: “Keep away, daughter of Zeus, from war and fighting. Is it not enough that you deceive weakling women? But if into battle you will enter, I think you will surely shudder at the very word, even if you hear it from afar.” (Murray 1924, 231–233)

[426] So she spoke, but the father of men and gods smiled, and calling to him golden Aphrodite, said: “Not to you, my child, are given works of war; but attend to the lovely works of marriage, and all these things shall be the business of swift Ares and Athena.” (Murray 1924, 239)

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

3. Homer, *Iliad* 5.445–448. sixth century B.C.E.

[445] Αἰνεΐαν δ' ἀπάτερθεν ὀμίλου θῆκεν Ἀπόλλων  
Περγάμῳ εἰν ἱερῇ, ὅθι οἱ νηός γ' ἐτέτυκτο.  
ἦ τοι τὸν Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα  
ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀδύτῳ ἀκέοντό τε κύδαινόν τε·

[445] Aeneas then did Apollo set far from the throng in holy Pergamus, where his shrine had been built. There Leto and the archer Artemis healed him in the great sanctuary, and gave him glory. (Murray 1924, 239)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b - Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Artemis

4. Homer, *Iliad* 6.269–278 and 6.286–310. sixth century B.C.E.

[269] ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πρὸς νηὸν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης  
[270] ἔρχεο σὺν θυέεσσιν, ἀολίσσασα γεραιάς·  
πέπλον δ' ὅς τις τοι χαριέστατος ἠδὲ μέγιστος  
ἔστιν ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ τοι πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῇ,  
τὸν θεὸς Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠκυκόμοιο,  
καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῷ  
[275] ἦνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν, αἶ κ' ἐλεήσῃ  
ἄστῃ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
αἶ κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχη Ἰλίου ἱρῆς,  
ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν, κρατερὸν μῆστωρα φόβοιο.

[286] ὦς ἔφαθ', ἠ δὲ μολοῦσα ποτὶ μέγαρ' ἀμφιπόλοισι  
κέκλετο· ταὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀόλλισσαν κατὰ ἄστῃ γεραιάς.  
αὐτῇ δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηῶεντα,  
ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποϊκίλα ἔργα γυναικῶν  
[290] Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδῆς  
ἦγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον,  
τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.  
τῶν ἐν' αἰραμένη Ἑκάβη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη,  
ὃς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἠδὲ μέγιστος,  
[295] ἀστῆρ δ' ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκειτο δὲ νεΐατος ἄλλων.  
βῆ δ' ἰέναι, πολλαὶ δὲ μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.  
Αἶ δ' ὅτε νηὸν ἴκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρη,  
τῆσι θύρας ὤϊξε Θεανῶ καλλιπάρηος,  
Κισσηΐς, ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἵπποδάμοιο·



[300] τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἰέρειαν.  
αἰ δ' ὀλολυγῆ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χεῖρας ἀνέσχον  
ἢ δ' ἄρα πέπλον ἐλοῦσα Θεανὸ καλλιπάρηος  
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠυκόμοιο,  
εὐχομένη δ' ἠρᾶτο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο·  
[305] “πότνι Ἀθηναίη, ῥυσίπτολι, δῖα θεάων,  
ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν  
πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων,  
ᾄφρα τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ  
ἦνις ἠκέστας ἱερεύσομεν, αἴ κ' ἐλεήσης  
[310] ἄστν τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα.”

[269] But you go to the shrine of Athena, driver of the spoil, with burnt offerings, when you have gathered together the older women; and the robe that seems to you the fairest and amplest in your hall, and that is much the most dear to you yourself, this lay on the knees of fair-haired Athena, and vow to her that you will sacrifice in her shrine twelve year-old heifers that have not felt the goad, in the hope that she will have compassion on the city and the Trojans' wives and their little ones; in hope that she may hold back from sacred Ilios the son of Tydeus, that savage spearman, a mighty deviser of rout. (Murray 1924, 295–297)

[286] So he spoke, and she went to the hall and called to her handmaids; and they gathered together the older women throughout the city. But the queen herself went down to the vaulted treasure chamber where were her robes, richly embroidered, the handiwork of Sidonian women, whom godlike Alexander had himself brought from Sidon, as he sailed over the wide sea on that journey on which he brought back high-born Helen. Of these Hecabe took one, and brought it as an offering for Athena, the one that was fairest in its embroiderings and amplest, and shone like a star, and lay beneath all the rest. Then she set out to go, and the throng of older women hurried after her. When they came to the shrine of Athena in the citadel, the doors were opened for them by fair-cheeked Theano, Cisses' daughter, wife of Antenor, tamer of horses; for her had the Trojans made priestess of Athena. Then with ecstatic cries they all lifted up their hands to Athena; and fair-cheeked Theano took the robe and laid it on the knees of fair-haired Athena, and with vows made prayer to the daughter of great Zeus: “Lady Athena, you who guard our city, fairest among goddesses, break now the spear of Diomedes, and grant also that he himself may fall headlong before the Scaean gates, so that we may now immediately sacrifice to you in your shrine twelve year-old heifers that have not felt the goad, if you will take pity on the city and the Trojans' wives and their little ones.” (Murray 1924, 295–297)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

5. Homer, *Iliad* 9.529–542. sixth century B.C.E.

[529] Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι  
[530] ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον,  
Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς,  
Κουρήτες δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηϊ.  
καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὄρσε  
χωσαμένη ὃ οἱ οὐ τι θαλύσια γουνῶ ἀλώῃς  
[535] Οἶνεὺς ῥέξ'· ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἑκατόμβας,  
οἷη δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο.  
ἦ λάθετ' ἦ οὐκ ἐνόησεν· ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῶ.  
' ἦ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα  
ὄρσεν ἐπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,  
[540] ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλώῃν:  
πολλὰ δ' ὃ γε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ  
αὐτῆσιν ῥίζησι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μῆλων.

[529] The Curetes once were fighting and the Aetolians firm in fight around the city of Calydon, and were slaying one another, the Aetolians defending lovely Calydon and the Curetes eager to waste it utterly in war. For on their people had Artemis of the golden throne sent an evil thing, angered that Oeneus did not offer her the first fruits of the harvest in his rich orchard plot; the other gods feasted on hecatombs, and it was to the daughter of great Zeus alone that he did not offer, whether perhaps he forgot, or did not notice; and he was greatly blinded at heart. At that the Archer goddess, the child of Zeus, grew angry and sent against him a fierce wild boar, white of tusk, that worked much evil, wasting the orchard plot of Oeneus; many a tall tree did it uproot and cast on the ground, root and apple blossom and all. (Murray 1924, 433–435)

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

6. Homer, *Iliad* 10.454–468. sixth century B.C.E.

[454] ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν μιν ἔμελλε γενεῖου χειρὶ παχείη  
[455] ἀψάμενος λίσσεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε  
φασγάνῳ ἀΐξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε·  
φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.  
τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔλοντο  
καὶ λυκὴν καὶ τόξα παλίντονα καὶ δόρυ μακρόν·  
[460] καὶ τὰ γ' Ἀθηναίη ληίτιδι δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ὑψὸς ἀνέσχεθε χειρὶ καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἠΐδα·  
“χαῖρε, θεά, τοῖσδεσσι· σὲ γὰρ πρώτην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
πάντων ἀθανάτων ἐπιβωσόμεθ'· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτίς

πέμψον ἐπὶ Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἵππους τε καὶ εὐνάς.”  
[465] Ὡς ἄρ’ ἐφώνησεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὑψόσ’ ἀείρας  
θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρικήν· δέελον δ’ ἐπὶ σῆμά τ’ ἔθηκε,  
συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρικής τ’ ἐριθηλέας ὄζους,  
μὴ λάθοι αὐτίς ἰόντε θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

[454] He spoke, and the other was about to touch his chin with his stout hand and beg him, but Diomedes sprang on him with his sword and struck him square on the neck, and sheared off both the sinews, and while he was still speaking his head was mingled with the dust. Then from him they took the cap of ferret skin from off his head, and the wolf’s hide, and the back-bent bow and the long spear, and these things noble Odysseus held aloft in his hand to Athena, the driver of the spoil, and he made prayer and spoke, saying: “Rejoice, goddess, in these, for to you, first of all the immortals in Olympus, will we call; but send us on against the horses and the sleeping places of the Thracian warriors.” So he spoke, and lifting up the spoils, he set them on a tamarisk bush, and set by it a mark plain to see, gathering handfuls of reeds and luxuriant branches of tamarisk, lest they might miss the place as they came back through the swift, black night. (Murray 1924, 483)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

7. Homer, *Iliad* 10.570–579. sixth century B.C.E.

[570] νηὶ δ’ ἐνὶ πρυμνῇ ἔναρα βροτόεντα Δόλωνος  
θῆκεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ὄφρ’ ἰρὸν ἐτοίμασσαίαιτ’ Ἀθήνη.  
αὐτοὶ δ’ ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση  
ἐσβάντες κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφὶ τε μηρούς.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σφιν κῦμα θαλάσσης ἰδρῶ πολλὸν  
[575] νίψεν ἀπὸ χρωτὸς καὶ ἀνέψυχθεν φίλον ἦτορ,  
ἔς ῥ’ ἀσαμίνθους βάντες εὐξέστας λούσαντο.  
τῷ δὲ λοεσσαμένῳ καὶ ἀλειψαμένῳ λίπ’ ἐλαίῳ  
δείπνω ἐφιζανέτην, ἀπὸ δὲ κρητῆρος Ἀθήνη  
πλείου ἀφυσσόμενοι λείβον μελιθεῖα οἶνον.

[570] And on the stern of his ship did Odysseus place the blood-stained spoils of Dolon until they should prepare a sacred offering to Athena. But for themselves they entered the sea and washed away the abundant sweat from shins and necks and thighs. And when the wave of the sea had washed the abundant sweat from their skin, and their hearts were refreshed, they went into polished baths and bathed. But when they had bathed and anointed themselves richly with oil, they sat down to a meal, and from the full mixing bowl they drew off honey-sweet wine and poured it to Athena. (Murray 1924, 491)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources

8. Homer, *Iliad* 16.523–529. sixth century B.C.E.

[523] ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι, ἄναξ, τόδε καρτερόν ἔλκος ἄκεσσαι,  
κοίμησον δ' ὀδύνας, δὸς δὲ κράτος, ὄφρ' ἐτάροισι  
[525] κεκλόμενος Λυκίοισιν ἐποτρύνω πολεμίζειν,  
αὐτός τ' ἀμφὶ νέκυι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχωμαι.”

Ἦς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

αὐτίκα παῦσ' ὀδύνας, ἀπὸ δ' ἔλκεος ἀργαλείοιο  
αἷμα μέλαν τέρσηνε, μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ

[523] But you, lord, at least heal me of this terrible wound, and lull my pains, and give me might so that I may call to my comrades, the Lycians, and urge them on to fight, and myself do battle about the body of him who has fallen in death." So he spoke in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him. At once he made his pains to cease, and dried the black blood that flowed from his painful wound, and put might into his heart. (Murray 1925, 201)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo

### Isaeus

1. Isaeus, *Dicaeogenes* 5.40–43. ca. 389 B.C.E.

[40] τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων Μέλινα μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὃν ἐκ μειρακίου φίλος ἦν, ὅπερ ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργύριον ἀποστερήσας, ἔχθιστός ἐστι: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ φίλων οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλαβον ἃ ἐδάδεισαν, οἱ δ' ἐξηπατήθησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἃ ὑπέσето αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐπιδικάσαιτο τοῦ κλήρου, δώσειν. [41] καίτοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οἱ ταῦτα κτησάμενοι καὶ καταλιπόντες πάσας μὲν χορηγίας ἐχορήγησαν, εἰσήνεγκαν δὲ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα πολλὰ ὑμῖν, καὶ τριηραρχοῦντες οὐδένα χρόνον διέλιπον. καὶ τούτων μαρτύρια ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήματα ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τῶν περιόντων, μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, ἀνέθεσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Διονύσου τρίποδας, οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες ἔλαβον, τοῦτο δ' ἐν Πυθίῳ: [42] ἔτι δ' ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀναθέντες πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίας κτήσεως, ἀγάλμασι χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις κεκοσμήκασιν τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολεμοῦντες ἀπέθανον, Δικαιογένης μὲν ὁ Μενεξένου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πάππου πατὴρ στρατηγῶν ὅτε ἢ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, Μενεξένου δ' ὁ ἐκείνου υἱὸς φυλαρχῶν τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἐν Σπαρτῶλῳ, Δικαιογένης δὲ ὁ Μενεξένου τριηραρχῶν τῆς Παράλου ἐν Κνίδῳ. [43] τὸν μὲν τούτων οἶκον σύ, ὃ Δικαιογένης, παραλαβὼν κακῶς καὶ αἰσχυρῶς διολώλεκας, καὶ ἐξαργυρισάμενος πενίαν ὀδύρη, ποῖ ἀναλώσας; οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὔτε εἰς τοὺς φίλους φανερός εἶ δαπανηθεὶς οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε καθιπποτρόφηκας: οὐ γὰρ πώποτε ἐκτήσω ἵππον πλείονος ἄξιον ἢ τριῶν μνῶν: οὔτε κατεζευγοτρόφηκας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ζευγος

ἐκτίσω ὀρικὸν οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἀγροῖς καὶ κτήμασιν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλύσω οὐδένα.

[40] Amongst his intimates he deprived Melas the Egyptian, who had been his friend from youth upwards, of money which he had received from him, and is now his bitterest enemy; of his other friends some have never received back money which they lent him, others were deceived by him and did not receive what he had promised to give them if he should have the estate adjudicated to him. [41] And yet, gentlemen, our forefathers, who acquired and bequeathed this property, performed every kind of choregic office, contributed large sums for your expenses in war, and never ceased acting as trierarchs. As evidence of all these services they set up in the temples out of the remainder of their property, as memorials of their civic worth, dedications, such as tripods which they had received as prizes for choregic victories in the temple of Dionysus, or in the shrine of Pythian Apollo. [42] Furthermore, by dedicating on the Akropolis the first-fruits of their wealth, they have adorned the shrine with bronze and marble statues, numerous, indeed, to have been provided out of a private fortune. They themselves died fighting for their country; Dicaeogenes (I.), the son of Menexenus, the father of my grandfather Menexenus (I.), while acting as general when the battle took place at Eleusis; Menexenus (I.), his son, in command of the cavalry at Spartolus in the territory of Olynthus; Dicaeogenes (II.), the son of Menexenus (I.), while in command of the Paralus at Knidos. [43] It is the property of these men, Dicaeogenes, that you inherited and have wickedly and disgracefully squandered, and having converted it into money you now plead poverty. On what did you spend it? For you have obviously not expended anything on the city or your friends. You have certainly not ruined yourself by keeping horses—for you have never possessed a horse worth more than three minae—, nor by keeping racing teams—for you never owned even a pair of mules in spite of possessing so many farms and estates. Nor again did you ever ransom a prisoner of war.

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

2. Isaeus, *Dicaeogenes* 5.44. ca. 389 B.C.E.

[44] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἃ Μενέξενος τριῶν ταλάντων ποιησάμενος ἀπέθανε πρὶν ἀναθεῖναι, εἰς πόλιν κεκόμικας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λιθουργείοις ἔτι καλινδεῖται, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡξίους κεκτῆσθαι ἃ σοι οὐδὲν προσῆκε χρήματα, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπέδωκας ἃ ἐκείνων ἐγένετο ἀγάλματα.

[44] You have never even transported to the Akropolis the dedications upon which Menexenus expended three talents and which his death prevented him from setting up, but they are still knocking about in the sculptor's workshop; and thus,

while you yourself claimed the possession of money to which you had no title, you never rendered up to the gods statues which were theirs by right. (Forster 1962, 191)

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial obligations: Inherited vows

### The Palatine Anthology

1. *The Palatine Anthology*, Hedylus 5.199. third century B.C.E.

[1] Οἶνος καὶ προπόσεις κατεκοίμισαν Ἀγλαονίκην  
αἱ δόλια, καὶ ἔρωσ ἠδὺς ὁ Νικαγόρεω,  
ἧς πάρα Κύπριδι ταῦτα μύροις ἔτι πάντα μυδῶντα  
κεῖνται, παρθενίων ὑγρὰ λάφυρα πόθων,  
[5] σάνδαλα, καὶ μαλακαί, μαστῶν ἐνδύματα, μίτραι.  
ὕπνου καὶ σκυλμῶν τῶν τότε μαρτύρια.

Wine and treacherous toasts and the sweet love of Nicagoras sent Aglaonicé to sleep; and here hath she dedicated to Cypris these spoils of her maiden love still all dripping with scent, her sandals and the soft band that held her bosom, witnesses to her sleep and his violence then. (Paton 1916, 1:227)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible, Section Summary

2. *The Palatine Anthology*, Anonymous 5.200. date uncertain

[1] ὁ κρόκος, οἷ τε μύροισιν ἔτι πνεύοντες Ἀλεξοῦς  
σὺν μίτραις κισσοῦ κυάνεοι στέφανοι  
τῷ γλυκερῷ καὶ θῆλυ κατιλλώπτοντι Πριήπῳ  
κεῖνται, τῆς ἱερῆς ξείνια παννυχίδος.

The saffron robe of Alexo, and her dark green ivy crown, still smelling of myrrh, with her snood she dedicates to sweet Priapus, with the effeminate melting eyes, in memory of his holy night-festival. (Paton 1916, 1:227)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Priapus

3. *The Palatine Anthology*, Anonymous 5.201. date uncertain

[1] Ἠγρύπνησε Λεοντίς ἕως πρὸς καλὸν ἔϋον  
ἀστέρα, τῷ χρυσέῳ τερπομένη Σθενίῳ·  
ἧς πάρα Κύπριδι τοῦτο τὸ σὺν Μούσαισι μελισθὲν  
βάρβιτον ἐκ κείνης κεῖτ' ἔτι παννυχίδος.

Leontis lay awake till the lovely star of morn, taking her delight with golden Sthenius, and ever since that vigil it hangs here in the shrine of Cypris, the lyre the Muses helped her then to play. (Paton 1916, 1:227)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible, Section Summary

4. *The Palatine Anthology*, Asclepiades 5.203. third century B.C.E.

[1] Λυσιδίκη σοι, Κύπρι, τὸν ἵππαστῆρα μύωπα,  
χρύσειον εὐκνήμου κέντρον ἔθηκε ποδός,  
ὃ̃ πολὺν ἕπτιον ἵππον ἐγύμνασεν· οὐ δέ ποτ' αὐτῆς  
μηρὸς ἐφοινίχθη κοῦφα τινασσομένης·  
[5] ἦν γὰρ ἀκέντητος τελεοδρόμος· οὐνεκεν ὄπλον  
σοὶ κατὰ μεσσοπύλης χρύσειον ἐκρέμασεν.

Lysidice dedicated to thee, Cypris, her spur, the golden goad of her shapely leg, with which she trained many a horse on its back, while her own thighs were never reddened, so lightly did she ride; for she ever finished the race without a touch of the spur, and therefore hung on the great gate of thy temple this her weapon of gold. (Paton 1916, 1:229)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible, Section Summary

5. *The Palatine Anthology*, Philippus of Thessalonica 6.5. first century C.E.

[1] Δούνακας ἀκροδέτους, καὶ τὴν ἀλινηγέα κόπην,  
γυρῶν τ' ἀγκίστρων λαιμοδακεῖς ἀκίδας,  
καὶ λίνον ἀκρομόλιβδον, ἀπαγγελτῆρά τε κύρτου  
φελλόν, καὶ δισσὰς σχοινοπλεκεῖς σπυρίδας,  
[5] καὶ τὸν ἐγερσιφαῖ πυρὸς ἔγκυον ἔμφλογα πέτρον,  
ἄγκυράν τε, νεῶν πλαζομένων παγίδα.  
Πείσων ὁ γριπεὺς Ἑρμῆ πόρεν, ἔντρομος ἤδη  
δεξιτερὴν, πολλοῖς βριθόμενος καμάτοις

Piso the fisherman, weighed down by long toil and his right hand already shaky, gives to Hermes these his rods with the lines hanging from their tips, his oar that swam through the sea, his curved hooks whose points bite the fishes' throats, his net fringed with lead, the float that announced where his weel lay, his two wicker creels, the flint pregnant with fire that sets the tinder alight, and his anchor, the trap that holds fast wandering ships. (Paton 1916, 1:301)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

6. *The Palatine Anthology*, Mnasalces 6.9. middle or second half of the third century B.C.E.

[1] σοὶ μὲν καμπύλα τόξα, καὶ ἰοχέαιρα φαρέτρη,  
δῶρα παρὰ Προμάχου, Φοῖβε, τάδε κρέματα:  
ἰοὺς δὲ πτερόεντας ἀνὰ κλόνον ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν  
ἐν κραδίαις, ὅλοα ξείνια δυσμενέων.

Here hang as gifts from Promachus to thee, Phoebus  
his crooked bow and quiver that delights in  
arrows; but his winged shafts, the deadly gifts he  
sent his foes, are in the hearts of men on the field of  
battle. (Paton 1916, 1:303)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

7. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas 6.13. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Οἱ τρισσοὶ τοὶ ταῦτα τὰ δίκτυα θῆκαν ὄμαιμοι,  
ἀγρότα Πάν, ἄλλης ἄλλος ἀπ' ἀγρεσίης·  
ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν πτηνῶν Πίγρης τάδε, ταῦτα δὲ Δᾶμις  
τετραπόδων, Κλείτωρ δ' ὁ τρίτος εἰναλίων.  
[5] ἀνθ' ὧν τῷ μὲν πέμπε δι' ἠέρος εὖστοχον ἄγρην,  
τῷ δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν, τῷ δὲ δι' ἠϊόνων.

Huntsman Pan, the three brothers dedicated these nets to thee, each from a  
different chase: Pigres these from fowl, Damis these from beast, and Clitor his  
from the denizens of the deep. In return for which send them easily caught game,  
to the first through the air, to the second through the woods, and to the third  
through the shore-water. (Paton 1916, 1:305)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

8. *The Palatine Anthology*, Anonymous 6.23. date uncertain

[1] Ἑρμεία, σήραγγος ἀλίκτυπον ὃς τόδε ναίεις  
εὖστιβὲς αἰθυίαις ἰχθυβόλοισι λέπας,  
δέξο σαγηνάιοιο λίνου τετριμμένον ἄλμη  
λείψανον, ἀνχμηρῶν ξανθὲν ἐπ' ἠϊόνων,  
[5] γριπούς τε, πλωτῶν τε πάγην, περιδιμένα κύρτον,  
καὶ φελλὸν κρυφίων σῆμα λαχόντα βόλων,  
καὶ βαθὺν ἰππεΐης πεπεδημένον ἄμματι χαίτης,  
οὐκ ἄτερ ἀγκίστρων, λιμνοφυῆ δόνακα.



Hermes, who dwellest in this wave-beaten rock-cave, that gives good footing to fisher gulls, accept this fragment of the great seine worn by the sea and scraped often by the rough beach; this little purse-seine, the round weel that entraps fishes, the float whose task it is to mark where the weels are concealed, and the long cane rod, the child of the marsh, with its horse-hair line, not unfurnished with hooks, wound round it. (Paton 1916, 1:309–311)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

9. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.35. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] τοῦτο χμαιροβάτα Τελέσων αἰγώνυχι Πανὶ  
τὸ σκύλος ἀγρείης τεῖνε κατὰ πλατάνου:  
καὶ τὰν ραιβόκρανον ἐυστόρθυγα κορύναν,  
ἃ πάρος αἰμωποὺς ἐστυφέλιξε λύκους,  
[5] γαυλοὺς τε γλαγοπῆγας, ἀγωγαῖόν τε κυνάγχαν,  
καὶ τὰν εὐρίνων λαιμοπέδαν σκυλάκων.

This skin did Teleso stretch on the woodland plane-tree, an offering to goat-hoofed Pan the goat-treader, and the crutched, well-pointed staff, with which he used to bring down red-eyed wolves, the cheese-pails, too, and the leash and collars of his keen-scented hounds. (Paton 1916, 1:317)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

10. *The Palatine Anthology*, Antipater 6.111. second century B.C.E.

[1] Τὰν ἔλαφον, Λάδωνα καὶ ἄμφ' Ἐρυμάνθιον ὕδωρ  
νῶτά τε θηρονόμου φερβομέναν Φολόας,  
παῖς ὁ Θεαρίδεω Λασιώνιος εἶλε Λυκόρμας  
πλήξας ῥομβητῶ δούρατος οὐριάχῳ·  
[5] δέρμα δὲ καὶ δικέριον ἀπὸ στόρθυγα μετόπων  
σπασσάμενος, κοῦρα θῆκε παρ' ἀγρότιδι.

Lycormas, the son of Thearidas of Lasion, slew with the butt end of his whirled spear the hind that used to feed about the Ladon and the waters of Erymanthus and the heights of Pholoe, home of wild beasts. Its skin and two spiked horns he flensed, and hung up by the shrine of Artemis the Huntress. (Paton 1916, 1:359)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

11. *The Palatine Anthology*, Nicias 6.122. first half of the third century B.C.E.

[1] μαινὰς Ἐνυαλίου, πολεμαδόκε, θοῦρι κράνεια,  
τίς νύ σε θῆκε θεᾶ δῶρον ἐγερσιμάχα;  
μήνιος: ἦ γὰρ τοῦ παλάμας ἄπο ρίμφα θοροῦσα  
ἐν προμάχοις Ὀδρύσας δήιον ἄμπεδίων.

Maenad of Ares, sustainer of war, impetuous spear,  
who now hath set thee here, a gift to the goddess who  
awakes the battle? "Menius; for springing lightly  
from his hand in the forefront of the fight I wrought  
havoc among the Odryssae on the plain." (Paton 1916, 1:365)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

12. *The Palatine Anthology*, Anyte 6.123. ca. 300 B.C.E.

[1] ἔσταθι τεῖδε, κράνεια βροτοκτόνε, μηδ' ἔτι λυγρὸν  
χάλκεον ἀμφ' ὄνυχα στάζε φόνον δαΐων  
ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μαρμάρειον δόμον ἡμένα αἰπὸν Ἀθήνας,  
ἄγγελλ' ἀνορέαν Κρητὸς Ἐχεκρατίδα.

Stand here, thou murderous spear, no longer drip  
from thy brazen barb the dismal blood of foes; but  
resting in the high marble house of Athena, announce  
the bravery of Cretan Echekratidas. (Paton 1916, 1:365)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

13. *The Palatine Anthology*, Hegesippus 6.124. ca. 250 B.C.E.

[1] ἀσπίς ἀπὸ βροτέων ὤμων Τιμάνορος ἄμμαι  
ναῶ ὑποροφία Παλλάδος ἀλκιμάχας,  
πολλὰ σιδαρείου κεκονιμένα ἐκ πολέμοιο,  
τόν με φέροντ' αἰεὶ ῥυομένα θανάτου.

I am fixed here under the roof of warrior Pallas' temple, the shield from the  
mortal shoulders of Timanor, often befouled with the dust of iron war. Ever did I  
save my bearer from death. (Paton 1916, 1:367)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

14. *The Palatine Anthology*, Nicias 6.127. first half of the third century B.C.E.

[1] μέλλον ἄρα στυγερὰν κἀγὼ ποτε δῆριν Ἄρηος  
ἐκπρολιπγοῦσα χορῶν παρθενίων ἄτειν  
Ἄρτέμιδος περὶ ναόν, Ἐπίξενος ἔνθα μ' ἔθηκεν,  
λευκὸν ἐπεὶ κείνου γῆρας ἔτειρε μέλη.

So one day I was fated to leave the hideous field of battle and listen to the song and dance of girls round the temple of Artemis, where Epixenus set me, when white old age began to wear out his limbs. (Paton 1916, 1:367)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

15. *The Palatine Anthology*, Mnasalces 6.128. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] ἦσο κατ' ἠγάθειον τόδ' ἀνάκτορον, ἀσπί φαεννά,  
ἄνθεμα Λατώα δῆιον Ἄρτέμιδι.  
πολλάκι γὰρ κατὰ δῆριν Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ χερσὶν  
μαρναμένα χρυσεῖαν εἴ κεκόνισαι ἴτυν.

Rest in this holy house, bright shield, a gift from the wars to Artemis, Leto's child. For oft in the battle, fighting on Alexander's arm, though didst in comely wise befoul with dust thy golden rim. (Paton 1916, 1:369)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

16. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.129. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] ὀκτώ τοι θυρεούς, ὀκτώ κράνη, ὀκτώ ὑφαντοὺς  
θώρηκας, τόσσας θ' αἰμαλέας κοπίδας,  
ταῦτ' ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν Κορυφασία ἔντε' Ἀθάνᾳ  
Ἄγνων Εὐάνθευς θῆχ' ὁ βιαιομάχας.

Eight shields, eight helmets, eight woven coats of mail and as many blood-stained axes, these are the arms, spoils of the Lucanians, that Hagnon, son of Euanthes, the doughty fighter, dedicated to Coryphasian Athena. (Paton 1916, 1:369)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

17. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.130. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἴτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθήνα  
Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,  
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελῶν στρατὸν οὐ μέγα θαῦμα:  
αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαί.

The shields, spoils of the brave Gauls, did Molossian Pyrrhus hang here as a gift to Itonian Athena, after destroying the whole army of Antigonos. 'Tis no great wonder! Now, as of old, the sons of Aeacus are warriors. (Paton 1916, 1:369)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

18. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.131. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] αἶδ' ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν θυρεάσπιδες, οἱ δὲ χαλινοὶ  
στοιχηδόν, ξεστὰ τ' ἀμφίβολοι κάμακες  
δέδμηται, ποθέουσαι ὁμῶς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας,  
Παλλάδι: τοὺς δ' ὁ μέλας ἀμφέχανεν θάνατος.

These great shields won from the Lucanians, and the row of bridles, and the polished double-pointed spears are suspended here to Pallas, missing the horses and the men their masters; but them black death hath devoured. (Paton 1916, 1:369)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

19. *The Palatine Anthology*, Anacreon 6.143. sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E.

[1] Εὐχέο Τιμόνακτι θεῶν κήρυκα γενέσθαι  
ἦπιον, ὅς μ' ἐρατοῖς ἀγλαΐην προθύροις  
Ἑρμῆ τε κρείοντι καθέσσατο· τὸν δ' ἐθέλοντα  
ἄστῶν καὶ ξείνων γυμνασίῳ δέχομαι.

(On a statue of Hermes) Pray that the herald of the gods may be kind to Timonax, who placed me here to adorn this lovely porch, and as a gift to Hermes the Lord. In my gymnasium I receive whosoever wishes it, be he citizen or stranger. (Paton 1916, 1:373)

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

20. *The Palatine Anthology*, Antipater of Sidon 6.160. before 125 B.C.E.

[1] κερκίδα τὰν ὀρθρινά, χελιδονίδων ἅμα φωνᾶ,  
μελομένην, ἰστῶν Παλλάδος ἄλκυόνα,  
τόν τε καρηβαρέοντα πολυρροΐβδητον ἄτρακτον,  
κλωστήρα στρεπτᾶς εὐδρομον ἄρπεδόνας,  
[5] καὶ πήνας, καὶ τόνδε φιληλάκατον καλαθίσκον,  
στάμονος ἀσκητοῦ καὶ τολύπας φύλακα,  
παῖς ἀγαθοῦ Τελέσιλλα Διοκλέος ἀ φιλοεργὸς  
εἰροκόμων Κούρα θήκατο δεσπότιδι.

Industrious Telesilla, the daughter of good Diocles, dedicates to the Maiden who presides over workers in wool her weaving-comb, the halcyon of Pallas' loom, that sings in the morning with the swallows, her twirling spindle nodding with the weight, the agile spinner of the twisted thread, her thread and this work-basket that loves the distaff, the guardian of her well-wrought clews and balls of wool. (Paton 1916, 1:381)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

21. *The Palatine Anthology*, Meleager 6.162. first century B.C.E.

[1] Ἄνθεμά σοι Μελέαγρος ἐὼν συμπαίστορα λύχνον,  
Κύπρι φίλη, μύστην σῶν θέτο παννυχίδων.

Meleager dedicates to thee, dear Cypris, the lamp his play-fellow, that is initiated into the secrets of thy night festival. (Paton 1916, 1:383)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible, Section Summary

22. *The Palatine Anthology*, Hegesippus 6.178. ca. 250 B.C.E.

[1] δέξαι μ' , Ἡράκλεις, Ἀρχεστράτου ἱερὸν ὄπλον,  
ὄφρα, ποτὶ ξεστὰν παστάδα κεκλιμένα,  
γηραλέα τελέθοιμι, χορῶν αἴουσα καὶ ὕμνων  
ἄρκείτω στυγερά δῆρις Ἐνναλίου.

Accept me, Herakles, the consecrated shield of Archestratus, so that, resting against thy polished porch I may grow old listening to song and dance Enough of hateful battle! (Paton 1916, 1:391)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

23. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.188. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Ὁ Κρής Θηρίμαχος τὰ λαγωβόλα Πανὶ Λυκαίῳ  
ταῦτα πρὸς Ἀρκαδικοῖς ἐκρέμασε σκοπέλοις.  
ἀλλὰ σὺ Θηριμάχῳ δῶρων χάριν, ἀγρότα δαῖμον,  
χεῖρα κατιθύνοισ τοξότιν ἐν πολέμῳ,  
[5] ἐν τε συναγκείαισι παρίστασο δεξιτερῇ οἱ,  
πρῶτα διδοὺς ἄγρης, πρῶτα καὶ ἀντιπάλων

Therimachus the Cretan suspended these his hare-staves to Lycaean Pan on the Arcadian cliff. But do thou, country god, in return for his gift, direct aright the archer's hand in battle, and in the forest dells stand beside him on his right hand, giving him supremacy in the chase and supremacy over his foes. (Paton 1916, 1:395–7)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

24. *The Palatine Anthology*, Gaetulicus 6.190. first century C.E.

[1] Λάζεο, τιμήεσσα Κυθηριάς, ὕμνοπόλοιο  
λιτὰ τάδ' ἐκ λιτοῦ δῶρα Λεωνίδεω·  
πεντάδα τὴν σταφυλῆς εὐρώγεα, καὶ μεληδῆς  
πρώτιον εὐφύλλων σῦκον ἀπ' ἀκρεμόνων,  
[5] καὶ ταύτην ἀπέτηλον ἀλινήκτειραν ἐλαίην,  
καὶ ψαιστῶν ὀλίγον δράγμα πενιχραλέων,  
καὶ σταγόνα σπονδῆτιν, ἀεὶ θυέεσσιν ὀπηδόν,  
τὴν κύλικος βαιῶ πυθμένι κευθομένην.  
εἰ δ', ὥς εὐ βαρύγυιον ἀπώσαο νοῦσον, ἐλάσσεις  
[10] καὶ πενίην, δώσω πιαλέον χίμαρον.

Take, honored Cytherea, these poor gifts from poor Leonidas the poet, a bunch of five fine grapes, an early fig, sweet as honey, from the leafy branches, this leafless olive that swam in brine, a little handful of frugal barley-cake, and the libation that ever accompanies sacrifice, a wee drop of wine, lurking in the bottom of the tiny cup. But if, as thou hast driven away the disease that weighed sore on me, so thou dost drive away my poverty, I will give thee a fat goat. (Paton 1916, 1:397)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities

25. *The Palatine Anthology*, Cornelius Longus 6.191. first century C.E.

[1] Ἐκ πενίης, ὡς οἶσθ', ἀκραιφνέος ἀλλὰ δικαίης,  
Κύπρις, ταῦτα δέχου δῶρα Λεωνίδεω·  
πορφυρέην ταύτην ἐπιφυλλίδα, τήν θ' ἀλίπαστον  
δρύπεπα, καὶ ψαιστῶν τὴν νομίμην θυσίην,  
[5] σπονδὴν θ', ἣν ἀσάλευτον ἀφύλισα, καὶ τὰ μελιχρὰ  
σῦκα. σὺ δ', ὡς νούσου, ῥύεο καὶ πενίης·  
καὶ τότε βουθυτέοντά μ' ἐσόψειαι. ἀλλὰ σύ, δαῖμον,  
σπεύδοις ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ χάριτα.

Receive, Cyprius, these gifts of Leonidas out of a poverty which is, as thou knowest, untempered but honest, these purple gleanings from the vine, this pickled olive, the prescribed sacrifice of barley-cake, a libation of wine which I strained off without shaking the vessel, and the sweet figs. Save me from want, as thou hast saved me from sickness, and then thou shalt see me sacrificing cattle. But hasten, goddess, to earn and receive my thanks. (Paton 1916, 1:397)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities

26. *The Palatine Anthology*, Archias 6.192. first century B.C.E.

[1] Ταῦτα σαγηναίοιο λίνου δηναῖα Πριήπῳ  
λείψανα καὶ κύρτους Φιντύλος ἐκρέμασεν,  
καὶ γαμψὸν χαιτήσιν ἐφ' ἰππεΐησι πεδηθὲν  
ἄγκιστρον, κρυφίην εἰναλίοισι πάγην,  
[5] καὶ δόνακα τριτάνυστον, ἀβάπτιστόν τε καθ' ὕδωρ  
φελλόν, ἀεὶ κρυφίων σῆμα λαχόντα βόλων·  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι στεῖβει ποσὶ χοιράδας, οὐδ' ἐπιαύει  
ἡϊόσιν, μογερῶ γήραϊ τειρόμενος.

Phintylus suspended to Priapus these old remains of his seine, his weels, the crooked hook attached to a horse-hair line, hidden trap for fishes, his very long cane-rod, his float that sinks not in the water, ever serving as the indicator of his hidden casts; for no longer does he walk on the rocks or sleep on the beach, now he is worn by troublesome old age. (Paton 1916, 1:399)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

27. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.202. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Εὐθύσανον ζώνην τοι ὁμοῦ καὶ τόνδε κύπασσιν

Ἄτθις παρθενίων θῆκεν ὑπερθε θυρῶν,  
ἐκ τόκου, ὧ Λητωῖ, βαρυνομένης ὅτε νηδὺν  
ζῶν ἀπ' ὠδίνων λύσαο τῆσδε βρέφος.

Atthis hung over thy virginal portals,  
O daughter of Leto,  
her tasselled zone and this her frock,  
when thou didst deliver her heavy womb of a live child. (Paton 1916, 1:403)

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible; 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

28. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.211. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] τὸν ἀργυροῦν Ἔρωτα, καὶ περίσφυρον  
πέζαν, τὸ πορφυρεῦν τε Λεσβίδος κόμης  
ἔλιγμα, καὶ μηλοῦχον ὑαλόχροα,  
τὸ χάλκεον τ' ἔσοπτρον, ἠδὲ τὸν πλατὺν  
[5] τριχῶν σαγηνευτῆρα, πύξινον κτένα,  
ὧν ἠθέλεν τυχοῦσα, γνησία Κύπρι,  
ἐν σαῖς τίθησι Καλλίκλεια παστάσιν

Calliclea, her wish having been granted, dedicates in thy porch, true Cypris, the silver statuette of Love, her anklet, the purple caul of her Lesbian hair, her pale-blue bosom-band, her bronze mirror, and the broad box-wood comb that gathered in her locks. (Paton 1916, 1:409)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

29. *The Palatine Anthology*, 'Simonides' 6.215. after 323 B.C.E.

[1] ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενέων Μήδων ναῦται Διοδώρου  
ἔπλ' ἀνέθεν Λατοῖ μνάματα ναυμαχίας.

These shields, won from their foes the Medes, the sailors of Diodorus dedicated to Leto in memory of the sea-fight. (Paton 1916, 1:411)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses, Leto



30. *The Palatine Anthology*, 'Simonides' 6.217. after 323 B.C.E.

[1] χειμερινήν νιφετοῖο κατήλυσιν ἠνίκ' ἀλύξας  
Γάλλος ἐρημαίην ἤλυθ' ὑπὸ σπιλάδα,  
ύετόν ἄρτι κόμης ἀπομόρξατο: τοῦ δὲ κατ' ἴχνος  
βουφάγος εἰς κοίλην ἀτραπὸν ἴκτο λέων.  
[5] αὐτὰρ ὁ πεπταμένη μέγα τύμπανον ὃ σκέθε χειρὶ  
ἤραξεν, καναχῆ δ' ἴαχεν ἄντρον ἅπαν.  
οὐδ' ἔτλη Κυβέλης ἱερὸν βρόμον ὑλονόμος θῆρ  
μεῖναι, ἄν' ὑλῆεν δ' ὠκύς ἔθυνεν ὄρος,  
δείσας ἡμιγύναικα θεῆς λάτριν, ὃς τάδε Ῥεῖα  
[10] ἐνδυτὰ καὶ ξανθοὺς ἐκρέμασε πλοκάμους.

The priest of Rhea, when taking shelter from the winter snow-storm he entered the lonely cave, had just wiped the snow off his hair, when following on his steps came a lion, devourer of cattle, into the hollow way. But he with outspread hand beat the great tambour he held and the whole cave rang with the sound. Nor did that woodland beast dare to support the holy boom of Cybele, but rushed straight up the forest-clad hill, in dread of the half-girlish servant of the goddess, who hath dedicated to her these robes and this his yellow hair. (Paton 1916, 1:411)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses, Cybele

31. *The Palatine Anthology*, Mnasalces 6.264. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] ἀσπίς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φυλλέος ἱερὸν ἅδε  
δῶρον Απόλλωνι χρυσοκόμῳ δέδομαι,  
γηραλέα μὲν ἴτυν πολέμων ὑπο, γηραλέα δὲ  
ὀμφαλὸν ἀλλ' ἀρετᾷ λάμπομαι, ἄν' ἔκιχον  
[5] ἀνδρὶ κορυσσαμένα σὺν ἀριστεί, ὃς μ' ἀνέθηκε.  
ἐμὲ δ' ἀήσατος πάμπαν ἀφ' οὗ γενόμαν.

I am the shield of Alexander, Phylleus' son, and hang here a holy gift to golden-haired Apollo. My edge is old and war-worn, old and worn is my boss, but I shine by the valor I attained going forth to the battle with the bravest of men, him who dedicated me. From the day of my birth up I have remained unconquered. (Paton 1916, 1:441)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

32. *The Palatine Anthology*, Phaedimus 6.271. third century B.C.E.

[1] Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τὰ πέδιλα Κιχησίου εἴσατο υἱός,  
καὶ πέπλων ὀλίγον πτύγμα Θεμιστοδίκη,  
οὐνεκά οἱ πρηεῖα λεχοῖ δισσὰς ὑπερέσχες  
χεῖρας, ἄτερ τόξου, πότνια, νισσομένη.  
[5] Ἄρτεμι, νηπίαχον δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι παῖδα Λέοντι  
νεῦσον ἰδεῖν κοῦρον γυῖ' ἐπαεζόμενον.

Artemis, the son of Cichesias dedicated the shoes to thee, and Themistodice the simple folds of her gown, because that coming in gentle guise without thy bow thou didst hold thy two hands over her in her labor. But Artemis, vouchsafe to see this baby boy of Leon's grows great and strong. (Paton 1916, 1:445)

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses

33. *The Palatine Anthology*, Perses 6.274. last quarter of the fourth century or third century B.C.E.

[1] πότνια κουροσόος, ταύταν ἐπιπορπίδα νυμφᾶν,  
καὶ στεφάναν λιπαρῶν ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πλοκάμων,  
ὀλβία Εἰλείθυια, πολυμνάστοιο φύλασσε  
Τισίδος ὠδίνων ρύσια δεξαμένα.

Goddess, savior of children, blest Eileithyia, receive and keep as thy fee for delivering Tisis, who well remembers, from her pangs, this bridal brooch and the diadem from her glossy hair. (Paton 1916, 1:447)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible; 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

34. *The Palatine Anthology*, Antipater of Sidon 6.276. before 125 B.C.E.

[1] ἢ πολύθριξ οὐλας ἀνεδήσατο παρθένος Ἴππη  
χαίτας, εὐώδη σμηγομένα κρόταφον  
ἤδη γάρ οἱ ἐπῆλθε γάμου τέλος: αἰ δ' ἐπὶ κόρση  
μίτραι παρθενίας αἰτέομεν χάριτας.  
[5] Ἄρτεμι, σῆ δ' ἰότητι γάμος θ' ἅμα καὶ γένος εἶη  
τῇ Λυκομηδείδου παιδὶ λιπαστραγάλη.

Hippe, the maiden, has put up her abundant curly hair, brushing it from her perfumed temples, for the solemn time when she must wed has come, and I the

snood that sued to rest there require in my wearer the grace of virginity. But, Artemis, in thy loving kindness grant to Lycomedes' child, who has bidden farewell to her knuckle-bones, both a husband and child. (Paton 1916, 1:447)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

35. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.289. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Αὐτονόμα, Μελίτεια, Βοΐσκιον, αἱ Φιλολάδεω  
καὶ Νικοῦς Κρηῆσαι τρεῖς, ξένε, θυγατέρες,  
ἅ μὲν τὸν μιτόεργον ἀειδίητον ἄτρακτον,  
ἅ δὲ τὸν ὀρφνίταν εἰροκόμον τάλαρον,  
[5] ἅ δ' ἅμα τὰν πέπλων εὐάτριον ἐργάτιν, ἰστῶν  
κερκίδα, τὰν λεχέων Πανελόπας φύλακα,  
δῶρον Ἀθαναίᾳ Πανίτιδι τῶδ' ἐνὶ ναῶ  
θῆκαν, Ἀθαναίας παυσάμεναι καμάτων.

Autonoma, Melite, and Boiscion, the three Cretan daughters of Philolaides and Nico, dedicated in this temple, O stranger, as a gift to Athena of the spool on ceasing from the labors of Athena, the first her thread-making ever-twirling spindle, the second her wool-basket that loves the night, and the third her weaving-comb, the industrious creator of raiment, that watched over the bed of Penelope. (Paton 1916, 1:455)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

36. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas 6.296. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Ἀστεμφῆ ποδάγρην, καὶ δούνακας ἀνδικτῆρας,  
καὶ λῖνα, καὶ γυρὸν τοῦτο λαγωοβόλον,  
ιοδόκην, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπ' ὄρτυγι τετρανθέντα  
αὐλόν, καὶ πλωτῶν εὐπλεκὲς ἀμφιβόλον,  
[5] Ἑρμείη Σώσιππος, ἐπεὶ παρενήξατο τὸ πλεῦν  
ἥβης, ἐκ γήρωσ δ' ἀδρανίη δέδετα.

Sosippus gives to Hermes, now that he has out-swum the greater part of his strength and the feebleness of old age fetters him, his securely fixed trap, his cane springs, his nets, this curved hare-club, his quiver, this quail-call, and the well-woven net for throwing over wild fowl. (Paton 1916, 1:459)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

37. *The Palatine Anthology*, Phantias 6.297. early third–early first centuries B.C.E.

[1] Ἄλκιμος ἀγρίφαν κενοδοντίδα, καὶ φιλοδοῦπου  
φάρσος ἄμας, στελεοῦ χῆρον ἐλαϊνέου,  
ἀρθροπέδαν στεῖμόν τε, καὶ ὠλεσίβωλον ἀρούρης  
σφύραν, καὶ δαπέδων μονορούχαν ὄρυγα,  
[5] καὶ κτένας ἐλκητῆρας, ἀνὰ προπύλαιον Ἀθήνας  
θήκατο, καὶ ῥαπτὰς γειοφόρους σκαφίδας,  
θησαυρῶν ὅτ' ἔκυρσεν, ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἂν ἄ πολυκαμπῆς  
ἰξὺς κεῖς Ἄϊδαν ὄχγετο κυφαλέα.

Alcimus hung up in Athena's porch, when he found a treasure (for otherwise his often-bent back would perhaps have gone down curved to Hades), his toothless-rake, a piece of his noisy hoe wanting its olive-wood handle, his..., his mallet that destroys the clods, his one-pronged pickaxe, his rake, and his sewn baskets for carrying earth. (Paton 1916, 1:459).

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

38. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas of Tarentum 6.300. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Λαθρίη, ἐκ πλάνης ταύτην χάριν ἔκ τε πενέστεω  
κῆξ ὀλιγησιπύου δέξο Λεωνίδεω,  
ψαιστά τε πῆεντα καὶ εὐθήσαυρον ἐλαίην,  
καὶ τοῦτο χλωρὸν σῦκον ἀποκράδιον,  
[5] κευόινου σταφυλῆς ἔχ' ἀποσπάδα πεντάρρωγον,  
πότνια, καὶ σπονδῆν τήνδ' ὑποπυθμίδιον.  
ἦν δὲ μέ χῶς ἐκ νούσου ἀνειρύσω, ὧδε καὶ ἐχθρῆς  
ἐκ πενίης ῥύση, δέξο χιμαιροθύτην.

Lathrian goddess, accept these offerings from Leonidas the wanderer, the pauper, the flourless: rich barley-cakes, olives easy to store, and this green fig from the tree. Take, too, lady, these five grapes picked from a rich cluster, and this libation of the dregs of the cup. But if, as thou has saved me from sickness so though savest me from hateful penury, await a sacrifice of a kid. (Paton 1916, 1:461)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities

39. *The Palatine Anthology*, Leonidas 6.309. middle of the third century B.C.E.

[1] Εὐφημόν τοισφαῖραν, εὐκρόταλόν τε Φιλοκλῆς  
Ἑρμείη ταύτην πυξινέην πλατάγην,

ἀστραγάλας θ' αἷς πόλλ' ἐπεμήνατο, καὶ τὸν ἐλικτὸν  
ρόμβον, κουροσύνης παίγνι' ἀνεκρέμασεν.

To Hermes Philocles here hangs up these toys of his boyhood: his noiseless ball, this lively boxwood rattle, his knuckle-bones he had such a mania for, and his spinning-top. (Paton 1916, 1:467)

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

40. *The Palatine Anthology*, Antipater of Sidon 9.323. before 125 B.C.E.

[1] τίς θέτο μαρμαίροντα βοάγρια; τίς δ' ἀφόρυκτα  
δούρατα, καὶ ταύτας ἀρραγέας κόρυθα,ς,  
ἀγκρεμάσας Ἄρηι μιάστορι κόσμον ἄκοσμον;  
οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμῶν ρίψει ταῦτά τις ὄπλα δόμων;  
[5] ἀπτολέμων τάδ' ἔοικεν ἐν οἴνοπλῆξι τεράμνοισ  
πλάθειν, οὐ θριγκῶν ἐντὸς Ἐνυαλίου.  
σκῦλά μοι ἀμφίδρυπτα, καὶ ὄλλυμένων ἄδε λύθρος  
ἀνδρῶν, εἶπερ ἔφυν ὁ βροτολογιὸς Ἄρης.

Who hung here these glittering shields, these unstained spears and unbroken helmets, dedicating to murderous Ares ornaments that are no ornaments? Will no one cast these weapons out of my house? Their place is in the wassailing halls of unwarlike men, not within the walls of Enyalios. I delight in hacked trophies and the blood of dying men, if, indeed, I am Ares the Destroyer. (Paton 1916, 3:175)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

## **Pausanias**

1. Pausanias 1.3.4. second century C.E.

[4]...πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμῶδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

[4] In front of the temple is an image of the god (Apollo) by Leochares, and another by Calamis. The latter image is called Averter of Evil. They say this name was given to the god because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the plague which afflicted Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian war. (Frazer 1898, 1:5)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo

2. Pausanias 1.21.4–5 second century C.E.

[4]... τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἕς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἕς τὰς γραφὰς θεᾶς ἄξιον: ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη, παρ' ἧς λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ἁλιρρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίπην αἰσχύναντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φόνῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτον. [5] ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ: ἕς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἤσσον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἕς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι...

[4] The sanctuary of Asklepios is worth seeing for its images of the god and his children, and also for its paintings. In it is a fountain beside which, they say, Halirrothius, son of Poseidon, violated Alcippe, daughter of Ares, and was therefore slain by Ares. And this, they say, was the first murder on which sentence was pronounced. Here among other things is dedicated a Sarmatian corselet: anyone who looks at it will say that the barbarians are not less skillful craftsmen than the Greeks. (Frazer 1898, 1:30)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

3. Pausanias 1.27.1. second century C.E.

[1] κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι. Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα ἱπέων: Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχεσαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου πεσόντος οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν ἀκινάκη.

[1] In the temple of the Polias is a wooden Hermes, said to be an offering of Cecrops, but hidden under myrtle boughs. Amongst the ancient offerings which are worthy of mention is a folding-chair, made by Daedalus, and spoils taken from the Medes, including the corselet of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a sword said to be that of Mardonius. Masistius, I know, was killed by the Athenian cavalry; but as Mardonius fought against the Lacedaemonians, and fell by the hand of a Spartan, the Athenians could not have got the sword originally, nor is it likely that the Lacedaemonians would have allowed them to carry it off. (Frazer 1898, 1:39)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

4. Pausanias 2.10.2. second century C.E.

[2] ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐν ἀριστερῇ διπλοῦν ἐστὶν οἴκημα: κεῖται δὲ Ὑπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται Καρνεῖῳ, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κήτους ὄστον θαλασσίῳ μεγέθει μέγα καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὀνειροῦ καὶ Ὑπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδῶτης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιοῦσι καθ' ἕτερον τῆς ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἄγαλμά ἐστι, τῇ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἕστηκεν.

[2] From here a road leads to a sanctuary of Asklepios. On entering the enclosure we have on the left a double building. In the outer chamber is an image of Sleep, of which nothing is left but the head. The inner chamber is consecrated to Carnean Apollo, and none but the priests are allowed to enter it. In the colonnade is a huge bone of a sea-monster, and beyond it an image of Dream, and one of Sleep lulling a lion to slumber, and the surname of Sleep is Bountiful. Entering the sanctuary of Asklepios we have on one side of the entrance a sitting image of Pan, and on the other a standing image of Artemis. (Frazer 1898, 1:85)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Priesthood

5. Pausanias 2.10.4. second century C.E.

[4] οὗτος μὲν δὴ παρείχεται ὁ περίβολος τοσάδε ἐς μνήμην, πέραν δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερός: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀντιόπης: εἶναι γάρ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας Σικυωνίους καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἐθέλουσι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόπην προσήκειν σφίσι. μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐσίασι μὲν δὴ ἐς αὐτὸ γυνή τε νεωκόρος, ἢ μηκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι, καὶ παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέτειον ἔχουσα: λουτροφόρον τὴν παρθένον ὀνομάζουσι: τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὄραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τὴν θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν προσεύχεσθαι.

[4] Near it is another enclosure sacred to Aphrodite. The first image in it is that of Antiope; for they say that her children were natives of Sicyon, and they will have it that through her children Antiope herself also belongs to Sicyon. Beyond it is the sanctuary of Aphrodite. A female sacristan, who is henceforward forbidden to have intercourse with the other sex, and a virgin, who holds the priesthood for a year and goes by the name of the Bath-bearer, enters into the sanctuary: every one else, without distinction, may only see the goddess from the entrance, and pray to her from there. (Frazer 1898, 1:86)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Priesthood

6. Pausanias 2.17.3. second century C.E.

[3] ἀρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ λέγουσιν Εὐπόλεμον Ἀργεῖον: ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονάς ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ θεῶν καὶ γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Τροίαν πόλεμον καὶ Ἰλίου τὴν ἄλωσιν. ἀνδριάντες τε ἐστήκασιν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ γεγόνασιν ἰέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ ἡρώων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ὀρέστου: τὸν γὰρ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα, ὡς εἶη βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος, Ὀρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀσπίς ἦν Μενέλαός ποτε ἀφείλετο Εὐφορβὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ.

[3] They say that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus an Argive. The sculptures over the columns represent, some the birth of Zeus and the battle of the gods and giants, others the Trojan war and the taking of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have been priestesses of Hera, and statues of heroes, including Orestes; for they say that the statue which the inscription declares to be the Emperor Augustus is really Orestes. In the fore-temple are ancient images of the Graces on the left; and on the right is a couch of Hera, and a votive offering consisting of the shield which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus at Ilium. (Frazer 1898, 1:95)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses, Hera; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

7. Pausanias 2.21.4. second century C.E.

[4] τὸ δὲ οἰκοδόμημα λευκοῦ λίθου κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ τρόπαιον ἐπὶ Πύρρῳ τῷ Ἠπειρώτῃ, καθὰ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καυθέντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ νεκροῦ μνημα καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εὖροι τις, ἐν ᾧ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσοις ὁ Πύρρος ἐχρήτο ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πυρὰν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἐγένετο: αὐτὰ δὲ κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος, παρ' ᾧ συμβῆναί οἱ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. τοῦ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱεροῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀσπίδα ἰδεῖν Πύρρου χαλκῆν ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνακειμένην.

[4] The building of white marble, situated just at the middle of the market-place, is not a trophy of the victory over Pyrrhus the Epirot, as the Argives say: his corpse was burned here, and this you will find is his monument, on which are sculptured in relief the elephants and everything that Pyrrhus used in battle. This building was erected where the pyre stood, but the bones of Pyrrhus are deposited in the sanctuary of Demeter, beside which, as I have shown in my account of Attica, his death took place. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter you may



see the bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging up over the door. (Frazer 1898, 1:102–103)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses, Demeter; 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

8. Pausanias 3.16.2. second century C.E.

[2] ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται πλησίον: τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασὶν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτήσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες: ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθῆναί τε ἠξίουσιν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἠτοῦντο ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἠνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.

[2] Every year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo of Amyklæ, and they give the name of Tunic to the building where they weave it. Near it is a house which the sons of Tyndareus are said to have originally inhabited; but afterwards it was acquired by one Phormio, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said they had come from Cyrene, and desired to lodge in his house, and they begged he would let them have the chamber which they had loved most dearly while they dwelt among men. (Frazer 1898, 1:158)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

9. Pausanias 3.20.3. second century C.E.

[3] ...ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν ἀπιούσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ᾤκειτο Βρυσαῖαι: καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναῖξιν ἔστιν ὄραν: γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

[3] ...From this point leaving Taygetus we come to a place where once stood the city of Bryseae. There is still left here a temple of Dionysus, and an image under the open sky. But the image in the temple may be seen by women only; for women alone perform in secrecy the sacrificial rites. (Frazer 1898, 1:166)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Gender

10. Pausanias 3.22.6–7. second century C.E.

[6] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν ἐς Γερόνθρας ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ καλουμένη κώμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος: [7] ἑορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος, ἐν ἧ ἡ γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἄλλος.

[6] On the way from Acrae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea ('old'): in Geronthrae itself there is a temple of Ares with a sacred grove. Every year they hold a festival in honor of the god, during which it is forbidden to women to enter the grove. (Frazer 1898, 1:170)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Gender

11. Pausanias 4.35.8. second century C.E.

[8] ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώτιδος: Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ φασὶ θεῖσθαι. βιαίτεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν πνέοντες ἔλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν χώραν: Διομήδους δὲ εὐξαμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορὰ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀνέμων γε ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν...

[8] In Mothone there is a temple of Athena of the Winds: they say that Diomedes dedicated the image and gave the goddess this title. For the country used to suffer from stormy and unseasonable winds till Diomedes prayed to Athena, and from that day forward the winds have wrought no havoc on the land... (Frazer 1898, 1:233)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

12. Pausanias 5.12.4–5. second century C.E.

[4] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἔρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῆ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ ἔστιν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες καθιάσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος. [5] ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἔρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῆ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ ἔστιν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες

[4] In Olympia there is a woolen curtain, a product of the gay Assyrian looms and dyed with Phoenician purple. It is an offering of Antiochus, who also dedicated

the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theater at Athens. This curtain is not drawn up to the roof like the curtain in the temple of the Ephesian Artemis, but is let down by cords to the floor. [5] As to the offerings which stand either in the inner sanctuary or in the fore-temple, there is a throne, the offering of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, the first barbarian who presented an offering to Zeus at Olympia; and there are the bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These horses are less than life-size: they stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. Also there is a bronze-plated tripod, on which the victors' crowns used to be set out before the table was made. (Frazer 1898, 1:254)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

13. Pausanias 5.16.2. second century C.E.

[2] διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῆ Ἥρα πέπλον αἱ ἕξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες: αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασιν καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἡραῖα...

[2] Every fourth year the Sixteen Women weave a robe for Hera; and the same women also hold games called the Heraea... (Frazer 1898, 1:260)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

14. Pausanias 5.21.2. second century C.E.

[2] ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροῦ, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρητὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς: πρὸς δὲ τῆ κρητῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾷ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες.

[2] On the way from the Metroum to the stadium there is on the left, at the foot of Mount Cronius, a terrace of stone close to the mountain, and steps lead up through the terrace. At the terrace stand bronze images of Zeus. These images were made from the fines imposed on athletes who wantonly violated the rules of the games: they are called Zanes (Zeuses) by the natives. (Frazer 1898, 1:268)

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City Authority

15. Pausanias 6.12.1. second century C.E.

[1] πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνήρ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἷς ἑκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες: ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν Ἴέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου

τυραννήσαντος Συρακουσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ τὸ μὲν Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλάμιδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ παῖδες.

[1] Near it is a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it, and race-horses stand beside the chariot, one on each side, and boys are seated on the horses. They are memorials of Olympic victories gained by Hieron, son of Deinomenes, who was tyrant of Syracuse after his brother Gelon. The offerings, however, were not sent by Hieron; it was his son Deinomenes who presented them to the god. The chariot is a work of Onatas the Aeginetan; but the horses on each side and the boys on them are by Calamis. (Frazer 1898, 1:300)

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

16. Pausanias 6.19.7. second century C.E.

[7] ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους: ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἦτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.

[7] Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, a work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus and Megacles. In it are dedicated a colossal image of Zeus and three linen corselets. It is an offering of Gelo and the Syracusans for a victory over the Phoenicians either by sea or land. (Frazer 1898, 1:312)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

17. Pausanias 6.20.3. second century C.E.

[3] ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ—διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποιήται—τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας βωμὸς καὶ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμὰς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τῇ θεραπευούσῃ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυσμένη ὕφος λευκόν: παρθένοι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ὑπομένουσαι καὶ γυναῖκες ὕμνον ἄδουσι, καθαγίζουσαι δὲ καὶ θυμιάματα παντοῖα αὐτῷ ἐπισπένδειν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον. καὶ ὄρκος παρὰ τῷ Σωσιπόλιδι ἐπὶ μεγίστοις καθέστηκεν.

[3] In the front part of the temple, for the temple is double, there is an altar of Eileithyia, and people may enter; but in the inner part of the temple Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it save the woman who attends to the god, and she has to draw down a white veil over her head and face. Meantime maids and

matrons wait in the sanctuary of Eileithyia and chant a hymn; they also burn all sorts of incense to him, but they do not pour libations of wine. (Frazer 1898, 1:313)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Priesthood

18. Pausanias 6.24.10. second century C.E.

[10] πεποιήται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν οἴκημα ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα καλουμέναις, ἔνθα τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

[10] There is also in the market-place a building for the women called the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera. (Frazer 1898, 1:322)

Cf. Chapter: 3.2, The Basis for Modern Conceptions of Appropriateness

19. Pausanias 7.26.7. second century C.E.

[7] Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῶ καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἴσιδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελησίου. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίαν σέβουσι μὲν τὰ μάλιστα, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις. θεοῦ δὲ ἦν Συρίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἐς ταύτης τὸ ἱερόν ἐσίασιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, ἄλλα τε ὅσα νομίζουσι προκαθαριεύσαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν.

[7] There are standing images of Asklepios in a temple, and elsewhere there are images of Serapis and Isis, also of Pentelic marble. They pay the highest reverence to the Heavenly Goddess, but people are not allowed to enter her sanctuary. Into the sanctuary of the goddess whom they surname Syrian people enter on stated days, but before doing so they must observe certain rules of purity, especially as to diet. (Frazer 1898, 1:369)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Diet

20. Pausanias 7.27.3. second century C.E.

[3] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἄλσος περιφωκοδομημένον τείχει Σωτείρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις αὐτήν: ἔσοδος τε πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄλλῳ γε οὐδενὶ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων. ἱερεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰσὶ κατὰ δόξαν γένους μάλιστα αἰρούμενοι...

[3] Above the temple of Athena is a grove surrounded by a wall: it is sacred to Artemis, surnamed Savior: the most solemn oath of the people is by her. No man

is allowed to enter the grove save the priests, and they are natives, chosen chiefly on the ground of their high birth. (Frazer 1898, 1:371)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Priesthood

21. Pausanias 8.31.8. second century C.E.

[8] τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Κόρης: λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ποδῶν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα: ταινίαι δὲ ἐπέχουσι διὰ παντὸς τὸ βάθρον. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν γυναιξὶ μὲν τὸν πάντα ἐστὶν ἔσοδος χρόνον, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσίασι...

[8] On the right of the temple of the Great Goddesses is a sanctuary also of the Maid: the image is of stone, about eight feet high: its pedestal is completely covered with ribbons. Into this sanctuary women are always allowed to enter, but men enter it not more than once a year... (Frazer 1898, 1:415)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Gender

22. Pausanias 8.36.6. second century C.E.

[6] ... μετὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ Δήμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἔλει ναός τε καὶ ἄλσος: τοῦτο σταδίους πέντε ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, γυναιξὶ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος ἐστὶ μόναις.

[6] ... after it there is a temple and grove of Demeter, called Demeter in the Marsh: the place is five furlongs from the city, and women alone are allowed to enter it. (Frazer 1898, 1:420)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Gender

23. Pausanias 8.41.4–6. second century C.E.

[4] σταδίους δὲ ὅσον δώδεκα ἀνωτέρω Φιγαλίας θερμὰ τέ ἐστὶ λουτρά καὶ τούτων οὐ πόρρω κάτεισιν ὁ Λύμαξ ἐς τὴν Νέδαν: ἥ δὲ συμβάλλουσι τὰ ρεύματα, ἐστὶ τῆς Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἱερὸν, ἅγιόν τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τραχύτητος τοῦ χωρίου δυσπρόσοδον: περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ κυπάρισσοι πεφύκασι πολλαὶ τε καὶ ἀλλήλαις συνεχεῖς. [5] τὴν δὲ Εὐρυνόμην ὁ μὲν τῶν Φιγαλέων δῆμος ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι πεπίστευκεν Ἀρτέμιδος: ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῶν παρειλήφασιν ὑπομνήματα ἀρχαῖα, θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ φασὶν εἶναι τὴν Εὐρυνόμην, ἥς δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησατο μνήμην ὡς ὁμοῦ Θετίδι ὑποδέξαιτο Ἥφαιστον. ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύουσι τῆς Εὐρυνόμης, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον οὐ σφισιν ἀνοιγνύναι καθέστηκε: [6] τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ θυσίας δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδιῶται θύουσιν. ἀφικέσθαι μὲν δὴ μοι τῆς ἑορτῆς οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἐς καιρὸν οὐδὲ τῆς

Εὐρυνόμης τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον: τῶν Φιγαλέων δ' ἤκουσα ὡς χρυσαῖ τε τὸ ξόανον συνδέουσιν ἀλύσεις καὶ εἰκῶν γυναικὸς τὰ ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δέ ἐστιν ἰχθύς. θυγατρὶ μὲν δὴ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ἐν βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁμοῦ Θέτιδι οἰκούση παρέχοιτο ἄν τι ἐς γνῶρισμα αὐτῆς ὁ ἰχθύς: Ἀρτέμιδι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μετὰ γε τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου μετεῖη τοιοῦτου σχήματος.

[4] About twelve furlongs above Phigalia there are warm baths, and not far from them the Lymax falls into the Neda. At the meeting of the streams is the sanctuary of Eurynome, hallowed from of old, and not easily accessible on account of the rugged nature of the place: a thick wood of cypresses grows round it. The Phigalian people are persuaded that Eurynome is a surname of Artemis; but those of them who are depositaries of ancient traditions say that Eurynome was that daughter of Ocean, of whom Homer makes mention in the *Iliad*, where he describes how in the company with Thetis she received Hephaestus. They open the sanctuary of Eurynome on the same day every year; but it is against their rule to open it at any other time. [6] On that occasion they offer both public and private sacrifices. I did not happen to arrive at the season of the festival, nor did I see the image of Eurynome; but I was told by the Phigalians that the image, which is of wood, is bound fast by golden chains, and that it represents a woman to the hips, but below that a fish. Now if she is a daughter of Ocean, and dwells with Thetis in the depths of the sea, the fish might be a sort of emblem of her; but if she were Artemis, she could not with any show of probability be represented by such a figure. (Frazer 1898, 1:427)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

#### 24. Pausanias 8.42.8–10. second century C.E.

[8] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Συρακουσῶν τε ἐτυράννει καὶ Σικελίας τῆς ἄλλης Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Γέλων, ἐς Ἴερωνα ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνος περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή: Ἴερωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εὗξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἴερωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. [9] Ὀνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν, “σὸν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα τεθρίπῳ μὲν ἄπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς, δῶρα Ἴερων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο: παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε” Δεινομένης πατρός μνημα Συρακοσίου: [10] τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων: “υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσεν, νάσω ἐν Αἰγίνα δώματα ναιετάων.” ἢ δὲ ἡλικία τοῦ Ὀνάτα κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἥγιαν καὶ Ἀγελάδαν συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀργεῖον.

[8] For at the time when Xerxes crossed into Europe, Gelo, son of Deinomenes, was tyrant of Syracuse and of all the rest of Sicily; but when Gelo died, the

sovereignty devolved on his brother Hieron; and as Hieron died before he dedicated to Olympian Zeus the offerings which he had vowed for his victories in the chariot-race, they were offered by his son Deinomenes in his stead. [9] These offerings are also works of Onatas; and there are inscriptions at Olympia. The one over the votive offering is this: "For his victories in they august contests, Olympian Zeus, one victory with the four-horse car, and two with the race-horse, Hieron bestowed these gifts on thee: they were dedicated by his son, Deinomenes, in memory of his Syracusan sire." [10] The other inscription runs: "Onatas, son of Micon, wrought me: He dwelt in a house in the isle of Aegina." Onatas may have been a contemporary of the Athenian Hegias, and Ageladas the Argive. (Frazer 1898, 1:429–430)

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

25. Pausanias 9.16.5. second century C.E.

[5] τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Κάδμου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων οἰκίαν ποτὲ εἶναι λέγουσι: Δήμητρος δὲ ἄγαλμα ὅσον ἐς στέρνα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. καὶ ἀσπίδες ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκεινται χαλκαῖ: Λακεδαιμονίων δέ, ὅποσοι τῶν ἐν τέλει περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἐτελεύτησαν, φασὶν εἶναι.

[5] They say that the sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter was once the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The image of Demeter is visible as far as the breast. There are bronze shields preserved here, which are said to have belonged to the Lacedaemonian officers who fell at Leuctra. (Frazer 1898, 1:464)

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.a, Literary Sources, Goddesses, Demeter; 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

26. Pausanias 9.16.6. second century C.E.

[6] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις Προϊτίσι θέατρον ὠκοδόμηται, καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θεάτρου Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησιν Λυσίου: Θηβαίων γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας ἐχομένους ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, ὡς ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Ἄλιαρτίαν ἐγίνοντο, ἔλυσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναί σφισι τοὺς Θρακᾶς παρέδωκεν ὑπνωμένους. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φασὶν εἶναι Σεμέλης: ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκάστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι φασὶν ἐν ἡμέραις τακταῖς.

[6] Beside the Proetid gate there stands a theatre, and close to the theatre is a temple of Dionysus surnamed the Deliverer. For when some Theban prisoners were being carried off by Thracians and had reached Haliartia, the god delivered them, and gave the slumbering Thracians into their hands to smite with the sword.



The Thebans say that one of the two images here is that Semele; and they say that once a year, on certain stated days, they open the sanctuary. (Frazer 1898, 1:464)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

27. Pausanias 9.25.3. second century C.E.

[3] διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Λύκου Δίρκην—ὕπὸ ταύτης δὲ ἔχει λόγος Ἀντιόπην κακοῦσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόπης παίδων συμβῆναι τῇ Δίρκῃ τὴν τελευτήν—, διαβᾶσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἱερὸν, Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀριστομήδους τε καὶ Σωκράτους Θηβαίων. μιᾷ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστων ἐτῶν ἡμέρα καὶ οὐ πέρα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσιν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφικέσθαι τε ἐξεγεγόνει τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσι καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν θρόνον.

[3] The river Dirce is named after the wife of Lycus. The story goes that she tormented Antiope, and was therefore killed by Antiope's children. Crossing the Dirce we come to the ruins of Pindar's house, and to a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene. The sanctuary was dedicated by Pindar: the image is a work of Aristomedes and Socrates, two Theban artists. It is the custom to open the sanctuary on a single day each year, not more. I was fortunate enough to arrive on that very day, and I saw the image, which, with the throne, is made of Pentelic marble. (Frazer 1898, 1:474)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

28. Pausanias 10.35.7. second century C.E.

[7] σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁποῖόν τι ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐδήλωσα: δις γὰρ καὶ οὐ πλέον ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοιγνύναι νομίζουσιν. ὅποσα δ' ἂν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἱερὰ ἐπονομάσωσιν εἶναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἄνευ νόσου ταῦτα καὶ πιότερα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτρέφεσθαι λέγουσιν.

[7] They worship chiefly Artemis, and have a temple of her. I cannot describe the image; for it is their custom to open the sanctuary only twice a year. They say that whatever cattle they pronounce sacred to Artemis remain free from disease and fatter than the rest. (Frazer 1898, 1:555)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

## Plato

1. Plato, *Phaedrus* 235D–E. 360 B.C.E.

[D] Ἄλλ', ὧ γενναιότατε, κάλλιστα εἴρηκας. σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὧν τινῶν μὲν καὶ ὅπως ἤκουσας, μηδ' ἂν κελεύω εἶπης, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ ὃ λέγεις ποιήσον· τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ βελτίω τε καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω ἕτερα ὑπόσχεσ εἰπεῖν, τούτων ἀπεχόμενος. καὶ σοὶ ἐγώ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, ὑπισχνοῦμαι χρυσοῦν εἰκόνα [E] ἰσομέτρητον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήσειν, οὐ μόνον ἐμαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ σῆν.

Most noble Socrates, that is splendid! Don't tell, even if I beg you, how or from whom you heard it; only do as you say; promise to make another speech better than that in the book and no shorter and quite different. Then I promise, like the nine archons, to set up at Delphi a statue as large as life, not only of myself, but of you also. (Fowler 1914, 439)

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City Authority

### Plutarch

1. Plutarch, *Perikles* 13.8. second century C.E.

[8] ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανεῖσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣν χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἰάσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγιείας Ἀθηναῖς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

[8] One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Perikles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the akropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say. (Perrin 1916, 3)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Athena

### Thucydides

1. Thucydides 3.104.1–2. 431 B.C.E

[1] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου: τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῶδε τρόπῳ.  
[2] θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν

διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῶ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἀλύσει δῆσας πρὸς τὴν Δήλον. καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια.

The same winter the Athenians purified Delos in compliance, it appears, with a certain oracle. It had been purified before by Pisistratus the tyrant; not indeed the whole island, but as much of it as could be seen from the temple. All of it was, however, now purified in the following way. [2] All the remains of those that had died in Delos were removed, and for the future it was commanded that no one should be allowed either to die or to give birth to a child in the island; but that they should be carried over to Rhenea, which is so near to Delos that Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, having added Rhenea to his other island conquests during his period of naval ascendancy, dedicated it to the Delian Apollo by binding it to Delos with a chain. After the purification, the Athenians celebrated, for the first time, the quinquennial festival of the Delian games. (Strassler 1996, 212)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death

## **Xenophon**

### 1. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.4–7. 400–350 B.C.E.

[4] ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος: ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρεῖττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. [5] ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἶη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. [6] ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖν. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἠτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα πότερον λῶον εἶη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.

[4] There was a man in the army named Xenophon, an Athenian, who was neither general nor captain nor common soldier, but had accompanied the expedition because Proxenus, an old friend of his, had sent him at his home an invitation to go with him; Proxenus had also promised him that, if he would go, he would

make him a friend of Cyrus, whom he himself regarded, so he said, as worth more to him than was his native state. After reading Proxenus' letter Xenophon conferred with Socrates, the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god in regard to this journey. So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice. When Xenophon came back from Delphi, he reported the oracle to Socrates; and upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. "However," he added, "since you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed." (Brownson 1998, 217–219)

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

2. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.7.25–27. 400–350 B.C.E.

[25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἐξαπίνης ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. [26] ἐνταῦθα ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλῆθος ὠμοβοείων καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. [27] μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα: ἦται δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δεῖξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνα, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὄχγετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

[25] And when all had reached the summit, then indeed they fell to embracing one another, and generals and captains as well, with tears in their eyes. And on a sudden, at the bidding of some one or other, the soldiers began to bring stones and to build a great cairn. [26] Thereon they placed as offerings a quantity of raw ox-hides and walking-sticks and the captured wicker shields; and the guide not only cut these shields to pieces himself, but urged the others to do so. [27] After this the Greeks dismissed the guide with gifts from the common stock—a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ten darics; but what he particularly asked the men for was their rings, and he got a considerable number of them. Then he showed them a village to encamp in and the road they were to follow to the country of the

Macronians, and, as soon as evening came, took his departure during the night. (Brownson 1998, 365–367)

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

3. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.3.4–6. 400–350 B.C.E.

[4] ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τήνδεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσῖα Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς: ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. [5] Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθεισιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψε τὸ τε αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανεν: ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. [6] τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτ' ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοῦς ὁδόν, καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῆναι, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι: ἣν δὲ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὅ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ.

There, also, they divided the money received from the sale of the captives. And the tithe, which they set apart for Apollo and for Artemis of the Ephesians, was distributed among the generals, each taking his portion to keep safely for the gods; and the portion that fell to Cheirisophus was given to Neon the Asinaean. As for Xenophon, he caused a votive offering to be made out of Apollo's share of his portion and dedicated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing upon it his own name and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus; for Proxenus was his friend. The share which belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians he left behind, at the time when he was returning from Asia with Agesilaus to take part in the campaign against Boeotia, in charge of Megabyzus, the sacristan of Artemis, for the reason that his own journey seemed likely to be a dangerous one; and his instructions were that in case he should escape with his life, the money was to be returned to him, but in case any ill should befall him, Megabyzus was to cause to be made and dedicated to Artemis whatever offering he thought would please the goddess (Brownson 1998, 401–403)

Cf. Chapter: 5.3, The Dedication

4. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.3.7–13. 400–350 B.C.E.

[7] ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός. [8] ἔτυχε δὲ διαρρέων διὰ

τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ. καὶ ἰχθύες τε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔνεισι καὶ κόγχοι: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία. [9] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεὶ δεκατεῶν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὠραῖα θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. [10] καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων: καὶ ἠλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. [11] ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα ἧ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. ἐνὶ δ' ἐντῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμῶν καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ σῦς καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦςτρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. [12] περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτῶρα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσοῦ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. [13] καὶ στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα: “ἱερὸς ὁ χώρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἐκάστου ἔτους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δὲ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.”

[7] In the time of Xenophon's exile and while he was living at Scillus, near Olympia, where he had been established as a colonist by the Lacedaemonians, Megabyzus came to Olympia to attend the games and returned to him his deposit. Upon receiving it Xenophon bought a plot of ground for the goddess in a place which Apollo's oracle appointed. [8] As it chanced, there flowed through the plot a river named Selinus; and at Ephesus likewise a Selinus river flows past the temple of Artemis. In both streams, moreover, there are fish and mussels, while in the plot at Scillus there is hunting of all manner of beasts of the chase. [9] Here Xenophon built an altar and a temple with the sacred money, and from that time forth he would every year take the tithe of the products of the land in their season and offer sacrifice to the goddess, all the citizens and the men and women of the neighborhood taking part in the festival. And the goddess would provide for the banqueters barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as of the victims taken in the chase. [10] For Xenophon's sons and the sons of the other citizens used to have a hunting expedition at the time of the festival, and any grown men who so wished would join them; and they captured their game partly from the sacred precinct itself and partly from Mount Pholoe—boars and gazelles and stags. [11] The place is situated on the road which leads from Lacedaemon to Olympia, and is about twenty stadia from the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Within the sacred precinct there is meadowland and tree-covered hills, suited for the rearing of swine, goats, cattle and horses, so that even the draught animals which bring people to the

festival have their feast also. [12] Immediately surrounding the temple is a grove of cultivated trees, producing all sorts of dessert fruits in their season. The temple itself is like the one at Ephesus, although small as compared with great, and the image of the goddess, although cypress wood as compared with gold, is like the Ephesian image. [13] Beside the temple stands a tablet with this inscription: The place is sacred to Artemis. He who holds it and enjoys its fruits must offer the tithe every year in sacrifice, and from the remainder must keep the temple in repair. If any one leave these things undone, the goddess will look to it. (Brownson 1998, 403–405)

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.b, Literary Sources; 5.3, The Dedication

5. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.4.12. fifth–fourth century B.C.E.

[12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνον οὔσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένον καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ἄψασθαι.

[12] When he saw that they were favorably inclined toward him, since they had after all chosen him to be a general, and that his close friends were sending for him in private, he sailed into the Peiraeus, on the day the city was celebrating the Plynteria festival, when the statue of Athena is covered - a thing that some divined was of ill omen, both for Alcibiades himself and for the city. For on that day none of the Athenians would dare to take up any serious business. (Strassler 2010, 20)

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

## APPENDIX B: Epigraphical Sources

Appendix B includes the epigraphical material, which is organized alphabetically by city or region. A sanctuary is provided if an inscription can be associated with a specific sanctuary. Within each city or region, there is a numbered entry for the inscription(s). It contains a short description of the contents of the inscription, a date (if available), the Greek text, an English translation, relevant editions referencing the inscription, and the chapter(s) and section(s) in which the inscription(s) is discussed. Where relevant, bibliographic references for the English translation are provided unless they can be attributed to the author of this dissertation.

### Agia, Thessaly

1. Description: Dedication by Patrokles on behalf of Aison

Date: ca. 450–425 B.C.E.

[μ]ατέρος εὐχολάν, Αἰσό[νι]-  
ε, τοὶ τόδ' ἄγ<α>λμα,  
Πατροκλέας ὀνέθεκε  
ὁ Μάλλ[οι Ὀρε]σθηϊάτας.

A vow of his mother, Aison,  
to you this *agalma*  
Patrokles dedicated,  
the son of Mallos from Oresstheia.

Edition(s): *IG* 9,2 1098

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

### Andania, Messenia. Karneiasion

1. Description: Sacred Law of Andania

Date: 91 B.C.E.

...περὶ τῆς κράνας. τῆς δὲ κράνας τῆς ὄνομασμένης {ὄνομασμένης} διὰ τῶν  
ἀρχαίων ἐγγράφων Ἄγνας καὶ τοῦ γε[γε]-  
[85] νημένου ποτὶ τῆι κράναι ἀγάλματος τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω Μνασίστρατος,  
ἕως ἂν ζεῖ, καὶ μετεχέτω μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τε θυσι-  
ῶν καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἱ θύοντες ποτὶ τῆι κράναι τραπεζῶντι, καὶ τῶν  
θυμάτων τὰ δέρματα λαμβανέτω Μνασίστρατος,  
τῶν τε διαφόρων, ὅσα καὶ οἱ θύοντες ποτὶ τῆι κράναι προτιθῆντι ἢ εἰς τὸν



θησαυρόν, ὅταν κατασκευασθεῖ, ἐμβάλωντι, λαμβανέτω Μνα-  
 σίστρατος τὸ τρίτον μέρος· τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη, καὶ ἂν τι ἀνάθεμα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 θυσιαζόντων ἀνατιθῆται, ἱερά ἔστω τῶν θεῶν. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱε-  
 ροὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχόντω, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν διαφόρων ἀναθέματα κατασκευάζεται τοῖς  
 θεοῖς, ἃ ἂν τοῖς συνέδροις δόξει. θησαυρῶν κατασκευ-  
 [90] [ἄ]ς. οἱ ἱεροὶ οἱ κατεσταμένοι ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει  
 ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχόντω μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὅπως κατασκευασ-  
 [θ]ῆντι θησαυροὶ λίθινοι δύο κλαικτοί, καὶ χωραζάντω τὸν μὲν ἓνα εἰς τὸν ναὸν  
 τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ποτὶ τῆι κράναι, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπ-  
 ωι δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἔξειν· καὶ ἐπιθέντω κλαϊκας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν παρὰ τῆι  
 κράναι ἐχέτω τὰν ἀτέραν κλαϊκα Μνασίστρατος, τὰν δὲ ἄλ-  
 λαν οἱ ἱεροί, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐχόντω τὰν κλαϊκα οἱ ἱεροί, καὶ ἀνοιγόντω κατ'  
 ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ τὸ ἐξαριθμηθὲν διάφορον ἐ[ξ]  
 ἑκατέρου τοῦ θησαυροῦ χωρὶς γράψαντες ἀνενεγκάντω· ἀποδόντω δὲ καὶ  
 Μνασιστράτῳ τὸ γινόμενον αὐ[τῶι] διάφορον, καθὼς ἐν τ[ῶι]  
 [95] διαγράμματι γέγραπται...

About the Fountain: Mnasistratos must take care of the fountain named "Hagna" by the ancient writings and the statue created near the fountain as long as he lives, and he is to share in both the sacrifices and Mysteries with the sacred men. Mnasistratos is to receive whatever those sacrificing at the fountain offer on the table and the skins of the sacrificial animals. Mnasistratos is to receive a one-third share of the income from whatever those sacrificing at the fountain offer or put into the treasury, when it is constructed. The other two portions and any dedication set up by those sacrificing are to be property of the gods. The priest and the sacred men must take care that from the funds dedications are made for the gods, whatever ones are decided by the *sunedroi*.

Concerning the Construction of Treasuries: The sacred men appointed in the 55<sup>th</sup> year must see to it, along with the architect, that two stone lockable treasuries are built, and they must place one in the temple of the Great Gods and the other near the fountain, in whatever place seems safe to them. And they must install keys (locking devices); for the one by the fountain, Mnasistratos is to have one key and the sacred men the other, and for the one in the temple, the sacred men are to have the key. They must open them each year at the Mysteries and report the income counted out from each treasury, writing them separately. And they must give to Mnasistratos the income belonging to him, as it is written in the *diagramma*. (Gawlinski 2012, 83, and 85)

Edition(s): *IG* 5,1 1390, lines 84–95; Sokolowski 1969, no. 65, lines 78–80 and 84–95

Cf. Chapter: 4.3, City Authority and/or Sanctuary Authority

## Arkesine, Amorgos

1. Description: Regulation related to the sanctuary of Demeter

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

[θε]ο[ί].  
ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τ[ῶι δή]μωι·  
Κυ[..... εἶ]πεν· Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπε-  
στάτ[ε]ι· ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱερέα τῆς Δήμητρο[ς]  
[5] τῆς δ[η]μοτε[λ]οῦς εἰσαγγέλλει πρὸ[ς]  
τοὺς πρ[υ]τάν[ει]ς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δή-  
[μ]ητρος ὅτι α[ἰ] γ[υ]ναῖκες εἰσιοῦσαι  
...α..... ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ ὅτι  
[εἰ ἔτι] το[ῦ]τ[ο] γ[έ]νοιτο ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι  
[10] [δ]εινὰ ἄ[ν] [εἶ]η] Ἀρκεσινεῦσιν [ἀ]σε[βοῦ]-  
[σιν οὕτως πρ]ὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ....  
— — — — — εὐ — — —

...

### Gods

It seemed to the *boule* and *demos*  
Ku-...said. Apollonios  
supported (this). Since the public priestess  
[5] of Demeter reported to  
the *prytany* about the sanctuary  
of Demeter that women enter into  
...in the sanctuary and that if,  
moreover, someone would be in the sanctuary  
[10] ...(it would be) impious to the  
Arkesinians  
...thus to the gods...

...

Edition(s): *IG* 12,7 4; Sokolowski 1969, 195–96, no. 102

Cf. Chapter: 4.1, Introduction; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary  
"Days"

## Athens.

1. Description: Regulation related to dedications

Date: mid second century B.C.E.

— — — — — τον — — — — —  
 [— — — — — φι]λοτιμί[α — — — — —]  
 — — — — — ποιήσασθ[αι — — — — — ἵνα τοῦ]-  
 [των συντ]ελουμένων π — — — — —  
 [5] — — — — — εσεως τυγχάνον [τῆς ὀφειλομένης αὐ]-  
 [τῶι ἀπο]δοχῆς καὶ ἐπισημασ[ίας μηκέτι ἐπισκο]-  
 [τῆται τ]ὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὸ τῶ[ν ἀνακειμένων ἐν]  
 [τῶι ἱερ]ῶι εἰκονικῶν πινάκων : <sup>νν</sup> [τὸν δὲ ἱερέα με]-  
 [ταθεῖν]αι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν στοᾶν καὶ [τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα]-  
 [10] [πέρ ἐστιν] ἀνάξια τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ [λοιπὸν μη]-  
 [θένα μετ]ατιθέναι μηθὲν ἐν τῶι [ἱ]ερ[ῶι ἀλλ' ἐάν]  
 [πάντα κα]θάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν.

... ton ...  
 ... *philotima* ...  
 ... made ... there  
 when these things are completed ...  
 [5] ... happening when the debts are  
 returned and marked do not block  
 the image of the god in the temple  
 with painted images. The priest is to place  
 it among those in the stoa and as many others  
 [10] that are unworthy of the temple and no one  
 may place one among the rest nor in the temple except if  
 it is allowed by the authority just as all the things.

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 995; Sokolowski 1969, 79–80, no. 43; *SEG* 25 125

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.c, Sanctuary Supervision and Control; 5.3, The Dedication; 5.5, Summary

## 2. Description: Decree for the *parthenoi*

Date: 103/2 B.C.E.

[ἐπὶ Θεοκλ]έους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανείας,  
 [ἦι — —]θένης Κλεινίου Κοθωκί[δης ἐ]γγραμμάτευεν· Γαμη[λι]ῶνος ἐνδε[κ]-  
 [άτηι, ἐ]νδεκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας· [ἐκ]κλησία κυρία ἐν [τῶι] θεάτρῳ· τῶ[ν]  
 [προέδ]ρων ἐπεψηφίζεν Δημόστρατ[ος Δι]ονυσ[ο]δώρου Εὐω[ν]-  
 [5] [υμε]ῦς <sup>ν</sup> καὶ συνπρόεδροι· <sup>ν</sup> ἔδο[ξεν] τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δ[ή]-  
 [μῳι· Π]εισιάναξ Τιμοθέου Ἀλαιε[ὺς εἶ]πεν· <sup>ν</sup> ἐπειδὴ πρόσοδο[ν]  
 [ποιησά]μενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλήν οἱ πατ[έρες] τῶν παρθένων *vacat*  
 [τῶν ἡργ]ασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τὰ [εἰς τὸ]ν πέπλον ἐμφανίζου-

[σιν παρ]ηκολουθηκένας αὐτάς τοῖς ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ] δήμου ἐψηφισμέ-  
 [10] [νοῖς πε]ρὶ τούτων πᾶσι καὶ πεποιηκένας [τὰ δὶ]καῖα καὶ πεπομπευ-  
 [κένας κα]τὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ὡς ὅτι κ[άλ]λισ]τα καὶ εὐσχημονέ-  
 [στατα, κ]ατεσκευακένας δὲ αὐτάς ἐκ [τῶν ἰ]δίων καὶ φιάλην [ἄ]-  
 [ργυρᾶ]ν ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἦν καὶ [βούλε]σθαι ἀναθεῖν[αι τῆι]  
 [Ἀθηνᾶι ὑπό]μνημα τῆς ἑαυτ[ῶν] πρ[ὸς τὴν θεὸν] εὐσεβεῖ[ας καὶ παρακα]-  
 [15] [λοῦσιν τὴν] βου[λὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον - - - - -]

[In the archonship of Theokl]es, in the seventh *prytany* of Kekropis [for which -  
 - ]thenes, the son of Kleinias, Kothoki[des w]as secretary; on the elev[enth] of  
 Game[li]on, the [eleventh day of the *prytany*; principal [ek]klesia in [the] theater;  
 of th[e *proedroi*], Demostat[os, the son of Di]onys[o]doros, Euo[nyme]us and his  
 fellow *proedroi* put it to vote; it was dec[reed] by the *boule* and the *demos*;  
 P]eisianax, the son of Timotheos, Halaie[us sp]oke; since, [havi]ng approached  
 the *boule*, the fat[hers] of the maidens [who wo]rked the wool [for th]e *peplos* for  
 Athena reveal[ed] that they (the maidens) [followed closely the decre[es of the]  
*demos* [conce]rning all of these matters and they mad[e the prop]er things and  
 they took part in the procession according to the appointment so that it might be  
 as b[eautif]ul and eleg[ant] as possible and they [h]ave also prepared from [their  
 ow]n funds a [silve]r phiale worth one hundred drachmai which they also [wi]sh  
 [to] dedicat[e to Athena as a mem]orial of the[i]r reveren[ce] tow[ards the goddess  
 and they appeal to the] *boule* and the *demos*— ]. (Shear 2001, 1035)

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1034, lines 1–15; Shear 2001, 1035

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City authority

### 3. Description: Decree for the *parthenoi*

Date: Metageitnion 108/7 B.C.E.

ἐπὶ Δημοχάρους ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς — — ἴδος δευτέρας? πρυτανείας, ἦι — — —]  
 Διονυσοδώρου Ἀγκυλ[ῆ]θεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μεταγειτνιῶνος? ἑνδεκάτη, ἑνδεκ]-  
 ἄτη τῆς πρυτανείας· [ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψηφίζεν  
 — — — Τι]-

[10] μύλλου Ἐροιάδης καὶ συμπ[ρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ— —]  
 [Μ]ελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ πρόσοδον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατέρες τῶν  
 παρθένων]

τῶν ἡργασμένων τ[ῆι] Ἀθηνᾶι [τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἐμφανίζουσιν  
 παρηκολουθηκένας αὐτ]-

[ἄ]ς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψη[φισμένοις περὶ τούτων πᾶσι καὶ πεποιηκένας τὰ  
 δίκαια καὶ πεπ]-

[ομπ]ευκένας κατὰ τὰ προστ[εταγμένα ὡς ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ εὐσχημονέστατα,



towards the *boule* and the *demos*; [and their fathers, with the help of the agon]othetes of the Panathenaia, Themistokles [- - -, are to] t[ake of care of the crowns]; th[e secretary of] the *prytany* is to write up on a stone stele the decree and the names of [the maidens and] to [set] (it) up on the Akropolis by the temple of Athena Polias, in o[rder that] their zeal and industry concerning these matters [might be easy to f]ollow. (Shear 2001, 1036–7)

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1036, lines 7–26; Shear 2001, 1035; Aleshire and Lambert 2003, 65–86

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City authority

4. Description: Dedications to the Hieros Iatros and a decree related to melting down and recasting dedications

Date: 220/19 B.C.E.

Ἦρωϊ Ἰατρῶι

Εὐκλῆς Εὐνόμου

Κεφαλῆθεν

ἀνέθηκεν.

[5] θεο[ί]:

ἐπὶ Θρασυφῶντος ἄρχοντος, [ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδι]-

ονίδος ἕκτης πρυτανείας, ἧι [— — c.8 \_ \_]

του Παιανιεὺς ὕγραμμάτε[υεν· δήμου ψη]-

φίσματα· Μαιμακτηριῶνος [— — c.9 — —].

[10] ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτ[ανείας· ἐκκλη]-

σία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτ[ρ]ωι· τ[ῶν προέδρων]

ἐπεψήφισεν Κλεόμαχος Λα[— — c.9 \_ \_]

σιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι· *vacat*

ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλ[εῖ].

[15] Ἐμπεδίων Εὐμήλου Εὐων[υμεὺς εἶπεν].

ὑπὲρ ὧν τὴν πρόσοδον πε[ποιήται ὁ ἱερεὺς]

τοῦ Ἦρωος τοῦ Ἰατροῦ Οἰο[— — c.9 \_ \_ ἐ]-

κ τῶν τύπων τῶν ἀνακει[μένων ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι]

καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου κατασ[κευασθῆι ἀνά]-

[20] θημα τῶι θεῶι <ο>ινοχόη [— — c.13 \_ \_],

[ἀγα]θεῖ τύχει, δεδόχ[θαι τεῖ βουλεῖ· τοὺς]

[λαχ]όντας προέδ[ρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν]

[ἐκκ]λησίαν χρημα[τίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώ]-

[μην] δὲ ξυμβάλλεσ[θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν]

[25] [δῆμον], ὅτι δοκεῖ τ[εῖ βουλεῖ ἐλέσθαι τὸν]

[δῆ]μον [δύ]ο μὲ[ν ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀρευπαγιτῶν],

[τ]ρεῖς δὲ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, [οἵτινες μετὰ τε τοῦ]  
 [ι]ερέως καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ [ὑ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν]  
 [π]αρασκευὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος τοῦ [ἐπὶ]  
 [30] [τ]ὰ ἱερὰ καθελόντες τοὺς τύπους καὶ εἴ τι  
 [ἄ]λλο ἐστὶν ἀργυροῦν ἢ χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸ  
 [ἀ]ργύριον τὸ ἀνακείμενον στήσαντες  
 [κ]ατασκευάσουσι τῷ θεῷ ἀνάθημα ὡς  
 ἂν δύνωνται κάλλιστον, καὶ ἀναθήσου-  
 [35] σιν ἐπιγράψαντες "ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐπὶ Θρασυφῶν-  
 τος ἄρχοντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθημάτων Ἡρω[ῖ]  
 Ἰατρῶι". ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ αἰρεθέ[ν]-  
 τες τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνατεθηκότων ἐν  
 τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ σταθμὸν εἰς στήλην λιθί-  
 [40] νην καὶ στησάτωσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· ἃ δὲ ἂν  
 οἰκονομήσωσιν, λόγον καταβαλέσθαι αὐ-  
 τοῦς· ὃ ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ δημόσιον τὸν ἀντι-  
 γραψόμενον, ὅπως ἂν τούτων γενομένων  
 ἔχει καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῷ[ι]  
 [45] δήμῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς· ὃ θῦσαι δὲ τῷ θε-  
 ῷ ἀρεστήριον ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ δέκα δρα-  
 χμῶν· ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς οἰνο-  
 χόης τῷ Ἡρωῖ τῷ Ἰατρῶι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀ-  
 πάντων χειροτόνηται ὃ Γλαυκέτης Κη-  
 [50] φισιεύς, ὃ Σωγένης Ἰκαριεύς, ὃ Κόνων Ἀλω-  
 πεκῆθεν· ὃ ἐξ Ἀρευπαγιτῶν ὃ Θεογνίς Κυδα-  
 θηναϊεύς, ὃ Χάρης Ἀφιδναῖος, ὃ δημόσιο[ς]  
 κε[χει]ροτόνηται ὃ Δημήτριος. *vacat*

*vacat* 0,022

[ἐ]ν τ[ῷ] τοῦ Ἡρώος τοῦ Ἰατροῦ τὰ καθαιρεθέντα  
 [55] εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα· ὃ ἀργυρᾶ· ὃ τετραῖχμον ὃ ἀνέ-  
 θηκεν Καλλίστρατος· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Λα-  
 μίδιον· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Ζωῖλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 παιδίου· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· ὃ  
 τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λαμίδιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθη-  
 [60] κεν Ἀσφαλίον· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Νικοκλή[ς]  
 τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέ-  
 θηκε Φιλιστίς· ὃ τύπον καὶ ἀσπίδιον ὃ ἀνέθη-  
 κεν Εὐθιον· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ζωῖλος· μηροῦ[ς]  
 δύο οὓς ἀνέθηκεν Ξενοκλῆς· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθη-  
 [65] κεν Εὐκλεία· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλυμπίς· ὃ  
 τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· ὃ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃ  
 οὓς ἀνέθηκεν Κτήσων· ὃ τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλι[σ]-  
 τιον· ὃ δραχμαὶ ἕξ· ὃ τετραῖ[χμον] ἀνεπίγραφον·

τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκεν Κ[αλλ]ί[σ]τ[ι]ον· μηροῦς οὖς ἀ-  
 [70] [ν]έθηκεν Σπινθήρ· τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκε Πατροκλ[.·]  
 [ὀφθ]αλμοῦς οὖς ἀνέθηκε Λαμίδιον· ὀφθαλμοῦς ὕ-  
 [οῦς] ἀνέθηκε Φίλοστράτη· ἀκροστόλιον ὃ ἀν[έ]-  
 [θηκ]ε Θεό[δ]οτος· ὕ-τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκε Σόφον· ὕ-στῆ-  
 [θος] ὃ ἀνέθηκε Πύρων· τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκε Μοσχ[.·]  
 [75] [ὑπ]ὲρ Καλλιστράτης καὶ Καλλίππου· ὕ-τύπον ὄν [ἀ]-  
 νέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· ὕ-τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκεν ὕ-  
 Καλλίστιον· ὕ-τύπον ὄν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστι[ον]·  
 τύπον <ὄν> ἀνέθηκε Καλλίστιον· ὕ-χειρ ἦν ἀνέθη[κε]  
 Νικοστράτη· ὕ-τυπία δύο <ᾶ> ἀνέθηκεν Εὐκλῆς.

*vacat* 0,022

[80] ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς ὕ-ΔΓΓΓΓ ὕ-τύπων ὀλκή ΗΔΓΓ-  
 φιάλη ὀλκή ὕ-Η ὕ-κεφάλαιον ὕ-ΗΗΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ ὕ-ἀπὸ τοῦ-  
 του ἀρεστήριον κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὕ-ΔΓ ὕ-καὶ συν-  
 χωνευθέντων τῶν τυπίων καὶ τῆς φιάλης ὕ-  
 ἀπουσία ὕ-ΔΓΓ ὕ-καὶ εἰς ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης  
 [85] ΓΓΓΓΓΓ ὕ-ἔργαστρα τῆς οἰνοχόης ὕ-ΔΓΓ ὕ-ἡ οἰνοχό-  
 η ἄγει ὕ-ΗΓΓΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ ὕ-κεφάλαιον ὕ-ΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ ὕ-λοι-  
 πὸν ὕ-ΓΓ ὕ-τοῦτο κατασκευασάμενοι ἀναθήσο-  
 μεν τύπον. *vacat*

To the Hero Doctor  
 Eukles son of Eunomos  
 of Kephale  
 dedicated.

[5] Gods

In the archonship of Thrasyphon (220/19), in the sixth *prytany*, of Pandionis, for which...

of Paiania was secretary. Decrees  
[of the People]...of Maimakterion,

[10] the sixteenth of the *prytany*.

Principal Assembly in the theatre. Of the presiding committee  
Kleomachos son of La- of - was putting to the vote,  
and his fellow presiding committee members.

The Council decided.

[15] Empedion son of Eumelos of Euonymon proposed:

concerning the matters about which [the priest]

of the Hero Doctor has made an approach...

from the models stored [in the sanctuary],

and the silver coin, there should be fashioned, as a dedication



[20] to the god, a wine-pourer, [as beautiful as possible?],  
for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the  
presiding committee allotted for the forthcoming  
Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit  
the opinion of the Council to the  
[25] People that it seems good to the Council, that the People  
should choose two men [from the Areopagites],  
and three from their own number, who with the  
priest and the general in charge of  
equipment and the director of works  
[30] in charge of sanctuaries, having melted down the models and  
anything else that there is in silver or gold,  
and having weighed the stored silver coin,  
will fashion for the god a dedication, as beautiful as  
they can, and will dedicate it,  
[35] having inscribed on it, “The Council in the  
archonship of Thrasyphon, from the dedications, to the Hero  
Doctor;” and those chosen shall write up  
the names of those who have dedicated in  
the sanctuary, and the weight, on a stone  
[40] stele and stand it in the sanctuary; and they  
shall deposit an account of what they disburse;  
and they shall choose a public slave to make  
a record, so that, these things having taken place,  
the affairs of the gods shall be handled well and piously by the Council and the  
[45] People; and to sacrifice to the god  
a propitiatory sacrifice for fifteen drachmas.  
For the fashioning of the wine-pourer for  
the Hero Doctor were elected  
from all Athenians, Glauketes  
[50] of Kephisia, Sogenes of Ikaria, Konon  
of Alopeke; from the Areopagites, Theognis of  
Kydathenaion, Chares of Aphidna; as the public slave  
Demetrios was elected.

In the sanctuary of the Hero Doctor, the items melted down  
[55] for the dedication: silver: tetradrachm which Kallistratos  
dedicated; model which Lamidion dedicated;  
model which Zoilos dedicated on behalf of his  
child; model which Kallistion dedicated;  
model which Lamidion dedicated; model which  
[60] Asphaltion dedicated; model which Nikokles dedicated;  
model which Kallistion dedicated; model which

Philistis dedicated; model and little shield which Euthion dedicated; model which Zoilos dedicated; two thighs or thigh-bones which Xenokles dedicated; model which [65] Eukleia dedicated; model which Olympis dedicated; model which Kallistion dedicated; eyes which Kteson dedicated; model which Kallistion dedicated; six drachmas; uninscribed tetradrachm; model which Kallistion dedicated; thighs or thigh-bones which [70] Spinther dedicated; model which Patrokl- dedicated; eyes which Lamidion dedicated; eyes which Philostrate dedicated; end-point which Theodotos dedicated; model which Sophon dedicated; breast which Pyron dedicated; model which Mosch- dedicated [75] on behalf of Kallistrate and Kallippos; model which Kallistion dedicated; model which Kallistion dedicated; model which Kallistion dedicated; model <which> Kallistion dedicated; hand which Nikostrate dedicated; two little models <which> Eukles dedicated.

*vacat* 0,022

[80] Drachmas of silver: 18. Weight of models: 116 dr.

Dish weight: 100 dr. Total: 234 dr. From this

a propitiatory sacrifice according to the decree: 15 dr.

Reduction on melting together of the little models and the dish: 12 dr.; and for inscribing the stele

[85] 8 dr. 3 ob.; making-cost of the wine-pourer: 12 dr. The wine-pourer

weighs 183 dr. 3 ob. Total: 232 dr. Remainder: 2 dr. Having fashioned this into a model we shall dedicate it. (Lambert 2016, May 2)

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>3</sup> 1154; *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 839; Sokolowski 1969, 76–7, no. 41

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

### **Akropolis, Athens.**

1. Description: Decree about priestess and temple of Athena Nike

Date: ca. 450 or ca. 438 B.C.E. (?)

...

-]αὔκος εἶπε· [τῆι]

[Ἀθηναίαι τῆι Νί]κει *hiépean hē àγ* [κλ]-

[5] [ερομένη *λάχε*]ι ἐχς Ἀθηναίων *hapa*[σῶ]-

[ν καθίστα]σθαι καὶ τὸ *hieròn* θυροῶσα-

ι καθ' ὅ τι ἂν Καλλικράτες *chsyggrafos*-

ει· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ-  
 ἔς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας. φέρειν δὲ τ-  
 [10] ἐν *hierean* πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ  
 τὰ σκέλε καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δε-  
 μοσίων· νεὸν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθ' ὅ τι  
 ἂν Καλλικράτες χυγγράφῃ καὶ βο-  
 μὸν λίθινον *vacat*  
 [15] *hestiaios* εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας *helestho-*  
 αι ἐγ βολῆς· τούτος δὲ μετ[ᾶ] Καλλικρά-  
 [το]ς χυγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδεῖχσαι τῆ]-  
 [ι βολ]ῆι καθ' ὅ τι ἀπομ[ισθοθέσεται ..]  
 [.6...]ει τὸ σ -----

...

... -kos proposed: [to install]  
 a priestess for Athena Nike  
 to be [allotted] from all Athenian [women],  
 [5] and that the sanctuary be provided with gates  
 in whatever way Kallikrates may specify;  
 and the official sellers are to place the contract  
 within the *prytany* of Leontis; the priestess  
 is to receive fifty drachmas and  
 [10] to receive the backlegs and hides of the public sacrifices;  
 and that a temple be built in whatever way  
 Kallikrates may specify and a  
 stone altar.  
 Hestaios proposed: that three men be selected  
 [15] from the Council; and they shall make the specifications  
 with Kallikrates and ...  
 ... in accordance with [the contracts]  
 ... (Lambert 2016, May 6)

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 35; Sokolowski 1969, 23–5, no. 12

Cf. Chapter: 4.1, Introduction; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary  
 "Hours"

2. Description: *Kore* dedicated by Naulochos to Poseidon

Date: 480–475 B.C.E. (?)

[τέ]νδε κόρεν ἀ[ν]έθεκεν ἀπαρχὲν

[Ναύ(?)]λοχος ἄγρας : / ἐν οἱ ποντομέδ-  
[ον χρ]υσοτρία[ι]ν' ἔπορεν

Naulochos (?) dedicated this maiden as a first-offering of the catch which the ruler of the sea, he of the golden trident, provided for him (Boardman *et al.* 2004, 1:277–78, no. 42)

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 828; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 706; Raubitschek 1949, 261–62, no. 229

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 5.3, The Dedication; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Akropolis, Athens

### 3. Description: Monument dedicated by Pythodoros to Aphrodite

Date: ca. 475 B.C.E.

[Πυθ]όδορος μ'  
ἀνέθεκ' Ἀφροδ-  
ίτει δῶρον ἀπα-  
ρχὲν :: | πότνια τ-  
5 ὄν ἀγαθὸν τῶ-  
ι σὺ δὸς ἀφθον-  
ίαν :: | ἧοί τε λέγ-  
οσι λόγος ἀδίκ-  
[ο]ς ψευδᾶς κα-  
10 [τ'] ἐκ[ένο ::] | τοῦ[το]-  
[ς --- --- ---].

Pythodoros  
dedicated me  
to Aphrodite  
as a gift of first fruits. Mistress,  
[5] may you give  
an abundance of  
good [things]. And those  
unjustly saying  
untrue words  
[10] against this one, they  
...

Edition(s): Raubitschek 1949, 318, no. 296

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Akropolis, Athens

4. Description: Dedication by Melinna to Athena Ergane

Date: after 350 B.C.E.

χερσί τε καὶ τέχ[ν]αις ἔργων  
τόλμαις τε δικαίαις  
θρεψαμένη τέκνων γεν[εὰ]ν  
ἀνέθηκε Μέλιννα  
σοὶ τήνδε μνήμην, θεὰ Ἐργάνη,  
ᾧν ἐπόνησεν  
μοῖραν ἀπαρξάμενη κτεάνων  
τιμῶσα χάριν σήν

Having brought up her children with her hands,  
and with skill in her work, and with a  
decent spirit of enterprise,  
Melinna has dedicated  
this memento to you, goddess (Athena) Ergane:  
of the possessions which she has assembled through hard work she  
offers a part as a first fruit to you,  
honoring your memory. (Van Straten 1981, 92)

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 4334; Van Straten 1981, 92

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

5. Description: Statue base dedicated by the Athenians to Athena Hygieia

Date: after 430 B.C.E.

Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγείᾳ  
Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος

The Athenians (dedicated this) to Athena Hygieia  
Pyrros made this for the Athenians

Edition(s): Raubitschek 1949, 185–88, no. 166; *CIA* 335

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Akropolis, Athens

6. Description: Monument dedicated by Diophanes on behalf of his child

Date: after 480 B.C.E.

[Δι]ο<φ>άνεϛ μ' ἀνέθεκεν Ἀθηναία[ι τόδ' ἄγαλμα]  
[χο]ρίο δεκάτεν τῷ τέκνο εὐχ[σαμένο].

Diophanes dedicated me to Athena, this *agalma*  
as a tithe of his estate, having been vowed by his child.

Edition(s): Raubitschek 1949, 303, no. 283; for the artifact, see Appendix C:  
Akropolis, Athens

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

### **Athens, Akropolis. Inventories of Artemis Brauronia**

1. Description: Possible dedications by male worshippers at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron

Date: after 341/0 B.C.E.

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, line 48  
... Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθυδ-

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 65–66  
.στος ἀνέθ[ηκεν — — — — — — — —]  
-αττις...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face B.frag. b.col. I, line 179  
[. . 5 . . τ]ιμος νε[ωκόρος?]

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, line 48  
...Euthymachos son of Euthyd-

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 65–66  
-stos dedicated...  
-attis ...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face B.frag. b.col. I, line 179  
... -timos ne[okoros?]

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1517* face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 48 and 65–66; face B.frag. b.col. I, line 179

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

2. Description: Breastplate dedicated by the wife of Kallistratos of Aphidnaios

Date: after 335/4 B.C.E.

... Καλλιστ-  
ράτου γυνή Αφιδν : θώρακα κατάστικτον' ...

...The wife of Kallistratos  
of Aphidnaios: a spotted breastplate...

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1524* face B.col. II, lines 192–193

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

### **Akropolis, Athens. Inventories for the Erechtheion**

1. Description: Dedication of a miniature gold shield by Phylarche

Date: 314/3 B.C.E.

[...χρυσοῦν ἀσπ]ίδιον ὃ Φυλάρχη ἀνέθη-  
[κεν ...c.9...

... A small gold shield, which Phylarche  
dedicated...(Harris 1995, 207)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1456*, lines 6–7; Harris 1995, 207, no. 5

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

### **Akropolis, Athens. Inventories for the Parthenon**

1. Description: Breastplates recorded in the inventories of the Parthenon

Date: 434/3 B.C.E

... θώρακες ΔΙΙΙ· ...

... fourteen breastplates ...

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 343, line 13; Harris 1995, 84, no. 6a

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

2. Description: Breastplates recorded in the inventories of the Parthenon

Date: 428/7 B.C.E

... θ[όρακε]ς ΔΓΙ· ...

... sixteen breastplates ...

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 349, line 54; Harris 1995, 84, no. 6b

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

3. Description: Miniature bronze shield dedicated by Phrygia the Bread Seller

Date: ca. 500? B.C.E.

Φρυγία : ἀνέθεκέ με τὰθεναίαι  
ἡε ἀρτόπολ[ις]

Phrygia the breadseller dedicated me to Athena (Boardman *et al.* 2004, 1:302)

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 546; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 444

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Akropolis, Athens.

4. Description: Dedications of a ring and earrings in the Hekatompedon

Date: 398/7 B.C.E.

δακτύλιος χρυσῶς, καὶ χρ[υσίον ἄπυρον ἀργυρίω]-  
ι δεδεμένον, ὃν Φρυνίσκος Θετταλὸς ἀνέθ[ηκε, σταθμὸν τούτων :...]  
[60] ΗΗ ἐνωδίω [χ]ρυσῶ :ΙΙ: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας, .....17.....  
ος ἀνέθηκε, σταθμὸν :ΙΙΙ:

Gold ring and unfired gold bound with silver,



which Phryniskos of Thessaly dedicated; weight of these...

[60] Two gold earrings of Artemis Brauronia,  
which [—]os dedicated; weight three and a half ob.

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1388*, lines 58–61; Harris 1995, 138–39, no. 131

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

5. Description: Dedication of coins in the Hekatompedon

Date: 398/7 B.C.E.

... Ἄνδρων Ἐλαιόσιος ἀπήρξατο χρυσᾶς : 𐀓𐀓 : Θράσυλλο[ς Εὐώ]-  
[70] νυμεὺς χρυσῶν : Ͱ : στατήρη : ͰͰ: Αἰγιναίω ...

Andron of Elaious dedicated as a first fruits offering 2 gold dr. Thrasylllos of  
[70] Euonymon a gold half-obol and two Aeginetan staters

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1388*, lines 69–70; Harris 1995, 127, no. 73, and 121, no. 54

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

6. Description: Equestrian head-gear and reins dedicated at Brauron by Xenotimos

Date: 398/7 B.C.E.

ἐκ τῆς κιβωτῶ τῆς Βραυρων[όθε]-  
ν ἵππικὸς κεκρύφαλος, ἐχήνια, Ξενότιμος Καρκίνο ἀνέθηκε

From the box from Brauron: equestrian head-gear, reins, which Xenotimos,  
son of Karkinos, dedicated

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1388*, lines 73–4; Harris 1995, 50, no. 31

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

7. Description: Dedication of coins in the Hekatompedon

Date: 390/89 B.C.E.

... χρ]υσίῳ Δαρεικοὶ τοῖν θεοῖν ΔΔΔΔΣΣΣΣ

... 43 gold Darics for the Goddesses

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1401, line 27; Harris 1995, 122, no. 57

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

8. Description: A robe dedicated by Pharnabazos

Date: after 374/3 B.C.E.

ξυστίς, ἣν Φαρνα[β — — ἀνέθηκεν]

A robe, which Pharnabazos dedicated (Harris 1995, 121)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1421, line 118; Harris 1995, 121, no. 51

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

9. Description: Dedications of coins in the Opisthodomos

Date: 376/5 B.C.E.

... χρ]υσῆ τοῖν θεοῖν, σταθμὸν Η[Η]Η

...Gold for the goddesses, weight 300 dr.

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1445, line 34; Harris 1995, 49, no. 23

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

10. Description: Dedications of coins in the Opisthodomos

Date: 341/0 B.C.E.

...τριώβο]λο[ν ἀργυ]ρίω[ι δε]δ[εμ]έ[ν]ον'...

...A half-drachma piece set in a silver mount...

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1455 frag. b.col. III, line 36; Harris 1995, 48, no. 18

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

11. Descriptions: Ceremonial breastplate recorded in the inventories of the Parthenon

Date: ca. 319/8 B.C.E.

πανο-

[πλία, ἦν Α]λέξα<ν>δρος ὁ Πολυπ-  
[έρχοντ]ος ἀνέθηκεν· θώραξ π-  
[ομπικὸ]ς? ἐντελής, πέλιτι ἐπί-  
[10] [χρυσος] ἐντελής, κνημίδες χα-  
[λκαῖ ἀρ]γυ[ρ]ωταί.

A panoply,  
which Alexander son of Polyperchon,  
dedicated. A ceremonial  
breastplate in good condition, a shield  
[10] overlaid with gold in good condition, bronze  
greaves covered in silver (Harris 1995, 117)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1473, lines 6–11; Harris 1995, 117, no. 18

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

**Athens. Sanctuary of Asklepios**

1. Description: Dedication of jewelry items

Date: 343/2 B.C.E.

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1532 frag. a, lines 2–3  
...δακτύλι]ος χρυσοῦς δεδεμ-  
[ένος

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1532 frag. a, lines 15–16  
...δακ]τύ[λ]ιος χρυ[σ]-  
[οῦς

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1532 frag. a, lines 2–3  
Gold [finger-rin]g bou[nd with -----  
(dedicant)] (Aleshire 1989, 124)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1532 frag. a, lines 15–16  
Gold finger-ring [---(dedicant)] (Aleshire 1989, 124)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1532 frag. a*, lines 2–3 and 15–16; Aleshire 1989, Inventory II, 2–3 and 15–16

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Asklepios

2. Description: Dedications of jewelry, coins, garments, and sealstones

Date: 329/8 B.C.E.

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 1–4

[δ]ακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἄστ[α]τος, Ξενοκ[ρ.τ.ς ἀν]έθηκ[εν, ἐν] ἐλύτρ ...  
...Διοπείθης πρὸς πινακίωι :Ϝ: Καλλίμαχος ἐ[μ] πινακίωι πρὸς τῶι τοίχ :ΔΔΔΔ:  
Μνησαρέτη :Δ:...  
...Καλλιστῶ :  
πρὸς τῶι ὑπερτοναίωι :ϜϜ: Αἰσχυλίδης πρὸς ταινιδίωι :ϜIII: ἑτέρα ἐμ πινακίωι  
:Ϝ: ...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 8–10

... γλαμύς...  
... Πασιλέα ἐν ἐλύτρ : πρὸς  
[10] τῶι τοίχωι :ΔΔ: ...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 18

... δακτύλιος ὑάλι : σφραγίδες ὑάλι :Γ: γλαμύς φαιά ...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 25–8

[25] ...δακτύλιος σιδηρ : ἀλύσει χαλκῆι δεδεμέ : Ἀμεινὼ ἴασπιν ἐπικεχρυσωμέ :  
ἀλύσει χαλκῆι  
δεδεμέ : δακτύλιος σιδηροῦς ὑπηργυρωμέ : σφραγίδια :III: ...  
...δακτύλιοι σιδηροῖ :ΔΓϜ:  
...σφραγίς σύνθετος, χρυσίον διὰ μέσου, Ἀρισταγόρα ἀνέθη...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 30–1

[30] ...ὑποδημάτων γυναικε : ζεύγη  
III...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 99

δακτυλιο...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 102

...κ]-  
εκρύφαλο...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 107

δακτύλιοι...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 1–4

Gold finger-ring in a case unweighed (which) Xenokrates (or Xenokritos) dedicated...

Diopeithes (dedicated) 50 drachmas on a tablet. Kallimachos (dedicated) 40 drachmas on a tablet on the wall. Mnesarete (dedicated) 10 drachmas...

...Kallisto (dedicated) 2 drachmas, attached to the lintel. Aischylides (dedicated) 1 drachma 3 obols, attached to a ribbon, and another drachma on a tablet... (Aleshire 1989, 135)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 8–10

...Short cloak...

...Pasilea (dedicated)

[10] 20 drachmas, in a case on the wall... (Aleshire 1989, 136)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 18

A crystal finger-ring, 5 crystal seal stones, a short grey cloak...(Aleshire 1989, 136)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 25–8

[25] Iron finger-ring bound with a bronze chain (no dedicant given); Ameino dedicated a chalcedony seal stone which has been gilded, bound with a bronze chain;

iron finger-ring overlaid with silver (no dedicant given), 4 sealstones...

...16 iron finger rings...

...A composite seal stone, with a piece of gold through the middle, (which) Arstabora dedicated... (Aleshire 1989, 137)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, lines 30–1

[30] ...3 pairs

of women's sandals (no dedicant given) (Aleshire 1989, 137)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 99

Finger-ring(s) [which---(dedicant) dedicated]... (Aleshire 1989, 140)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 102

...Hairnet(s) [which---(dedicant) dedicated]... (Aleshire 1989, 141)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1533*, line 107

Finger-rings [which ---(dedicant) dedicated]... (Aleshire 1989, 141)

Edition(s): *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1533.1–4, 8–10, 18, 25–28, 30–31, 99, 102–103, 107; Aleshire 1989, Inventory III, 1–4, 8–10, 18, 25–28, 30–31, 99, 102–103, 107

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Asklepios

3. Description: Dedication of jewelry items

Date: 274/3 B.C.E.

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 40

[40] ...σιδηρο[ῦς] δακτύλιος, ὃν ἀνέθηκε[ν] Εὐβο[υ]λίδης : καθετήρ ὑάλιν[ος  
— —]ηρτ[ημένο]ς...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 44

...δακτύλιος σάρδιον χρυσίωι ἐνδεδεμένον, ὃ ἀνέθη[-----]ωρ ἰατρός...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 78

...σῶμα γυναικὸς καὶ περισκελίδιον, ὃ ἀνέθηκεν Μυρρίνη ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ  
παιδίου'...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 40

[40] ...Iron finger-ring which Euboulides dedicated. Crystal necklace attached by  
a [gold chain which ---(dedicant) dedicated...(Aleshire 1989, 198)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 44

...Finger-ring with a carnelian set in gold which the doctor [---]or dedicated...  
(Aleshire 1989, 198)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, line 78

...body of a woman and an ankle bangle which Myrrhine dedicated on behalf of  
herself and her child. (Aleshire 1989, 201)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face A.frag. a, lines 40, 44, and 78; Aleshire 1989,  
Inventory IV, 63, 67, and 101

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Asklepios

4. Description: Dedication of jewelry and a bronze mirror

Date: 274/3 B.C.E.

*IG 2<sup>2</sup>* 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 171

...καθετή[ρ] διάλιθ[ος]...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 196*

...κάτροπτον χαλκοῦν ἐπίθημα...

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 281*

...ἐνώϊδια χρυσᾶ, ἀμφ[δεί]δια διάλιθα, Εἰρήνη ΠΙ·

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 171*

...A necklace set with precious stones [which--- (dedicant) dedicated]... (Aleshire 1989, 279)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 196*

...Bronze mirror (and) cover [from --- (dedicant) Weight (?)]... (Aleshire 1989, 281)

*IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, line 281*

...Gold earrings (and) (gold) bracelets set with precious stones from Eirene 2 1/2 (or 2 3/4) ob. (Aleshire 1989, 290)

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1534 face B.frag. a–k, lines 171, 196, and 281; Aleshire 1989, Inventory V, 31, 71, and 156*

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Asklepios

5. Description: Dedication by Delophanes on behalf of his daughter

Date: shortly before 343/2 B.C.E.

Φανόστρατο[ς — — —].

*vacat*

Δηλοφάνης ἀνέθηκε Χο[λαργεὺς εἰκόνα τήνδε],

τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς Δ[---εὐξαμένης].

Λυσιμάχη γὰρ μητρὶ -----

χεῖρα μέγας σωτήρ -----

*vacat*

ἐπὶ Πατ[αίκου ἱερέως].

Phanostratos ---.

*vacat*

Delophanes from Cho(largos?) dedicated this image  
after his daughter D--- vowed it.

For the mother Lysimache .....

the great savior... the hand.....

*vacat*

When Pataikos was priest.

Edition(s): *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 4368*

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

### Peiraeus, Athens

#### 1. Description: Regulation related to the Thesmophorion

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

[ἐπιμελεῖσθαι — — — τὸν δήμαρχον]  
[μετὰ] τῆς ἱερείας τὸν [ἀεὶ δημαρχ]-  
[οὔ]ντα τοῦ θεσμοφορίου, [ὅπως ἂν μ]-  
[ηδ]εὶς ἀφέτους ἀφιεῖ μηδὲ θιά[σο]-  
[υς] συνάγει μηδὲ ἱερὰ ἐνιδρεύω[ν]-  
[5] [τα]ῖ μηδὲ καθαρμούς ποιῶσιν μηδ-  
[ἐ] πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρ-  
ον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τῆς ἱερέας [ἀ]λ-  
λ' ἢ ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων  
καὶ πληροσῖαι καὶ Καλαμαίσις κ-  
[10] αὶ τὰ Σκίρα καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἡμέ-  
ραν συνέρχονται αἱ γυναῖκες κα-  
τὰ τὰ πάτρια· ὅτι ἐψηφίσθη Πειραι-  
εῦσιν, εἴαν τις τι τούτων παρὰ τα-  
ῦτα ποεῖ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπ[ι]βαλόντα τ-  
[15] ὃν δήμαρχον εἰσάγει[ν] εἰσστὸ δι-  
καστήριον χρώμενον τοῖς νόμοι-  
ς οἱ κεῖνται περὶ τούτων· ὅτι περὶ δ-  
ὲ τῆς ὑλασίας τ[ῶ]ν ἱερῶν εἴαν τις  
ὑλάζηται, κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρ-  
[20] χαίους νόμους οἱ κεῖ<ν>ται περὶ το-  
ύτων. ἀναγρ[ά]ψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψηφισ-  
μα τοὺς ὀριστὰς μετὰ τοῦ δημάρχ-  
ου καὶ στῆσαι πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει  
τοῦ θεσμοφορίου.

to manage... the *demarch*

with the priestess always being

*demarch* of the Thesmophorion, as

it is not permitted to free slaves, nor *thiasoi*



to gather, nor to set up dedications,  
[5] nor to make purifications, nor  
to approach the altar or the *megaron*  
without the priestess except  
when it is a festival of the Thesmophoria  
or Plerosiai or Kalamaia  
[10] or Skira or some other day  
when women gather according to  
ancestral custom. The people of the Peiraeus  
voted that if someone does something  
of these things, having fined them  
[15] the *demarch* is to lead them into the court  
of justice making them subject to the laws  
which were established about these things. Concerning  
the wood in the sanctuary, if someone  
collects wood, the ancient  
[20] laws established about these things  
have authority. This decree is to be inscribed and set up publicly  
according to the boundary makers of the *demarch*  
and it is to be set up on the ascent  
of the Thesmophorion.

Edition(s): *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1177; Sokolowski 1969, 69–71, no. 36

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.c, Sanctuary Supervision and Control

### **Beroia, Macedonia**

#### 1. Description: Gymnasiarchal Law

Date: ca. 180 B.C.E.

*SEG* 27 261 face A, lines 11–16

τούτου γὰρ γενομένου οἱ τε νεώτεροι μᾶλλον αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ πειθαρχήσουσι  
τῷ ἡγουμένῳ αἱ τε πρόσοδοι αὐτῶν οὐ καταφθαρήσονται τῶν αἰρουμένων ἀεὶ  
γυμνασιάρχων κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρχόντων καὶ ὑπευθυνῶν ὄντων.

*SEG* 27 261 face B, lines 45–47

...περὶ Ἑρμαίων· ποιεῖτω δὲ ὁ γυμνασιάρχος τὰ Ἑρ-<sup>ν</sup>  
[μ]αῖα τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς καὶ θυέτω τῷ Ἑρμεῖ καὶ προτιθέτω ὄπλον καὶ  
ἄλλα τρία εὐεξίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ φιλοπονίας τοῖς ἕως τριάκοντα ἐτῶν· <sup>ν</sup>

*SEG* 27 261 face B, lines 59–60

...ἢ δὲ εἰς τὰ

[60] [ὄ]πλα δαπάνη γινέσθω ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν προσόδων.

*SEG 27 261* face B, lines 67–69

τὰ δὲ ἄθλα, ἃ ἂν λαμβάνωσιν οἱ νικῶντες, ἀνατιθέτωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰσιόντος γυμνασιάρχου ἐμ μηνσὶν ὀκτώ· εἰ δὲ μή, ζημιούτω αὐτοὺς ὁ γυμνασιάρχος δραχμαῖς ἑκατὸν...

*SEG 27 261* face A, lines 11–16

For, once this has been done, the young men will have more sense of shame and will obey the gymnasiarch, and their revenues will not be lost, as the elected gymnasiarchs will serve according to the law and will be liable to be sued. (Lupu 2005, 258)

*SEG 27 261* face B, lines 45–47

Regarding the Hermaia: The gymnasiarch shall celebrate the Hermaia in the month of Hyperberetaios; he shall sacrifice to Hermes and designate a weapon as prize and three others for command appearance (euexia), discipline (eutaxia), and endurance (philoponia) for those up to thirty years of age.

*SEG 27 261* face B, lines 59–60

...The costs of the (prize) weapons shall be covered by the accruing revenues.

*SEG 27 261* face B, lines 67–69

As for the prizes which the winners receive, they shall dedicate them under the following gymnasiarch within eight months. Otherwise, the gymnasiarch shall fine them one hundred drachmas... (Lupu 2005, 258)

Edition(s): *SEG 27 261*; Lupu 2005, no. 14

Cf. Chapter: 4.4.a, Gymnasiarchal Regulation

### "Cape Kolonna," Samos. (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera

1. Description: Garments listed in the temple inventories of the Heraion

Date: 346–5 B.C.E.

*IG 12,6 1:261*, lines 12–13

[12] κἰθ[ὠ]-

ν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ἔχων ἰσάτιδος, Διογένης ἀνέθηκε·

*IG 12,6 1:261*, lines 31–33

[31] ἰμάτια Ἑρμῆω : κἰθῶνες ΔΔΔΓIII, τ[ο]-

ύτων ό Έρμηϋς ένα έχει : ίμάτια : ΔΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ· τούτων ό Έρμηϋς έχει έν· από  
τούτων τών ίματίων ό Έρμηϋς ό έν Αφροδίτης έχει δύο·

IG 12,6 1:261, lines 12–13

Lydian

*chiton* having woad coloring, Diogenes dedicated

IG 12,6 1:261, lines 31–33

...*himations* of Hermes: 38 *chitons*

of which Hermes has one. 48 *himations* of which Hermes has one. From  
the *himations* in the temple of Aphrodite Hermes has two...

Edition(s): IG 12,6 1:261, lines 12–13 and 31–33; Ohly 1953, 47

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources,  
Goddesses, Hera; 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Hermes

## Cyrene, Libya

### 1. Description: Cult regulation

Date: end of fourth century B.C.E.

[άπ]ό γυναικός άνήρ τάν νύκτα κοιμαθές θυσει ό[ τι]

[κα] δήληται · τάν δε άμέραν κοιμαθές λωσάμεν[ος]

[κάτειτι ές ίαρόν τι, όπυϊ κα δήληται, πλάν ή ές τ[ό]

[-----] ταν · τάν δε λ[-----]

[15] -----

-----

[ά λεχώνι όροφομ μιανει · τόν μ[----- τόν]

[δ' έ]ξόροφον ού μιανει, αι κα μη υπένθηι · ό δ' ά[νθρ]-

[ω]πος, ό κα ένδοι ήι, α(ύ)τός μεν μιαρός τ' έντα[ι άμ]-

[20] [έρα]ς τρις, άλλον δε ού μιανει, ουδε όπυϊ κα ένθ[ηι]

[ο]ύτος ό άνθρωπος.

[11] Coming from a woman a man, if he has slept with her by night, can sacrifice  
[wherever? whenever?] he wishes. If he has slept with her by day, he can, after  
washing

[ ] go wherever he wishes, except to

[15–16] [two lines missing]

The woman in childbed shall pollute the house. [gap]

she shall not pollute [the person who is outside the house(?)], unless he comes in.

Any person who is inside shall be polluted for

[20] three days, but shall not pollute anyone else,

not wherever this person goes. (Parker 1983, 335–36)

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1962, 185–96, no. 115 face A, lines 11–21

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and States

### **Delos.**

1. Dedication to Apollo Marmarios

Date: Hellenistic period

Ἀπόλλωνος  
Μαρμαρίου.

For Apollo  
Marmarios

Edition(s): *ID* 2473

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

2. Description: Regulation related to a purity ritual

Date: end of second century B.C.E.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχῃ · ἀγνεύοντας  
εἰσιέναι ἀπὸ ὀψαρίου τρι-  
ταίους· ἀπὸ ὑείου λουσάμε-  
νον· ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τριταίου<ς>·  
[5] ἀπὸ τετοκείας ἑβδομαίους·  
ἀπὸ διαφορᾶς τετταρα-  
κοσταίους· ἀπὸ γυναικεί-  
ων ἑναταίους.

Good fortune. To enter in  
being pure from fish on the  
third day; from pork, having bathed;  
from women on the third day;  
[5] from childbirth, on the seventh day;  
from miscarriage/abortion on the  
fortieth day; from menstruation

on the ninth day.

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1962, 108–9, no. 54

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and  
States; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Diet

3. Description: Regulation relating to ritual purity

Date: after 166 B.C.E.

[- - - - -] Κλεοστράτη  
[- - ὑπὲρ τῶν] παιδίων Κλεῶσ-  
[- - - - -]ς Κλεοστράτης,  
[- - - - -] Ἀρ]τέμιδι.  
[5] [παριέναι ἀγν]ὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς  
[- - - - - κ]αὶ ταρίχου.

[- - - - -] Kleostrate  
on behalf of him and his children Kleos  
[- - - - -] Kleostrates  
[- - - - -] To Ar]temis  
[5] To be admitted pure from women  
A [- - - - -] and from the dead.

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1969, 184–85, no. 95

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse

**Delos. Before the Prytaneion in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Description: Altar of Athena and Apollo Paion

Date: ca. 400–350 B.C.E.

το[ῦτ]ον βωμὸν [Ἀθ]ῆναι Ἀπ[ό]λλωνός τε ἀνάθημα  
Παιῶνος καὶ Ἀθην[αίας ὠ - ὠ - ἔ]-[ποι]όν  
πᾶς [δ'] ἐ[λθ]ῶν ἀ[πὸ γ]ῆς ἄλλης ἢ Δήλιος ἴστω  
Κλεοτέλεος δ' ἔργ[ον τὸ ὠ - ὠ - ὠ - ὠ].

This altar is a dedication for both Athena and Apollo  
Paion and Athena ... made  
every Delian coming from other lands - stop

A work of Kleotelos

Edition(s): *SEG* 19 517; *ID* 47

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Delos. Before the Prytaneion in the Hieron of Apollo

**Delos. Temple of Apollo in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Description: Dedication of a gold pin by Lucius of Rome

Date: 181 B.C.E.

... πόρπη χρυσῆ, Λευκίου ἀνάθεμα Ῥωμαίου, ὄλ. ⚭ ...

... Gold pin dedicated by Lucius of Rome ...

Edition(s): *ID* 439, line 77

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.4, Conclusions

2. Description: Dedication of a ring by Stratonike to Apollo and Artemis

Date: 179 B.C.E.

[5] ... δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Στρατονίκη Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔχοντα ἐπίσημον Νίκην, ὄλ. σὺν τῷ κίρκῳ ⚭ΔΔΔΓ⚭III· ...

[5] ... Gold ring which Stratonike dedicated to Apollo and Artemis, stamped with a Nike, weight with the circle 36 dr. 4 ob. ...

Edition(s): *ID* 442 face B, line 5

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

3. Description: Dedication of a ring by Stratonike to Apollo and Artemis

Date: 169 B.C.E.

[5]...δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν [ὃν ἀνέθηκε Στρ]ατονίκη Ἀπόλ-  
[λωνι] Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔχων ἐπίσημον Νίκην, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ κρίκῳ δρα. ΔΔΔΓ⚭III· ...

[5]...Gold ring which Stratonike dedicated to  
Apollo and Artemis, having a Nike stamp, weight with the circle 36 dr. 4 ob. ...

Edition(s): *ID 461* face B.frag. a, lines 5–6

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

4. Description: Dedication of a quiver and bow by Stratonike, daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes

Date: 162/161 B.C.E.

... φα[ρέτρ]αν χρυσ[οποίκι]λτον ἔχουσαν τό-  
[ξ]ον σκυθικὸν καὶ ταινίδιον, ἀνάθημα Στρατονίκης· ...

... Gilded quiver with a Scythian bow and ribbon, a dedication from Stratonike ...

Edition(s): *ID 1408* face A.col. I, lines 28–29

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

5. Description: Dedication of an anklet by Philon

Date: ca. 156/5 B.C.E.

...περισκελίδιον ἐπὶ ταινιδίου ξυλίνου, ἀνάθημα Φίλων[ος? ἀπὸ τῆς]  
ἐλάφου· ...

...anklet on a wooden ribbon (?), dedicated by Philon from the deer ...

Edition(s): *ID 1421* face A.frag. b.col. I, lines 18–19

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.4, Conclusions

6. Description: Dedication of a ring by Gaius son of Quintus Kritonios

Date: 155/4 B.C.E.

... δα[κ]-  
[τυλίδιο]ν ῥωμ[α]ικὸν σιδηρο[ῦν περ]ίχρυσον [ἔ]χον λι[θά]ριον, ἀνά[θη]-  
[μα] Γαί[ο]υ τ[οῦ] Κο[ίντου] Κριτωνίου ...

... Gilded  
iron Roman ring with a stone, a gift from

Gaius son of Quintus Kritonios...

Edition(s): *ID* 1429 face A.col. II, lines 22–24

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

7. Description: Dedications of rings and a pin

Date: 166–140/139 B.C.E.

*ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 66–68

... δακτυλίδιον

ἐπὶ ταινιδίου ὑπόχρυσον σιδηροῦν λιθάριον ἔχον [καὶ] ἀλύ-  
[σ]ιον ἀργυροῦν, ἀνάθημα Σέξτου Ῥωμαίου·

*ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 76–79

... ἄλλον δακτύλιον πλα[τὸν λίθον ἔχοντα, ἀνάθημα Τίμωνος],  
ὄλκῃ ΓΓΓ-ΠΠ· ἄλλο δακτυλίδιο[ν ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχον ἀνθράκιον γεγλυμ]-  
μένον, ὄλκῃ ΓΓΓ-ΠΠ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν [τῷ γλωττοτόμῳ· πορπίον ἐπὶ κι]-  
ονίου [ξ]υλίνου, ἀνάθημα βασ[ιλίσσης Φίλας, ὄλκῃ σὺν λιθαρίοις ΓΓΓ-ΠΠ]·

*ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 66–68

Small

gilded iron ring on a ribbon with a stone and silver  
chain, dedicated by Sextus of Rome

*ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 76–79

...Another flat ring with a stone, dedicated by Timon,  
weight 7.3; Another Roman ring with a carved  
garnet ... in the chest; pin on a small wooden  
column, a dedication by the queen Philia

Edition(s): *ID* 1439 face A.frag. bc.col. I, lines 66–68 and 76–79

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

8. Description: Dedication of a silver trireme and jewelry items

Date: 278 B.C.E.

*IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 78–79

... τριήρης ἀργυρᾶ, βασιλέως Σελεύκου ἀνάθημα, ὄλκῃν δραχμαὶ ·ΧΓΓΔΔ  
[Δ]Δ{Δ}ΓΓΓ



*IG 11,2 161 face B, line 81*

...δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἀπείρων Ὀνασικράτους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·†Π†...

*IG 11,2 161 face B, line 82*

δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἀνθράκιον ἔχων, Σαπφοῦς ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·†††...

*IG 11,2 161 face B, lines 95–96*

στρεπτὸν

χρυσοῦν *vacat* πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, Δάτιδος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΓ†

*IG 11,2 161 face B, lines 78–79*

...silver trireme, a gift of King Seleukos, weight  
1534

*IG 11,2 161 face B, line 81*

Gold circular ring dedicated by (M)Onasikrates, weight 1.3

*IG 11,2 161 face B, line 82*

Gold ring with a garnet, dedicated by Sappho, weight 3

*IG 11,2 161 face B, lines 95–96*

Gold

collar on the wall, dedicated by Datis, weight 36

Edition(s): *IG 11,2 161 face B, lines 78–79, 81, 82, and 95–96*

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities; 3.3.b,  
Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.4, Conclusions

9. Description: Ring dedicated by Dexilaos

Date: 269 B.C.E.

...δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἔχων λιθάριον Δεξιλάου...

...Gold ring with a stone dedicated by Dexilaos...

Description: *IG 11,2 203 face B, line 40*

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

**Delos. Temple of Artemis in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Description: Dedication by Krino from Paros on behalf of Alektorides

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

παῖς [τ]όδ' Ἀλεκτορίδεω Κρινὸ Παρίη μ' ἀνέθηκεν——  
πατρὸς ὑποσχεσίην, τελέσασ' εὐχὴν, ἀπέδωκεν——  
αὐτῆς ἰσόμετρον Δηλίηι Ἀρτέμιδι.

The child of Alektorides, Krino from Paros, dedicated me, this (-)  
she fulfilled the promise of her father, having fulfilled this vow -  
as large as herself, the Artemis of Delos.

Edition(s): *ID 53*

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows; 4.6, Conclusions

## 2. Description: Dedication of coins to Artemis

Date: 364/3 B.C.E.

*ID 104*, lines 57–59

...Ξάνθη Γ...ου Μυκονία ἀνέθηκε τετρά[δ]ραχμ[α]  
Ἀττικά III κ[α]ι[ῖ] ὄρ[μ]ον ὀκτὸ χα[λκ]ῶν καὶ τὸν ἀρυστήρα, ἀργυροῦν, στ-  
[α]θμὸν ΔΔΓΓΓ. ...

*ID 104*, lines 70–73

[70] Αἰσχυλὶς Κέ-  
λητος ἀνέθηκεν : [δρα]χμὰς ΓΓΓ. Μέδων Πάριος ἀνέθηκε στατήρα Σ-  
ικυώνιον. Ἀριστοφίλη Ἀμοργίη ἐπέβαλε δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς ΔΓ. Συμμαχ[ῖ]-  
[ς] Μηλία ἀνέθηκε III Δήλιον I καὶ τριτήμορον Ἀττικόν.

*ID 104*, lines 57–59

...Xanthe ... of Mykonos dedicated three Attic tetradrachmas  
and a necklace with eight bronze pieces and silver sprinkler,  
weight 23...

*ID 104*, lines 70–73

[70] ...Aischylis  
daughter of Keles dedicated 56 drachmas. Medon of Paros dedicated a Sikyonian  
stater. Aristophile of Amorgos added 11 Attic drachmas. Symmachis  
of Melos dedicated a Delian triobol and an Attic tritêmoron...

Editions: *ID 104*, lines 57–59 and 70–73

Cf. Chapter: 2.4.c, Epigraphical Sources

3. Description: Dedication of a shield

Date: shortly after 244 B.C.E.

...ἀσπίς, Σίμου ἀνάθεμ[α]·...

...shield, a dedication from Simos...

Editon(s): *ID* 296 face B, line 44

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

4. Description: A *chiton* for Artemis and then Dionysos

Date: 146/5–145/4 B.C.E.

... ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἐσθῆτα πο[ρ]-  
[55] φυρᾶν τελ...την ἐπίχρυσον ἣν κατ[α]σκευάσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ  
προσόδων καὶ ἐπιγράψα[ντ]ες· ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἠμφιέσαμεν τὴν θεόν, ἣν  
δ' <ε>ἶχεν πρότερον, τὸν Διόνυσον·

...In the Artemision: We clothed  
[55] the Goddess in a purple...(?) garment (*esthes*) with interwoven gold, which  
we had made from the revenues of the God (Apollo) and labeled "The People of  
Athens (dedicated this)," and put the one she was wearing previously on the  
Dionysos. (Mansfield 1985, 475–76)

Edition(s): *ID* 1442 face B, lines 54–55

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

5. Description: A *chiton* for Artemis and then Dionysos

Date: 141/0 B.C.E.

... χιτῶνα ὃν ἡ θεὸς εἶχε, νῦν δὲ ἔχει ὁ Διόνυσος

...the dress (*chiton*) which the Goddess used to be wearing, but which the  
Dionysos now wears (Mansfield 1985, 475–76)

Edition(s): *ID* 1444 face A, line 38

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

6. Description: Dedication of rings by men

Date: 278 B.C.E.

*IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 24–25  
δακτύλιος περίχρυσος, ὃν ἀνέθηκε  
[25] Στράτων Αἰτωλός, ἄστατος·

*IG* 11,2 161 face B, line 63  
δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, Πολυαράτου ἀνάθημα, ὀγκὴν δραχμαὶ ·†††

*IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 24–25  
ring set in gold, which Straton of Aetolia  
[25] dedicated, unweighed

*IG* 11,2 161 face B, line 63  
Gold ring, dedicated Polyaratos, weight 3

Edition(s): *IG* 11,2 161 face B, lines 24–25 and 63

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis

7. Description: Dedication of a necklace of Demetrios Poliorketes by his daughter Stratonike

Date: 276 B.C.E.

περιδέραια τὰ Δημητρίου καὶ φιάλια] καὶ περισκελίδα Στρ[α]-  
[75] [τονίκης] ἀνάθημα·

Necklace of Demetrios with small phialai and anklets,  
[75] a dedication from Stratonike

Edition(s): *IG* 11,2 164 face A, lines 74–75

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Artemis; 3.4, Conclusions

**Delos. Temple of Artemis on the Island**

1. Description: Dedication of steering oars and an old anchor

Date: 229 B.C.E.

[75] ... πη]δάλια καὶ ἄ[γκυρα] παλα[ιὰ ...

[75] ... oars and an old anchor ...

Edition(s): *ID* 320 face B, line 75

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

**Delos. Temple of Asklepios**

1. Description: Dedication of a ring by Lysidike (daughter) of Apemantes

Date: 146/5–145/4 B.C.E.

... δα[κτυλί]διον ἐπὶ ταινιδίου λίθον ἔχον, ἀνάθημα Λυσιδίκης τῆς  
Ἀπημάντου ...

... ring with a stone on a ribbon, dedicated by Lysidike (daughter) of  
Apemantes...

Edition(s): *ID* 1442 face A, line 83

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Asklepios

**Delos. Temple of the Athenians (Temple of the Seven Statues) in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Description: Dedications of a silvered iron ring

Date: 334/3 B.C.E.

...<δ>ακτύλιος [...9....]  
.....14.....ος σι<δη>ροῦς ὑπ<η>ργυρωμένος.

...Silvered  
iron ring ...

Edition(s): *ID* 104(30), lines 13–14

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

**Delos. Temple of the Delians (Poros Temple) in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Description: Dedication of a gold collar by Batesis (Patesis) son of Babis to Apollo

Date: 372/67–364/3 B.C.E.

...στρεπτ]-

ὁς χρυσοῦς ἀλύσιον ἔχω[ν ἀρ]γυρῶν ὁμ Πάτ[ησις Βάβιδος ἀνέθηκεν]

...Gold collar having a silver chain, which Batesis (Patesis) son of Babis dedicated...

Edition(s): *ID* 103, lines 65–66

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo; 3.4, Conclusions

## 2. Description: Dedication of rings to Apollo

Date: 240 B.C.E.

*ID* 298 face A, lines 29–30

...δακ[τύλι]ον χρυσοῦν ὃν ἀνέθηκεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, σάρ[διον ἔχοντα ἐφ' οὗ  
ἐπίσημον Νίκη, ὃν ἔχει]  
[ὁ θεός, ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς ΔΔΔΗΗΗ· ...

*ID* 298 face A, lines 32a–33

...[δακτυλίου ἀ]ργυροῦς ΔΓΠΠ· δακτυλίου —  
[δακ]τ[υλίου] σιδηροῦς ὑποχρῦσους ΔΙ...

*ID* 298 face A, line 41

...[δακτυλίου σι]δηροῦς ὑπαργύρους ΗΗΠ<sup>Α</sup>ΓΙ —...

*ID* 298 face A, lines 29–30

... Gold ring with carnelian with Nike image, which the god wears with the circle...

*ID* 298 face A, lines 32a–33

... silver rings...rings  
silvered iron rings ...

*ID* 298 face A, line 41

... silvered iron rings

Edition(s): *ID* 298 face A, lines 29–30, 32a–33, and 41

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

## 3. Description: Dedication of a ring to Apollo

Date: 220 B.C.E.

... δακτ]ύλιος χρυσοῦς καὶ ταινί[δι]-  
[ον ...

... gold ring and ribb-  
on ...

Edition(s): *ID* 358, lines 7–8

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

### **Delos. Temple Eileithyia in the Hieron of Apollo (?)**

1. Description: Necklaces dedicated by Aristonikos to Aphrodite

Date: 273 B.C.E.

...άλύσια διάλιθα δύο, ἃ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀριστόνικος τῆι Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὀλκῆ τοῦ ἐνὸς...

...two chains set with precious stones, which was dedicated by Aristonikos to Aphrodite, weight from the year...

Edition(s): *IG* 11,2 199 face B, line 67

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Aphrodite; 3.4, Conclusions

### **Delphi. Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. A decree of the Amphiktyones in honor of Menekrates and Melanthios of Lamia Delphi

Date: 265/4 B.C.E. or 246 or 242 B.C.E.

Πλείστωνος ἄρχοντος, πυλαίας ὀπωρινῆς, ἱερομνημονούντων[ν]  
τῶν περὶ Μάχωνα, Ξεννίαν, Οἰκιάδαν, Στράταγον, ἔδωκαν οἱ  
ἱερομνάμονες Μενεκράτει καὶ Μελανθίῳ Λαμίοις αὐτοῖς κ(αὶ ἐγγόνοις)  
προδικίαν καὶ ἀσφάλει<ει>αν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν ἐπιμε-  
λωμένοις καὶ κατασκ- - - εὐάζοντοῖς τὸν κόσμον τῷ Ἀθάναι  
τῷ Προναίαι.

In the archonship of Pleiston, at the late summer meeting at Pylae, during the sacred secretaryship of Maxon, Zennia, Oikiada, Stratagos, the sacred secretaries gave to Menekrates and Melanthios of Lamia and to their descendants priority of consultation and security and asylum and immunity, for purpose of taking care of and for fully furnishing the *kosmos* of Athena Pronaia.

Edition(s): Collitz *et. al.* 1896, 2.2:687, no. 2514

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

2. Description: A decree of the Amphiktyones in honor of Mentor Damostheneos

Date: 266 or 262 B.C.E.

ἐπὶ Καλλικλέος ἄρχοντος, πυλαίας ὀπω-  
ρινῆς, ἱερομνημονούντων {ν} Αἰτωλῶν  
Νικιάδα, Λυκέα, Μικκύλου, Ὑβρίλλου, Λέωνος,  
Κρινολάου, Ἀντιλέωνος, Δαμοξένου, Ἄμυ-  
[5] νάνδρου· Δελφῶν Δεξιθέου, Ἴηρος· Βοιωτῶν  
Φαινάνδρου, Πέρμωνος· Φωκῶν Μενεξένου·  
Λακεδαιμονίων Φαβέννου· ἔδωκαν οἱ ἱερο-  
μνάμονες Μέντορι Δαμοσθένης <Αἰτωλῶι> ἐκγ Ναυπά-  
κτου αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις προδικίαν καὶ ἀσφά-  
[10] λειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων,  
καὶ σκανὰν ἐμ πυλαίαι τὰν πρώταν ὑπάρχειν αὐ-  
τῶι, ἐπιμελωμένωι καὶ κατασκευάζοντι τὸν  
κόσμον τῶι Ἀθάναι τῶι Πρωναίαι.

In the archonship of Kallikleos, at the late summer meeting at Pylae during the sacred secretaryship of the Aitolians Nikias, Lykeas, Mikkylos, Ubrillos, Leon Krinlaos, Antileon, Damoxenos, Amynandros; [5] Greetings to the gods of Delphi and the Heroes; from the Boeotians Phainandros, Permon; from the Phoikians Menezenos; from the Lacedaemonians, Phabennos; the sacred secretaries gave to Mentor son Damosthenes from Naupaktos in Aitolia and his descendants priority of consultation and security [10] and asylum and immunity from all things, and the (*skanan*) at the gates and a priority to rule to them for purpose of taking care of and for fully furnishing the *kosmos* of Athena Pronaia.

Edition(s): *SIG* 3 422

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Gods, Apollo

### **Dodona. Sanctuary of Zeus and Dione**

1. Description: Bronze mirror dedicated by Polyxena to Zeus



Date: fifth century B.C.E.

Πολυξένα  
τάδε  
[ἀ]να[ν]τίθη-  
τι τῷ Δι

Polyxena  
dedicated  
this  
to Zeus  
and money.

Edition(s): Carapanos 1878, 45, pl. 25, no. 1; H. Collitz et al. 1899, 2:11, no. 1369

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Dodona, Sanctuary of Zeus and Dione

## 2. Description: Enquiry of Euandros and his wife

Date: uncertain

[θεοί. τύχαν ἀγαθάν. ἐπικοινωνῆται Εὐβαν-  
δρος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νάωι καὶ τῇ Δι-  
ῶναι τίνοι κα φεῶν ἢ ἡρώων ἢ δαιμόνων  
εὐχόμενοι καὶ φύοντες λώιον καὶ ἄμεινο-  
[5] ν πράσσοιεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ οἴκησις καὶ νῦν  
καὶ ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

Gods. Good luck. Eu[b?]andros  
and his wife ask Zeus Naios and Dione  
by praying to which of the  
gods or heroes or *daimons* and sacrificing  
[5] will they and their household do better both now  
and for all time. (Eidinow 2007, 111, no. 6)

Edition(s): Carapanos 1878, 71, pl. 34, no. 3; Parke 1967, 263, no. 1; Eidinow 2007, 111, no. 6

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

3. Description: Enquiry of a woman

Date: uncertain

[Ἐπερωτᾶ. . . .] α τίνοι θεῶν θύουσα  
[καὶ εὐχομένα ἄμεινον] πράσσοι καὶ τᾶς νόσου  
[ἀπαλλαγθεῖη ?].

She asks by sacrificing  
and praying to which of the gods would she do better  
and be released from this disease? (Eidinow 2007, 104, no. 1)

Edition(s): Carapanos 1878, 73, pl. 35, B; Eidinow 2007, 104, no. 1

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

4. Description: Enquiry of Hermon

Date: end of sixth–beginning of fifth century B.C.E.

Ἑρμῶν τίνα  
κα θεὸν ποτθέμ-  
ενος γενεᾶ F-  
οὶ γένοιτο ἐκ Κ-  
[5] ρεταίας ὀνά-  
σιμος ποτ τᾶ ἐ-  
άσσαι;

Hermon (asks)  
by aligning himself  
with which of the gods  
will there be from Kretaia  
[5] offspring for him,  
in addition to those  
he has now? (Eidinow 2007, 89, no. 1)

Edition(s): Parke 1967, 264, no. 5; Eidinow 2007, 89, no. 1

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

5. Description: Enquiry of Anaxippos

Date: uncertain

θεός, τύχα ἀγαθὰ. Ἀνάξιππος τὸν Δία τ-  
ὸν Νάον καὶ τὰν Διώναν ἐπερωτᾷ περὶ ἐρ-  
σεντέρας γενεᾶς ἀπὸ Φιλίστας τᾶς γυναι-  
κός, τίνοι κα θεῶν εὐχόμενος πράξαιμι  
[5] λῶιστα καὶ ἄριστα

God, good fortune. Anaxippos asks Zeus  
Naios and Dione about male  
children from Philiste his woman.  
By praying to which of the gods would I do  
[5] best and excellently? (Eidinow 2007, 91, no. 7)

Edition(s): Parke 1967, 266, no. 9; Eidinow 2007, 91, no. 7

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

6. Description: Enquiry of an unknown man

Date: uncertain

[Ἐπικοινωνῆται... ]ασσχ  
[Δὶ καὶ Διώναι, τί]νι κα θεῶ-  
[ν ἢ δαιμόνων ἢ ἥρ]ῶων εὐχ[ό-]  
[μενος καὶ θύων] ὑγιῆς εἶη

He asks... by praying and sacrificing  
to Zeus and Dione and to which of the gods  
or *daimons* or heroes  
might he be healthy? (Eidinow 2007, 105, no. 4)

Edition(s): Collitz et. al. 1899, 2.1:106–107, no. 1566a

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

### **Epidaurus, Sanctuary of Asklepios**

1. Description: The *iama* of Kleo

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(I) [Κλ]εὸ πένθ' ἔτη ἐκύησε. ὦ αὐτὰ πέντ' ἐνιαυτοὺς ἤδη κυοῦσα ποὶ τὸν  
[θε]ὸν ἰκέτις ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτωι· ὥς δὲ τάχισ-  
[5] [τα] ἐξῆλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐγένετο, κόρον ἔτεκε, ὃς εὐ-  
[θ]ῆς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας ἐλοῦτο καὶ ἅμα τῷ μητρὶ

[π]εριῆρπε. τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράφατο· "οὐ μέγε-  
[θο]ς πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, | πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύησε ἐγ γασ-  
τρι Κλεὸν βάρος, ἔστε | ἐγκατεκοιμάθη καὶ μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ". Τριέτης  
[10] [φο]ρά.

(I) Kleo was pregnant for five years. After the fifth year of pregnancy, she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the *abaton*. As soon as she had left it and was outside the sacred area, she gave birth to a son who, as soon as he was born, washed himself at the fountain and walked about with his mother. After this success, she inscribed upon an offering: "The wonder is not the size of the plaque, but the act of the god: Kleo bore a burden in her stomach for five years, until she slept here, and he made her well." (LiDonnici 1995, 85)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 3–10; LiDonnici 1995, 85, A1

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and States

## 2. Description: The *iama* of Ithmonika of Pellene

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

[10] (II) Ἰθμονίκα Πελλανίς ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ γενεᾶς. ἐγ[κατα]-  
[κοι]μαθεῖσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν κυῆσαι κό-  
[ραν]. τὸν δ' Ἀσκλαπιὸν φάμεν ἔγκυον ἐσσεῖσθαι νιν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο  
α[ιτ]οῖτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ ἐπιτελεῖν, αὐτὰ δ' οὐθενὸς φάμεν ἔτι ποι-  
δε[ῖ]σθαι. ἔγκυος δὲ γενομένα ἐγ γαστρὶ ἐφόρει τρία ἔτη, ἔστε πα-  
[15] ρέβαλε ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόκου· ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα  
δὲ ὄψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτᾶι  
πάντα ὅσσα αἰτήσαιτο καὶ ἔγκυος εἶη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιθέμεν  
νιν οὐθέν, καὶ ταῦτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τινος καὶ ἄλλου δέ-  
οιτο λέγειν, ὡς ποησοῦντος καὶ τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου  
[20] παρείη ποτ' αὐτὸν ἰκέτις, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ φάμεν ἐπιτελεῖν. μετὰ δὲ  
τοῦτο σπουδαῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθοῦσα, ὡς ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦς, ἔτε-  
κε κόραν.

(II) A three-year pregnancy. Ithmonika of Pellene came to the sanctuary for a family. Sleeping here she saw a vision. It seemed that she asked the god if she could conceive a daughter, and Asklepios answered that she would and that if she asked anything else that he would do that as well, but she answered that she didn't need anything more. She became pregnant and bore the child in her stomach for three years, until she came again to the god as a suppliant, concerning the birth. Sleeping here, she saw a vision. The god appeared, asking whether everything she

had asked had not happened and she was pregnant. She had not asked anything about the birth, and he had asked her to say whether there was anything more she needed and he would do it. But since now she had come to him as a suppliant for this, he said he would do it for her. Right after this, she rushed out of the *abaton*, and as soon as she was outside the sacred area, gave birth to a daughter. (LiDonnici 1995, 87)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 10–22; LiDonnici 1995, 87, A2

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and States

3. Description: The *iama* of Ambrosia from Athens

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(IV) Ἀμβροσία ἐξ Ἀθανᾶν  
[ἀτερό]πτ[ι]λλος. αὐταῖς ἰκέτις ἦλθε ποῖ τὸν θεόν· περιέρπουσα δὲ  
[35] [κατὰ τ]ὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἰαμάτων τινὰ διεγέλα ὡς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδύνα-  
[τὰ ἐόν]τα, χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺ[ς] ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι ἐνύπνιον ἰδόν-  
[τας μό]νον. ἐγκαθεύδουσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς  
[εἰπεῖν], ὅτι ὑγῆ μὲν νιν ποιησοῖ, μισθὸν μάντι νιν δεησοῖ ἀν-  
[θέμεν εἰ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν ἕν ἀργύρεον ὑπόμναμα τᾶς ἀμαθίας. εἶπαν-  
[40] [τα δὲ ταῦτ]α ἀνσχίσσαι οὐ τὸν ὀπιλλον τὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ φάρμ[α]-  
[κόν τι ἐγγέ]αι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιῆς ἐξῆλθε.

(IV) Ambrosia from Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god. Walking about the sanctuary, she ridiculed some of the cures as being unlikely and impossible, the lame and the blind becoming well from only seeing a dream. Sleeping here, she saw a vision. It seemed to her the god came to her and said he would make her well, but she would have to pay a fee by dedicating a silver pig in the sanctuary as a memorial of her ignorance. When he had said these things, he cut her sick eye and poured a medicine over it. When day came she left well. (LiDonnici 1995, 89)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 33–41; LiDonnici 1995, 89, A4

Cf. Chapter: 5.3, The Dedication

4. Description: The *iama* of a mute boy

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

...(V) παῖς ἄφωνος.

[οὔτος ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ φωνᾶς· ὡς δὲ προεθύσατο καὶ [ἐπόησε τὰ] νομιζόμενα, μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ παῖς ὁ τῷ θεῷ πυρφορῶν [ἐκέλετο, π]οὶ τὸμ πατέρα τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς ποτιβλέψας, ὑποδέκεσ- [45] [θαι αὐτὸν ἐ]νιαυτοῦ, τυχόντα ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστι, ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἱατρα. [ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐξ]απίνας "ὑποδέκομαι", ἔφα· ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐκπλαγεὶς πάλιν [ἐκέλετο αὐ]τὸν εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ' ἔλεγε πάλιν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιῆς ἐγέ- [νετο.

...(V) A mute boy. He came to the sanctuary for a voice. He performed the opening sacrifices and did the required things; and then the boy who carries fire for the god, looking over at the boy's father, bid him to promise to sacrifice within a year, if what he came for occurred. Suddenly the boy said, "I promise." The father was amazed and told him to repeat it. The boy spoke again and from this he became well. (LiDonnici 1995, 89)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 41–48; LiDonnici 1995, 89, A5

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

## 5. Description: The *iama* of Pandaros of Thessaly

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(VI) Πάνδαρ]ος Θεσσαλὸς στίγματα ἔχων ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ. οὔτος [ἐγκαθεύδων ὄ]ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτοῦ τα[ι]νία καταδῆσαι τὰ στί- [50] [γματα ὁ θεὸς κα]ὶ κέλεσθαι νιν, ἐπεὶ [κα ἔξω] γένηται τοῦ ἀβάτου, [ἀφελόμενον τὰ]ν ταινίαν ἀνθέμε[ν εἰ]ς τὸν ναόν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενο- [μένας ἐξ]ανέστα] καὶ ἀφήλετο τ[ὰν ται]νίαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον [κενεὸν εἶδε τῶ]ν στιγμάτω[ν, τ]ὰν δ[ὲ τ]αινίαν ἀνέθηκε εἰς τὸν να- [όν, ἔχουσαν τὰ γρ]άμματ[α] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου.

(VI) Pandaros of Thessaly, with tattoos on his forehead. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed that the god bound a fillet around his tattoos and told him that when he was outside of the *abaton*, to take off the fillet and dedicate it in the temple. When day came he rose and took off the fillet, and he saw his face clear of the tattoos. He dedicated the fillet, which had the letters from his forehead, in the Temple. (LiDonnici 1995, 91)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 48–54; LiDonnici 1995, 91, A6

Cf. Chapter: 5.3, The Dedication

6. Description: The *iama* of Echedoros

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E

(VII) Ἐχέδωρος τὰ Πανδά-

[55] [ρου στίγματα ἔλ]αβε ποι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. οὗτος λαβὼν παρ [Παν]-  
[δάρου χρήματα], ὥστ' ἀνθέμεν τῷ θεῷ εἰς Ἐπίδαιρον ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ],  
[οὐκ] ἀπεδίδου ταῦτα· ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θε[ὸς]  
ἐπιστὰς ἐπερωτῆν νιν, εἰ ἔχοι τινὰ χρήματα παρ Πανδάρου ἐ[ξ Εὐ]-  
θηνᾶν ἄνθεμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν λελαβήκειν οὐθέ[ν]  
[60] τοιοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' αἶ κα ὑγιῆ νιν ποιῆσαι, ἀνθησεῖν οἱ εἰκό-  
να γραψάμενος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὰν τοῦ Πανδάρου ταινί-  
αν περιδῆσαι περὶ τὰ στίγματά οὐ καὶ κέλεσθαί νιν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξ-  
έλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου, ἀφελόμενον τὰν ταινίαν ἀπονίψασθαι τὸ  
πρόσωπον ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας καὶ ἐγκατοπτρίξασθαι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ· ἀ-  
[65] μέρας δὲ γενομένας ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου τὰν ταινίαν ἀφήλετο,  
τὰ γράμματα οὐκ ἔχουσαν· ἐγκαθιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἑώρα τὸ αὐτοῦ  
πρόσωπον ποι τοῖς ἰδίους στίγμασιν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πανδ<ά>ρου γρά[μ]-  
ματα λελαβηκός.

(VII) Echedoros received the tattoos of Pandaros along with those he already had. He had taken money from Pandaros in order to make a dedication to the god at Epidaurus for him, but he did not hand it over. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god came to him and asked whether he had any money of Pandaros' to make a dedication for Athena in the sanctuary. He answered that he had taken nothing of the kind from him, but that if he would make him well, he would have an image inscribed and dedicate it to him. At that the god seemed to tie Pandaros' fillet around his tattoos and to order him, when he went outside the *abaton*, to take off the fillet and wash his face at the fountain and to look at his reflection in the water. When day came, he went out of the *abaton* and took off the fillet, which no longer had the letters, but when he looked into the water, he saw that his own face bore his original tattoos and had taken on the letters of Pandaros. (LiDonnici 1995, 91)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 54–68; LiDonnici 91, A7

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

7. Description: The *iama* of Euphanes, a boy of Epidaurus

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(VIII) Εὐφάνης Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς. οὗτος λιθῶν ἐνε[κά]-

θευδε· ἔδοξε δὴ αὐτῶι ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν· "τί μοι δωσεῖς, αἴ τὸ  
[70] κα ὑγιῆ ποιήσω;" αὐτὸς δὲ φάμεν "δέκ' ἀστραγάλους". τὸν δὲ θεὸν γελά-

σαντα φάμεν νιν παυσεῖν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὑγιῆς ἐξῆλθε.

(VIII) Euphanes, a boy of Epidaurus. Suffering from a stone, he slept here. It seemed to him the god came to him and said, "What will you give me if I should [70] make you well? The boy replied, "Ten dice." The god, laughing, said that he would make it stop. When day came he left well. (LiDonnici 1995, 93)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 68–71; LiDonnici 1995, 93, A8

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows

#### 8. Description: The *iama* of baggage carrier

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(X) κώθων. ὦ σκευοφόρος εἰ[ς τὸ] ἱαρ[ὸν] ἔρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε-  
[80] καστάδιον, κατέπετε· [ὡς δὲ] ἀνέστα, ἀνωῖξε τὸν γυλιὸν κα[ὶ ἐ]πεσκό-  
πει τὰ συντετριμμένα σκ[ε]ύη· ὡς δ' εἶδε τὸν κώθωνα κατε[αγ]ότα,  
ἐξ οὗ ὁ δεσπότης εἴθιστο [π]ίνειν, ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ συνετίθει [τὰ] ὄ-  
στρακα καθιζόμενος. ὁδο[ι]πόρος οὖν τις ἰδὼν αὐτόν· "τί, ὦ ἄθλιε," [ἔ]-  
φα, "συντίθησι τὸν κώθωνα [μά]ταν; τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύ-  
[85] ρωι Ἀσκληπιὸς ὑγιῆ ποιῆσαι δύναται." ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ παῖς συν-  
θεις τὰ ὄστρακα εἰς τὸν γυλιὸν ἤρπε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκε-  
το, ἀνωῖξε τὸν γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγιῆ τὸν κώθωνα γεγενημέ-  
νον καὶ τῶι δεσπότηι ἠρμάνευσε τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ λεχθέ{ε}ντα {λεχθέντα}· ὡ-  
ς δὲ ἄκουσ', ἀνέθηκε τῶι θεῶι τὸν κώθωνα. *vacat*

(X) The cup. A baggage carrier was walking into the sanctuary, but he fell down near the ten stadia stone. Getting up, he opened his bag and looked at the shattered things. When he saw that the cup from which his master was accustomed to drink was broken into pieces, he grieved and sitting down, tried putting the pieces together. Some passerby saw him. "Why, fool," he said, "are you fruitlessly putting that cup together? For not even Asklepios in Epidaurus would be able to make that cup whole." Hearing this the boy, having put the pieces into his bag, walked into the sanctuary. When he arrived he opened the bag and took out the cup, which had become whole. He explained to his master what had happened and what had been said. When he heard it, he dedicated the cup to the god. (LiDonnici 1995, 93)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 121, lines 79–89; LiDonnici 1995, 93, A10



Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

9. Description: The *iama* of Hermon of Thasos

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

(XXII) Ἑρμῶν Θ[άσιος. τοῦτο]ν τυφλὸν ἐόντα ἰάσατο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ ἴατρα οὐκ ἄ-  
πάγοντ[α ὁ θεὸς νιν] ἐπόησε τυφλὸν ἀθῆς· ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν ἐγκαθε[ύδοντα ὑγι]ῆ κατέστασε.

(XXII) Hermon of Thasos. He came as a blind man, and he was healed. But afterwards when he didn't bring the offering, the god made him blind again. Then he came back and slept here, and he restored him to health. (LiDonnici 1995, 101)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 7–9; LiDonnici 1995, 101, B2

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial obligations: Inherited vows

10. Description: The *iama* of Aristokritos of Halieis

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

(XXIV) ὑ]π[ὸ π]έτραι παῖς Ἀριστόκριτος Ἀλικός· οὗτος  
[20] ἀποκολυμ[βάσ]ας εἰς τὸν θά[λασ]σαν ἔπειτα δεινῶν εἰς τόπον ἀφίκετο  
ξηρόν, κύκ[λωι] πέτραις περ[ιτεχό]μενον, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον οὐδεμί-  
αν εὑρεῖν. [με]τὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ πατ[ὴρ α]ὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐθαμει περιετύγγανε μασ-  
τεύων, παρ' [Α]σκλαπιῶι ἐν τῷ ἀ[βάτ]ωι ἐνεκάθευδε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐ-  
νύπνιον ε[ἶ]δε· ἐδόκει αὐτὸν ὁ θε[ὸς] ἄγειν εἰς τινα χώραν καὶ δεῖξαι οἱ, δ[ι]-  
[25] ὅτι τουτ[ε]ῖ ἐστὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐξε[λθῶ]ν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου καὶ λατομήσας  
τὰ[ν] πέτραν ἀ[ν]ηῦρε τὸμ παῖδα ἐβδεμα[ῖο]ν.

(XXIV) Under a rock, a boy Aristokritos of Halieis. He had dived and swum away into the sea and then remaining under water he came upon a dry place completely surrounded by rocks, and he couldn't find any way out. Later his father, after he found nothing by searching, slept here before Asklepios in the *abaton* concerning his son and saw a dream. It seemed that the god led him to a certain place and there showed him where his son was. When he left the *abaton* and cut through the stone he found his son on the seventh day. (LiDonnici 1995, 103)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 19–26; LiDonnici 103, B4

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

## 11. Description: The *iama* of Hagestratos

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

[50] (XXIX) Ἀγέστρατος κεφαλᾶς [ἄ]λγος· οὗτος ἀγρυπνίαις συνεχόμενος διὰ τὸμ πόνον τᾶς κεφαλᾶ[ς], ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀβάτωι ἐγένετο, καθύπνωσε καὶ ἐν[ύ]-πνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἰασάμενος τὸ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς ἄλγος ὀρθὸν ἀστάσας γυμνὸν παγκρατίου προβολὰν διδάξαι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενηθείσας ὑγιῆς ἐξῆλθε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον τὰ Νέμεα ἐνίκασε [55] παγκράτιον.

(XXIX) Hagestratos, headache. This man was afflicted with insomnia on account of the pain in his head, but when he came into the *abaton*, he fell fast asleep and saw a dream. It seemed to him the god had cured the pain in his head and then stood him up straight and taught him the *pankration* thrust. When day came he left well, and not a long time after won the *pankration* at Nemea. (LiDonnici 1995, 107)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 122, lines 50–55; LiDonnici 1995, 107, B9

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

## 12. Description: The *iama* of Kallikrateia

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(XLVI) Καλλικ[ρ]άτεια θησαυρόν. αὐτὰ τελευτάσ[αντό]ς οἱ τοῦ ἀ[ν]δ[ρ]ό[ς], αἰσθημένα δὲ οὗ κεκ[εύθ]ει τῷ [10] ἀνδρὶ χρυσίον [κατορωρυγ]μένον ἐπ[ε]ἰ οὐκ ἐδύνατο μαστείου[σα] εὐ[ρ]εῖν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ [ἐγκαθ]εῦ[δου]σ[α] ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει[ι] αὐτ[ῆ]ι ὁ θεὸς [ἐπ]ιστά[ς] εἰπεῖν Θα[ρ]ρηλιῶν[ος] μην[ος] ἐμ μεσαμβρία ἐ[ν]τὸ[ς] λέοντος κε[ῖ]σθαι τὸ χρυσί[ον]. ἀμέρας [δὲ γε]νο[μ]ένας ἐξῆλθε καὶ οἴκαδε ἀ[φικ]ομ[έν]α τὸ μὲν πρᾶτ[ον] τὰ κεφαλ[ᾶ]ν [15] το[ῦ] λέοντος [τ]οῦ λι[θ]ίνο[υ] ἐμάστε[υε]· ἧ[ς] δὲ πλατίο[ν] τᾶς οἰκίας σ[ᾶ]μα ἐπίθεμα ἔχον λίθινον λέοντα. ἐπε[ὶ δ'] οὐχ ἠῦρισκε, [φ]αμέν[ο]ν δὲ αὐτῆι μάντιος δ[ιό]τι οὐ λέ[γ]οι ὁ θεὸς ἐν [τ]ῆι λιθίνοι [κεφαλᾶ]ι [τὸν θ]η[σ]αυρὸν ε[ἶ]μεν, ἀλλ' ἐν [τ]ῆι σκιᾶ τῆι γινομένη ἀπὸ [τοῦ λέ]οντ[ος] ἐν τῷ[ι] Θαρηλιῶνι μηνὶ περὶ μέσσον ἀμέρας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο [πο]ιούμενα [ἔρευ]- [20] [ν]αν [ἄ]λλαν τοῦ χρυσίου τὸν [τ]ρόπον τοῦτον ἀνηῦρε τὸν θησαυρὸν [κ]α[ὶ] [ἔ]θυσσε τῷ θεῷ τὰ νομι[ζ]όμενα. *vacat*

(XLVI) Kallikrateia, treasure. This woman, after her husband had died, learned that gold had been buried somewhere by her husband; but since she couldn't find

it by searching, she came into the sanctuary concerning the treasure and sleeping here she saw a vision. It seemed to her the god came to her and said, "In the month Thargelion in the noontime, within the lion lies the gold." When day came she left and when she arrived at home, she first searched the head of the stone lion, because nearby there was an ancient monument set up which had a stone lion. But when she didn't find it, a seer declared to her that the god had not meant the treasure would be inside the stone head but in the shadow that would come from the lion in the month Thargelion at around midday. After this, making another search for the gold in that way she found the treasure, and she sacrificed the customary things to the god. (LiDonnici 1995, 119)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 123, lines 8–21; LiDonnici 1995, 119, C3

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

### 13. Description: The *iama* of the fishmonger Amphimnastos

Date: ca. 350–300 B.C.E.

(XLVII) [— — — — —] ἰχθυοφό-  
 [ρος Ἀμφί]μν[ασ]τος· οὗτο[ς ἰ]χθυοφορῶν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν, εὐξάμενος τὰν  
 [δεκάταν δωσει]ν τῷ Ἀσκλ[απ]ιῷ τὰς ἐμπολᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων, οὐκ ἐπ[ετ]έ-  
 [λει τὰν εὐχάν· πωλέο]ντ[ι δὲ τὸν ἰχ]θὺν ἐν Τεγέαι ἐξαπίνας [κωνόπια]  
 [25] [πάντοθεν ἐπιφα]νέντα [οἱ] ἐ[τίτρω]σκον τὸ {τὸ} σῶμα· ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ  
 π[ε]ρι-  
 [στά]ντος ε[ἰς] τὰν θεωρίαν, ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος δηλοῖ τὰν ἐξαπάταν ἅπασα[ν]  
 [τὰν ....11.....] πρό[σθε γενο]μέναν· ἐξικετεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν  
 [θεὸν οὗτος αὐτῷ πολλοὺς] ἰχθύ[α]ς ἔφανεν καὶ ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος ἀνέθηκε  
 [τὰν δεκάταν τῷ] Ἀσκλαπιῷ.

(XLVII) The fishmonger Amphimnastos. While bringing fish into Arcadia, this man swore that he would give a tenth of the profit from the fish to Asklepios, but he didn't do it, as he should. When he was in the *agora* in Tegea, suddenly the fish were struck by lightning, and their bodies were burning up. With a big crowd standing around this spectacle, Amphimnastos confessed the whole deception that he had done connected with Asklepios, and when he had earnestly prayed to the god, the fish appeared to live again, and Amphimnastos dedicated the tenth part to Asklepios. (LiDonnici 1995, 121)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 123, lines 21–29; LiDonnici 1995, 121, C4

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities; 4.5, Familial obligations: Inherited vows

14. Description: An altar of Nemesis

Date: fifth–fourth century B.C.E.

Τύχας,  
[Νεμ]έσεος

Belonging to  
Tyche Nemesis (Hornum 1993, 196)

Edition(s): *IG* 4<sup>2</sup>,1 311

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

15. Description: Altar of Hera

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

ἡέρας

Of Hera

Edition(s): *SEG* 43 128

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; for the artifact, see Appendix C:  
Epidauros. Sanctuary of Asklepios

**Eresos, Lesbos**

1. Description: Sanctuary regulation relating to ritual purity

Date: second century B.C.E.

--

.....ς εἰστείχην εὐσέβειας  
ἀπὸ μὲν κάδεος ἰδίῳ  
[ἀγνεύσ]αντας ἀμέραις εἴκοσι · ἀπὸ δὲ  
[ἀλλοτρί]ῳ ἀμέραις τρεῖς λοεσσάμενον·  
[5] [ἀπὸ δὲ θν]άτῳ ὡ ἀμέραις δέκα· ὡ αὐτὰν δὲ [τὰν]  
[τετό]κοισαν ἀμέραις τεσσαράκοντα·  
[ἀπὸ δὲ βιω]τῳ ἀμέραις τρεῖς· ὡ αὐτὰν δὲ [τὰν]  
[τε]τόκοισαν ὡ ἀμέραις δέκα·  
[ἀπὸ δὲ γ]ύναικος αὐτάμερον λοεσσάμενον·  
[10] [φονέας] δὲ μὴ εἰστείχην ὡ μηδὲ προδόταις.  
[μὴ εἰσ]τείχην δὲ μηδὲ γάλλοις ὡ μηδὲ

[γύ]ναικες γαλλάζην ἐν τῷ τεμένει·  
[μ]ὴ εἰσφέρειν δὲ μηδὲ ὄπλα πολεμιστήρ[ια]  
[μ]ηδὲ θνασίδιον·  
[15] [μ]ηδὲ εἰς τὸν ναυὸν εἰσφέρειν ὕ σίδαρον  
μηδὲ χαλκὸν πλὴν νομίσματος  
μηδὲ ὑπόδεσιν μηδὲ ἄλλο δέρμα  
μηδὲν ὡς μὴ εἰστείχην δὲ μηδὲ γυν[αῖκ]α  
εἰς τὸν ναυὸν πλὴν τᾶς ἱρέας  
[20] καὶ τᾶς προφητίδος.  
[μὴ λω]τίζην δὲ μηδὲ κτήνεα μηδὲ βοσκήματα  
ἐν τῷ τεμένει.

--

... enter piously  
from the funerary rites of a relative  
having kept pure for twenty days; from  
another three days having bathed;  
[5] From death ten days; from childbirth  
forty days for she herself who gave birth;  
from a live birth three days, for the woman herself  
who gave birth ten days;  
from a woman on the same day having bathed.  
[10] Murderers may not enter nor traitors  
may enter, nor may eunuchs enter nor  
women in the worship of Cybele into the *temenos*.  
Do not carry in tools for war  
nor the skins of animals.  
[15] Do not carry iron into the temple  
no copper except money  
no shoes, nor other skin  
no woman may enter  
the temple but the priestess  
[20] and the prophetess.  
Do not cull the flocks or herds  
in the *temenos*.

Edition(s): *IG 12 Suppl.* 126; Sokolowski 1969, 219–20, no. 124

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Gender; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, Priesthood; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and States

### **Geronthrai, Lakonia**

1. Description: Spring dedicated by Epandridas to Herakles

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

*vacat*

αἰέναιος πηγὴ παρ' Ἐπανδρί-  
δα ἥδ' ἀνάκειται

---

Ἡρακλεῖ ἰάτρων ἀντὶ  
χαριζομένοι

---

ὦ χαῖρε Ἡράκλεις μεγαλό-  
σθενες· ἀντὶ δὲ δώρων

---

πένπε ὑγίειαν ἄμωμον  
Ἐπανδρίδαι ἠδὲ τέκνοισιν.

An ever holy spring is dedicated by Epandridas to Herakles showing gratitude for cures. Greetings Herakles, great in strength. In return for these gifts, grant faultless health to Epandridas and his children. (Salowey 2002, 173)

Edition(s): *IG* 5,1 1119; *SEG* 11 913

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Herakles

### **Hermonassa, Bosporos**

1. Description: Dedication by Demophon, the son of Erginos, on behalf of Akis to Apollo Iatros

Date: 389–348 B.C.E.

Δημοφῶν Ἐργίνο ἀνέθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς  
Ἄκιος Ἀπόλλωνι Ἴητρῶι ἄρχοντος Λεύκωνος  
Βοσπόρο καὶ Θευδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος  
Σίνδων καὶ Τορετῶν καὶ Δανδαρίων καὶ Ψησῶν.

Demophon, the son of Erginos, dedicated this on behalf of his wife Akis to Apollo Iatros, when Leukon was archon in the Bosporos and in Theudosia and when was archon over the Sindoi, Torettes, Dandarioi, Psessoï.

Edition(s): Gavrilov 2004, 383, no. 1037



[-----]τας δεξιασ[...]  
[20]  
[.]NΔI[-----]  
—]  
[-----]  
— —]

...

...leg of others. And IA-  
- spuros is to receive a third share. And place the sacrifices,  
the (*pthoin*) and innards, on the *trapeza* for the gods. And  
the priestess is to receive a fourth part of the things  
[5] placed upon the *trapeza* for the gods. On the first of the month of Artamitia  
each year, the priestess is to assemble both to accomplish  
the things about the sacred funds just as it was written,  
and also the Artamiti and Pergaiai. Each day on which it is sanctioned  
to open the sanctuaries the priestess must allow  
[10] that the temple is open when the sun rises, and burn  
frankincense in the temple. And provide light upon the altar  
...S...MP...place frankincense, having poured upon  
...and in the temple in the  
city ... to go the priests offer according to the  
[15] things written for the citizens and others in the city each  
...thirty drachmas (ka-)  
...(non) for thirty drachmas  
...to dwell with others...  
...(...)  
[20] ...NDI...

...

Edition(s): Segre 1993, ED 236

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Time: Sanctuary "Hours"

### Isthmus, Kos

1. Description: Sacred law from a sanctuary foundation to Artemis, Zeus Hikesios, and Theoi Patrooi

Date: second century B.C.E.

[Πυθίων ἀνέθηκε] τὸ τέ[μενος τόδε]  
ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιτο[ς .....]ας καὶ Διὸς Ἴκ[ε]-  
σίου καὶ θεῶν πατρώων· ἀνέθηκε δὲ [καὶ]



Πυθίων Σιρασίλα καὶ ἁ ἱέρεια [. . .] παιδ-  
 [5] ἰον ὧι ὄνομα Μακαρίνος ἐλεύθερον ἱε-  
 ρὸν τᾶς θεοῦ, ὅπως ἐπιμέληται τοῦ ἱερο[ῦ]  
 καὶ τῶν συνθυόντων πάντων διακονῶν  
 καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ὅσσωγ κα δῆ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ·  
 ἐπιμελέσθω καὶ Μακαρίνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 [10] ἱερῶν καὶ βεβάλων καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δέλ-  
 τῶι γέγραπται, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧγ καταλεί-  
 πει Πυθίων καὶ ἁ ἱέρεια· τοῖς δὲ ἐπιμελομέ-  
 νοις καὶ συναύξουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὖ αὐτοῖς  
 ἔη καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τέκνοις εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον·  
 [15] ἀγνὸν εἰσπορεύεσθαι --- τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἔστω  
 τῶν υἱῶν πάντων κοινόν --- ἀπὸ λεχοῦς καὶ  
 ἐγ δια<φθ>ορᾶς ἀμέρας δέκα, ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τρεῖ[ς].

Pythion dedicated this sacred precinct  
 to Artemis... and Zeus Hikesios  
 and to the ancestral gods. And Pythion  
 son of Sirasilas and the priestess dedicated a  
 [5] free child to whom is given the name Makarinos,  
 sacred to the goddess so that he may manage the sanctuary  
 and all the attendants and servants  
 sacrificing together as may be needed in the shrine  
 and Makarinos also will manage both the  
 [10] other sacred members and uninitiated just as it was written  
 on the sacred tablet, and the rest left behind  
 by Pythion and the priestess. To those managing  
 and increasing the sanctuary, let there be for  
 them and their children prosperity for all of time.  
 [15] Enter pure - the sanctuary is  
 common to all sons - from childbirth  
 and miscarriage/abortion ten days, from a woman three.

Edition(s): *SEG* 14 529; Sokolowski 1969, 299–300, no. 171

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and  
 States

### **Laodicea by the Sea, Syria**

1. Description: Decree regulating fees related to dedications

Date: 174 B.C.E.

ἔτους ηλρ´, μηνὸς Αὐδναίου λ´,  
 Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων  
 γνώμη· ἐπεὶ Ὡρος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος  
 καὶ Ἀντίοχος, οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Σαράπιδος  
 [5] καὶ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἀπελογίζοντο ἄμφοδον  
 ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν καὶ τὸ τέμενος τῶν  
 προγεγραμμένων θεῶν ὑπάρχειν  
 αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀπολλοδώρου υἱοῖς,  
 τοῖς ἀνεψίοις αὐτῶν παππώιοις,  
 [10] ιδιόκτητον· ψηφίσματος δὲ εἰσηνη-  
 νεγμένου τοὺς αἰτουμένους παρὰ τῆς  
 πόλεως τόπον εἰς ἀνάθεσιν εἰκόνοσ  
 διδόναι τὸ ἐκτεταγμένον διάφορον,  
 καὶ αἰτουμένων τινῶν τόπους καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 [15] ἱερῷ, ὑφορώμενο<ι> μὴ ἐκ τοῦ τοιού-  
 του τρόπου ἀνασκευάζηται τὰ τῆς  
 κτήσεως αὐτῶν, παρεκάλουν προ-  
 νοηθῆναι περὶ τούτων, καλῶς ἔχει  
 ὅπως μὴ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου αἰ κτήσεις  
 [20] αὐτῶν ἄς προσηνένκαντο ἀνα-  
 σκευάζωνται· δεδόχθαι τοῖς  
 πελιγαῖσιν· τοὺς βουλομένους ἰστάνειν  
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ διδόναι, μὴ τοῦ τό-  
 που, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνοσ τὸ ψηφισθὲν  
 [25] πλῆθος.

Year 138, on the thirtieth of the month of Audnaios, proposal of Asclepiades ἐπιστάτης and the archons. Since Horus and Apollodorus and Antiochus, priests of Sarapis and Isis, declared that a block of houses, in which also stands the precinct of the aforesaid gods, belongs to them and to the sons of Apollodorus, their grandpaternal cousins, as private property; and since a decree has been passed that those requesting from the city a place for the dedication of a statue shall pay a fixed fee, and some are seeking places in the precinct; being anxious lest their possessions be dismantled in such a manner, they asked that consideration be given concerning these matters: it is well that their possessions, which they have exhibited, may not be dismantled in such a way: it has been resolved by the πελιγαῖνες: those who wish to erect (a statue) in the same place shall give the decreed sum, not for the place, but for the statue itself. (Sosin 2005, 131)

Edition(s): *IGLSyr* 4 1261

Cf. Chapter: 4.2, City authority

## Lindos, Rhodes. Sanctuary of Athena

### 1. Description: Shields dedicated by Herakles

Date: 99 B.C.E.

...

(V) Ἡρακλῆς γέρρα δύο, τὸ μὲν ἐν περιεσκυτωμένον, τὸ δὲ κατακεχαλκωμένον, ὧν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ [25] ἐσκυτωμένου ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ Μερόπων τὰν Ε[ὐ]ρυπύλου", ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατακεχαλκωμένου· "τὰν Λαομέδοντος Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ Τεῦκρων Ἀθήναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ," ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν ταῖ α τᾶς [30] χ[ρ]ονικᾶς συντάξις, Γόργων ἐν ταῖ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Νικασύλος ἐν ταῖ γ' τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις, Ἡγησίας ἐν τῷ Ῥόδου ἐνκωμίῳ, Αἰέλουρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ποτὶ τοὺς Ἐξαγιάδας(?) πολέμου, Φάεννος ἐν τῷ περὶ [35] Λίνδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν ταῖ ἐπιστολαῖ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν ταῖ ἐπιστολαῖ.

...

...

(V) Herakles, two wicker shields, one sheathed in leather, the other in bronze. Of these, on the [25] leather one had been inscribed, "Herakles, from the Meropes, the [shield] of Eurypylos." On the one of bronze, "The [shield] of Laomedon, Herakles from the Teucrians, to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus," As Xenagoras declares in the first book of his [30] *Annalistic Account*, Gorgon in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*, Nikasylos in the third book of his *Annalistic Account*, Hegesias in his *Encomium of Rhodes*, Aielouros in his work *About the War against the Exagiades*, Phaennos in his work *About* [35] *Lindos*, Gorgosthenes in his letter, hieroboulos in his letter.  
... (Higbie 2003, 23)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 162–63, (V) col. B, lines 23–36

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

2. Description: Spoils dedicated by Tlapolemos and his men

Date: 99 B.C.E

(IX) τοὶ μετὰ Τλαπολέμου εἰς Ἴλιον [στρατευσά]-  
[55] μενοὶ ἀσπίδας ἐννῆ, ἐνχειρίδια [ἐννῆ, κυνᾶς]  
ἐννῆ, κναμίδων ζεύγη ἐννῆ· ἐ[πεγέγραπτο]  
δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων· "τοὶ μετ[ὰ Τλαπολέμου]  
εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσάμενοι τ[ᾶ] Ἀθάναι τᾶι  
Λινδαῖαι ἀκροθίνια τῶν ἐκ Τρο[ίας], ὡς φασι Γόρ]-  
[60] γων ἐν τᾶι α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γ[οργοσθένης]  
ἐν τᾶι ἐπιστολαῖ, Ἱερόβουλος [ἐν τᾶι ἐπιστολαῖ].

(IX) The men making an expedition with Tlapolemos against Ilion,  
[55] nine shields, nine daggers, nine  
leather caps, nine pairs of greaves. It had been inscribed  
on the shields, "The men making an expedition with Tlapolemos  
against Ilion to Athena the  
Lindian, spoils [of those] from Troy," as Gorgon  
[60] states in the eleventh book of his work *About Rhodes*, Gorgosthenes  
in his letter, Hieroboulos in his letter. (Higbie 2003, 25)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 165, (IX) col. B, lines 54–61

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

3. Description: Spoils dedicated by Menelaos

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(X) Μενέλαος κυνᾶν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγρα[απτο]·  
"Μενέλας τὸν Ἀλεξά[ν]δρου," ὡς ἰ[στορεῖ Ξεναγό]-  
ρας ἐν τᾶι α τᾶς χ[ρονικ]ᾶς συντ[άξις, Ἥγησίας]  
[65] ἐν τῷ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμίω[ι, Ε]ϋδημος ἐν τ[ῷ] Λινδια-  
κῷ, Γόργων ἐν τᾶι α τᾶ[ν] περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθέ-  
νης ἐν τᾶι ἐπιστολαῖ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾶι ἐπισ-  
τολαῖ. Θεότιμος <δ> ἐ λέγει ἐν τᾶι α τῶν κατὰ Αἰε-  
λούρου ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον

(X) Menelaos, a leather cap. On which had been inscribed,  
"Menelas, the [leather cap] of Alexander," as Xenagoras  
reports in his investigations in the first book of his *Annalistic Account*, Hegesias  
[65] in his *Encomium of Rhodes*, Eudemos in his work *About Lindos*,

Gorgon in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hieroboulos in his letter.

But Theotimos says in the first book of his work *Against Aielouros* that he also dedicated a dagger. (Higbie 2003, 25–27)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 165, (X) col. B, lines 62–69

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

#### 4. Description: Oars dedicated by Kanopos

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(XII) Κάνωπος ὁ [Μ]ενελάου κυβερνάτας οἴακας, ἐφ' ᾧ[ν] ἐπεγέγρα[π]το· "Κάνωπος τᾷ Ἀθαναίαι καὶ Ποτειδᾶνι," [75] ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος, Γόργων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

(XII) Kanopos, the helmsman of Menelaos, steering oars. On which had been inscribed, "Kanopos to Athena and Poseidon," [75] as Xenagoras declares in the first book of his *Annalistic Account*, Gorgon in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hieroboulos in his letter. (Higbie 2003, 27)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 165, (XII) col. B, lines 73–77

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

#### 5. Description: Quivers dedicated by Meriones and Teucer

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(XIII) Μηριόνης φαρέτραν ἀργ[υ]ρέαν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγραπτο "[Μ]ηριόνης Μόλου υἱὸς ἀ[κρο]θίνα τῶν ἐκ Τροίας," ὡς [80] φατι Γόργων ἐν τᾷ [α τ]ᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης [ἐν] τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

(XIV) [Τε]ῦκρος φαρέτραν, ἐφ' ᾗς ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Τεῦ[κρ]ος τὰν Πανδάρου," ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος, [Γόργ]ων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν π[ερ]ι Ῥόδου], [85] Γοργοσθένης ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ. Θεότιμος δὲ [ἐ]ν [τᾷ α τᾶ]ν κατὰ Αἰελοῦρου φατι ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸ[ν καὶ τό]ξον.

(XIII) Meriones, a silver quiver. On which had been inscribed:  
"Meriones the son of Molos, spoils of those from Troy," as  
[80] Gorgon states in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*, Gorgosthenes  
in his letter, Hieroboulos in his letter.

(XIV) Teucer, a quiver. On which had been inscribed, "Teucer,  
the quiver of Pandaros," as Xenagoras reports in his investigations in the first  
book of his  
*Annalistic Account*, Gorgon in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*,  
[85] Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hieroboulos in  
his letter. But Theotimos in the first book of his work *Against*  
*Aielouros* states that he also dedicated a bow. (Higbie 2003, 27)

Editions: Blinkenberg 1941, 165, (XIII and XIV) col. B, lines 78–87

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

6. Description: Spoils dedicated by Kleoboulos and his men and those dedicated by the Phaselitai

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(XXIII) τοὶ μετὰ Κλευβούλου στρατεύσαντες εἰς Λυκίαν  
ἀσπίδας ὀκτώ καὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι στεφάναν χρυσέαν,  
ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἐν τῷ α τῶν χρο-  
νικῶν συντάξις, Πολύζαλος ἐν τῷ δ  
[5] τῶν ἱστοριῶν.

(XXIV) Φασηλίται κράνη καὶ δρέπανα, [ἐ]φ' ὧν ἐπε-  
γέγραπτο· "Φασηλίται ἀπὸ Σολύμων τῷ Ἀθα-  
ναίαι τῷ Λινδίαί, Λακίου τοῦ οἰκιστῆ ἀγευμέ-  
νου," <ὦ>ς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ α  
[10] τῶν χρονικῶν συντάξις.

(XXIII) Those making an expedition with Kleoboulos against Lycia,  
eight shields and a golden cirlet for the statue.  
as Timokritos reports in his investigations in the first book of his  
*Annalistic Account*, Polyzalos in the fourth book  
[5] of his *Investigations*.

(XXIV) Phaselitai, helmets and sickle-swords. On which had been  
inscribed, "Phaselitai from the Solymoi to Athena  
the Lindian, with Lakios the *oikist* leading them,"  
as Xenagoras declares in the first book of  
[10] his *Annalistic Account*. (Higbie 2003, 31–33)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 169–71, (XXIII and XXIV) col. C, lines 1–10

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

7. Description: A wooden cow and calf dedicated by Amphinomos and his sons

Date: 99 B.C.E.

[15] (XXVI) Ἀμφίνομος καὶ τοὶ υἱοὶ βοῦν ξυλίναν καὶ μόσχον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Ἀμφίνομος καὶ παῖδες ἀπ' εὐρυχόρου Συβάρειος ναὸς σωθείσας τάνδ' ἀνέθεν δεκάταν," ὡς ἱστορεῖ Γόργων ἐν τᾷ β τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις.  
[20] κᾶς συντάξις.

[15] (XXVI) Amphinomos and his sons, a wooden cow and calf on which had been inscribed, "Amphinomos and children from broad-landed Sybaris, when a ship had been saved, dedicated this tenth," as Gorgon reports in his investigations in the second book of his work *About Rhodes* Xenagoras in the first book of [20] his *Annalistic Account*. (Higbie 2003, 33)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 171, (XXVI) col. C, lines 15–20

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

8. Description: Spoils dedicated by an unknown Persian general

Date: 99 B.C.E.

[65] (XXXII) [... ὁ στ]ραταγὸς τοῦ Περσᾶν βασιλέως [Δαρείου ...]α καὶ στρεπτὸν καὶ τιάραν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκαν κα]ι ἀναξυρίδας, ὡς φασι Εὐδημος [ἐν τῷ Λινδιακῷ, Μύ]ρων ἐν τᾷ α τοῦ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμίου, [Ἰ]μ[ό]κ[ριτος ἐν] τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις. [Ἰ]ερώ-  
[70] νυμος δὲ ἀποφαίνεται ἐν τῷ α τῶν Ἡλιακῶν μετὰ τούτων ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρμάμαξαν, περὶ ἧς λέγει καὶ Πολύζαλος ἐν τᾷ δ τᾶν ἱστοριᾶν καὶ Ἀριστίων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξις, Ἰέρων ἐν τᾷ α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου.

[65] (XXXII) [...] The general of the King of the Persians, [Darius,...] an a torque and a Persian cap and armlets

and a Persian curved short sword and trousers, as Eudemos states in his work *Lindian Topics*, Myron in the first book of his *Encomium of Rhodes*, Timokritos in the first book of his *Annalistic Account*. But Hieronymos [70] declares in the first book of his *Heliaka* that along with these things he dedicated also a covered carriage, about which Polyzalos also speaks in the fourth book of his *Investigations* and Aristion in the first book of his *Annalistic Account*, and Hieron in the first book of his work *About Rhodes*. (Higbie 2003, 37)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 175–77, (XXXII) col. C, lines 65–74

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

9. Description: Dedications given to the *damos* by Artaxerxes

Date: 99 B.C.E.

[85] (XXXV) ὁ δᾶμος, οἷς ἐτίμασε αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Περσῶν Ἀρταξέρ-  
ξας, στρεπτὸν χρύσ[εο]ν, τιάραν, ἀκιν[άκ]αν λιθόκολ-  
λον, μᾶλα ποτ' αὐτῶι, ψέλια χρύσεια λιθόκολλα, τὰ  
πάντ[α] ἄγοντα χρυσοῦς χιλίους τριακοσίους ἑβδο-  
μ[ά]κοντα πέντε, καὶ τὰν βασιλικὰν στολάν, ὡς φατι  
[90] Ἐργ[ίας ἐν] τᾷ γ βύβλωι τᾶν [ί]στοριᾶν, Ζήνων ἐν  
τᾷ [.´ τᾶς χρ]ονικᾶς συντάξι[ος], Τιμόκριτος ἐν τᾷ β  
τᾶς [χρο]νικᾶς συντάξι[ος], Ἰέ[ρ]ων ἐν τᾷ γ τᾶ[ν] περὶ Ῥό-  
δου, Ἀγ[έ]στρατος ἐν τᾷ β τᾶς χρο[ν]ικᾶς [σ]υντάξι[ος].

[85] (XXXV) The *damos*, a golden torque, Persian cap, Persian curved short sword with much inlay work, together with it golden armlets with inlay work (all weighing 1,375 [mnas] of gold), and the royal garment; by which Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, honored the *damos*. [90] As Ergias states in the third book of his *Investigations*, Zenon in the...of his *Annalistic Account*, Timokritos in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*, Hieron in the third book of his work *About Rhodes*, Hagestratos in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*. (Higbie 2003, 39)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 177, (XXXV) col. C, lines 85–93

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena



10. Description: Shield dedicated by the *damos* and caltrops dedicated by King Alexander

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(XXXVII) [ὁ] δᾶμος ἀσπίδα κατὰ [χρησμὸν] προσαμαίνοντα, ὅτι ἀνατεθείσας τᾷ Ἀθάναι ἐσεῖται λύσις τοῦ τόκα ἐνεστακότος ποτὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πολέμο[υ]·  
[100] καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀποφαίνει[ται Τιμ]όκριτος [ἐν] τᾷ δ τᾷς χρονικᾷς σ[υν]τάξιος. ἐπ[ιγέγ]ραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τᾷς ἀσπίδος·  
"ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίον Ἀθάναι Λιν[δίαι κα]τὰ χρησμὸν."

(XXXVIII) βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος [β]ο[υκ]έφαλα, ἐφ' ὧν [ἐ]πιγέγραπται·  
"βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος μάχαι κρατήσας Δα-  
[105] ρεῖον καὶ κύριος γε[ν]όμενος τᾷς Ἀσίας ἔθουσε τ[ᾶ]ι Ἀθάναι τᾷ [Λι]νδίαι κατὰ μαντεῖαν ἐπ' ἰε[ρέ]ως Θεουγέν[ε]υς τοῦ Πιστοκράτευς." περὶ [τ]ούτων το[ῖ] Λινδί[ων] χρηματισμοὶ περ[ι]έχοντι.  
ἀν[έ]θηκε δὲ καὶ [ὄ]πλα, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται.

(XXXVII) The *damos*, a shield, in accordance with an oracular prediction, that the votive having been offered to Athena, there would be an end of the then current war against Ptolemy Philadelphos.

[100] And there was, as Timokritos declares in the fourth book of his *Annalistic Account*. It has been inscribed on the shield, "The *damos* of the Rhodians to Athena Lindia according to the oracle."

(XXXVIII) King Alexander, caltrops. On which has been inscribed,

"King Alexander having overcome in battle  
[105] Darius and becoming lord of Asia, offered sacrifice to Athena the Lindian according to an oracle during the priesthood [held] by Theugenes the son of Pistokrateus."

These things the public records of the Lindians contain.

And he also dedicated armor, on which there is an inscription. (Higbie 2003, 41)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 179, (XXXVII and XXXVIII) col. C, lines 97–109

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

11. Description: Caltrops and weapons dedicated by King Pyrrhos, King Hieron, and King Philip

Date: 99 B.C.E.

(XL) βασιλευ[ς] Πύρρο[ς] βουκ[έ]φαλα καὶ ὄπλα, οἷς

[115] αὐτὸς ἐ]χ[ρ]εῖτο ἐν τοῖς κινδύ[ν]οι[ς], ἀνέ[θηκε] κα-  
 τὰ τὰν ἐκ Δωδώνας μαντεῖαν, ὡς περιέχοντι  
 τοὶ Λινδίων χρηματισμοὶ καὶ [ἰ]στορεῖ Ζήνων  
 [ἐ]ν τᾷ β τᾷς χρονικᾷς συντάξι[ι]ος, Ἀγέλοχο[ς]  
 [ἐ]ν τᾷ β τᾷς χρονικᾷ[ς] συντάξιος, Ἀγέστρα-  
 [120] τος ἐν τᾷ β [τ]ᾷς χρονικᾷ[ς] συντάξιος. ἐπιγέ-  
 [γραπ]ται δ[ἐ] ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων. *vacat*  
 (XLI) βα[σ]ιλεὺ[ς] Ἰέρω[ν] ὄπλα, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐχρε[ῖ]το, ὡς μαρ-  
 [τυρο]ῦντι τοὶ Λι[ν]δίων χρη[μ]ατισμοὶ καὶ ἰσ[το]ρεῖ  
 Ἀγέ[στ]ρατος ἐν τᾷ β τᾷς χρο[ν]ικᾷς συν[τά]ξι[ος],  
 [125] ..5..ς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις. ἐπιγέγρα[π]τα[ι] δὲ ἐπὶ τῶ[ν]  
 ὄ[π]λων· "β[α]σ[ι]λεὺ[ς] Ἰέρων Ἱεροκλεῦς Ἀθάναι Λι[ν]δίαι."  
 (XLII) [β]α[σ]ιλεὺ[ς] Φίλιππος πέλτας δέκα, σαρίσας δ[έ]κα, π[ε]-  
 [ρικεφαλ]αίας [δέ]κα, [ἐ]φ' ὧν ἐ[π]ιγέγραπται "βα[σ]ιλεὺ[ς]  
 [Μακεδ]ό[ν]ω[ν] Φίλιππο[ς] βασι[λ]έως Δημη[τρ]ίου νι-  
 [130] κάσας Δα[ρ]δ[αν]ίου[ς] καὶ Μαίδους Ἀθάναι Λι[ν]δίαι," [ὡς μαρ]-  
 [τυρο]ῦντι τοὶ Λι[ν]δίων χρ[η]μα[τι]σ[μ]οί.

(XL) King Pyrrhos, caltrops and weapons. Which  
 [115] he himself used in dangerous situations, he dedicated  
 in accordance with the oracle from Dodona, as the public  
 records contain. And Zenon reports  
 in his investigations in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*,  
 Hagebokhos in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*,  
 [120] Hagestratos in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*.  
 There is an inscription on the weapons.  
 (XLI) King Hieron, weapons. Which he himself used, as the  
 public records of the Lindians testify. And Hagestratos  
 reports in his investigations in the second book of his *Annalistic Account*,  
 [125]...in the *Chronicles*. It has been inscribed on the  
 weapons, "King Hieron the son of Hierokles to Athena Lindia."  
 (XLII) King Philip, ten skirmisher shields, ten sarissas,  
 ten caps. On which has been inscribed, "King  
 of the Macedonians, Philip, son of King Demetrius, having been  
 [130] victorious over the Dardanians and Maidoi, to Athena Lindian," as the  
 public records of the Lindians testify. (Higbie 2003, 41–43)

Edition(s): Blinkenberg 1941, 179–181, (XL, XLI, and XLII) col. C, lines 114–  
 131

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Athena

### **Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone**

1. Description: Helmet dedicated by Xenai(des?)

Date: 500–480 B.C.E.

<Π>ε̄ριφόναι [ἀνέθη]-  
κέ με Ξεναι[— —]

Xenai(des?) dedicated  
me to Periphonai (Persephone)

Edition(s): *IG* 14 631

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone

2. Description: Helmet dedicated by Phrasiades

Date: ca. 500–480 B.C.E.

Φρασιαδας ανεθεκεται θε̄οι.

Phrasiades dedicated (this) to the goddesses.

Edition(s): Carpenter 1945, 455, fig. 2

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone

### **Loryma, Karia**

1. Description: Regulation related to dedications

Date: third century B.C.E.

Ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
μὴ ἐκφέρειν  
τῶν ἀν[α]θ[ημά]των,  
μηδὲ βλ[άπ]τε[ι]ν  
[5] μηθέν, [μη]δὲ πα-  
ρὰ τ[άξι]ν τασ-  
σόν[των πίνακα]ς,

μήτ[ε ἄλλους ἐσ-]  
φε[ρόντων ἄνευ]  
[10] τ[οῦ ἱερέως.]

Do not take away  
dedications  
from the sanctuary,  
nor damage  
[5] them, nor  
disorder  
the pinakes,  
nor introduce new ones  
without the presence  
[10] of the priest

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1955, 172–73, no. 74

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.c, Sanctuary Supervision and Control

### **Maionia, Lydia**

#### 1. Description: Cathartic prescriptions

Date: 147/6 B.C.E.

Βασιλεύοντος [Ἀ]ττά[λου]  
ἔτους τρεῖσκαϊδεκάτου.  
Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι · ἔστησαν  
τὴν στήλην[. . . . . ]  
[5] [. . . . . ] οἱ ἐμ φυση  
[. . . ] χη [. . . . ] ἀγνεύειν δὲ  
ἀπὸ μὲν κ[ή]δους ὁμαίμ-  
ου πεμπταῖον, τοῦ δὲ ἄλ-  
λου τριταῖον, ἀπὸ δὲ γυναι-  
[10] κὸς εἰς τὸν περιωρισμέ<νο>  
νον τόπον τοῦ Μητρ[ῶ]ίου  
τῆι αὐτῆι λουσά[μ]ενον εἰς-  
πορεύεσθαι · ἐταίρα τριτ-  
αία περιαγνισαμένη, κα[θῶ]-  
[15] [ς] εἶ[θ]ισται.

In the thirteenth year  
of the reign of Attalos  
Good Fortune. . . . set up

the stele .....  
[5] ..... having brought forth  
... ..to keep pure  
from the funeral of a relative  
on the fifth day, of another  
on the third day, from a woman,  
[10] having been cleansed  
in the marked off  
place of the Metroon,  
he may enter in. A *hetairai*  
on the third day, having been purified,  
[15] as is the custom.

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1955, 50–1, no. 18

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death

### **Metropolis, Ionia**

1. Description: Cathartic prescriptions for the cult of Mater Galesia

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

[ἀγνεύ]εται ἀπὸ  
[κήδους] ἡμέρας  
[δώδεκα,] ἀπὸ  
[γυν]αικὸς τῆς  
[5] [ἰδία]ς ἡμέρας δύο[,]  
[ἀπὸ ἐ]ταίρας τρεῖς·  
[ικέτην] μὴ ἀπέλκειν  
[βωμοῖς] ἐπιστά-  
[μενο]ν μηδὲ  
[10] [δρᾶν] μ[η]θὲν ἄδι-  
[κον·] ὅς δ' [ἄν] ἀδική-  
[σηι,] μὴ εἴλωσ ἀν-  
[τῶι ἢ] Μήτηρ [ἢ] Γαλ-  
[λησί]α

One is pure from  
contact with funeral rites in  
twelve days; from  
one's own wife  
[5] in two days;

in three days from a *hetaira*.  
He may not drag away  
from the altar  
a suppliant having stood near it nor  
[10] may he do anything unjust toward  
he who...

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1955, 83–4, no. 29

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death

### Miletos, Ionia

1. Description: Temple inventory to an unknown deity

Date: end of the second century B.C.E.

[. .]έκατὸν ὀγδ[ο]ήκοντα δύο, ὀλκῆς Αλεξαν[δρει]ῶν [έν]-  
ενήκοντα πέντε, χρυσᾶ δύο, ὀλκῆς τετάρτου, ἄλλα [δεκα ?]-  
οκτώ, ὀλκῆς Αλεξανδρειῶν δεκαπέντε, πλάστρα δ[ύο],  
ἐγκαλύμματα δύο ΛΕΦΗ, ἀνατέθεικεν Αἰαναῖος(?), (ὀλκῆς) Ἐξ[ανδ]-  
[5] ρειῶν πέν<τε> τριωβόλου, κα<λά>σειρις μεσογλαύκινος περίχρ[υ]-  
[σ]ος παλαιὸς ἡγρωμένος, ἰμάτιον σελ<ά>γινον (?) περιπόφυρ[ον]  
παλαιὸν ἡχρειωμένον, ἀλουργέα παλαιὰ κατακεκομμένα  
ἀχρεῖα ὀκτώ, γλανίδες παλαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι κατακεκομμένα τ-  
[ρ]εῖς, ἰμάτια πορφυρᾶ βαπτὰ ἀχρεῖα κατακεκομμένα τρία, κά[ρ]-  
[10] πασος παλαιός, σινδονίτης παλα[ί]δος ἀχρεῖος, ὀθόνη λιναῖ π-  
[α]λαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι τρεῖς, ἄλλαι ἡ[μ]ιτριβεῖς κεκομμένα δύο. Χλαμύδ[ε]ς  
ν ἐφηβικαὶ παλαιαὶ ἀχρεῖαι τέσσαρες, προ[σ]ωπίδια βομβύκινα πα-  
[λ]αῖα ἀχρεῖα τέσσαρα, ἄλλα ἐρεᾶ παλαιὰ ἀχρεῖα δύο, λινᾶ πα-  
[λ]αῖα ἀχρεῖα δεκαδύο, ἐπίκρηνον λ[ι]νοῦν παλαιόν, ἄλλα [ἀ]-  
[15] χρεῖα δύο, ἄλλο ἡμιτριβὲς κεκομμένον, ἄλλο βομβύκινον ἀχ-  
ρεῖον κατατετιλμένον, ἄλλο βομβύκινον ἡμιτριβὲς κεκομμέν-  
[ο]ν, λημνίσκοι ξυστοὶ πράσινοι κατακεκομμένοι δύο, ἄλλος κόκκ[ι]-  
[ν]ος παλαιὸς κατακεκομμένος, στρόφοι παλαιοὶ <ἐ>πίχρυσοι δύο, [ἄ]-  
λλος σπα{ν}δίκινος παλαιὸς ἔχων κεραῦνιον χρυσοποίκιον, διά[ζω]-  
[20] μα ἐρεοῦν ἐπίχρυσον παλαιόν κατακεκομμένον, ἄλλο λινοῦν  
καὶ ὑποκλείδιον ἡμιτριβὲς Α[...]ΣΕΝ, ἀνατέθεικεν Αἰανα<τ>ος(?), ζῶ [ν]α[ι]  
παλαια<ι> δύο, ἄλλαι μείζονες παλαιαὶ δ[ύ]ο, γλάνδιον καὶ ἐνπάρυ[φ]ον  
[π]αιδικὰ κατακεκομμένα ἀλουργέα, παιδικ[ὰ ἄλλα] κατακεκομμέν[α. .]  
[-----]IN<sup>ΛΙ</sup> EI[.7–8. . . . .]

... 182 (objects), weight 95 Alexandrian staters, two gold (objects), weight a quarter (Alexandrian staters), 28 others, weight 15 Alexandrian staters, two earrings, two worn earring holders, dedicated by Aianaios, weight 5 Alexandrian *triobols*, a beautiful, old, useless eastern-style long garment, grey in the middle, with gold border; an old useless *himation*, bright in color, with purple border; eight old useless purple garments, frayed; three old useless fine wool mantles, frayed; three purple-dyed *himatia*, useless and frayed; an old Karpasian linen garment; an old useless Sidonian garment; three old useless pieces of fine linen; two other linen napkins, frayed; four old useless ephebic capes; four old useless silken masks [veils?]; two other old useless pieces of wool; twelve old useless pieces of linen, an old linen head-dress, two other ones, useless; another one, half worn out, frayed; another useless silken one, frayed; another silken one, half worn to pieces, frayed; two light-green cut woolen ribbons, frayed; another old scarlet one, frayed; two old belts overlaid with gold, another old, bright red one with gold embroidered wave pattern; a woolen belt with gold overlaid old and frayed; another of linen with a little clasp below, half worn out; ... Aianaios [?] dedicated [it?]; two old belts; two other old ones, larger; a small purple woolen mantle and one with a fine purple border, both for children, frayed; and other children's clothing, frayed. (Cole 1998, 33–34)

Edition(s): *SEG* 38 1210

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.b, Epigraphical Sources, Goddesses, Unknown Deity; 3.4, Conclusions

### **Mylasa, Karia**

1. Description: Decree of the Hyarbesytai tribe regarding offerings to Zeus Hyarbesytai

Date: end of the second century B.C.E.

[ἐπὶ στεφανηφ]ό[ρ]ου Ἀντι[πάτρου] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολλω]-  
 [νίου,] μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη, ταῖς [ἀρχ]-  
 [αιρε]σίαις· ἔδοξεν τῇ Ὑαρβηστυῶν φυλῇ· γνώμην [ἀ]-  
 [ποφ]ηναμένου Θεομηνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ  
 [5] [υἰοθ]εσίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ Πολυκλείτου ἱερέως Διὸς  
 [Στ]ρατείου καὶ Ἥρας, Ἀγανίτου, ἄρχοντος· ὅπως μηθὲν  
 [τ]ῶν συμφερόντων παραλείπηται, δεδόχθαι· ὅσοι ἂν  
 [τ]ῶν φυλετῶν τιμηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς φυλῆς μετὰ στεφα-  
 νηφόρον Ἀντίπατρον ἀνατιθέναι ἕκαστον τῶι Διὶ τῶι  
 [10] [Υ]αρβηστυῶν ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ἢ φιάλην [ἀπὸ δ]ραχμῶν  
 [Α]λεξανδρείων ἑκατόν, ἐπιγραφὴν πο[ι]ησαμέ[ν]ου τοῦ κα-  
 τασκευαζομένου τοῦ τε ὀνόματος τοῦ τετ[ι]μημένου καὶ ὅτι

[τ]ιμηθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν Διὶ Ὑαρβηστυῶν κα[ι] τῆς ὀλκῆς, τὴν δὲ ἀνάθεσιν ποιείσθω ἕκαστος μετὰ τὸ τιμηθ[ῆ]ναι ἐμ μῆσιν [15] ἕξ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρας φυλῆς ὑπάρχων τις τιμηθῆ, [ἀν]ατιθέτω ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι χρόνῳ ποτήρια τρία ἢ φιάλας τρεῖς [ἀπ]ὸ δραχμῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων τριακοσίων καὶ ὁμοίως τ[ῆν αὐ]τῆν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιείσθω ἐφ' ἑκάστου καὶ παραδιδότω [αὐτὰ τοῖς] ταμί[α]ις ἢ οἰκονόμοις τῆς φυλῆς κατὰ χρηματισμὸν [τὸν] τ[ῶ]ν δικασ[τῶ]ν [20] [τῶ]ν καὶ τοῦ νομοφύλακος· καὶ μῆενι ἐξέστω κατα[λ]ῦσαι τόδε [τὸ ψήφι]σμα, εἰ δὲ μῆ, [ὁ κ]α[τα]λύσας ἀποτεισάτω δίκ[η νικη]θ[ε]ν[τι] [ἰς ἱερὰς] [τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ] Ὑαρ[β]ηστυῶν δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας, οἱ δὲ τα[μίαι] πρα[ξι]ζάτωσαν αὐτὰς παρ' αὐ[τοῦ] [—]

In the office of the crown holder Antipater son of Apollonios in the eighteenth month of Sandikos, (in the) magisterial election, it seemed good to the Hyarbesytae tribe to declare the proposal of Theomenestos son of Leon when [5] the adopted son of Diokleios son of Polykleitos priest of Zeus Strateios and Hera Aganitos was archon, since it did not seem good to neglect those in agreement, whoever of the tribe that may be honored by the tribe during the office of the crown-holder Antipater each must dedicate to Zeus [10] Hyarbesytae a silver cup or phiale worth 100 Alexandrian drachmas, inscribed, having been made and fully equipped, with the name of the honored one and that having been honored he dedicated it to Zeus Hyarbesytae and the weight, and each must make the dedication within six months after being honored; [15] whenever someone who is subject to another tribe is honored, they shall dedicate in the same time three cups or *phialai* worth 300 Alexandrian drachmas and similarly have it inscribed and hand them over to the treasurers or manager of the business judging and [20] guardian of the laws of the tribe; And it is not permitted for anyone to destroy this decree, if so, he who broke the decree must pay, having yielded to justly, the priest of Zeus Hyarbesytae 3000 drachmas, the treasurers having accomplished these things...

Edition(s): *SEG* 15 648; Sokolowski 1955, 154–56, no. 62

Cf. Chapter: 4.4.a, Tribal Regulation



### **Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus**

1. Description: Shield armband dedicated by Hermaios to Demeter Chthonia

Date: ca. 475–450 B.C.E.

Ἑρμαῖος ἱαρός τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς χ(?)κονίας

Hermaios, a gift for Demeter Chthonia

Edition(s): Philipp 1981, 220, pl. 14, no. 813

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter; for artifact, see Appendix C: Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus

### **Oropos. Sanctuary of Amphiaraos**

1. Description: Decree concerning the cult and sanctuary management

Date: 386–374 B.C.E.

θεοί.

τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ ἱερό-  
ν, ἐπειδὴν χειμῶν παρέλθει μέχρι ἀρότου ὄρ-  
ρης, μὴ πλέον διαλείποντα ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ  
[5] μένειν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα ἡμέρα-  
ς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκ<ά>στο : καὶ ἐπαναγκάζειν τὸν νε-  
εωκόρον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ-  
ν νόμον καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· <sup>vv</sup>  
ἂν δέ τις ἀδικεῖ ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότ-  
[10] ης, ζημιούτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μέχρι πέντε δραχμῶν  
κυρίως καὶ ἐνέχυρα λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἐζημιω-  
μένου, ἂν δ' ἐκτίνει τὸ ἀργύριον, παρεόντος τῶ  
ἱερέος ἐμβαλέτω εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν : δικάζει-  
ν δὲ τὸν ἱερέα, ἂν τις ἰδίει ἀδικηθεῖ ἢ τῶν ξέ-  
[15] νων ἢ τῶν δημοτέων ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μέχρι τριῶν  
δραχμῶν, τὰ δὲ μέζονα, ἦχοι ἐκάστοις αἱ δίκ-  
αι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρήηται ἐ'ν'τῶθα γινέσθων· <sup>v</sup>  
προσκαλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐθημερόν περὶ τῶν ἐ-  
ν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἀδικιῶν, ἂν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος μὴ συνχ-  
[20] ωρεῖ εἰς τὴν ὑστέτην ἢ δίκη τελείσθω : ἐπαρ-  
χὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑ-  
πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλ<α>ττον ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκίμου ἀργ-  
υρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν παρε-  
όντος τοῦ νεωκόρου [.....19.....]

[25] [ ...c.9... ] κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπι-  
τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν, ὅταν παρῆ, τὸν ἱερέα,  
ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρῆ, τὸν θύοντα καὶ τεῖ θυσίει α-  
ὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δη-  
μορίων τὸν ἱερέα· ὕ τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἐν τοῖ ἱε-  
[30] ροῖ πάντων τὸ δέρμα ἱερ[ὸν εἶναι], θύειν δὲ ἐξ-  
εἶν ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος, τῶν δὲ κρεῶ-  
ν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορῆν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος· ὕ τοῖ δὲ  
ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερήου ἐκ-  
ἄστο τὸν ὄμιον πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἴ, τότε δὲ ἀπ-  
[35] ὸ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὄμιον ἀφ' ἑκάστου ὕ  
ὕ τοῦ ἱερήου· ὕ ἐγκαθεύδειν δὲ τὸν δειόμενο-  
ν μ[έ]χρι [.....23.....] ς ἐπὶ το-  
ῦ αὐ[το]ῦ [.....23.....] πειθόμε-  
νον τοῖς νόμοις· ὕ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον-  
[40] τος, ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον, γράφεσθαι τ-  
ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεος καὶ ἐκ-  
τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σ-  
κοπεῖν <τ>οἱ βολομένοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίο-  
ι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἄνδρας, χωρὶς ὕὕ  
[45] δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡ-  
[ὸ]ς τοῦ β[ω]μοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡσπέ-  
ρης ο[.....12..... τὸ κοι]μητήριον τοὺς ἐν-  
κα<θ>[εὔδοντας .....15..... τὸν δ]ὲ θεῶν  
ἐγκ[.....32.....]  
[50] ο ἐξ[.....29.....]θω[.]  
ορο[.....24..... ἐγκεκ]οιμ-  
ημέ[ν.....29.....]λε-  
ροω[.....28.....]εἴν [τ]ο-  
ῖ Ἀμφ[ιαράοι .....21.....]ι ζημ-  
[55] ιου[.....27.....] δὲ τὸ-  
ν βολ[όμενον .....16..... τὸν ἱε]ρέ<α> ὕ  
[-----]

Gods. The priest of Amphiaraios is to frequent the sanctuary from when winter has ended until the season of ploughing, not being absent for more than three days, and to remain in the sanctuary for not less than ten days each month. He is to require the keeper of the temple in accordance with the law to look after both the sanctuary and those who come to the sanctuary. If anyone commits an offense in the sanctuary, either

[10] a foreigner or a member of the community, let the priest have power to inflict punishment of up to five drachmas and let him take guarantees from the man who is punished, and if he pays the money let him deposit it into the treasury when the priest is present. The priest is to give judgement if anyone, either a foreigner or a member of the community, is wronged privately in the sanctuary, up to a limit of three drachmas, but let larger cases take place where it is stated in the laws for each. Summons to be issued on the same day in the case of offenses in the sanctuary, but if the defendant does not agree let the case be completed on the following day.

[20] Whoever comes to be cured by the god is to pay a fee of not less than nine obols of good silver and deposit them in the treasury in the presence of the keeper of the temple. (*lacuna*) The priest is to make prayers over the offerings and place them on the altar if he is present; but whenever he is not present the person sacrificing (is to do so) and each is to make his own prayers for himself at the sacrifice, but the priest is to make the prayers at the public sacrifices.

[29] The skin of every animal sacrificed in the sanctuary is to be sacred. Any animal anyone wishes may be sacrificed, but there is to be no taking meat outside the boundary of the sanctuary. Those who sacrifice are to give to the priest the shoulder of each sacrificial animal, except on the occasion of the festival; on that occasion let him receive the shoulder of each of the victims at the public sacrifices.

[36] Whoever needs to incubate in the sanctuary [-----] -----] obeying the laws. The keeper of the temple is to record the name of whoever incubates when he deposits the money, his personal name, and the name of his city, and display it in the sanctuary, writing it on a board for whoever wants to look. Men and women are to sleep separately in the dormitory, men in the part east of the altar and women in the part west [-----] those incubating in the dormitory [-----] (Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 129)

Edition(s): *IG 7 235*; Petrakos 1997, no. 277; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 128–34, no. 27

Cf. Chapter: 4.3, City authority and/or sanctuary authority; 4.3.a, General Restrictions, Date: Sanctuary "Days"

2. Description: Decree concerning the repair and recasting of metal dedications.

Date: late third century B.C.E.

Μέλανος προσώπιον, ὀγκὴ ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ, Βοΐσκου  
πρόσωπον, ὀγκὴ ΓΓΓΓΓ, Φιλίας τιτθός, ὀγκὴ ΓΓΓΓΓ,  
[70] Ἀρσίνου αἰδοῖον, ὀγκὴ ΓΓ, Καλλιμάχης ὀφιδ[ιο]ν, ὀγκὴ Γ,  
[Γ]ππωνος αἰδοῖον, ὀγκὴ ΓΓΓΓ, Εὐφροσύνης τιτθός, ὀγκὴ ΓΓ,  
Φαττίου χεῖρ, ὀγκὴ ΓΓΓΓ,...

from Melas a face, weight 29 drachmas, from Boiskos  
a face, weight 9 dr., from Philia a breast, weight 9 dr.,  
[70] from Arsinos a genital organ, weight 6 dr., from Kallimache a small snake,  
weight 5 dr.,  
from Hippon a genital organ, weight 4 dr., from Euphrosyne a breast, weight 6 dr.,  
from Phattios a hand, weight 4 dr....

Edition(s): *IG* 7 303, lines 68–72; Petrakos 1997, no. 324

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Amphiaraios

### **Pantikapaion, Bosphoros**

1. Description: Dedication by Stratokles on behalf of Deinostratos to Apollo Iatros

Date: 389–348 B.C.E.

Στρατοκλῆς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ  
Δεινοστράτο ἱερησαμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι  
ἀνέθηκεν Λεύκωνος ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρο  
καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων,  
[5] Τορετέων, Δανδαρίων, Ψησσῶν.

Stratokles, on behalf of his father Deinostratos,  
dedicated this to Apollo Iatros after  
he had been priest when Leukon was archon in the Bosphoros  
and in Theudosia and when he was ruling over the Sindoi,  
[5] Toretetes, Dandarioi, Psessois.

Edition(s): Gavrilov 2004, 343, no. 6

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo; 5.4, The Sanctuary

### Pergamon, Mysia

#### 1. Description: Regulation of a cult to Athena Nikephoros

Date: after 133 B.C.E.

Διονύσιος Μηνοφίλ[ου]

ιερονομήσα[ντε]ς {ιερονομήσας} τῶι δήμ[ωι].

ἀγνευέτωσαν δὲ καὶ εἰσίτωσαν εἰς τὸν τῆς θεο[ῦ ναὸν]

οἱ τε πολῖται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἰδίας γ[υναι]-

[5] κὸς καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς αὐθήμερον, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀλλοτρίας κ[αὶ]

ἀλλοτρίου δευτεραῖοι λουσάμενοι, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ

κῆδους καὶ τεκούσης γυναικὸς δευτεραῖο<ι>. ἀπὸ δὲ τάφου

καὶ ἐκφορᾶ[ς] περιρα<ν>άμενοι καὶ διελθόντες τὴν πύλην, κα-

θ' ἦν τὰ ἀγιστήρια τίθεται, καθαροὶ ἔστωσαν αὐθήμερον.

{*vacat*}

[10] ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· γνώμη στρατηγῶν· τὰ μὲν

ἄλλα περὶ τῶν θυόν[των τ]ῆι Νικηφόρῳ Ἀθηνᾶι γίνεσθαι κατὰ

[τὰ προγεγραμμένα(?) — — — — — — — — — —]...Π[—].

[— — — — — — — — — —]

[...] καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν [θ]ησαυρὸν ἐμβαλλομένων εὐχ[αριστηρί]-

[ων σ]κέλος δεξιὸν καὶ τὸ δέρμα. τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑῶν ἐκκ[εῖμε]-

[15] [ν]ον τετρώβολον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερείων {2 ob.+} ἐμβ[άλ]-

λιν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν, καθάπερ διατέτακται. εἶναι δ[ὲ τὸ]

ψήφισμα κύριον διὰ παντός, ἐὰ<μ> μὴ τι ἄλλο δόξῃ.

{*vacat*}

[18] ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι <δ>ήμωι· γνώμη στρατηγῶ[ν· ἐπει]-

δὴ πρότερον ἦν εἰθισμένον τοὺς θύοντας τῇ Νικηφόρῳ[ι Ἀ]-

[20] θηνᾶι μετὰ τῶν διατεταγμένων τῇ θεᾷ γερῶν διδ[όναι]

κα[ὶ] ἄλλοις τισὶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διατριβόντων πλείο-

να τρίπλευρα, δεδόχ<θ>αι· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοὺς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τασ-

σομένους ἱερον[ό]μους παραλαμβάνοντας τὰ τιθέμενα δέρ-

[μ]ατα ὑπὸ τῶν θυόντων καὶ πωλοῦντας διδόναι νεωκόρῳ

[25] [ὑ]δὸς μὲν {2 ob.}, προβάτου δὲ ἡμιωβέλιον, αὐλητρίδι καὶ ὀλο-

λυκτρίαι κοινῇ τὸ ἴσον, τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκρῃ θυομένων καὶ πυλω-

ρῶι τῆς ἄκρας βοδὸς μὲν {pars oboli?}, προβάτου δὲ {pars oboli?}, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

τῆς τιμῆς κατατάσσειν εἰς τὰς ἱεράς προσόδους. εἶναι δὲ τὸ

ψήφισμα κύριον διὰ παντός, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἄλλο δόξῃ.

Dionysius son of Menophilus

former *hieronomos* for the people.

Citizens and all other people who enter the temple of the female god shall be pure, having washed themselves clean from their own wife or their own husband for one day, or from another woman or another man for two days; similarly from a corpse or from a woman in labor for two days. But those who have cleansed themselves from a funeral and carrying out of the corpse and have passed back through the gate where the means of purification are placed shall be cleansed on the same day.

It was decided by the council and people, on the proposal of the chief magistrates: in general the arrangements for those sacrificing to Nikephoros Athena shall continue in accordance with the law, but in addition to the existing portions set aside for the female god and to the money placed in the collection box, they shall also deposit the right leg and the skin of each sacrificial animal. They shall place in the collection box the posted four obols for pigs and two and a half obols for other sacrificial animals, as is prescribed in writing. The decree shall be valid in perpetuity, unless another decree supersedes it.

It was decided by the council and people, on the proposal of the chief magistrates: since it has been customary that those sacrificing to Nikephoros Athena should give, together with the prescribed portions for the female god, also to some others of those who deal with the sanctuary more than a triple portion, it was decided: that with immediate effect the annually appointed *hieronomoi* shall take the skins deposited by those offering sacrifices, sell them, and give to the temple warden two obols for a pig and a half obol for a sheep, and shall give the same jointly to the (female) shawm-player and the (female) lamenter. Of what is sacrificed on the akropolis the *hieronomoi* shall give also to the gatekeeper of the akropolis a drachma for an ox, and a drachma for a sheep. The rest of the profit shall be attributed to the sacred revenues. The decree shall be valid in perpetuity, unless another decree supersedes it. (Price 1999, 176–77)

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1955, 36–9, no. 12

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death; 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Feminine Related Activities and States

## Ptolemaïs, Egypt

### 1. Description: Cult regulation

Date: first century B.C.E.

τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὸ [ἱερόν]  
ἀγνεύειν κατὰ ὑποκε[ίμενα].  
ἀπὸ πάθους ἰδίου καὶ [ἀλλοτρίου]  
ἡμέρας ζ', ἀπ' ἀπαλλ[αγῆς — — —]

[5] ἀπ' ἐκτροσμοῦ συν[— — — — —]  
 τετοκυίας καὶ τρεφούσης [— — —]  
 καὶ ἐὰν ἐχθῆ ἰδ'· τοὺς δὲ ἄ[νδρας]  
 [ἀ]πὸ γυναικὸς β', τὰς δὲ γ[υναῖκας]  
 ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἀνδρά[σιν].  
 [10] ἀ<π'> ἐκτροσμοῦ μ' [— — — — —]  
 τὴν δὲ τεκοῦσαν καὶ τρέ[φουσαν — —]  
 [ἐ]ὰν δὲ ἐχθῆ τὸ βρέφος [— — — — —]  
 ἀπὸ καταμηγίων ζ' [— — — — —]  
 ἀνδρὸς β', μυρσίνην δὲ [— — — — —]

Those going into the shrine  
 shall purify according to established customs:  
 from one's own and another's condition  
 seven days, from death...  
 [5] from abortion...  
 having given birth and reared  
 and if they exposed their own... And men  
 from women, two days. And women  
 correspondingly from men.  
 [10] From abortion, forty days...  
 she who gave birth and reared...  
 if they exposed a child...  
 from menstruation, 7 days ...  
 men, two days, and a wreath of myrtle...

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1962, 201–2, no. 119

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse;  
 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Death

### **Rhamnous. Sanctuary of Nemesis**

1. Description: Bronze helmet dedicated by the Rhamnousians in Lemnos

Date: ca. 475–450? B.C.E.

Ῥαμνόςιοι ἡοὶ ἐν Λέμνῳ[τὶ ἀ]νέ[θεσαν Νεμ]έσει.

The Rhamnousians in Lemnos dedicated (this) to Nemesis

Edition(s): *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 522bis

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the artifact, see Appendix C: Rhamnous. Sanctuary of Nemesis

**Tegea, Arcadia**

1. Description: Regulation related to a purity ritual.

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

...μηδὲ] τὸν ἄρσενά, [εἴ τις ἄν] ἦι [π]ὸς θηλέαι,

...Nor a male, if he may go to a female.

Edition(s): Sokolowski 1962, 69–70, no. 31.6

Cf. Chapter: 4.3.b, Targeted Restrictions, State of Purity, Sexual Intercourse



## APPENDIX C: Archaeological Material

Appendix C lists the archaeological material discussed in this study. It is organized alphabetically by city. More specific spatial references are provided whenever possible. If the name of the ancient city is not known, the nearest modern city is provided in quotation marks. After the city, the sanctuary is listed. If more than one sanctuary is discussed in the main body of this dissertation, the sanctuaries are organized alphabetically by deity or hero. Within these groups, there is a numbered entry for each dedication or group of dedications (e.g., weapons or jewelry). Each entry also includes a date (if available), select bibliography, and a reference to the relevant chapter(s) and section(s) in the main text

### "Aegina Kolonna," Aegina. Sanctuary of Apollo

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: Geometric period

Bibliography: Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 38, no. 30, pl. 2; 50, nos. 207 and 208, pl. 7; 56, no. 297, pl. 10; 83, no. 1035, pl. 31; 92–3, nos. 1211, 1217, 1231, and 1231A, pls. 35–7; 95, no. 1275, pl. 37; 118, no. 1589, pl. 49

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### Argos. (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera

1. Dedication(s): Terracotta building model

Date: first quarter of the seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Schattner 1990, 22–6, no. 1, figs 1 and 2; Baumbach 2004, 89–90, fig. 4.36

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible

2. Dedication(s): Life-sized *phalara*, a spearbutt, and a stone arrowhead

Date: before the fifth century B.C.E. (probably eighth–sixth century B.C.E.)

Bibliography: Waldstein 1902, 2:299, nos. 2258–2261, pl. 127; 323–24, no. 2712, pl. 133; 354; Simon 1986, 235, 238, and 246

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

3. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shields

Date: before the fifth century B.C.E. (probably eighth–sixth century B.C.E.)

Bibliography: Waldstein 1902, 2:267–69, nos. 1600–1718b, pls. 99–101 and 137; Simon 1986, 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

#### **(Near) Athens**

2. Dedication(s?): White-ground double-disk attributed to the Penthesilea Painter.

Date: ca. 460–450 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Mertens 2006, 220–21, no. 61, figs. 61.1 and 61.2

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

#### **Agora, Athens.**

1. Dedication(s): Small fragmentary plaque dedicated by Athenagora to Aphrodite

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Meritt 1941, 60, no. 24; Van Straten 1981, 115, no. 4.1

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Aphrodite

#### **Agora, Athens. City Eleusinion**

1. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta shields

Date: seventh century B.C.E. (one example) and 710–610 B.C.E. (two examples)

Bibliography: Miles 1998, 17, 19–20, 109, and 110.

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

#### **Akropolis, Athens.**

1. Dedication(s): *Kore* dedicated by Naulochos to Poseidon

Date: 480–475 B.C.E. (?)

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1949, 261–62, no. 229; Keesling 2003, 110–14

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 5.3, The Dedication; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Akropolis, Athens

2. Dedication(s): Altar and statue dedicated by the Athenians to Athena Hygieia

Date: after 430 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1949, 185–88, no. 166; Hurwit 2004, 192–94; Greco 2010, 1:91–2, fig. 20.

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Athena; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Akropolis, Athens

3. Dedication(s): Monument dedicated by Pythodoros to Aphrodite

Date: ca. 475 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1949, 318–20, no. 296

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Akropolis, Athens

4. Dedication(s): Traces of fourteen shields dedicated by Alexander the Great that were once affixed to the east architrave of the Parthenon

Date: 334 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Andrews 1902, 30–2; Hurwit 2004, 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

5. Dedication(s): Life-sized helmets, shields, spearheads and butts, arrowheads, and swords

Date: eighth–fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: De Ridder 1896, 89–90, nos. 252–254; 92, no. 263; 94–104, nos. 266–309, figs. 61–68; 104–5, nos. 310–315, figs. 69 and 70; 105–6, nos. 316–318; Keramopoullos 1915, 28–9, figs. 27 and 29; Simon 1986, 235, 239, 248, and 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

6. Dedication(s): Miniature shields

Date: mid sixth century–ca. 460 B.C.E.

Bibliography: De Ridder 1896, 92–3, nos. 263a–265; Gräf et al. 1925–1933, 1:241–42, nos. 2484–2492, pl. 100; 2:96–7, nos. 1069, 1070, and 1072, pl. 83; Simon 1986, 241 and 244

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

7. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shield dedicated by Phrygia the Bread Seller

Date: ca. 500 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Bather 1892–1893, 128, no. 60; De Ridder 1896, 92–3, no. 264, fig. 60

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Akropolis, Athens.

8. Dedication(s): Monument dedicated by Diophanes on behalf of his child

Date: after 480 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1949, 303, no. 283

Cf. Chapter: 4.5, Familial Obligations: Inherited Vows; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Akropolis, Athens

**(North Slope of the) Akropolis, Athens. Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros**

1. Dedication(s): Relief showing male genitals and a fragmentary relief depicting part of a vulva

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Broneer 1935, 140–41, nos. 13 and 14, figs. 30 and 31; Van Straten 1981, 115, nos. 4.2 and 4.3; Forsén 1996, 57, nos. 4.1 and 4.2, figs. 45 and 46

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Aphrodite

2. Dedication(s): An erect marble phallus

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Broneer 1933, 346, fig. 18; Van Straten 1981, 115, no. 4.4

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Aphrodite

**(West Slope of the) Akropolis, Athens. Sanctuary of Amynos**

1. Dedication(s): Reliefs showing male genitals and a set of ears

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Körte 1893, 242, nos. 7 and 8, figs. 4 and 5; Traulos 1980, 76–8, fig. 101; Van Straten 1981, 113, no. 2.2, and 114, no. 2.4; Forsén 1996, 54–6, nos. 2.1 and 2.3, figs. 40 and 42

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Amynos

2. Dedication(s): Two fingers

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Körte 1893, 242–43, nos. 11 and 12; Van Straten 1981, 114, nos. 2.6 and 2.7

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Amynos

3. Dedication(s): Relief showing a leg and lower body of a woman

Date: fourth–third century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Körte 1896, 291, no. 6; Van Straten 1981, 114, no. 2.5; Forsén 1996, 56, no. 2.4, fig. 43

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Amynos

4. Dedication(s): Relief dedicated by Lysimachides

Date: ca. 340 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Traulos 1980, 76–8, fig. 100; Van Straten 1981, 113, no. 2.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 125–26, no. 19

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Amynos

**Kerameikos, Athens. Sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste**

1. Dedication(s): A fragmentary marble relief showing breasts dedicated by Hippostrate

Date: third century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Philadelphus 1927, 159, no. 3, fig. 3; Traulos 1980, 301–2 and 322, fig. 424; Van Straten 1981, 116, no. 5.1; Forsén 1996, 57–8, no. 5.1, fig. 47

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Artemis

2. Dedication(s): Two reliefs representing vulvae

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Philadelphus 1927, 160, nos. 5 and 6, fig. 4; Traulos 1980, 301–2 and 322, fig. 424; Van Straten 1981, 116, nos. 5.2 and 5.3; Forsén 1996, 58, nos. 5.2 and 5.3, figs. 48 and 49

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing, Artemis

**Pnyx, Athens.**

1. Dedication(s): Loom weight bearing an inscription, "HEPAKLHE"

Date: ca. 420 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Davidson et. al., 1943, 82, fig. 33, and 87, no. 85

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Herakles

### **Athens. Sanctuary of Asklepios**

1. Dedication(s): Marble reliefs in the form of eyes, ears, torsos, breasts, vulvas, legs, and feet

Date: fourth century B.C.E–third century C.E.

Bibliography: Van Straten 1981, 106–8, nos. 1.4–24; Forsén 1996, 31–54, nos. 1.1–1.49, figs. 3–39; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 226–27, no. 97; 229–30, no. 101; 230, no. 102

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

2. Dedication(s): Relief of a woman kneeling before Herakles

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Walter 1923, 61–2, no. 108; Van Straten 1981, 106, no. 1.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 215–16, no. 82

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Herakles

3. Dedication(s): Relief dedicated by Antimedon son of Hegemon to Asklepios

Date: late fifth–early fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Svoronos 1908, 1:260–61, 38, (Inv. No. 1341), pl. 34; Kaltsas 2002, 140, no. 267

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

### **Axos, Crete. Sanctuary of Aphrodite**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized versions of spears, breastplates, helmets, and *mitres*

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Levi 1930–1931, 58–70, figs. 13–27; Simon 1986, 235, 250, and 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Aphrodite

### **"Cape Kolonna," Samos. (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera**

1. Dedication(s): Terracotta building models

Date: eighth–sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Schattner 1990, 40–85, nos. 10–43, figs. 11–41; 97, no. 52, fig. 45; Baumbach 2004, 160, figs. 6.28 and 6.29

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible

2. Dedication(s): Life-sized *phalara* and a bronze shield

Date: ca. 620 B.C.E. (*phalara*) and third to the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.E. (shield)

Bibliography: Kopcke 1968, 285, no. 103, pl. 114, no. 2; Jantzen 1972, 60, no. B1228, pl. 57; Simon 1986, 246 and 248

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

3. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta and bronze shields

Date: ninth–seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Technau 1929, 15, pl. 7, no. 6; 24, fig. 18; Eilmann 1933, 118–25; Walter and Vierneisel 1959, 32, pl. 74, nos. 2 and 3; Kopcke 1968, 286, nos. 104 and 105, pl. 115, nos. 1 and 2; Jantzen 1972, 60, no. B 368; Furtwängler 1981, 99–100, fig. 11, and 136, no. II/3, pl. 24, no. 2; Brize 1997, 132–34, figs. 16–19; Simon 1986, 240 and 242

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

### **Corinth. Sanctuary of Asklepios**

1. Dedication(s): Terracotta body parts in the form of eyes, ears, a tongue, a plait of hair, arms, hands, fingers, torsos, breasts, legs, feet, genitalia, heads, a thigh bone, and a possible stomach or uterus

Date: last quarter of the fifth–last quarter of the fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: De Waele 1933, 441–445, fig. 4; Roebuck 1951, 114–28, nos. 1–118, pls. 29–46 and 65; Van Straten 1981, 123–24, nos. 15.1–15.118; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 123–25, nos. 17 and 18; 217, no. 84; 220–21, nos. 89 and 90; 224, no. 94; 226, no. 96; 227–28, no. 98; 233–34, no. 106; 242–43, no. 115

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible



### **Corinth. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore**

1. Dedication(s): Figurines of a votary carrying piglet

Date: early Hellenistic period

Bibliography: Merker 2000, 117–24 and 202–4, nos. H1–H22, pls. 24 and 25; Merker 2003, 238, fig. 14.12

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

2. Dedication(s): Figurines of a priestess or Demeter carrying a piglet and torch

Date: third century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Merker 2000, 250–55 and 259–61, nos. H395–H411, pls. 56 and 57; Merker 2003, 238, fig. 14.13

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

3. Dedication(s): Fragment of a miniature terracotta shield

Date: fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Merker 2000, 271 and 279, pl. 62, no. V18

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

### **Corinth. Hero and stele shrines**

1. Dedication(s): Handmade horse-rider figurines

Date: last quarter of the seventh–mid fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Stillwell 1952, 163–76, pls. 35–39; Merker 2003, 235, fig. 14.5

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

2. Dedication(s): Handmade bird figurines

Date: sixth–fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Stillwell 1952, 184–86, pls. 41 and 42

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

3. Dedication(s): Goddess figurines with moldmade heads and applied necklaces

Date: middle of the seventh–early fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Stillwell 1952, 55–79, pls. 8–14; Merker 2003, 237–38, fig. 14.9

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

4. Dedication(s): Moldmade banqueters

Date: late sixth century B.C.E.–Hellenistic period

Bibliography: Stillwell 1952, 104–12, pls. 18–23; Merker 2003, 237–38, fig. 14.10

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

5. Dedication(s): Standing *korai* figurines wearing *poloi* and holding various attributes

Date: late sixth or early fifth–fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Stillwell 1952, 84–94, pls. 14–17; Merker 2003, 237–38, fig. 14.11

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

### **Cyrene. Artemision in the Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized spears and arrowheads

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Pernier 1931, 195–96, fig. 21, and 197, no. 17; Simon 1986, 237 and 240

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

### **(Near) Damos, Kalymnos. Sanctuary of Apollo Delios**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: late Geometric period

Bibliography: Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 15; 82, no. 1018, pl. 30; 87, nos. 1143 and 1144, pl. 33; 96, no. 1337, pl. 38; 101, no. 1456, pl. 41; 108, no. 1514, pl. 46.

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

**Daphni. Sanctuary of Aphrodite**

1. Dedication(s): Reliefs depicting vulvae

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Traulos 1937, 31–2, figs. 8–10; Van Straten 1981, 120–21, nos. 11.1–11.8; Forsén 1996, 78–82, nos. 11.1–11.9, figs. 78–82

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing

**Delos. Before the Prytaneion in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Altar of Athena and Apollo Paion

Date: ca. 400–350 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Etienne and Fraisse 1988, 752, fig. 10

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Apollo; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Delos. Before the Prytaneion in the Hieron of Apollo

**Delos. Temple of Artemis in the Hieron of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads (or spear points)

Date: second half of the eighth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947, 233–35, no. 82, figs. 27 and 28

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

2. Dedication(s): Miniature shield

Date: second half of the eighth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947, 233, no. 81, pl. 40, no. 3; Simon 1986, 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

### **Delphi. Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Spindle whorls and loom weights

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 197–200, nos. 598–618 and 626, figs. 871–884; 207, no. 693, fig. 902; Simon 1986, 237 and 265

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

2. Dedication(s): Hair spirals, necklaces, and bracelets

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 108–110, nos. 548–566, figs. 374–383

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

3. Dedication(s): Fibulae and pins

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 110–116, nos. 568–603 and 607–612, figs. 384–409 and 412–415; 212, no. 731, fig. 927; Simon 1986, 189 and 197

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

4. Dedication(s): Mirror

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 108–109, no. 547, fig. 373

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### **Delphi. Sanctuary of Athena Pronoia (Marmaria)**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized helmet, the nose guard of a helmet, and *phalara*

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 101, no. 499, fig. 347*bis*; 102, no. 512*bis*, fig. 351*bis*; Fellmann 1984, 83, no. 12, fig. 23, pl. 44.6

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature shields

Date: Geometric–Roman period

Bibliography: Perdrizet 1908, 122, no. 659–61, figs. 450–52

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Didyma. Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Mirror

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Naumann and Tuchelt 1963/1964, 56, no. 58, pl. 31.1; Simon 1986, 218

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### **Dodona. Sanctuary of Zeus and Dione**

1. Dedication(s): Bronze mirror dedicated by Polyxena to Zeus

Date: fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Carapanos 1878, 45, pl. 25, no. 1; Simon 1986, 219

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Dodona, Sanctuary of Zeus and Dione

2. Dedication(s): Necklaces, bracelets, rings, and earrings

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Carapanos 1878, 93, pl. 50, nos. 1–4 and 19; 94, pl. 50, nos. 6, 7, and 9; 94, pl. 50, nos. 11 and 12

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

3. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Carapanos 1878, 94, pl. 50, nos. 10, 22, and 23; 94–95, pl. 51, nos. 1 and 3–9; Simon 1986, 189

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

4. Dedication(s): Life-sized helmets, bows, swords, spears, and arrowheads

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Carapanos 1878, 101, pl. 55, nos. 1–6, and pl. 56, nos. 6–10; 102, pl. 56, nos. 1–5 and 1bis; 102 and 109, pl. 57, nos. 1–3 and 5; 102 and 109–110, pl. 57, nos. 7–12, and pl. 58, nos. 1–12 and 16–18; 110, pl. 58, nos. 13–15; Simon 1986, 236

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

### **Eleusis. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore**

1. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta shields

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Wolters 1899, 120, footnote 12; Simon 1986, 242

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

### **Emporio, Chios. Harbor Sanctuary**

1. Dedication(s): Bronze belts

Date: late eighth–seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 214–21, nos. 275–349, pls. 87–91

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

2. Dedication(s): Fishing hooks

Date: ca. 700–620 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 226, fig. 147, nos. 395 and 396, pl. 93

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

3. Dedication(s): Phrygian cauldron

Date: ca. 645 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 224, fig. 146, no. 383, pl. 91

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

4. Dedication(s): Cypriot terracotta figurines

Date: ca. 630–600 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 199, nos. 89–100, pl. 79

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

5. Dedication(s): Cilician (?) seal

Date: ca. 700–675 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 237, fig. 160, no. 536, pl. 95

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

6. Dedication(s): Egyptian faience

Date: ca. 620 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 241, no. 579, pl. 95

Cf. Chapter: 2.3, Explanation 2: Deities are Flexible

**Emporio, Chios. Sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads, spearheads, and blades

Date: ca. 700–520 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 226–27, nos. 399–406, fig. 148, pl. 93; 229–31, nos. 443–460 and 471, figs. 151–152; Simon 1986, 237

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta shields

Date: ca. 690–580 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 232–33, nos. 483–496, fig. 153, pl. 94; Simon 1986, 240

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Ephesos. Sanctuary of Artemis**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized spears, arrowheads, blade fragments, and a sword blade

Date: probably seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Hogarth 1908, 153–54, no. 6, pl. 16; Simon 1986, 234 and 237

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

2. Dedication(s): Bronze crest of a miniature helmet and miniature shields in bronze and silver

Date: no later than 350 B.C.E. (helmet) and seventh century B.C.E. (shields)

Bibliography: Hogarth 1908, 113, no. 7, pl. 10; 115, no. 23, pl. 9; 118, nos. 31 and 40, pl. 11; 322; Simon 1986, 245 and 249

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

### **Epidauros. Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas**

1. Dedication(s): Rings

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Lamprinouidakēs 1978, 41

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

2. Dedication(s): Mirror

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Lamprinouidakēs 1978, 41; Simon 1986, 218



Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### **Epidauros. Sanctuary of Asklepios**

1. Dedication(s): Altar of Hera

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Lamprinouidakēs 1991, 71, pl. 27β

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Epidauros. Sanctuary of Asklepios

### **Francavilla-Marittima, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized helmets and shields

Date: ca. 530–520 B.C.E

Bibliography: Stoop 1980, 172–75, 185–186, figs. 23, 24, 26, and 28–30; Simon 1986, 245, 249, and 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena.

2. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shield and bronze helmet crest

Date: Archaic period (shield) and third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. (?) (helmet crest)

Bibliography: Stoop 1980, 173–75, 185, figs. 25<sup>301</sup> and 27; Simon 1986, 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena.

### **Mount Ida, Crete. Cave of Zeus**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: Protogeometric–Geometric period (?)

Bibliography: Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 113, no. 1542, pl. 47; Simon 1986, 196

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

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<sup>301</sup> The item is a miniature crest of a helmet and may have been part of a statuette.

### **Isthmia. Sanctuary of Poseidon**

1. Dedications: Rings, earrings, and anklets

Date: Protogeometric–Byzantine period

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 61–9 and 70, nos. 224–247A, 248–260, and nos. 267 A and B, pls. 38–41

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

2. Dedication(s): Bronze comb or scraper

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 115, no. 399, pl. 63

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

3. Dedication(s): Lead spinning whorl, lead loom weights, and iron and bronze spindle hooks

Date: Archaic period (whorl), third century B.C.E. (loom weights), uncertain (spindle hooks)

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 116, nos. 401–403 and 405–405A, pl. 63

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

4. Dedication(s): Bronze thimbles and bronze and iron needles

Date: Classical period (415–418), Byzantine period (414), and uncertain (413 and 419)

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 117, nos. 413–419, pls. 64–65

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

5. Dedication(s): Bronze mirror handles

Date: probably fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 115, nos. 396–397, pl. 62

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

6. Dedication(s): Pins and fibulae

Date: Protogeometric–Byzantine period

Bibliography: Raubitschek 1998, 44–54, nos. 177A–196 and nos. 197–208, pls. 34–37

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Poseidon

**Kamiroi, Rhodes. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads

Date: seventh–sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Jacopi 1932, 335, fig. 81; 347–48, nos. 31–36; Simon 1986, 234 and 238

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shield

Date: seventh–sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Jacopi 1932, 337, fig. 83; 356, no. 66; Simon 1986, 243

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

**Klopède, Lesbos. Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: late Geometric–early Archaic period

Bibliography: Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 24; 83, no. 1026, pl. 31; 89, no. 1181, pl. 34; 91, no. 1205, pl. 34

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

**Knossos, Crete. Sanctuary of Demeter**

1. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shields (?)

Date: fourth–third century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Coldstream 1973, 143–45, nos. 98–114, fig. 33, pl. 89; Simon 1986, 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

2. Dedication(s): Ring dedicated by Nothokartes

Date: second half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Coldstream 1973, 131–32, no. 14, fig. 29, pl. 83

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Knossos, Crete. Sanctuary of Demeter

### **Kourion, Cyprus. Sanctuary of Apollo**

1. Dedication(s): Mirrors

Date: seventh–sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Simon 1986, 218

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### **Leukas, Leukas. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze helmet plume

Date: first half of the sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Preuner 1902, 363; Simon 1986, 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Lindos, Rhodes. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized helmets, cuirasses, greaves, shields, swords, spearheads, and arrowheads

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, 186–96, nos. 566–612, pls. 22 and 23; Simon 1986, 234 and 249

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze shields

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, 391–92, nos. 1564–1566b, pl. 63; Simon 1986, 238 and 243

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone**

1. Dedication(s): Helmet dedicated by Xenai(des?)

Date: 500–480 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Simon 1986, 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone

2. Dedication(s): Helmet dedicated by Phrasiades

Date: 500–480 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Carpenter 1945, 455, fig. 2

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Persephone

### **Mt. Lykaion, Arkadia. Sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios**

1. Dedication(s): Bronze statuettes of shepherds and peasants with hats and cloaks pinned at the neck with a large pin

Date: late seventh or early sixth–fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Lamb 1925/1926, 134 and 138–39, nos. 13–16, pl. 24

Cf. Chapter: 3.4, Conclusions

### **Mesembria, Thrace. Sanctuary of Demeter**

1. Dedication(s): Bronze, silver, and gold *typoi* representing sets of eyes, some with noses, and a right arm

Date: fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Vavritsa 1973, 77–81, pl. 93 b, nos. 1–5, and pl. 95 a and b; Van Straten 1981, 127, nos. 22.1–12

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.a, A Survey of Deities and Heroes who Engaged in Healing

### **Nemea, Sanctuary of Zeus**

1. Dedication(s): Iron and bronze pins (including one of the "Illyrian" type) and fibulae

Date: probably late Archaic period and third–second century B.C.E. (fibulae), third quarter of the fifth century B.C.E. (bronze pins), latter part of the third century B.C.E. (iron pins)

Bibliography: Miller 1976, 191, nos. IL 25 and 26, pl. 37d; Miller 1980, 179, no. BR 691, pl. 35b; Miller 1981, 51–2, no. GJ 67, pl. 14i; Miller 1981, 54–5, nos. GJ 47 and GJ 48, pl. 16e; Miller 1984, 176, no. GJ 99, pl. 34c

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

2. Dedication(s): Bronze rings with bezels bearing images: one with a Pegasus and another with two heraldic sphinxes crowned by two heraldic goats

Date: last quarter of the fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Miller 1981, 50, nos. GJ 61 and GJ 52, pl. 13c and d

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

### **Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus**

1. Dedication(s): Shield armband dedicated by Hermaios to Demeter Chthonia

Date: 475–450 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Philipp 1981, 220, no. 813, pl. 14

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus

2. Dedication(s): Fibulae and pins

Date: tenth century B.C.E.–Roman Imperial period

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 51–6, nos. 342–379, pl. 21–22; 66–8, nos. 474–492, pl. 25

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

3. Dedication(s): Bracelets, neck collars, rings, and earrings

Date: tenth century B.C.E–Roman Imperial period

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 56–8, nos. 380–398, pls. 22 and 23; 58, no. 399, pl. 23; 59–60, pl. 23, nos. 404–409; 184–85, nos. 1155–1162, pl. 66; 185, nos. 1163–1166, pl. 66; 186–89, nos. 1185–1195a; Simon 1986, 189, 192, 195, and 196

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

4. Dedication(s): Mirrors

Date: tenth century B.C.E–Roman Imperial period

Bibliography: Furtwängler 1890, 181; Simon 1986, 219

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

### **Oropos. Sanctuary of Amphiaraos**

1. Dedication(s): Relief dedicated by Archinos

Date: first half of the fourth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Petrakos 1968, 122, pl. 40α; Van Straten 1981, 124–25, no. 16.1; Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2014, 190–93, no. 70.

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.b, Supporting Evidence for Healing Among Deities, Amphiaraos

2. Dedication(s): Fragmentary relief of an *apobates* contest

Date: late fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Svoronos 1908, 2:340–1, no. 88 (Inv. No. 1391), pl. 56; Petrakos 1968, 122, pl. 39; Kaltsas 2002, 139, no. 265.

Cf. Chapter: 2.3.c, Supporting Evidence for the Flexibility of Deities

### **Paestum, Southern Italy. Sanctuary of Hera**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads, swords, and sling bullets

Date: sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Pedley 1990, 88; Cipriani 1997, 217–18, fig. 11; Baumbach 2004, 120–21, fig. 5.29

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

2. Dedication(s): Miniature bronze greaves and terracotta shields

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Pedley 1990, 88; Cipriani 1997, 217–18; Baumbach 2004, 120

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

3. Dedication(s): Silver disk bearing an inscription to Hera

Date: sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Pedley 1990, 50–1 and 53; Cipriani 1997, 217, fig. 9; Baumbach 2004, 119–20, fig. 5.27

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

### **Palaikastro, Crete. Zeus Temple and the Sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: seventh–fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 43, no. 62, pl. 3; 47, no. 150, pl. 5; Simon 1986, 191

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Zeus

### **Perachora. Sanctuary of Hera**

1. Dedication(s): Terracotta figurines of crouching boys

Date: mid fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 254, no. 295, pl. 114; Baumbach 2004, 22–3, fig. 2.23



Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

2. Dedication(s): Fishhooks

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 182, no. 6, pl. 80; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.67

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

3. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta boat

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 97, no. 4, pl. 29; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.66

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

4. Dedication(s): Terracotta statuette of a woman with a flower-decorated ship

Date: second half of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 244, no. 245, pl. 110; Baumbach 2004, 40, fig. 2.65

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities

5. Dedication(s): Bone pipes

Date: second half of the seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Dunbabin 1962, 450–51, nos. A394–432, pl. 190; Baumbach 2004, 29, fig. 2.37

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible

6. Dedication(s): Terracotta building models

Date: end of the ninth–middle of the eighth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 39–40; Schattner 1990, 33–9, nos. 6–9, figs. 6–10; Baumbach 2004, 32–3, figs. 2.46 and 2.47

Cf. Chapter: 2.4, Explanation 3: Dedications are Flexible

7. Dedication(s): Life-sized sword, dagger, separated blades and hilts, spearheads and points, small javelins, arrowheads, sling bullets, and terracotta shields (?)

Date: eighth–sixth century B.C.E. and late seventh–mid sixth century B.C.E.  
(terracotta shields)

Bibliography: Payne 1940, 75, pl. 17, nos. 13–15; 77, pl. 18, no. 21; 181–82, pl. 82, nos. 14–20; 190, pl. 86, nos. 1–8, 24–25, and 28; Dunbabin 1962, 268, pl. 109, nos. 2580–2583; 400, no. 166; 519, pl. 131, F39–41, and pl. 194, F35–37; Simon 1986, 235 and 238; Baumbach 2004, 41

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

### **Phanai, Chios. Sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae

Date: Geometric–Archaic period

Bibliography: Lamb 1934/1935, 147, fig. 6, no. 1; 151–53, pl. 31, nos. 1–30 and 37. Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, 46, no. 132, pl. 5; 47, no. 154, pl. 6; 56–7, nos. 300–310, pls. 10 and 11; 59, nos. 359–361, pl. 12; 72, no. 660, pl. 23; 77, no. 859, pl. 27; 83, nos. 1036–1043, pl. 31; 88, nos. 1169–1177, pl. 33; 95, no. 1276–1284, pl. 37; 96, no. 1289–1291, pl. 37; 102, no. 1462, pl. 42; 121, no. 1596, pl. 50; 122, no. 1606, pl. 50; 124, no. 1628, no. 51; 127, nos. 1659–1662, pls. 52 and 53; 128–29, nos. 1690–1695, pls. 53 and 54; 131, no. 1700, pl. 54; Simon 1986, 187, 191, and 194

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 3.3.c Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

2. Dedication(s): Bracelets or anklets, rings, and earrings

Date: Geometric–Archaic period

Bibliography: Lamb 1934/1935, 149, pl. 31, nos. 31 and 41; 150, pl. 32, nos. 18, 22, 24, 25, and 31–36.

Cf. Chapter: 2.2, Explanation 1: Visiting Deities; 3.3.c Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

### **Pherai, Thessaly. Sanctuary of Artemis Enodia**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized spears, shields, arrowheads, swords, and *phalara*

Date: Geometric–Archaic period and third quarter of the seventh century B.C.E.  
(*phalara*)

Bibliography: Kilian 1975, 212, pl. 88, no. 13; 213, pl. 92, nos. 1–13 and 15–19; 214, pl. 93, nos. 3–10 and 18–22; Fellmann 1984, 95, fig. 28 (left); Simon 1986, 236, 239, 247, and 249

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

### **Rhamnous. Sanctuary of Nemesis**

1. Dedication(s): Bronze helmet dedicated by the Rhamnousians in Lemnos

Date: ca. 475–450 B.C.E.?

Bibliography: Petrakos 1984, 54, figs. 75 and 76; Simon 1986, 251

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Other Goddesses; for the inscription, see Appendix B: Rhamnous. Sanctuary of Nemesis

### **Selinus, Sicily. Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized spears, arrowheads, and shields

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Gàbrici 1927, 363–67, fig. 157 b–f, h and i, fig. 158; Simon 1986, 237, 240, and 249

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Demeter

### **Smyrna, Ionia. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized iron spearheads, an iron helmet, and a bronze plume-knob

Date: seventh–sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Cook 1952, 106; Simon 1986, 234, 237, 249, and 252

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Sounion. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Miniature shields

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Staïs 1917, 207, fig. 18; Simon 1986, 244

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Sparta. Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads and *phalara*

Date: seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Dawkins 1929, 201, pl. 87, h, and pl. 88, g; Fellmann 1984, 88–90, nos. 1–3; Simon 1986, 239 and 247

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

2. Dedication(s): Miniature shields

Date: 425–250 B.C.E.

Bibliography: Dawkins 1929, 279, pl. 200, nos. 24–28; Simon 1986, 246

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Artemis

### **Sparta. Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized relief from a cheek piece of a helmet

Date: seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E. (?)

Bibliography: Woodward et al. 1926/1927, 93–4, fig. 6; Simon 1986, 250

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature breastplate, shield, and helmet

Date: seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E. (?)

Bibliography: Woodward et al. 1926/1927, 91, pl. 8, no. 22; 92, pl. 8, no. 23; 1927/1928, 99–100, fig. 9, no. 56; Simon 1986, 241

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Sparta. Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklæ**

1. Dedication(s): Fibulae and pins

Date: Archaic to Hellenistic period

Bibliography: Von Massow 1927, 36–7, pl. 8, nos. 1, 2, and 4–7

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

2. Dedication(s): Rings

Date: Archaic to Hellenistic period

Bibliography: Von Massow 1927, 37–8

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

3. Dedication(s): Spindle whorls and loom weights

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Von Massow 1927, 38; Simon 1986, 264

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

4. Dedication(s): Caryatid mirror

Date: mid sixth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Congdon 1981, 130–31, no. 7, pl. 5; Simon 1986, 220 and 237

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Apollo

**Sybrita, Crete. Sanctuary of Hermes Kranaeus**

1. Dedication(s): Loom weight bearing an inscription, "Ἀρχαρέστας."

Date: uncertain

Bibliography: Halbherr 1896, 593, no. 77

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Gods, Hermes

**Syracuse, Sicily. Sanctuary of Athena**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized spearhead

Date: seventh century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Orsi 1918, 576, fig. 163; Simon 1986, 237 and 252

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature terracotta and bronze shields

Date: Archaic period

Bibliography: Orsi 1918, 566–67, fig. 156, and 581–82, fig. 170; Simon 1986, 242 and 245

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Tegea, Arcadia. Sanctuary of Athena Alea**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized arrowheads

Date: Geometric–Archaic period

Bibliography: Dugas 1921, 378–79, nos. 178–80, figs. 40 and 41, 389; Simon 1986, 239

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

2. Dedication(s): Miniature shields and the crest of a miniature helmet

Date: Geometric–Archaic period

Bibliography: Dugas 1921, 365, fig. 19, nos. 190 and 192; 382, fig. 42, no. 195; 391–92, nos. 190–192 and 195; 382, fig. 42, no. 181; 389–90, no. 181; Simon 1986, 241, 244, and 250

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Athena

### **Tiryns. Sanctuary of Hera**

1. Dedication(s): Life-sized terracotta shields

Date: end of the eighth century B.C.E.

Bibliography: Lorimer 1950, 170–71, pls. 9 and 10.

Cf. Chapter: 3.3.c, Archaeological Material, Goddesses, Hera

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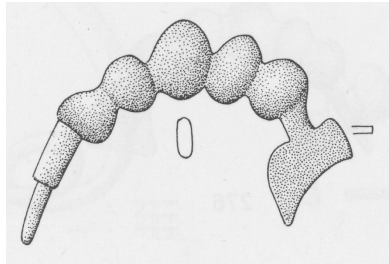
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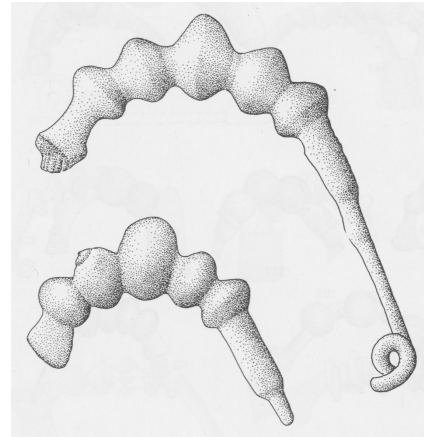
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**Figures**



1.a

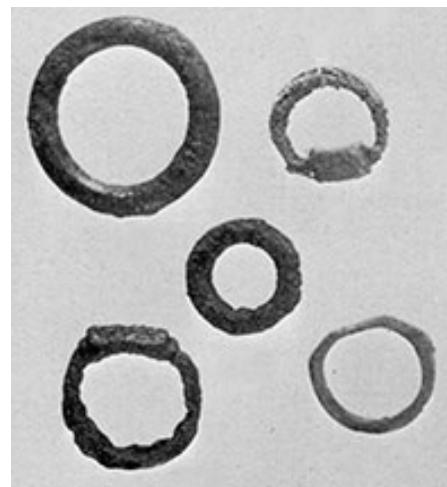


1.b

Figure 1.a–b: Fibulae from the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios at Phanai on Chios (after Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, pl. 10, no. 301; pl. 11, nos. 308 and 309)



2.a



2.b

Figure 2.a–b: Bracelet or anklet and rings from the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios at Phanai on Chios (after Lamb 1934/1935, pl. 31, no. 41; pl. 32, nos. 17, 18, and 23–5)

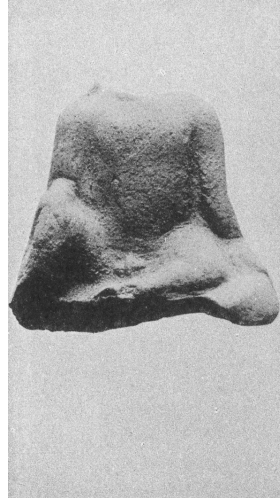


Figure 3: Terracotta crouching boy figurine from the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (after Payne 1940, pl. 114, no. 295)



4.a



4.b



4.c

Figure 4.a–c: Fishhook, miniature terracotta boat, and a terracotta statuette of a woman with a flower-decorated ship from the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (after Payne 1940, pl. 80, no. 6; pl. 29, no. 4; pl. 110, no. 245)



Figure 5: Figurine of a votary carrying a piglet from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (after Merker 2000, pl. 24, no. H10)



Figure 6: Figurine of a priestess or Demeter carrying a piglet and torch from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (after Merker 2000, pl. 56, no. H395)



7.a



7.b

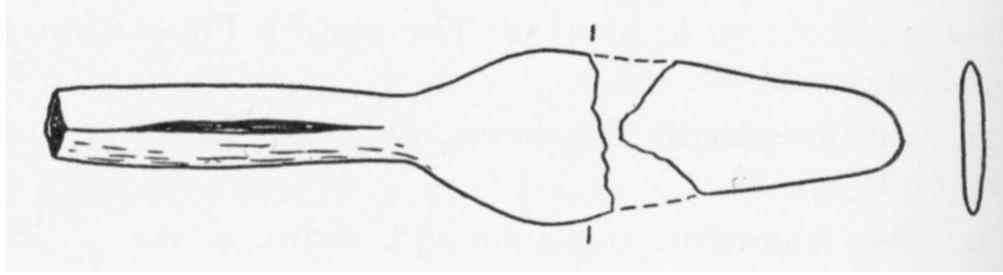


7.c

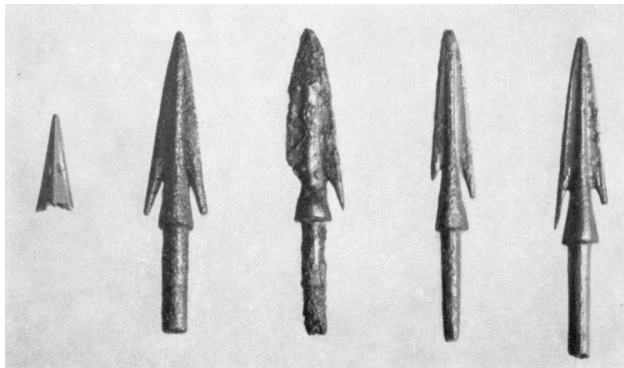


7.d

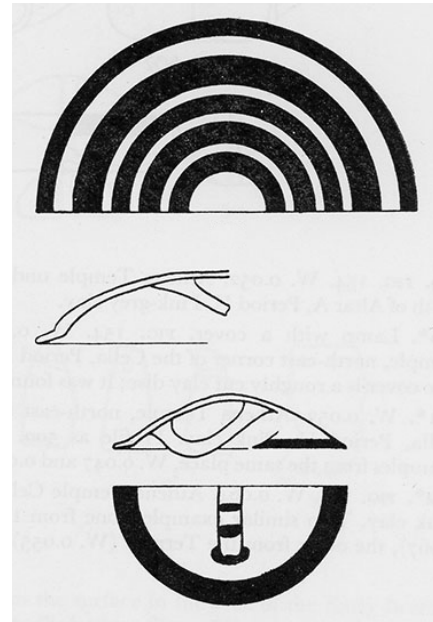
Figure 7.a–d: Handmade horse-rider figurine, goddess figurine with moldmade head and applied necklace, moldmade banqueter, and standing *kore* figurine wearing *poloi* and holding an attribute from Hero and Stele shrines in Corinth (after Merker 2003, 235 and 238, figs. 14.5, 14.9, 14.10, and 14.11)



8.a

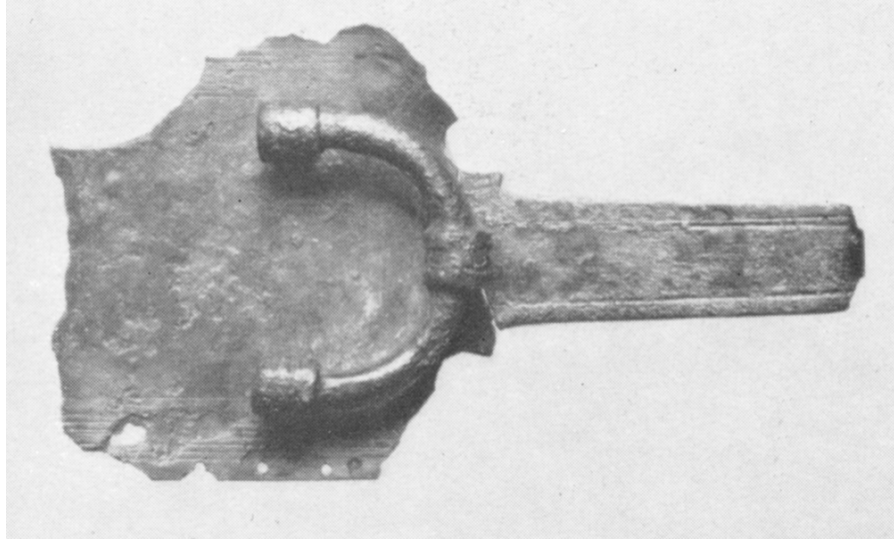


8.b

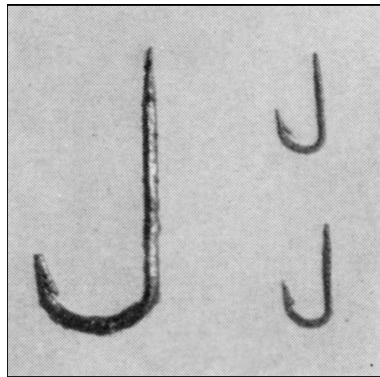


8.c

Figure 8.a–c: Life-sized spearhead, arrowheads, and miniature terracotta shields from the Sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis at Emporio, Chios (after Boardman 1967, 230, fig. 151, no. 466; pl. 93, nos. 399–402 and 405; 233, fig. 153, nos. 488 and 490)



9.a



9.b



9.c

Figure 9.a–c: Bronze belt, fishing hooks, and a Cilician seal from the Harbor Sanctuary at Emporio, Chios (after Boardman 1967, pl. 87, no. 275; pl. 93, nos. 395 and 396; pl. 95, no. 536)

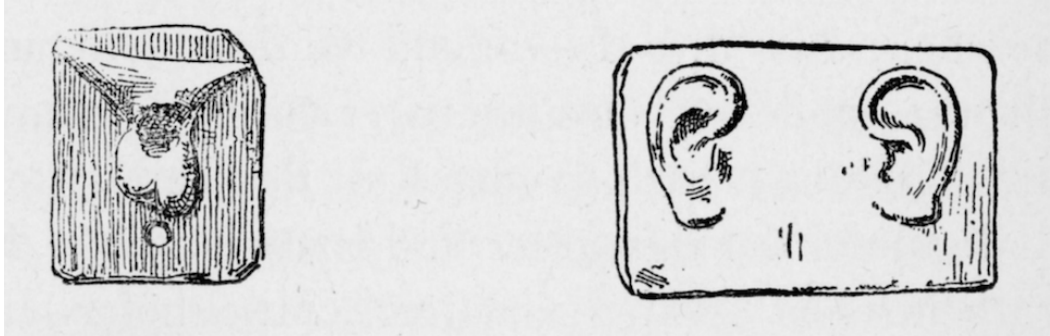


Figure 10: Relief showing male genitals and a set of ears from the sanctuary of Amynos at Athens (after Körte 1893, 242, figs. 4 and 5)



Figure 11: Small fragmentary plaque dedicated by Athenagora to Aphrodite from the Agora at Athens (after Meritt 1941, 60, no. 24)

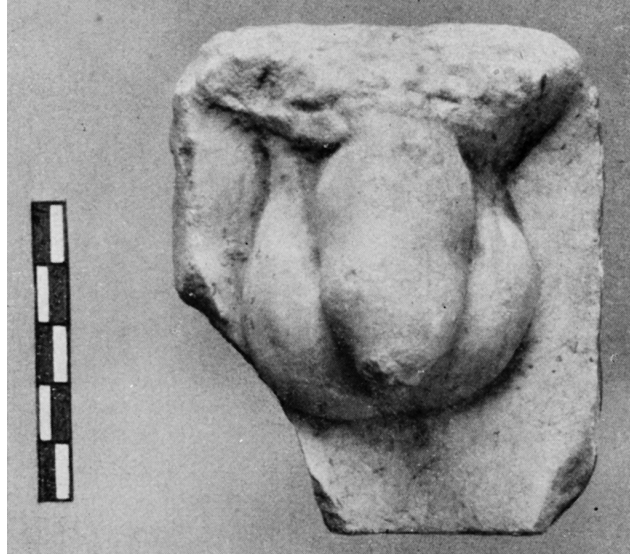


Figure 12: Relief showing male genitals from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the North slope of the Akropolis at Athens (after Broneer 1935, no. 13, 140, fig. 30)



Figure 13: Fragmentary relief depicting part of a vulva from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the North slope of the Akropolis at Athens (after Broneer 1935, 141, no. 14, fig. 31)





Figure 14: An erect marble phallus from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the North slope of the Akropolis at Athens (after Broneer 1933, 346, fig. 18)

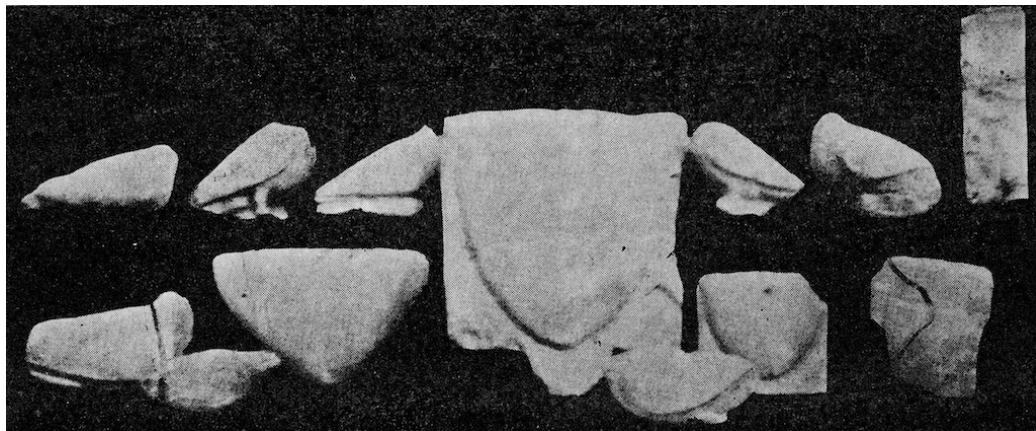


Figure 15: Reliefs depicting vulvae from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni (after Traulos 1937, 32, fig. 10)



Figure 16: Two reliefs representing vulvae and a fragmentary marble relief showing breasts dedicated by Hippostrate from the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste at Athens (after Traulos 1980, 322, fig. 424)



Figure 17: *Typoi* representing sets of eyes, some with noses, from the sanctuary of Demeter at Mesembria (after Vavritsa 1973, pl. 93 b, nos. 1–5)



Figure 18: *Typoi* representing sets of eyes and a right arm from the sanctuary of Demeter at Mesembria (after Vavritsa 1973, pl. 95 a and b)

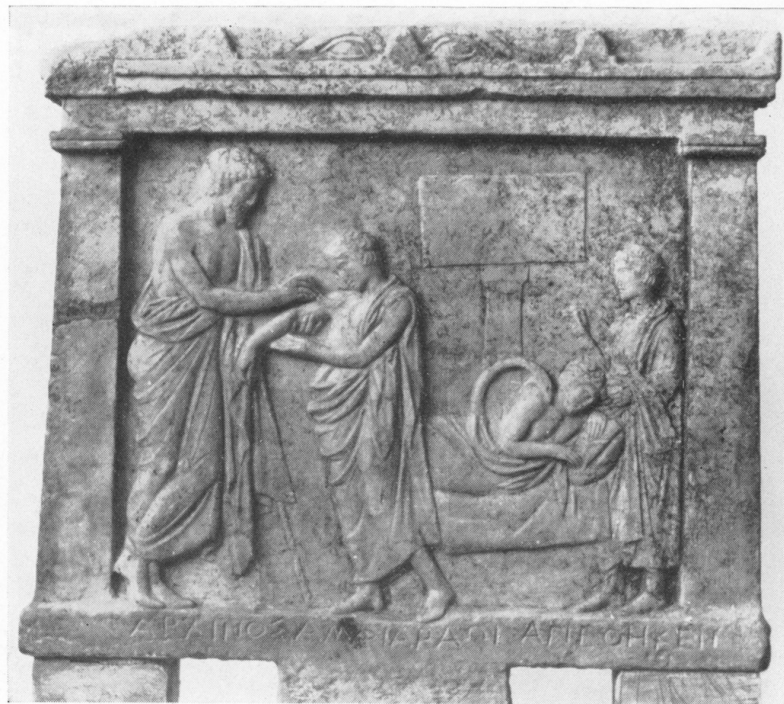


Figure 19: Relief of Archinos from the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos (after Petrakos 1968, pl. 40α)

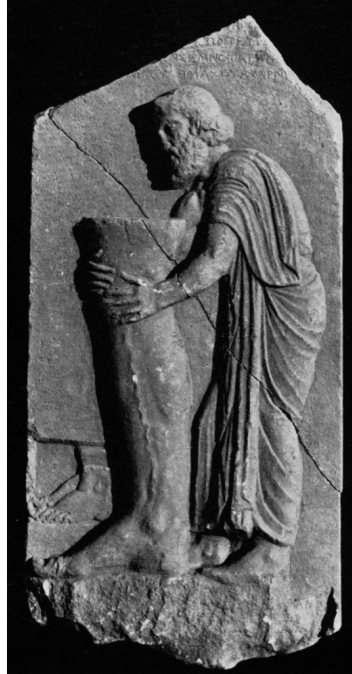


Figure 20: Relief of Lysimachides from the sanctuary of Amynos at Athens (after Traulos 1980, 78, fig. 100)

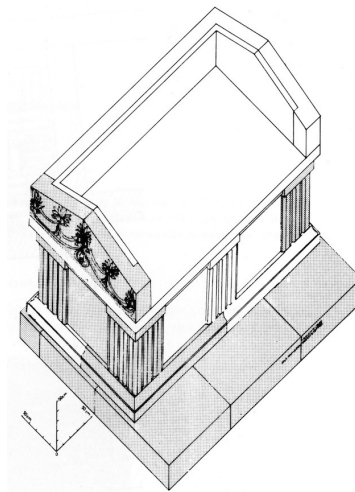


Figure 21: Altar of Athena and Apollo Paion on Delos (after Etienne and Fraise 1988, 752, fig. 10)

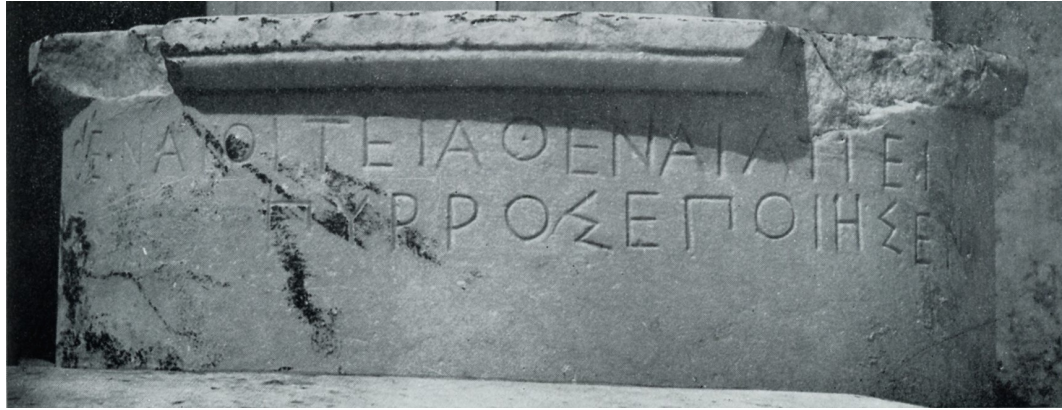


Figure 22: Statue base of Athena Hygieia on the Akropolis at Athens (after Raubitschek 1949, 187, no. 166)



Figure 23: Relief of a woman kneeling before Herakles from the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Athens (after Walter 1923, 62, no. 108)





Figure 24: Relief dedicated to Asklepios by Antimedon son of Hegemon from the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Athens (after Kaltsas 2002, 140, no. 267)

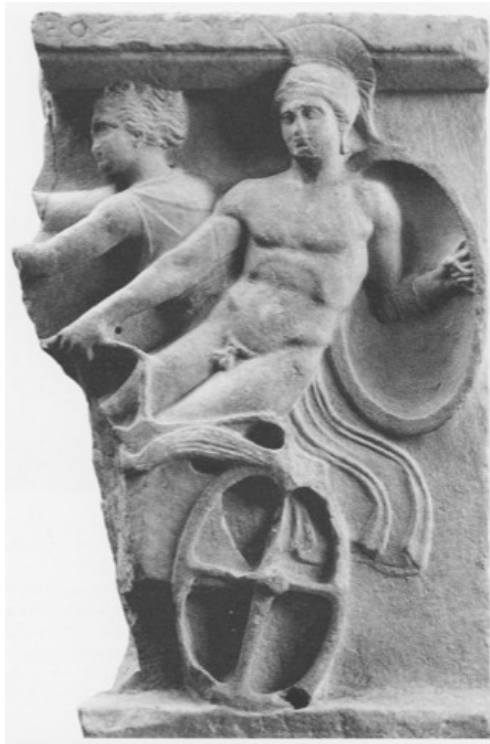


Figure 25: Fragmentary relief of an *apobates* contest from the Sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos (after Kaltsas 2002, 139, no. 265)



Figure 26: Bone pipes from the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (after Dunbabin 1962, 450–51, nos. A394–432, pl. 190)

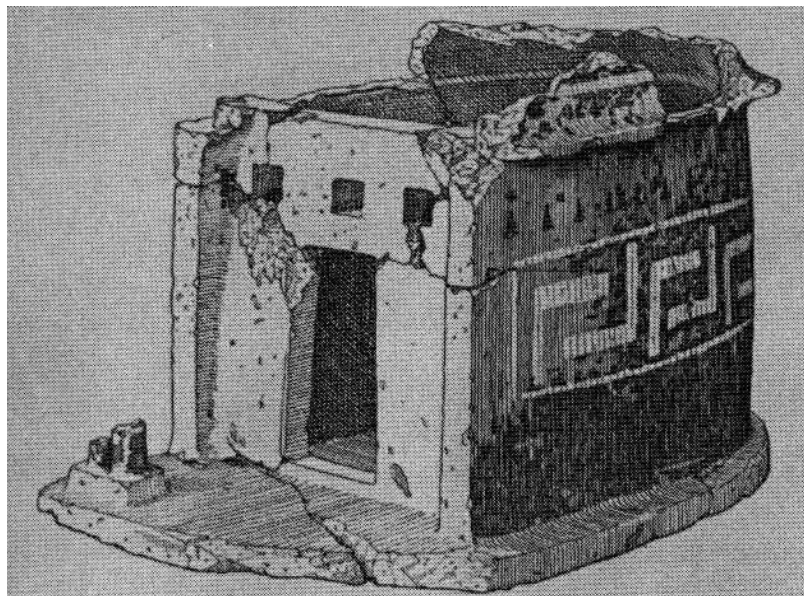


Figure 27: Terracotta building model from the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (after Baumbach 2004, 32, fig. 2.46)

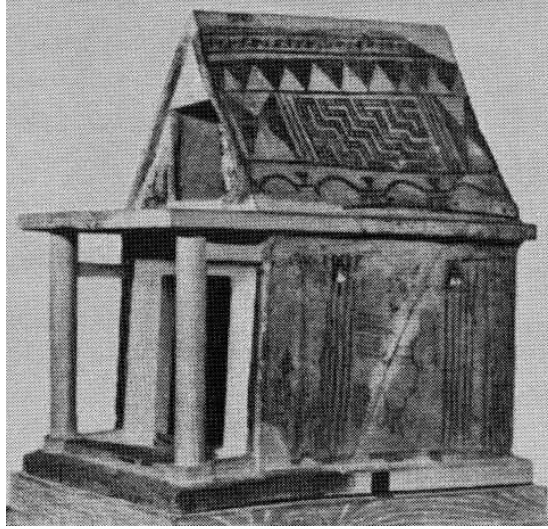


Figure 28: Terracotta building model from the (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera at Argos (after Baumbach 2004, 90, fig. 4.36)

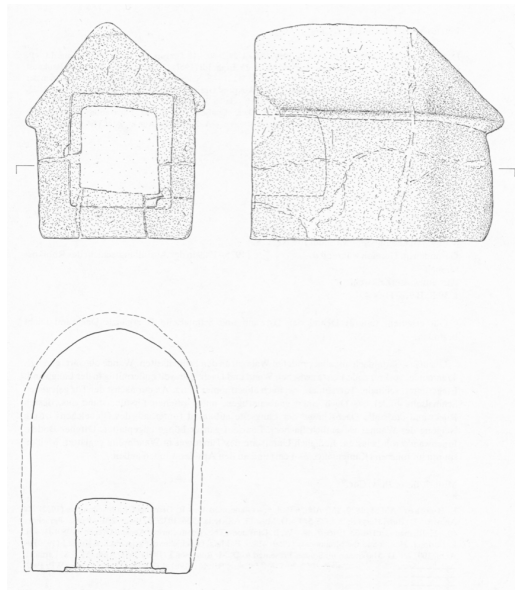
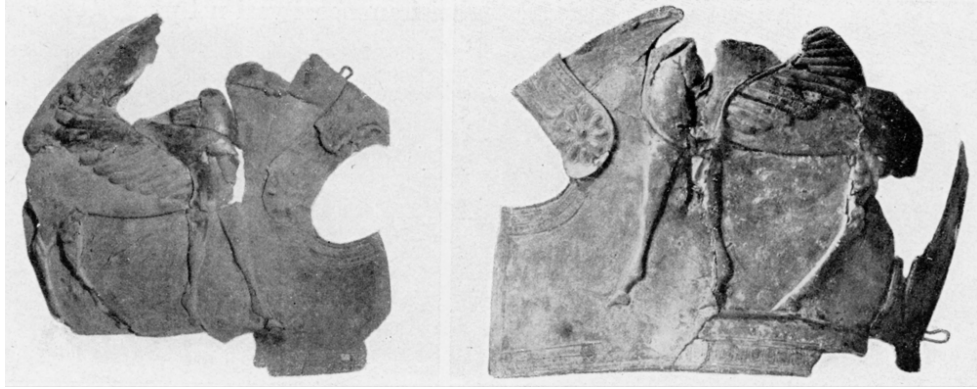


Figure 29: Terracotta building model from the (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera on Samos (after Schattner 1990, 77, fig. 36)

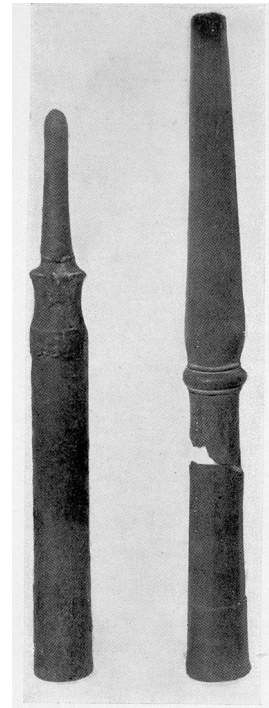




30.a



30.b

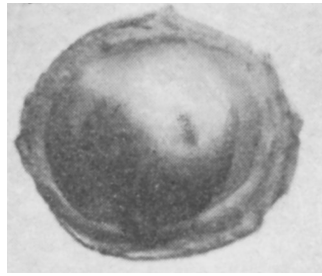


30.c

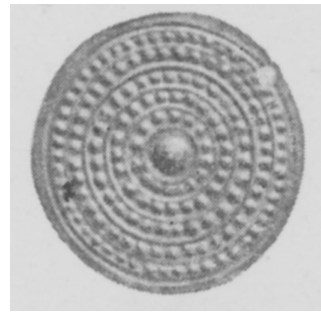
Figure 30.a–c: Life-sized fragments of two helmets, a *mitre*, and spearbutts from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Axos, Crete (after Levi 1930/1931, 58, fig. 13; 60, fig. 14; 70, figs. 26 and 27)



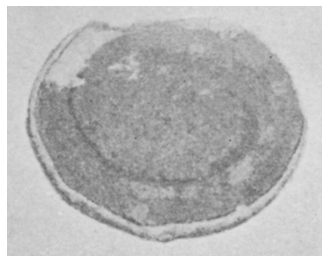
31.a



31.b



31.c

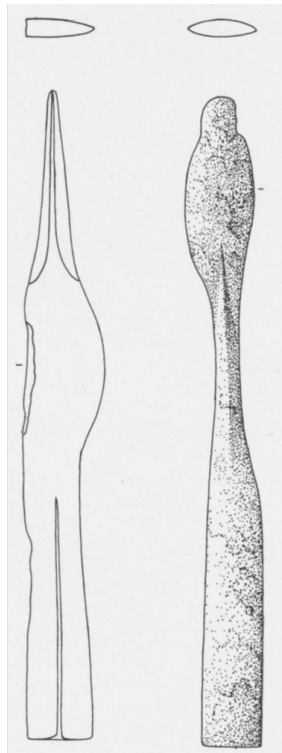


31.d



31.e

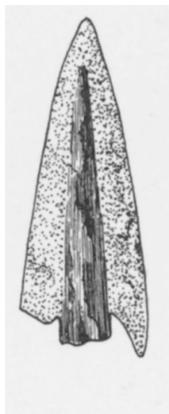
Figure 31.a–e: A blade fragment and miniature shields in bronze and silver from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos (after Hogarth 1908, pl. 16, no. 6; pl. 9, no. 23; pl. 10, no. 7; pl. 11, nos. 31 and 40)



32.a



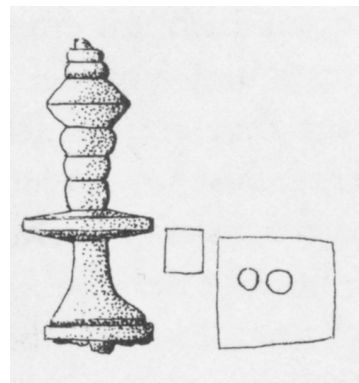
32.b



32.c



32.d



32.e

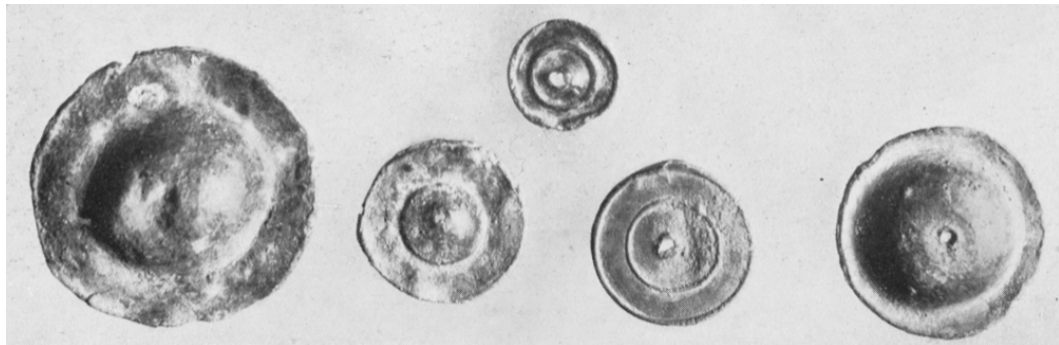
Figure 32.a–e: Life-sized spearhead, spearbutt, an arrowhead, the pommel of a sword, and a *phalara* from the Sanctuary of Artemis Enodia at Pherai (after Kilian 1975, pl. 92, nos. 1, 6, 7, and 14; after Fellmann 1984, 95, fig. 28 (left))



33.a

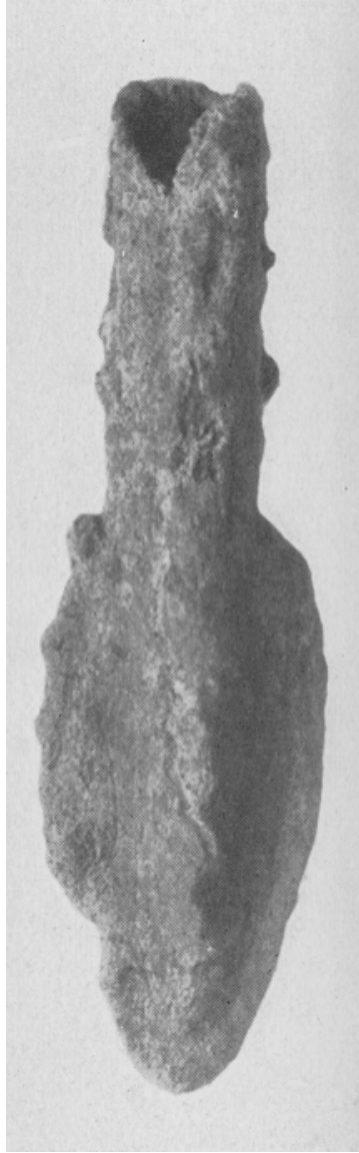


33.b

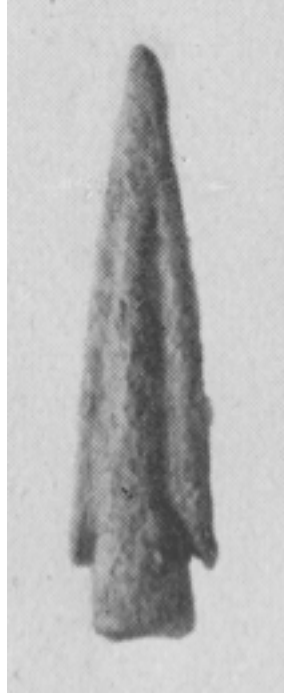


33.c

Figure 33.a–c: Life-sized arrowheads and miniature shields from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (after Dawkins 1929, pl. 87, h; pl. 88, g; pl. 200, nos. 24–28)



34.a

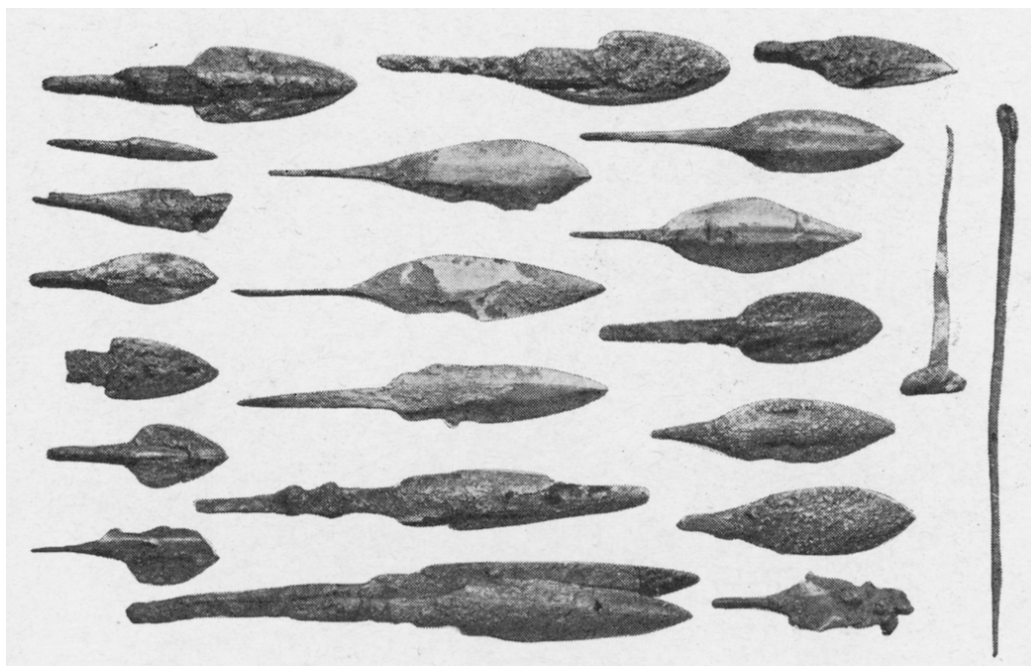


34.b



34.c

Figure 34.a–c: Life-sized spearhead and arrowheads from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Cyrene (after Pernier 1931, 196, fig. 21)

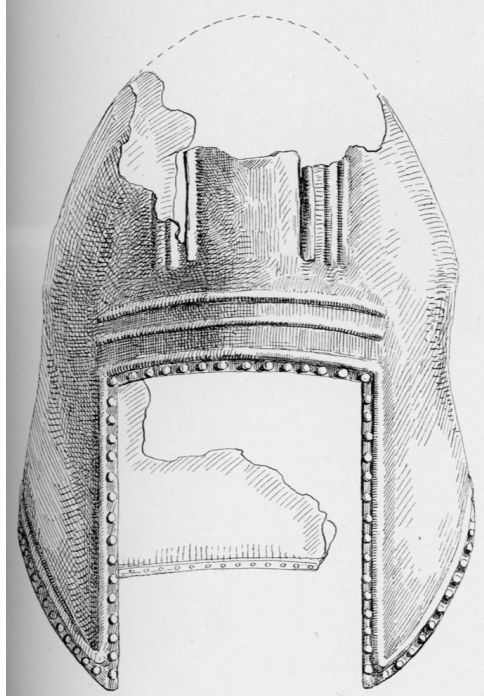


35.a

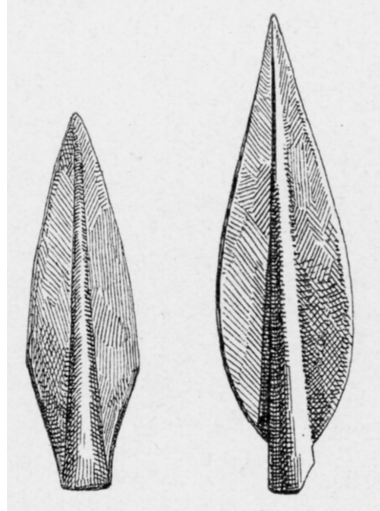


35.b

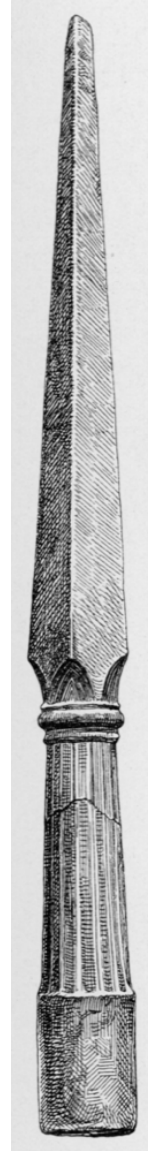
Figure 35.a–b: Life-sized arrowheads (or spearheads) and a miniature shield from the Sanctuary of Artemis in the Hieron of Apollo on Delos (after Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1947, 235, fig. 28; pl. 40, no. 3)



36.a

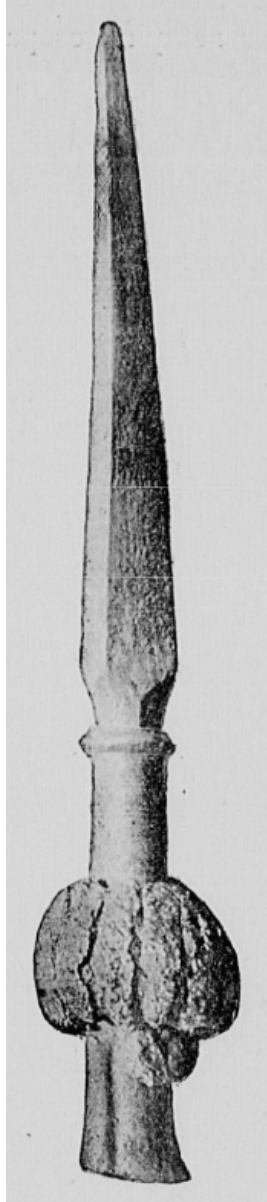


36.b

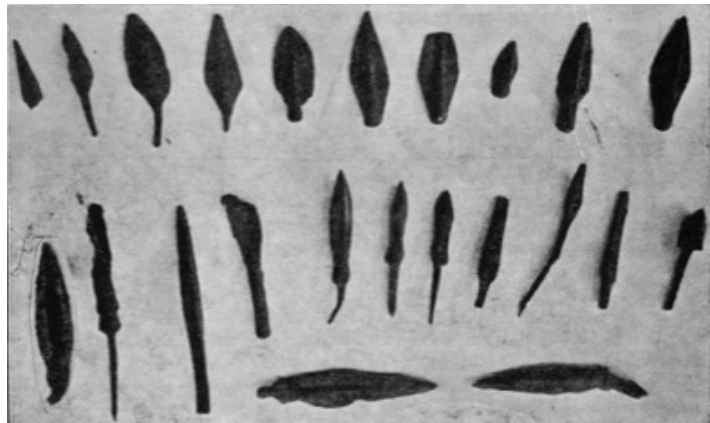


36.c

Figure 36.a–c: Life-sized helmet, arrowheads, and spearhead from the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, Rhodes (after Blinkenberg 1931, pl. 22, no. 570; pl. 23, nos. 600 and 601)



37.a



37.b

Figure 37.a–b: Life-sized spearhead and arrowheads from the Akropolis, Athens (after De Ridder 1896, 99, fig. 63, no. 291; after Keramopoulos 1915, 29, fig. 29)





38.a

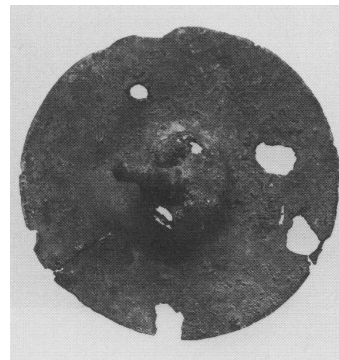


38.b

Figure 38.a–b: Life-sized arrowheads from the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (after Dugas 1921, 378–79, figs. 40 and 41, nos. 178 and 179)



39.a



39.b

Figure 39.a–b: Life-sized helmet and *phalara* from the Sanctuary of Athena Pronoia (Marmaria) at Delphi (after Perdrizet 1908, 101, nos. 499, fig. 347bis; after Fellmann 1984, pl. 44.6)

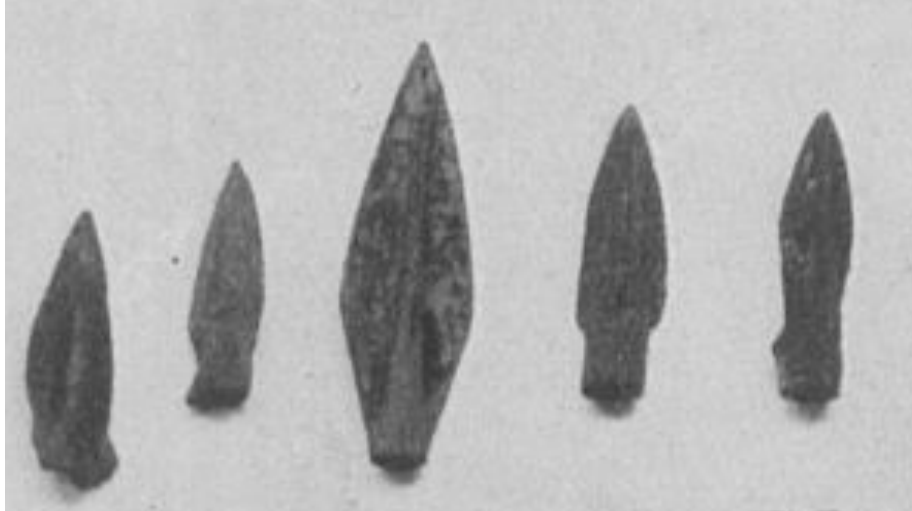


Figure 40: Life-sized arrowheads from the Sanctuary of Athena at Kamiros, Rhodes (after Jacopi 1932, 335, fig. 81)

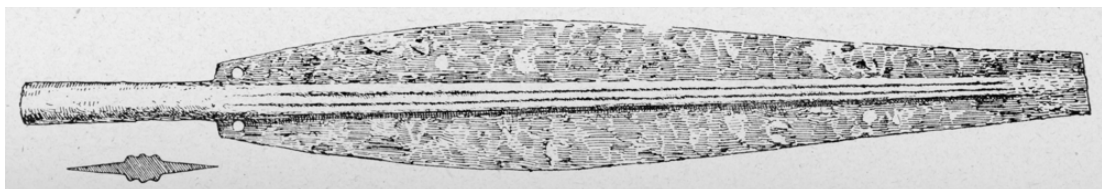
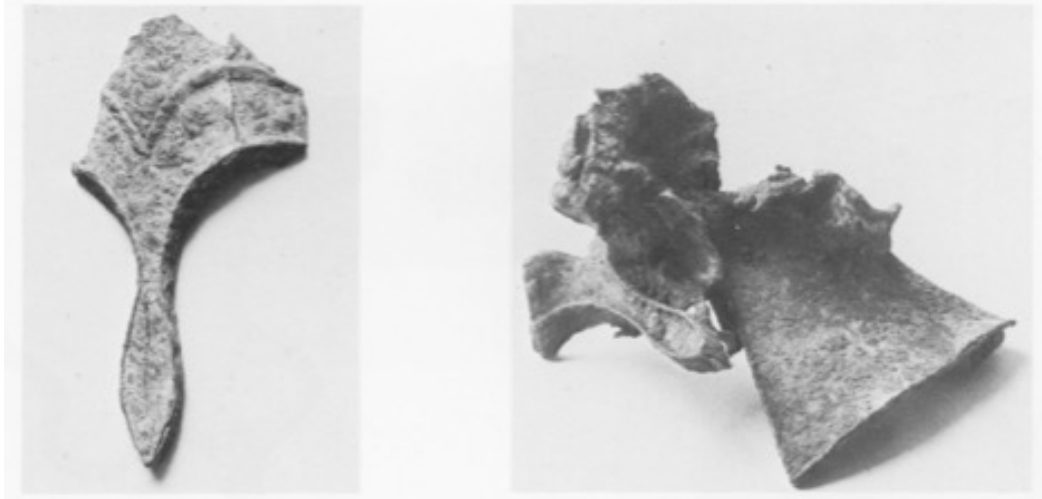


Figure 41: Life-sized spearhead from the Sanctuary of Athena at Syracuse (after Orsi 1918, 576, fig. 163)



42.a



42.b

Figure 42.a–b: Fragments of life-sized helmets and shields from the Sanctuary of Athena at Francavilla-Marittima, Southern Italy (after Stoop 1980, 185–86, figs. 23, 24, and 26)

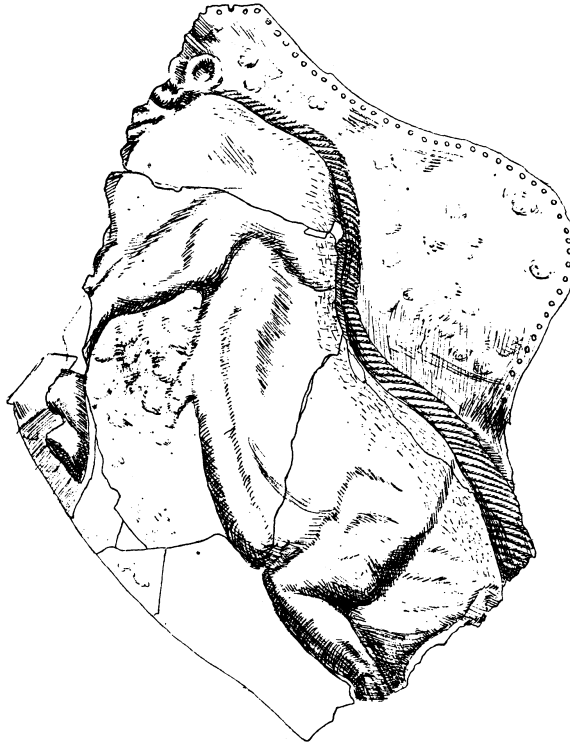


Figure 43: Relief from a cheek piece of a life-sized helmet from the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta (after Woodward et al. 1926/1927, 94, fig. 6)

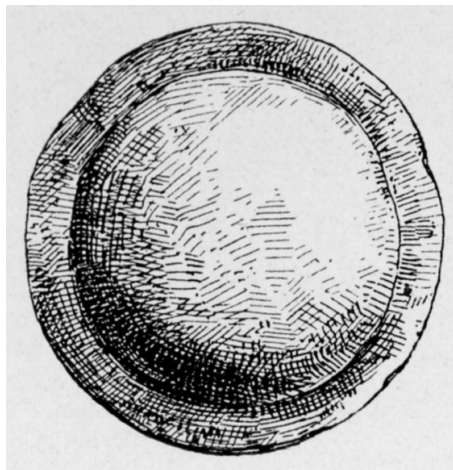


Figure 44: Miniature bronze shield from the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, Rhodes (after Blinkenberg 1931, pl. 63, 1566)

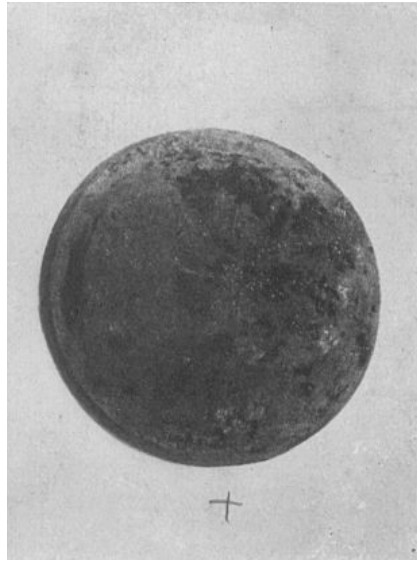
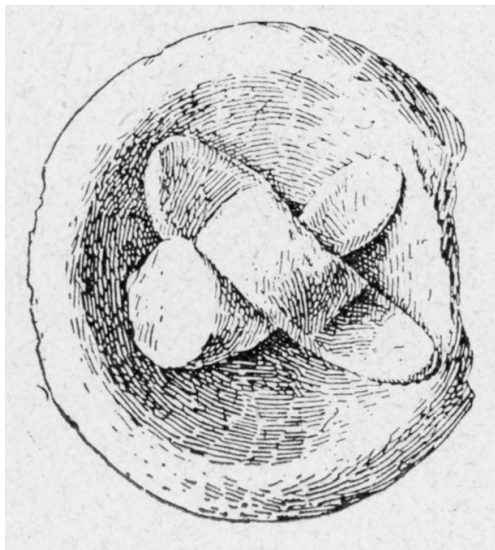
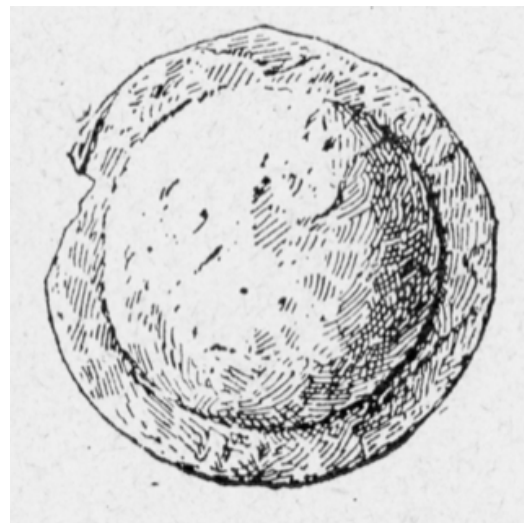


Figure 45: Miniature bronze shield from the Sanctuary of Athena at Kamiros, Rhodes (after Jacopi 1932, 337, fig. 83, no. 66)



46.a



46.b

Figure 46.a–b: Miniature terracotta and bronze shields from the Sanctuary of Athena at Syracuse (after Orsi 1918, 567, fig. 156; 581, fig. 170)



47.a



47.b

Figure 47.a–b: Miniature shield and crest of a miniature helmet from the Sanctuary of Athena at Tegea (after Dugas 1921, 365, fig. 19, no. 192; 382, fig. 42, no. 181)

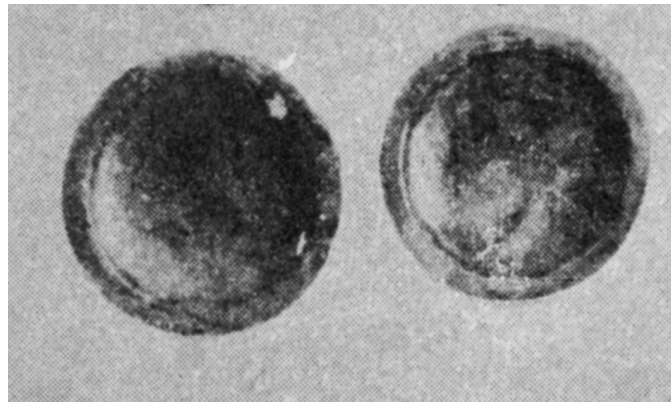


Figure 48. Miniature shields from the Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion (after Stais 1917, 207, fig. 18)



49.a

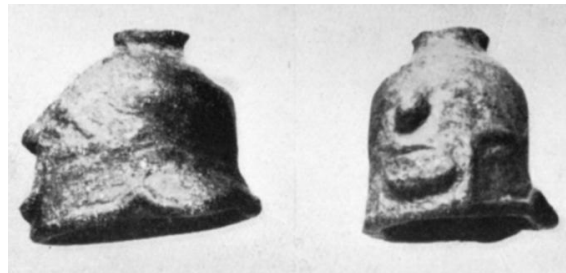


49.b

Figure 49.a–b: Crest of a miniature helmet and a miniature bronze shield from the Sanctuary of Athena at Francavilla-Marittima (after Stoop 1980, 173–75, 185, figs. 25 and 27)



50.a



50.b

Figure 50.a–b: Miniature breastplate and helmet from the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta (after Woodward et al. 1926/1927, pl. 8, nos. 22 and 23)



Figure 51: Miniature shield dedicated by Phrygia from the Sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens (after Bather 1892–1893, 128, no. 60)

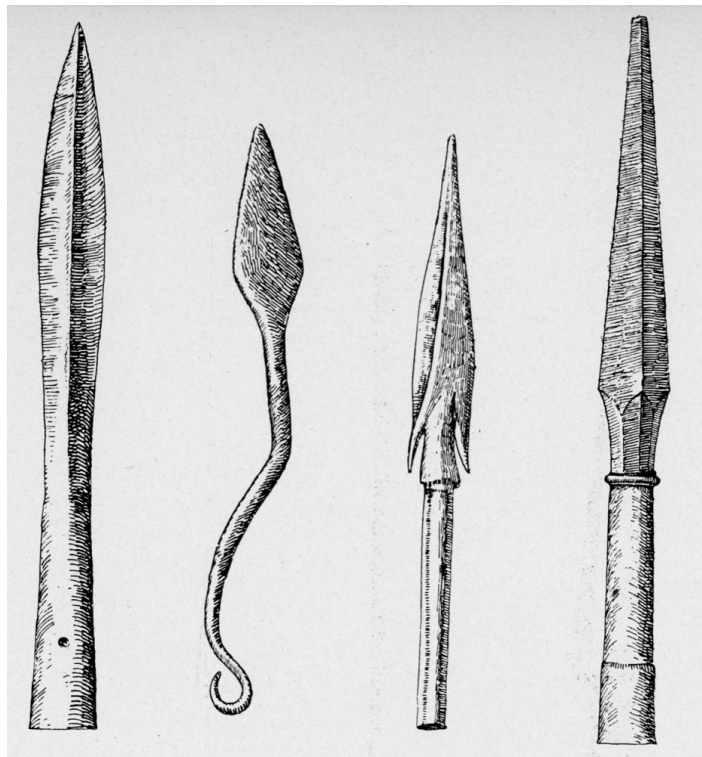
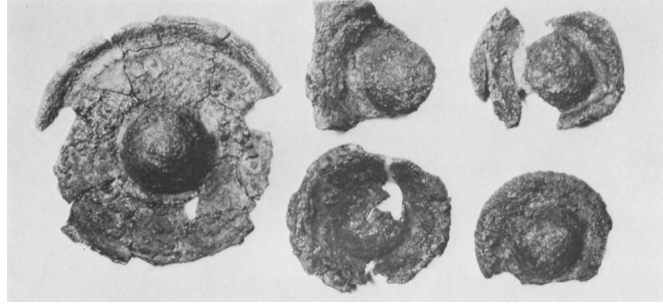


Figure 52: Life-sized spearheads and arrowheads from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Selinus (after Gàbrici 1927, fig. 157 b–e)





53.a



53.b

Figure 53.a–b: Miniature bronze shields (?) and a ring dedicated by Nothokrates from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, Crete (after Coldstream 1973, pl. 89, nos. 98–102; 132, fig. 29, no. 14)



Figure 54: Shield armband dedicated by Hermaios to Demeter Chthonia at Olympia (after Philipp 1981, pl. 14, no. 813)

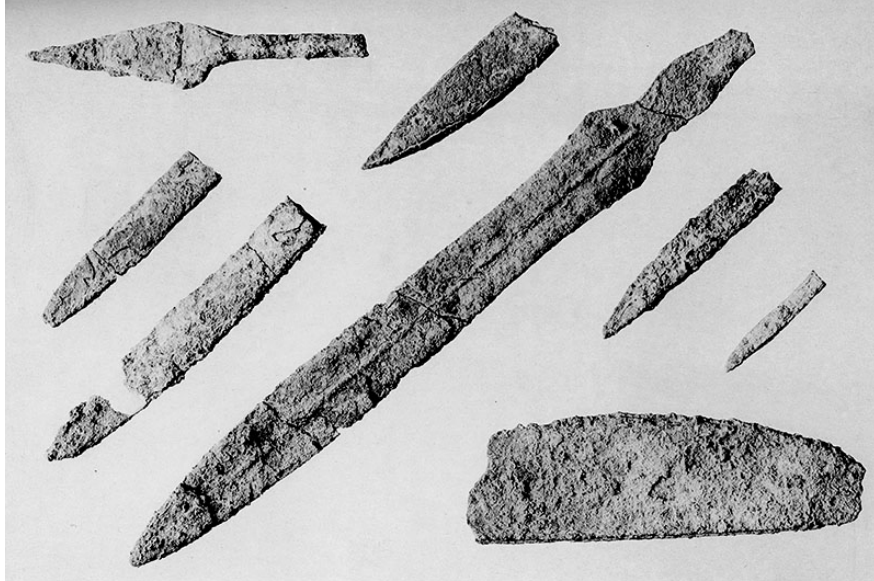
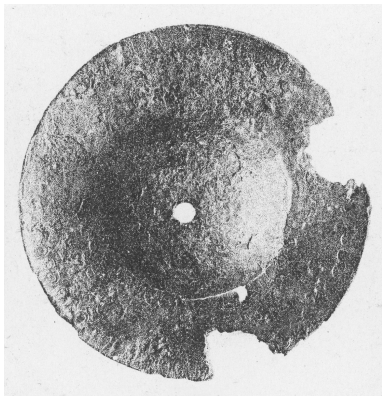
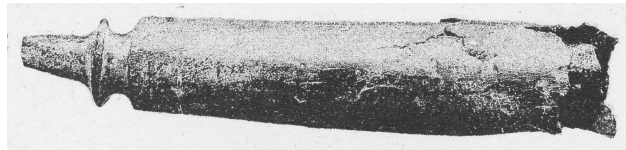


Figure 55: Life-sized sword, dagger, separated blades, and spearhead from the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (after Payne 1940, pl. 86, nos. 1–8)



56.a



56.b

Figure 56.a–b: Life-sized *phalara* and a spearbutt from the (Extramural) Sanctuary of Hera at Argos (after Waldstein 1902, pl. 127, no. 2261; pl. 133, no. 2712)



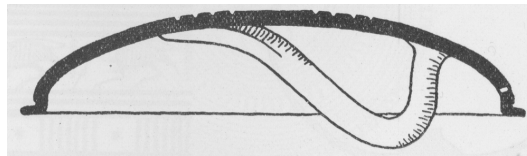
Figure 57: Silver disk bearing an inscription to Hera from the Sanctuary of Hera at Paestum (after Cipriani 1997, 217, fig. 9)



Figure 58: Life-sized terracotta shield from the Sanctuary of Hera at Tiryns (after Lorimer 1950, pl. 10, no. 1)



59.a



59.b

Figure 59.a–b: Life-sized *phalara* and miniature terracotta shield from the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos (after Jantzen 1972, pl. 57, no. B1228; after Eilmann 1933, 118, fig. 64)

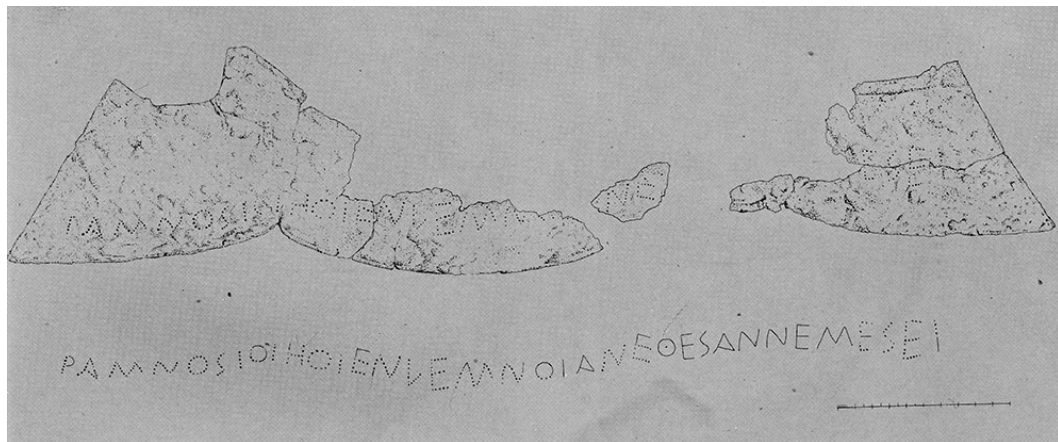


Figure 60: Bronze helmet dedicated by the Rhamnousians in Lemnos from the Sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous (after Petrakos 1984, 54, fig. 76)

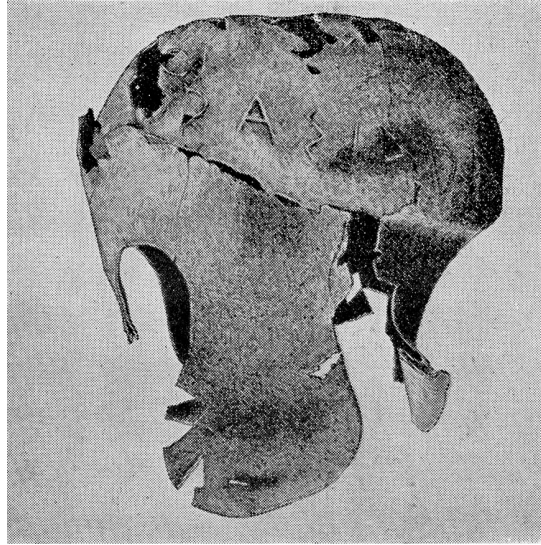
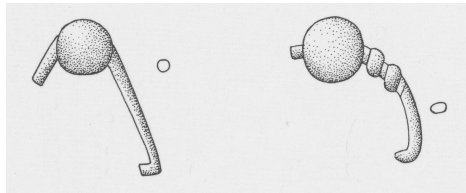
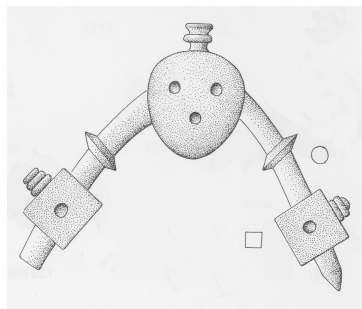


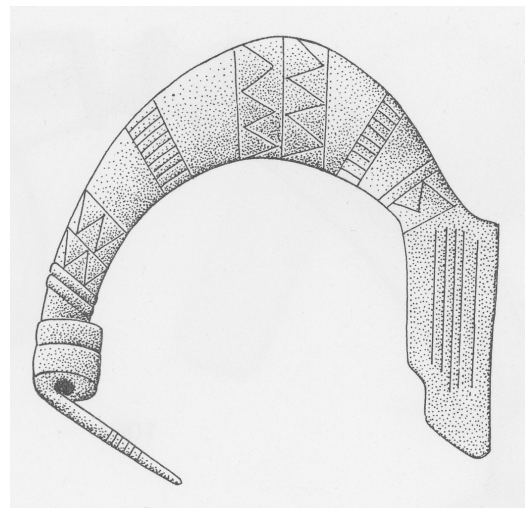
Figure 61: Bronze helmet dedicated by Phrasiades from the Sanctuary of Persephone at Lokroi (after Carpenter 1945, 455, fig. 2)



62.a

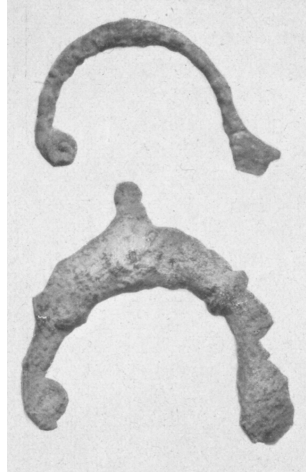


62.b

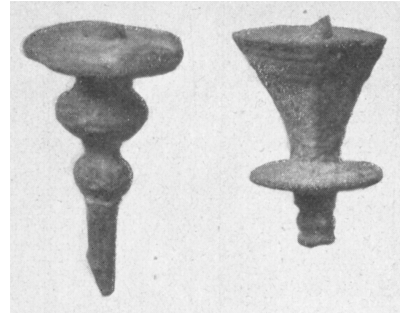


62.c

Figure 62.a–c: Fibulae from the Sanctuaries of Apollo at Kalymnos, Aegina, and Klopede, Lesbos (after Sapouna-Sakellaraké 1978, pl. 33, nos. 1143 and 1144; pl. 35, no. 1217; pl. 31, no. 1026)



63.a

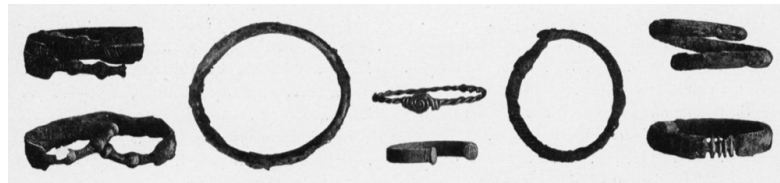


63.b

Figure 63.a–b: Fibulae and pin heads from the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklae, Sparta (after Von Massow 1927, pl. 8, nos. 1, 2, 6, and 7)



64.a



64.b

Figure 64.a–b: Spindle whorls and bracelets from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (after Perdrizet 1908, 197, figs. 871–876; 109, 376–383)



Figure 65: Mirror from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma (after Naumann and Tuchelt 1963/1964, pl. 31.1)



Figure 66: Loom weight bearing an inscription, "HEPAKLHE" from the Pnyx at Athens (after Davidson et. al., 1943, 87, no. 85)

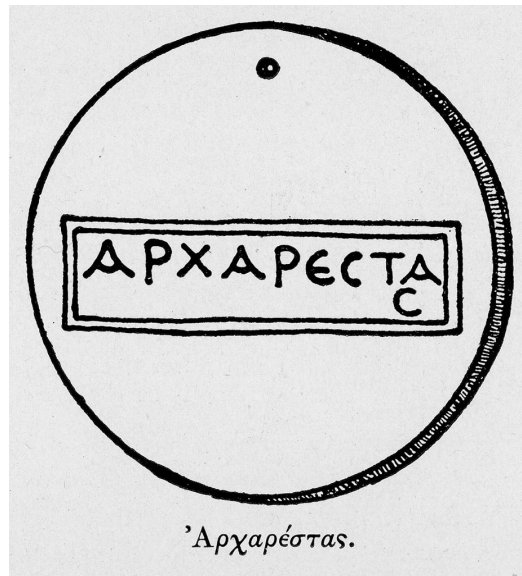


Figure 67: Loom weight bearing an inscription, "Ἀρχαρέστας," from the Sanctuary of Hermes Kranaeus on Crete (after Halbherr 1896, 593, no. 77)

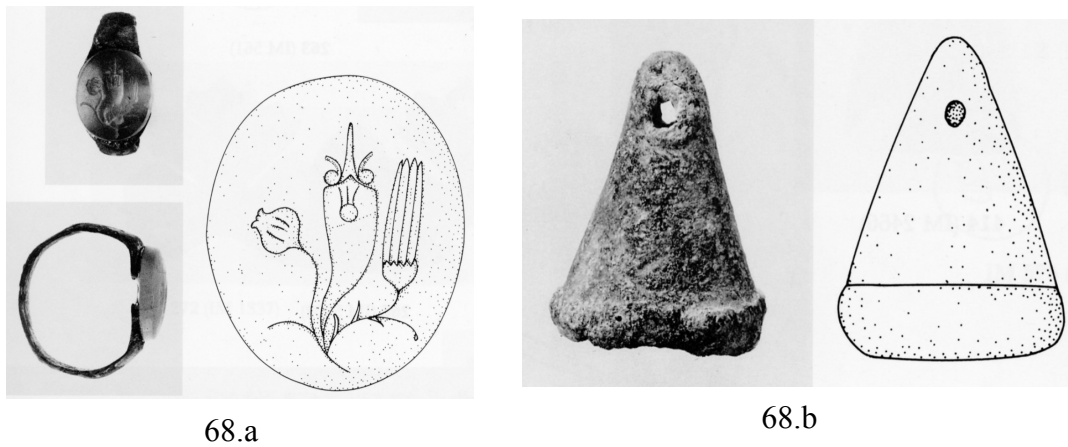
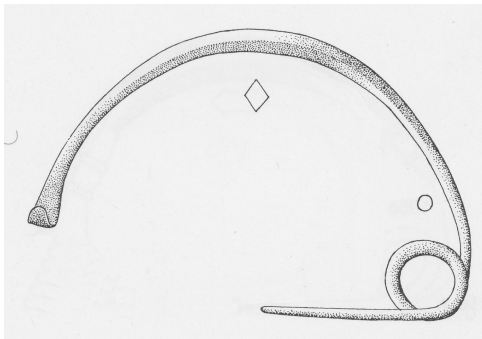


Figure 68.a–b: Ring and lead loom weight from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (after Raubitschek 1998, pl. 39, no. 247; pl. 63, no. 405)

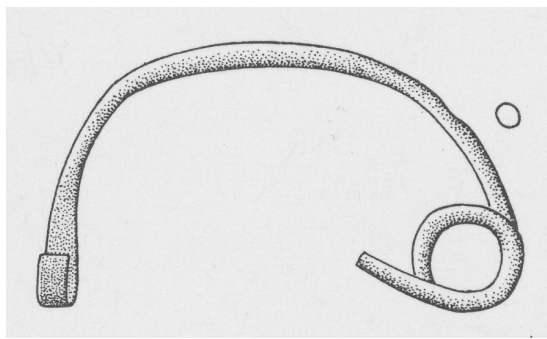




Figure 69: Mirror dedicated by Polyxena from the Sanctuary of Zeus and Dione at Dodona (after Carapanos 1878, pl. 25, no. 1)

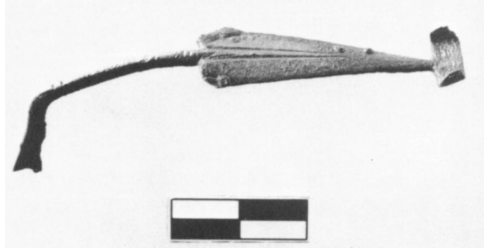


70.a

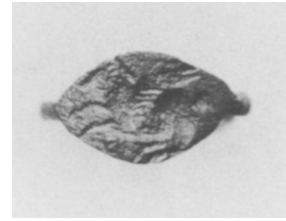


70.b

Figure 70.a–b: Fibulae from the Zeus Temple and the Sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, Crete (after Sapouna-Sakellarake 1978, pl. 5, no. 150; pl. 3, no. 62)



71.a

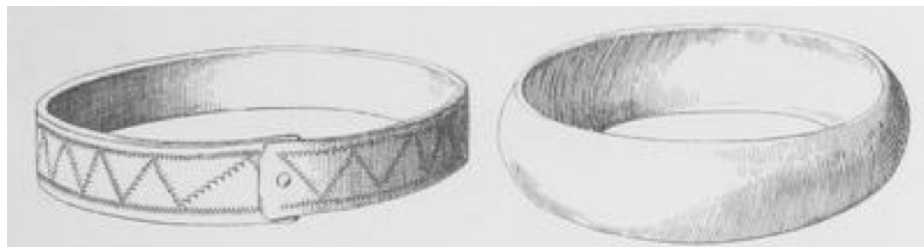


71.b

Figure 71.a–b: Fibula and a ring with a Pegasos on its bezel from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea (after Miller 1981, pl. 13d, nos. GJ 61; 1984, pl. 34c, no. GJ 99)



72.a



72.b

Figure 72.a–b: Fibula and bracelets from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (after Furtwängler 1890, pl. 21, no. 359; pl. 23, nos. 380 and 383)



73.a



73.b

Figure 73.a–b: Bronze statuettes of peasants with hats and cloaks pinned at the neck with a large pin (after Lamb 1925/1926, pl. 24, nos. 13 and 14)



Figure 74: White-ground double-disk attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, Side A.



Figure 75: White-ground double-disk attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, Side B.