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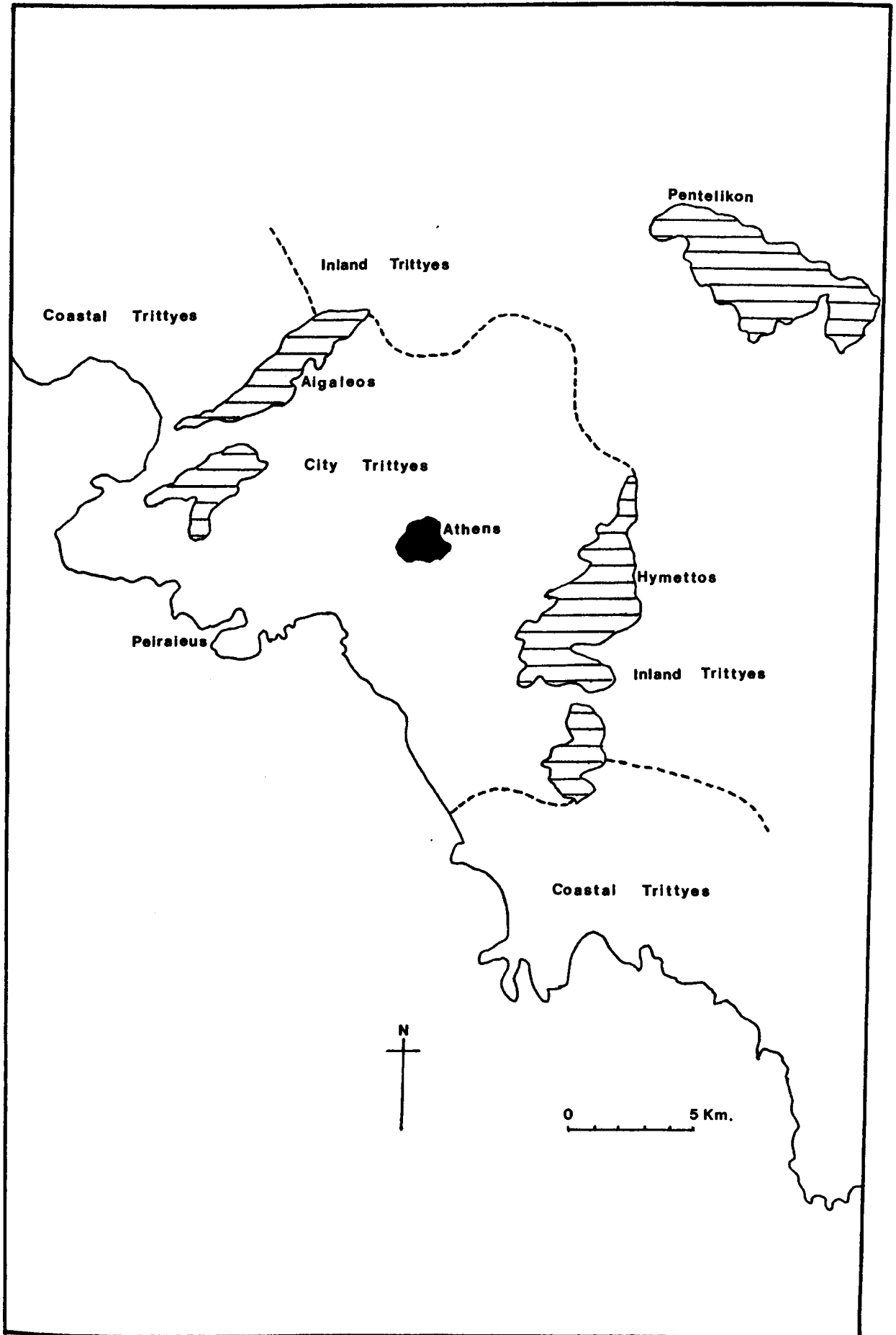




Plate 3



A sherd with a dedication to Athena Hygieia

from a vase dedicated by the potter Kallias.

Found on the Acropolis.

Late 6th/early 5th century B C.

See Introduction, notes 15-17.

PLATE 4

The base for the statue of Athena Hygieia in front of one
of the columns of the Propylaia. 450/430 B.C. IG I,
Ed.Min., 395. See Introduction, notes 20-21.



PLATE 5

Relief dedicated by Heracleides probably to Zeus Meilichios.
From the Peiraeus. 4th century B.C. IG 2/3, 1583 and IG
2.3/3/1, 4621. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1434. See Chapter I,
note 171.



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1434

PLATE 6

Relief dedicated by Aristarche to Zeus Meilichios. From the Peiraieus. 4th century B.C. IG 2/3, 1579 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4618. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1431. See Chapter I, notes 183-184.



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PLATE 7

Relief probably to Zeus Meilichios or Philios. From either Athens or, more likely, the Peiraieus. Probably 4th century B.C. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1408. See Chapter I, note 185.



PLATE 8

Relief dedicated by Aristomenes to Zeus Meilichios.

From Athens. First half of the 4th century B.C.

S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3329. See Chapter I, note 233.



3329

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SKETCH OF PNYX STAGES 2 AND 3

See Chapter II, note 43.

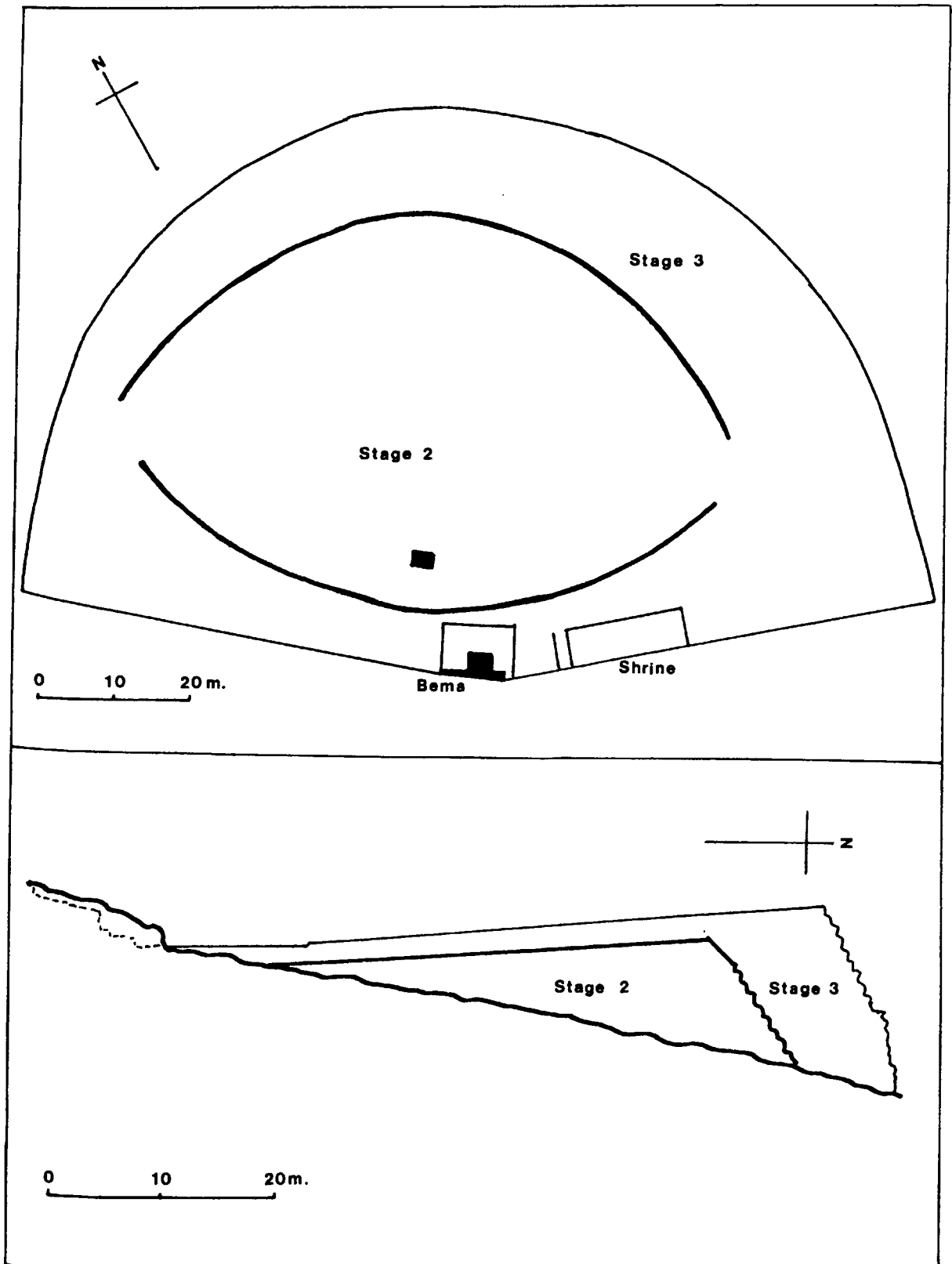


Plate 10

SKETCH MAP: APPROXIMATE FINDSPOTS OF HYPISISTOS MATERIAL

See Chapter II, note 44.

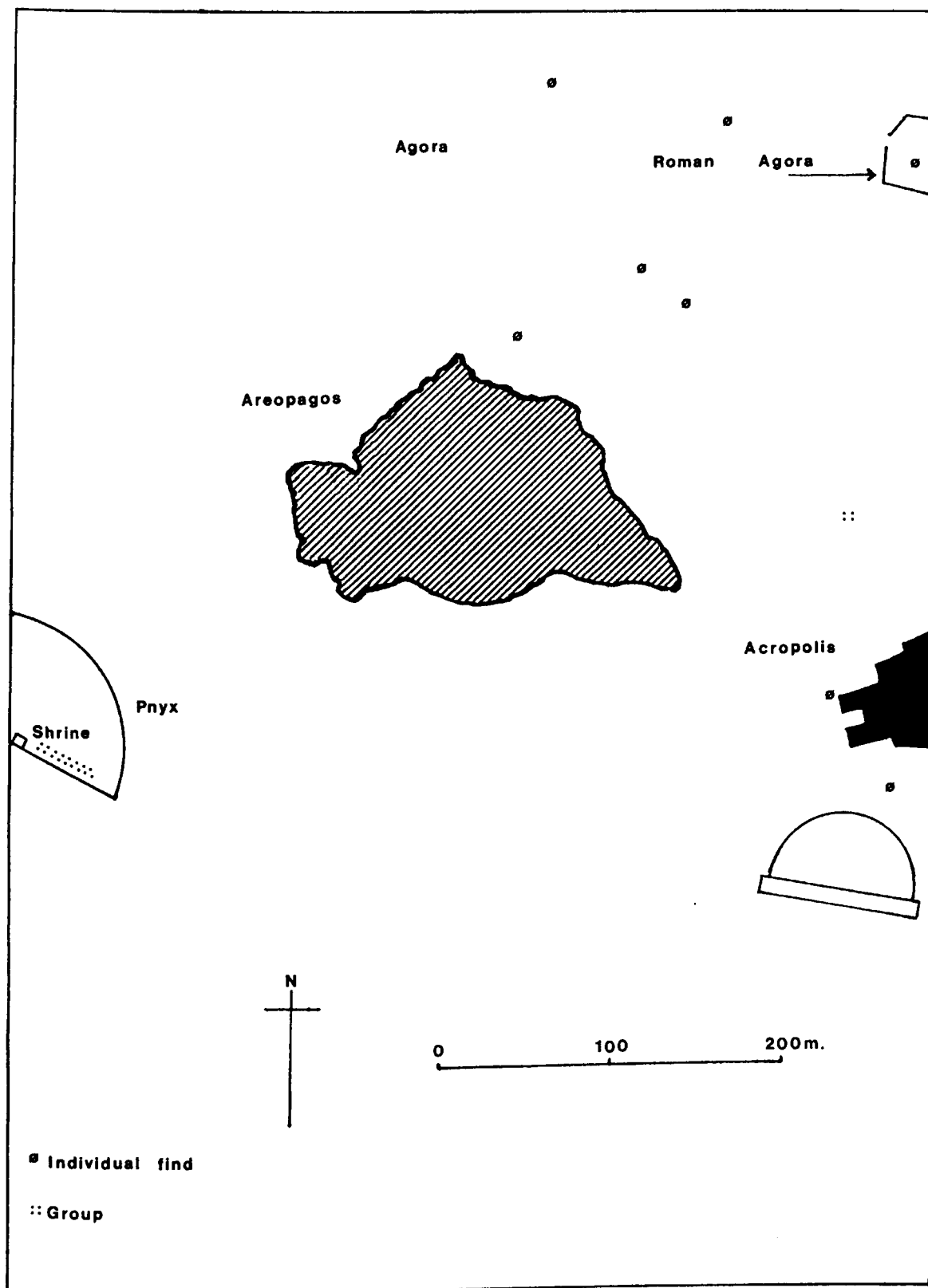


PLATE 11

The south wall of the Pnyx escarpment, to the east of the Bema, showing the remaining niches of the Hypsistos shrine. See Chapter II, note 62.



PLATE 12

Votive offerings to (Zeus) Hypsistos. Found on the Pnyx,
Athens, 2nd/3rd century A.D.

Top left: dedication by Eisisias,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4804. See Chapter II, note 86.

Top right: dedication by Terttia,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4801. See Chapter II, note 82.

Bottom left: dedication by Philematin,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4805. See Chapter II, note 87.

Bottom right: dedication by Klaudia Prepousa,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4806. See Chapter II, note 83.

All four now in the British Museum.



800

VOTIVE TABLET
WITH RELIEF REPRESENTING A
FEMALE BREAST.
DEDICATED BY ISIAS TO "(ZEUS) THE MOST HIGH."
PNYX, ATHENS. [Mus. Marbles IX, pl. 41, fig. 2] *Elgin Coll.*



805

VOTIVE TABLET
WITH RELIEF REPRESENTING THE
LOWER PART OF A HUMAN FACE
DEDICATED BY TERTIA TO
"(ZEUS) THE MOST HIGH"
PNYX, ATHENS. [Mus. Marbles, IX, pl. 41, fig. 7] *Elgin Coll.*



801

VOTIVE TABLET



806

VOTIVE TABLET

PLATE 13

Votive offerings to (Zeus) Hypsistos. Found in Athens.
2nd/3rd century A.D.

- Top left: dedication by Eisidote,
IG 2·3/3/1. 4808. See Chapter II, note 90.
- Top right: an uninscribed dedication.
See Chapter II, note 93.
- Bottom left: dedication by Eutychia,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4809. See Chapter II, note 91.
- Bottom right: dedication by Eupraxis,
IG 2·3/3/1, 4810. See Chapter II, note 92.
- All four now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



PLATE 14

Remains of four altars dedicated to (Zeus) Hypsistos.

Found in the Agora, Athens. 1st/3rd century A.D.

Top left: The top of a small columnar altar,
 AI, no.1, 5960. See Chapter II, note 102.

Top right: a tiny altar dedicated by Grata,
 AI, no.1, 3794. See Chapter II, note 100.

Bottom left: a small cylindrical altar,
 AI, no.1, 3551. See Chapter II, note 99.

Bottom right: a small altar and part of its moulded base,
 AI, no.1, 6606a and b. See Chapter II, note 103.

All four now in the Agora Museum.

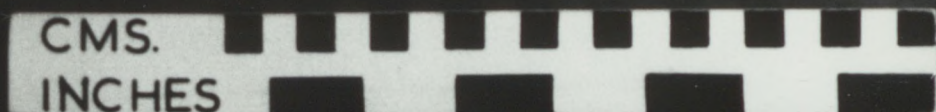
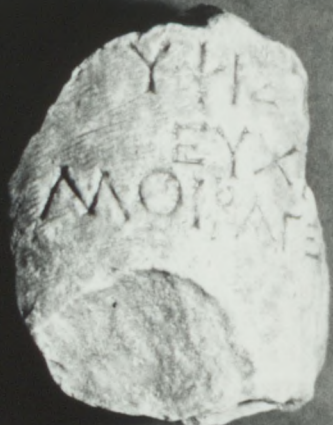
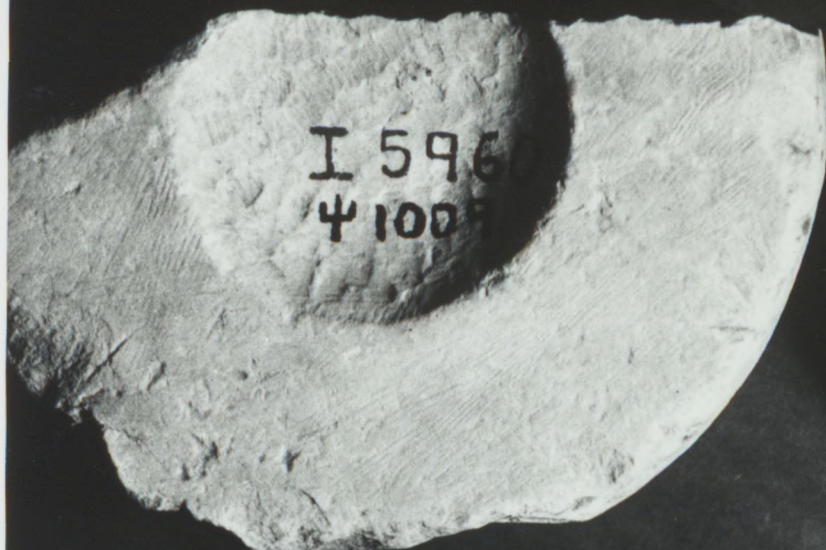


PLATE 15

Dedication by Eutychia to (Zeus) Hypsistos. Her offering takes the form of a pair of footprints. Found in the Roman Forum at Athens. 2nd century A.D. IG 2.3/3/1, 4784. See Chapter II, notes 104, 125 and 127.

6Y11 XIAG N NK G 20
YYIC T W ANGOHKA

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PLATE 16

A dedication to Zeus, possibly Zeus Hypsistos, resulting from a dream. From the Acropolis at Athens. 1st/2nd century A.D. IG 2.3/3/1, 4740. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.9543. See Chapter II, note 107.

942
TONKELAKO

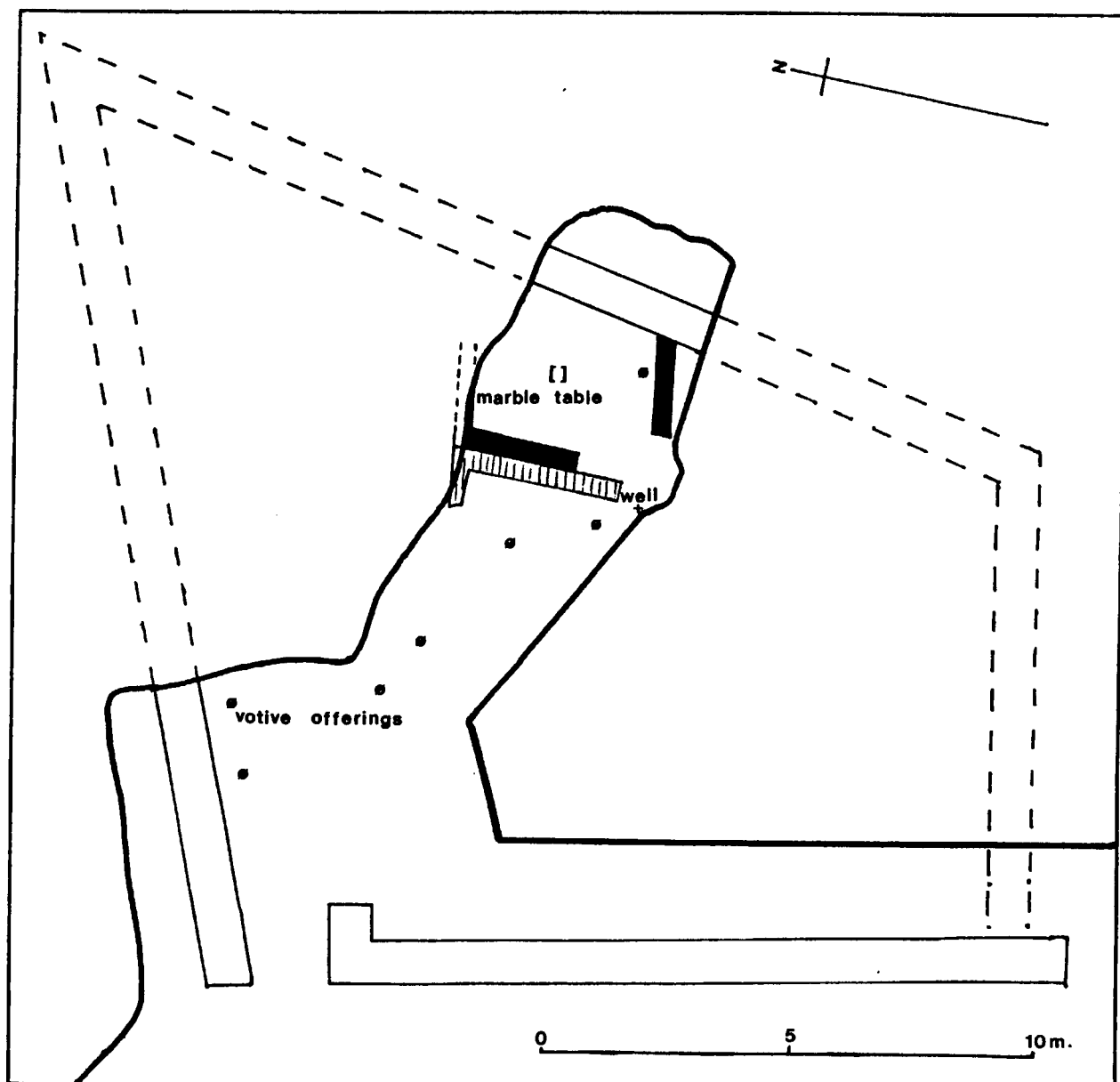
KATO
NIPON
THIEE NOME
FORBOMON
EGE TOAIE

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SKETCH MAP : THE FIRST STAGE OF THE AMYNEION EXCAVATIONS

See Chapter III, note 1.



Based on A. Körte, A M, XVIII, 1893, p.232.

PLATE 18

Relief showing a bearded man dressed in a himation holding an enormous leg with swollen veins. The relief was dedicated by Lysimachides, the son of Lysimachos the Acharnian. From the shrine of Amynos. Dated to the end of the 4th century B.C. IG 2-3/3/1, 4387. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3526. See Chapter III, note 90.



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VOTIVE OFFERINGS TO AMYNOS/ASKLEPIOS

See Chapter III:

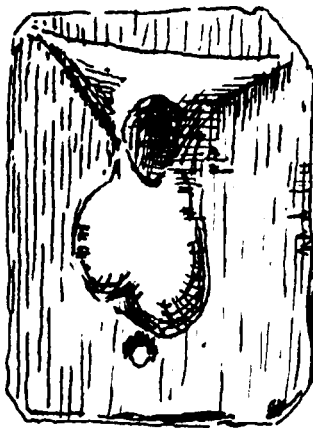


note 93.

IG 2·3/3/1, 4422

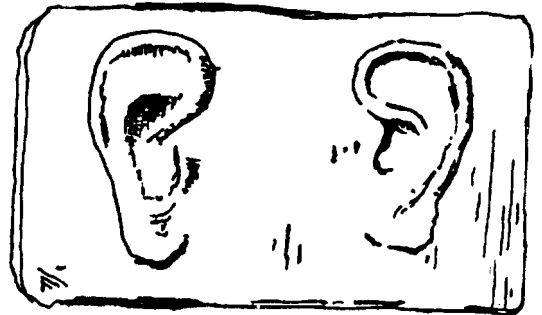
Based on A.Körte, A M, 1893, p.242.

All probably 4th century B.C.



note 145.

NAM, SA7



note 147.

NAM, SA183

SKETCH MAP : KNOWN DEMES OF AMYNOS ORGEONES

See Chapter III, notes 128-133.

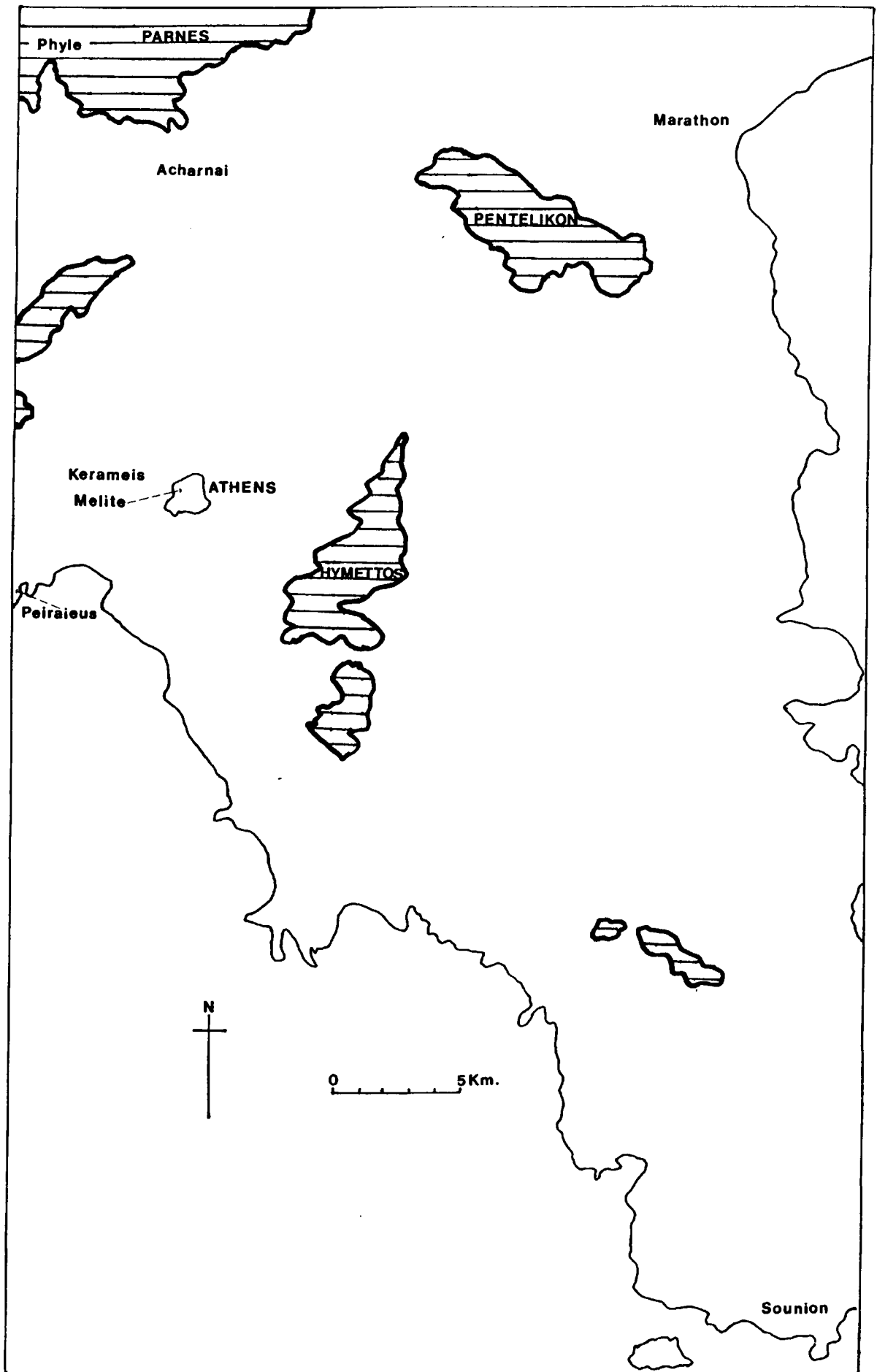


Plate 21

VOTIVE OFFERING TO AMYNOS/ASKLEPIOS

See Chapter III, note 137.

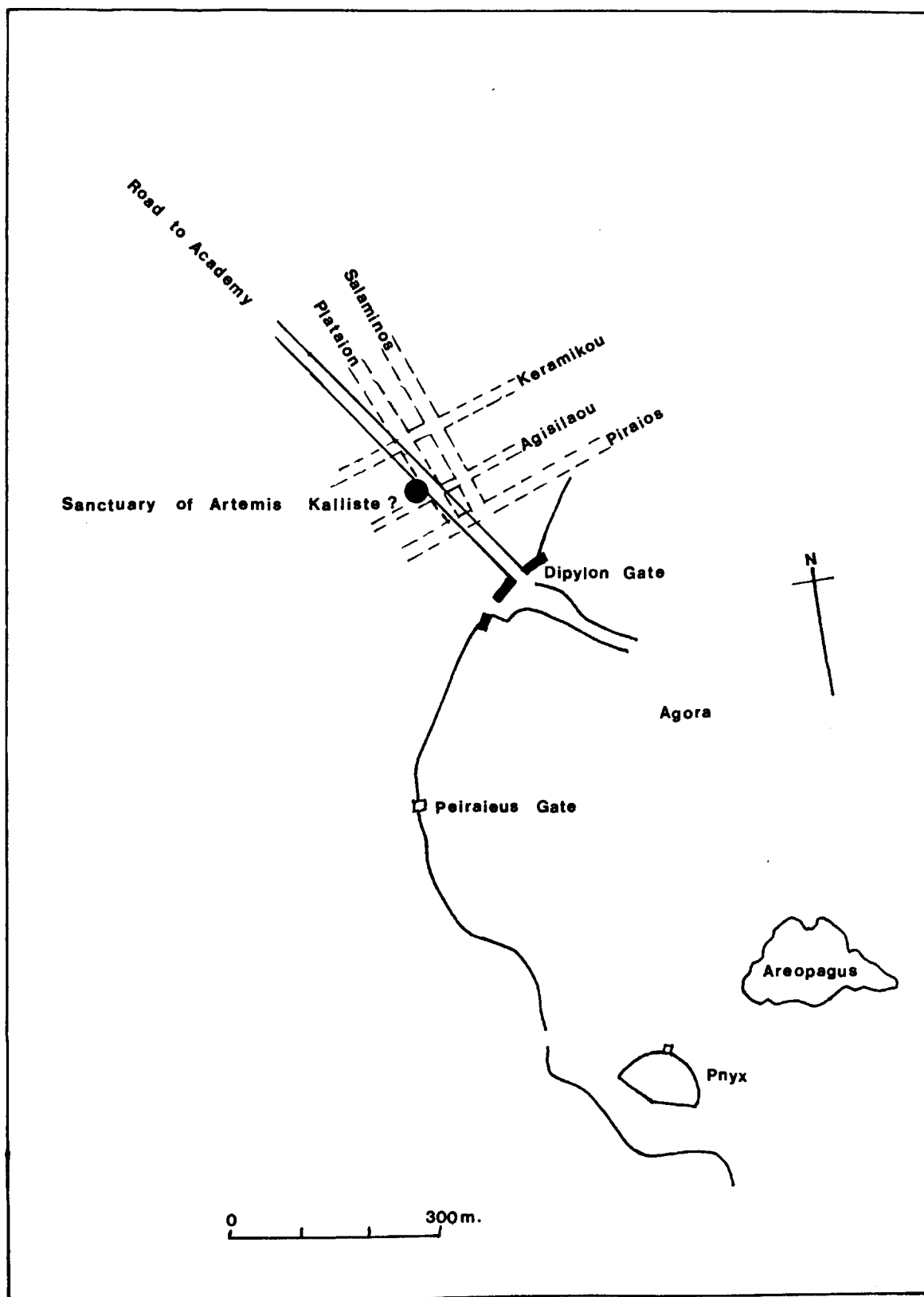


Based on A. Körte, A M., XVIII, 1893, p. 238, no. 2.

Probably 4th century B.C.

POSSIBLE SITE OF THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS KALLISTE

See Chapter IV, note 74.



SKETCH MAP : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SHRINES OF ARTEMIS AND HEKATE

See Chapter IV, notes 101-104.

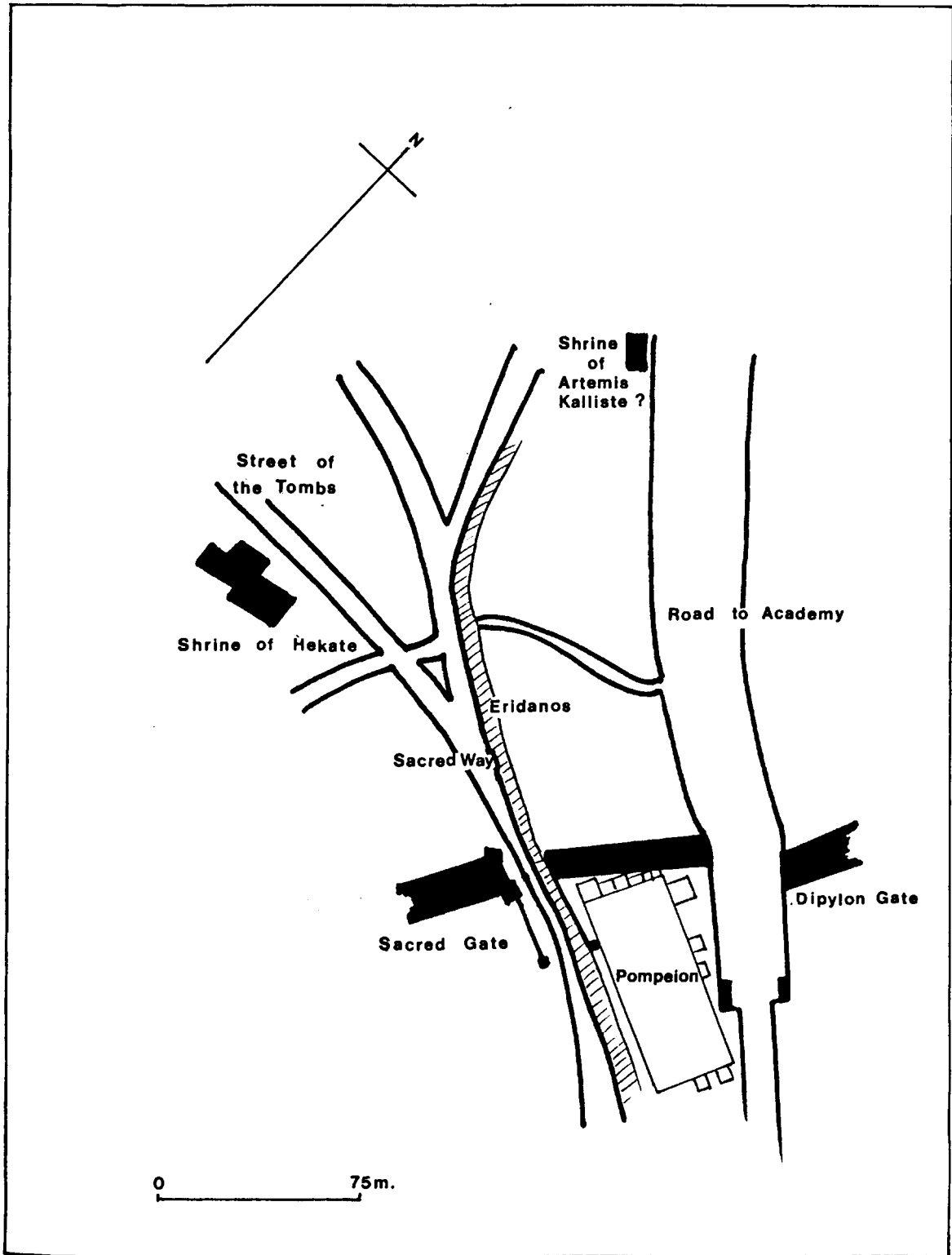


PLATE 24

Votive offering dedicated by Axios and Kleio to Artemis
Nana. From the Peiraieus. 2nd century B.C. IG 2.3/3/1,
4696. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.6022. See Chapter IV,
note 178.

ΑΙΟΛΟΓΗΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ
ΚΑΝΑΛΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΝΟΙΑΝ ΕΦΗΚΑΝ

CMS.

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PLATE 25

Stele with a decree of the orgeones of Bendis. The anaglyph shows Bendis and Deloptis along with two worshippers. In the top left corner are depicted Hermes with a cornucopiae, three Nymphs, Pan and a head of the river god Achelous. From the Peiraieus. Dated to 329/8 B.C. IG 2.3/1/2, 1256. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, formerly no.1043a, now stele no.231. See Chapter IV, note 203.



I A O R P T H E E I P P E S E L A I H E T O U N E B
 E E N O F T H E O A T N O I S T I M A N T O T O U T E
 R A D I P I K N A I O S A N T O A R E O N T O Z I A A A
 R A I A I O S T I M A E P P I E M E N H A N I C A R A I T
 T H E O S O U K A I T A N O R E S C H A E E I Z O A U T
 I E O R T G O R I M A T P E A N A S A I E U Y I K A A W E
 I E R A I K A I O S E M K A I E P I M E A T I A E M E
 A X R Y I E T P A N O I E K A I E R O N A D O M A R A
 M A N K I A B A G R A Y A I T O A L T O T H E I M A G E
 T H E A R A I O R D E I K A I T H E A I E N T A M I O R
 I T H E O E Y

PLATE 26

An ex-voto dedicated to the god Men by Mitradates and his wife. From Thorikos. 3rd century B.C. IG 2.3/3/1, 4684. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1406. See Chapter IV, note 227.



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INCHES

1406

PLATE 27

Votive offering of Philoumene to Aphrodite from her shrine
at Dhafni. Mid 4th century B.C. IG 2·3/3/1, 4575.
S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1821. See Chapter IV, note 273.



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INCHES

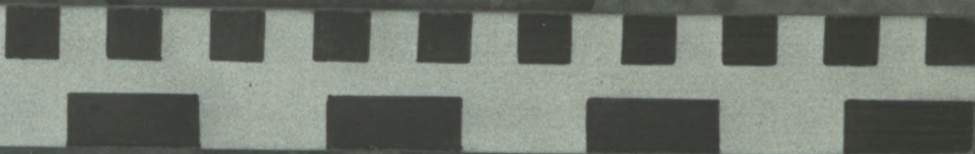


PLATE 28

Dedication to Eileithyia from her shrine in Agrai, Athens.

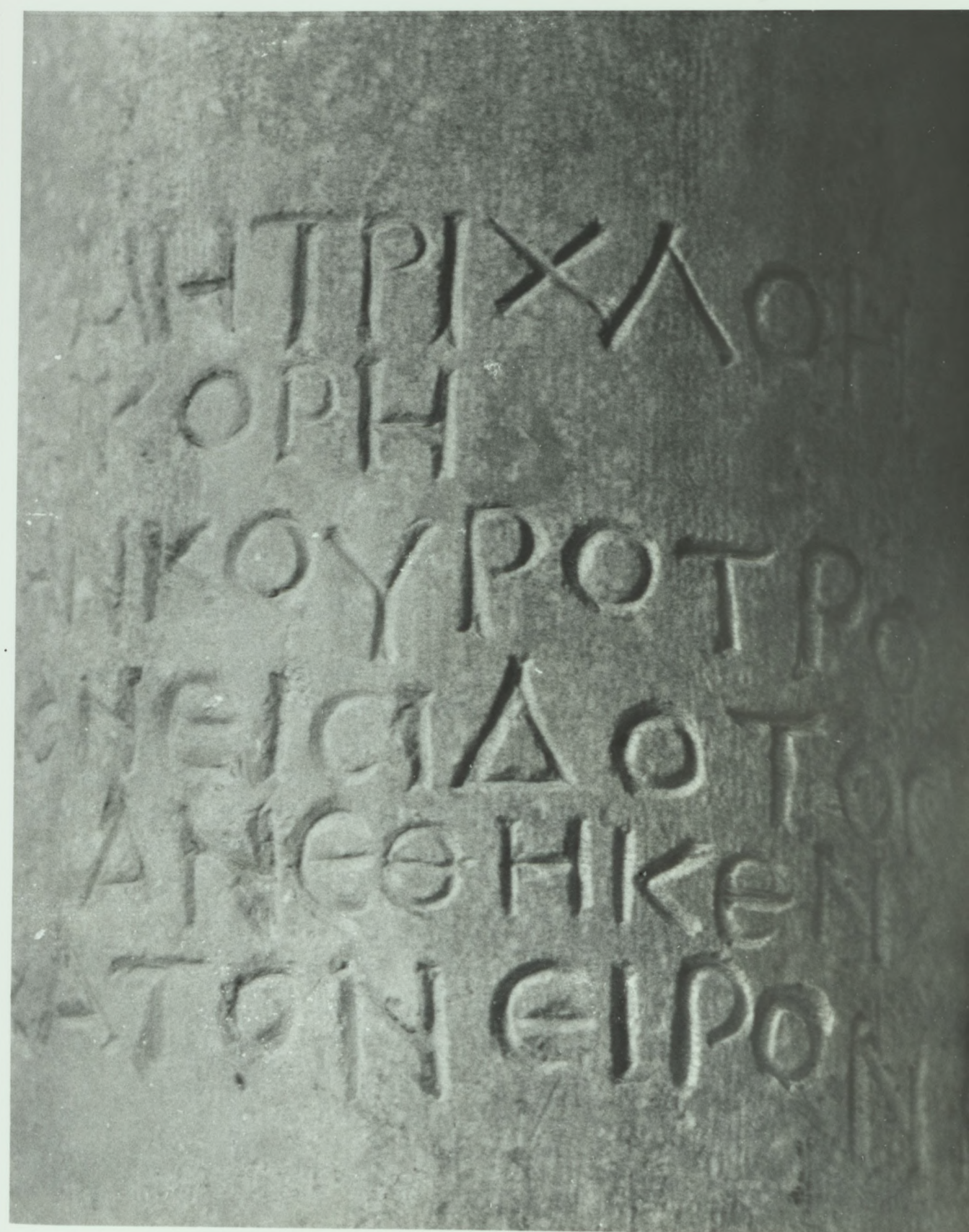
A statue of a girl holding a dove in her right hand.

Dated to c.300 B.C. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.693. See Chapter IV,
note 282.



PLATE 29

Ex-voto as the result of a dream. Dedicated to Demeter
Chloe and Kore. After the middle of the 2nd century A.D.
IG 2·3/3/1, 4778. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.10009.
See Chapter VI, note 289.



ΑΝΤΡΙΧΛΟ
ΖΟΡΗ

ΑΝΚΟΥΡΟΤΡΟ

ΝΕΙCΙΑΔΟΤ

ΔΗCΕΗΚΕ

ΑΤΩΝ ΕΙΡΟ

PLATE 30

The healing centre of Hathor-Isis at Denderah, Egypt.
Made of mudbrick, the outer rooms where incubation was
practised are still clearly discernible. The central area
was used for divine water cures. Some of the channels are
still visible. Probably Egyptian 'Late' Period.
See Chapter V, note 32.



PLATE 31

A surviving pedestal, covered in magical texts, from the healing centre at Denderah. It was used in the divine water cures. Probably Egyptian 'Late' Period. See Chapter V, note 34.



Fragment of a stone tablet with hieroglyphic text, showing several lines of inscriptions. The text is arranged in horizontal columns, with some lines appearing to be part of a larger inscription on a larger surface.

Viens à moi, toi dont le nom est caché aux dieux, qui as fait le ciel, créé la terre,
mis au monde tous les êtres. Lorsque vient ton fils Horus, ses ennemis sont brisés
tants; leur mal ne se produit pas, à savoir tout acte mauvais de la part des compa-
gnons du Malin.

Celui qui a créé les êtres ouvre sa bouche chaque fois au milieu de la chaîne
Ô déesse Isis, il n'arrive aucun mal à ton fils Horus; j'ai trouvé ce qui a été fait
contre lui. Je l'ai entouré de salive sortie de ma bouche, de l'écoulement de mes
lèvres. Aucun mal ne se produit contre lui. Je vivifie celui qui m'aime. Je suis
l'eau, je suis le ciel, je suis la terre, je suis l'air. Je suis Ta-tjenen, vivant de
Maât : c'est le destin prescrit à chaque homme qui donne le souffle de vie à celui
qu'il aime. Je suis Iouny, le vénérable, résidant dans l'horizon, illuminant tout
œil lorsqu'il brille.

..

Je suis le ba des bas, le prestigieux des prestigieux, grand de puissance parmi les
dieux. Je suis Celui-dont-le-nom-est-caché mais dont la statue est brisée parmi
les dieux de la terre. C'est Horus, fils d'Isis, c'est l'enfant issu de
moi.

Voici aussi Isis se tenant à sa droite tandis que Thothis se tient à sa gauche.
Alors ils placent leurs mains sur chacun de ses membres dans l'ouverture de la bouche
afin que vous l'ouvriez tandis qu'il dit : (Les deux sœurs sont avec ?) lui; les deux
uraeus élèvent sa protection. Ta tête est celle d'Atoum, le dieu divin dans la demeure-
de-Rehenet. Tes sourcils sont ceux des serpents. Tes yeux sont ceux d'Hor-
nerty, [c'est celui qui ouvre la vue]. Ils sont Sekhmet et Bastet là sur la tête.
Ton nez est celui d'Horus, le triomphateur(?), taureau des taureaux, qui a engen-
dré les dieux. Tes oreilles sont celles de Yue et d'Ouie. Ton frontal est celui
d'Amon-ré dans la barque-sacrée Nechemet. Ta nuque est celle de la Maîtresse des
corps divins. Ta bouche est pleine de Maât. Tes lèvres sont celles de Ptah. Ta langue
est celle de Thothis, de Hou et de Sia. Ton cou est celui de Montou. Ta gorge est
celle de l'Uraeus, la première de Ré. Tes épaules sont celles du Faucon vivant, Horus
lui-même. Tes bras sont les rames de la barque de Ré. Tes poignets (?) sont les
quatre piliers de Nout. Tes doigts sont le sable d'or de l'Œil de Ré; ton cœur est celui
de Ré-Horakhty. Ta poitrine est celle de Neith. Ton dos est celui de Geb. Tes mains
sont celles de la première des Hathors. Ton ventre est celui de Nout. Tes entrailles
sont celles du Maître de l'Univers. Ton bas-ventre est celui de Nephthys. Ton
phallus est celui de Min. Tes testicules sont les fruits du calotrope(?). Ton derrière
est celui de Montou. Tes jambes sont..... Tes mollets sont ceux de
Heket et Sekhmet. Tes oreilles sont ceux des dieux du ciel. Viens vers..... Fais
la protection qui est dans tout membre de ce rapace vivant, ce faucon vivant
éternellement.

..

PLATE 33

Black granite healing statue of the priest Djed-Hor holding a 'stele of Horus upon the crocodiles'. The whole surface is covered in spells. Water poured over the statue was imbued with the power of the spells before running into a hollow in the plinth. Dated to about 320 B.C. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, no.4752. See Chapter V, note 38.



PLATE 34

The body and head from two separate but similar figurines showing Isis Hygieia. Both came originally from terracotta lamps. She has a snake coiled around her right arm feeding from a bowl held in her left hand. She is wearing a shawl draped over her head, falling to her shoulders and knotted at the front. Found in the Agora in 1939. 3rd century A.D. AI, T1981 (the body) and T2009 (the head). See Chapter V, notes 129-131.



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SKETCH MAP: PROBABLE SITE OF THE SHRINE OF THE Ἥρας ἱερόν

See Chapter VI, note 89.

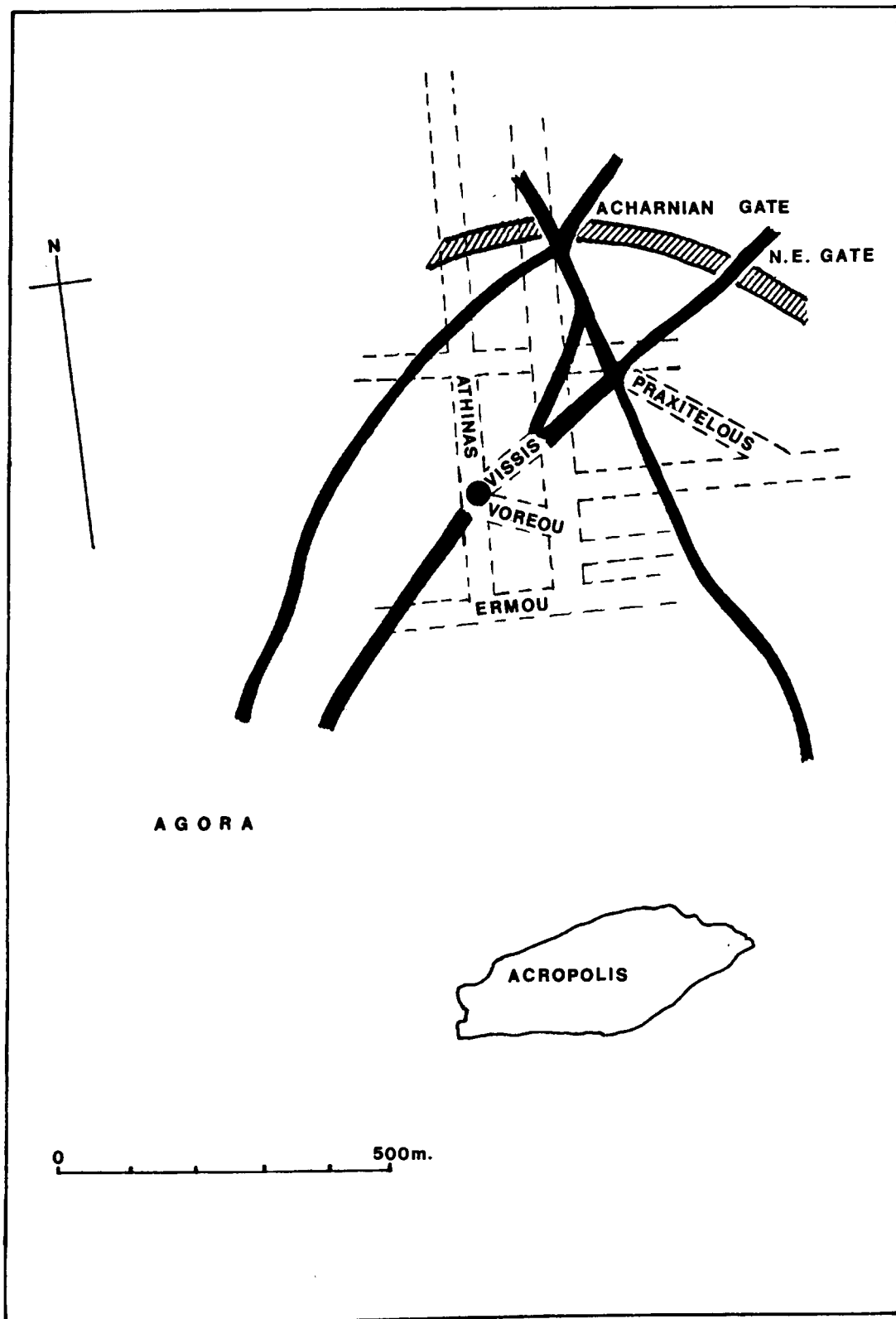


PLATE 36

Votive offering of an eye, possibly originally one of a pair of eyes, dedicated to the *Ἥρωι Ἰατρῷ*. Found in the Agora in 1947. 3rd/2nd century B.C. Now in the Agora Museum, AI, no.I, 5968. See Chapter VI, notes 91 and 107.



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SKETCH MAP OF THE PEIRAEUS

See Chapter VI, note 187.

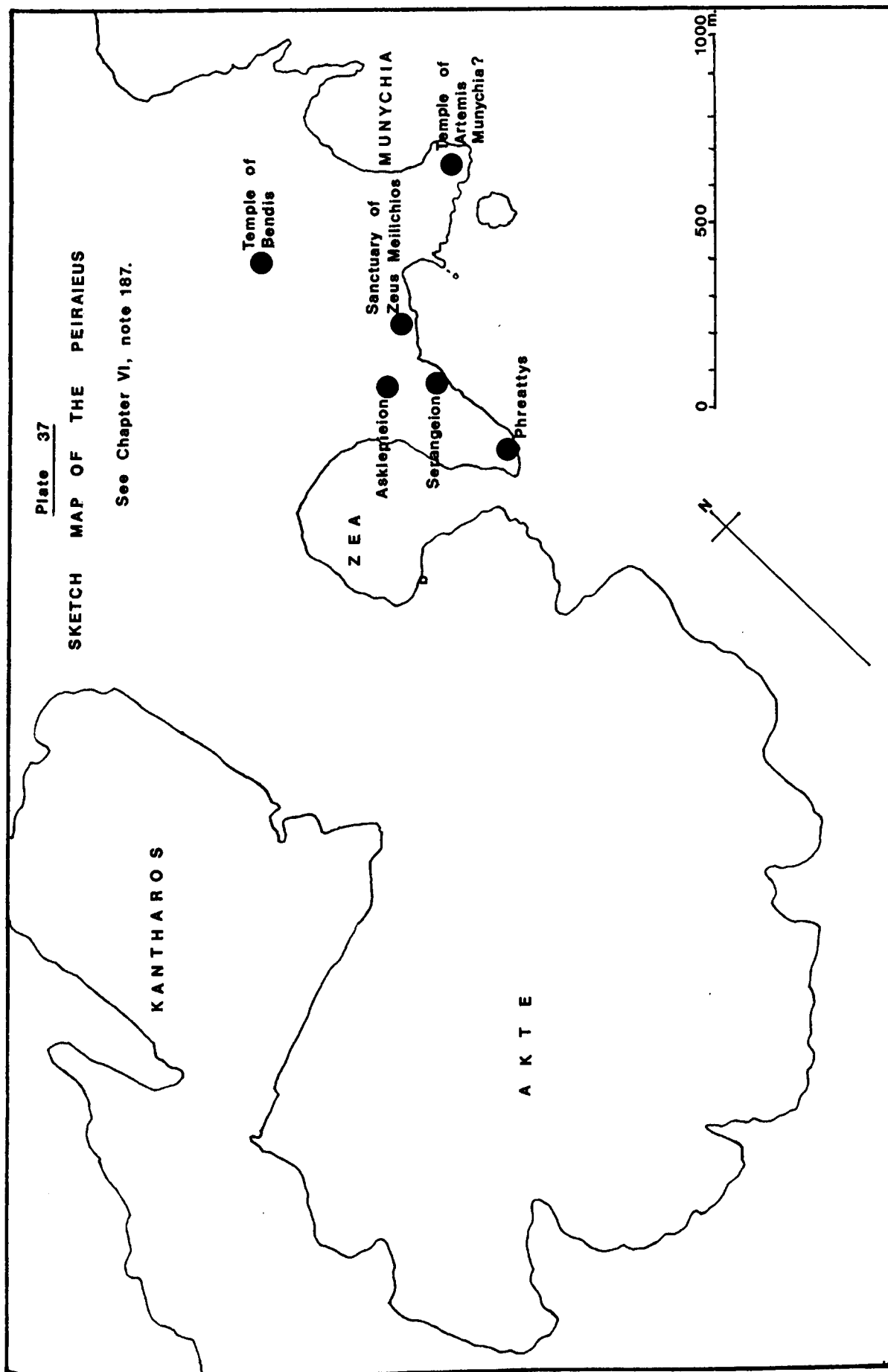


PLATE 38

Dedication of Lysistrate to Herakles. Found on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Late 4th century B.C. IG 2·3/3/1, 4613. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8793. See Chapter VI, note 247.

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
ΥΠΕΡΤΑΝΤΙΑΝ
ΠΑΡΑΕΙΛΑΝΕΟΗΤΕ

CMS.
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PLATE 39

Small votive relief in honour of Achelous and the Nymphs. Achelous is shown as a head emerging from the rocky ground. Pan accompanies the Nymphs. Typical of many other similar reliefs from Attica, this one is from Eleusis. 4th century B.C. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1445. See Chapter VI, note 318.

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PLATE 40

The so-called 'Ilissos Relief'.

Relief showing Plouton/Zeus Meilichios seated on a representation of Achelous, with Hermes and Herakles standing in front of him. There are also traces of the body of a goddess holding a horn. Found in the Ilissos in 1893. Probably third century B.C. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1778. See Chapter VI, note 320.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ael. : Aelian
VH = Varia Historia
- Aesch. : Aeschylus
Ag. = Agamemnon
Ch. = Choephoroi
Eu. = Eumenides
Fr. = Fragmenta
Pers. = Persae
- Aeschin. : Aeschines
- AI : Agora Inventory
- AJA : American Journal of Archaeology, second series, 1897 -
- AM : Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts,
Athenische Abteilung, 1876 -
- Anacr. : Anacreon
- And. : Andocides
- Annuario : Annuario della Scuola Archaeologica di Atene
- Apollod. : Apollodorus
Bibl. = Bibliotheca
- Apollon. : Apollonius (Biographus)
Vit. Aeschin. = Vita Aeschinis
- Apollon. : Apollonius (Paradoxographus)
Mirabilia = ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑΙ
- Ar. : Aristophanes
Ach. = Acharnenses
Av. = Aves
Eq. = Equites
Lys. = Lysistrata
Nu. = Nubes
Pl. = Plutus
Ra. = Ranae
Th. = Thesmophoriazusae
V. = Vespae
- A.R. : Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautika
- Arat. : Aratus
Phaen. = Phaenomena
- Arist. : Aristotle
Ath. = ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ
Fr. = Fragmenta
GA = de Generatione Animalium
Po. = Poetica
Pol. = Politica
- Aristid. : Aelius Aristides
- Arn. : Arnobius
AN = Adversus Nationes
- Arr. : Arrian
Perip. = Periplus Maris Euxini

- Artem. : Artemidorus Daldianus, Oneirocritica
- Ath. : Athenaeus of Naucratis
Deip. = ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΙ
- Aug. : Augustine
Civ. Dei = De Civitate Dei
- AZ : Archäologische Zeitung
- BA Besch : Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
- BAR : British Archaeological Reports
- Baslez (M.-F.) Recherches : Recherches sur les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des religions orientales à Delos
- BCH : Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1877 -
- Beazley (J.D.) ABV : Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters
ARV² : Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters, 2nd Edn.
- Bekker (I.) AG : Anecdota Graeca
- BM : British Museum
- BSA : Annual of the British School at Athens, 1895 -
- CAF : T. Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta
- Call. : Callimachus
Aet. = Aetia
Del. = Hymnus in Delum
Dian. = Hymnus in Dianam
Jov. = Hymnus in Jovem
- CIS : Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, 1881 -
- CQ : Classical Quarterly, 1907 -
N.S. New Series 1951 -
- CVA : Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
- Dam. : Damascius
Isid. = Vita Isidori
- Daux (G.) "La Grande Démarchie" : "La Grande Démarchie: Un Nouveau Calendrier Sacrificiel d'Attique (Erchia)"
- Δελτ. : Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν prior to 1915
Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 1915 -
- Dem. : Demosthenes
Aris. = Against Aristocrates
DC = De Corona (On the Crown)
DFL = De Falsa Legatione (On the false Embassy)
Steph. = Against Stephanus
- D.L. : Diogenes Laertius
Vit. = Vitae Philosophorum
- Dörpfeld (W.) "Ausgrabungen" : "Die Ausgrabungen am Westabhang der Akropolis", I.
- Dow (S.) "Egyptian Cults" : "The Egyptian Cults in Athens"
- D.S. : Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica

Dsc. : Dioscorides

MM = De Materia Medica

Dunand (F.) Le culte : Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, Vol.II

Epistolographi : R. Hercher Epistolographi Graeci

Ἔργον : ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

Eur. : Euripides

El. = Electra

HF = Hercules Furens

Hipp. = Hippolytus

IT = Iphigenia Taurica

Med. = Medea

Or. = Orestes

Supp. = Supplices

Tr. = Troades

Eus. : Eusebius of Caesarea

PE = Praeparatio Evangelica

Vit.Con. = De Vita Constantini

Eust. : Eustathius (Episcopus Thessalonicensis)

Ἐφημ. : Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883-1909.
Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς, 1910-

Farnell (L.R.) Cults : The Cults of the Greek States

Hero Cults : Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality

FGrH : F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker

FHG : Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum ed. C. and T. Müller

FHRA : T. Hopfner, Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae

Foucart (P.F.) Associations : Des Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs
"Bas-Relief" : "Bas-Relief du Pirée, Culte de Zeus Milichios"

FPG : F.W.A. Mullach, Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum

Gomme (A.W.) Thucydides : A Historical Commentary on Thucydides

GRBS : Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies

Greg. Naz. : Gregory of Nazianzus

Greg. Nys. : Gregory of Nyssa

Harp. : Harpocraton

Lex. = Lexicon

Harrison (J.E.) Mythology : Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens

Prolegomena : Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion

Hdt. : Herodotus

Hes. : Hesiod

Op. = Opera et Dies

Th. = Theogonia

h. Hom : Hymni Homerici: The Homeric Hymns

h. Ap. = hymnus ad Apollinem

Hom. : Homer

Il. = Iliad

Od. = Odyssey

- Hp. : Hippocrates Abbreviations are those in the Concordance des Oeuvres Hippocratiques, ed. G. Maloney and W. Frohn, 1984:
- Ath Dec = Décret des Athéniens
Epid = Les épidémies
Gen = La génération
MSacr = La maladie sacrée
Mul = Les maladies des femmes
NatHom = La nature de l'homme
NatMul = La nature de la femme
Vict = Le régime
Virg = Les maladies des jeunes filles
- Hsch. : Hesychius Lexicon
- HTR : Harvard Theological Review, 1908 -
- IG : Inscriptiones Graecae
 1 = Inscriptiones Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores, ed. A. Kirchhoff, 1873
 1 Suppl. = Supplementa, indices, 1877, 1887, 1891
 1 Ed.Min. = Editio Minor, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 1924
 2 = Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora, ed. U. Koehler
 2/1 = Pars Prima, 1877
 2/2 = Pars Secunda, 1883
 2/3 = Pars Tertia, 1888
 2/5 = Pars Quinta, 1895, Supplementa
 2·3 = Voluminum ii et iii editio minor, ed. J. Kirchner
 2·3/1/1 = Pars Prima, Fasciculus Prior, 1913
 2·3/1/2 = Pars Prima, Fasciculus Alter, 1916
 2·3/3/1 = Pars Tertia, Fasciculus Prior, 1935
 3 = Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae, ed. W. Dittenberger
 3/1 = Pars Prima, 1878
 3/2 = Pars Secunda, 1882
 4 = Inscriptiones Argolidis, ed. M. Fraenkel, 1902
 4/1 (Ed.Min.) = Voluminis iv editio minor, fasciculus i, Inscriptiones Epidauri, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 1929
 7/2 = Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae, ed. W. Dittenberger, 1892, fasciculus ii
 12·5/1 = Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum, fasciculus v, Inscriptiones Cycladum, pars i, Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 1903
- Is. : Isaeus
Phil. : ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΗΡΟΥ
- JHS : Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1880 -
- Judeich (W.) TA : Topographie von Athen
- Just. : M. Iunianus Iustinus
Epitoma = Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi
- Karouzou (S.) NAM : National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Sculpture. A Catalogue.
- Körte (A.) "Bezirk" : Bezirk eines Heilgottes
 "Heiligtum" : "Die Ausgrabungen am Westabhange der Akropolis", IV, "Das Heiligtum des Amynos"

- Lane (E.N.) Corpus : Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis
- Littre (E.) OCH : Oevres Complètes d'Hippocrate, Paris, 1861 and
reissued Amsterdam, 1962
- Lloyd (G.E.R.) Magic : Magic, Reason and Experience
- Loeb : Loeb Classical Library
- Lucian Alex. : Alexander
Anach. : Anacharsis
Deor.Conc. : Deorum Concilium
Peregr. : De Morte Peregrini
- Lucr. : Lucretius De Rerum Natura
- Lyc. : Lycophron
A. = Alexandra
- Marin. : Marinus
Procl. = Vita Procli
- du Mesnil du Buisson (R.) "De Shadrafa" : "De Shadrafa, Dieu de Palmyre,
à Ba'al Shamīn, Dieu de Hatra,
aux II^e et III^e Siècles après J.-C."
Nouvelles Études : Nouvelles Études sur les
Dieux et les Mythes de Canaan.
"Zeus Dêmarous" : "Zeus Dêmarous, Père de Melqart,
d'après Philon de Byblos"
- Migne (J.P.) PG : Patrologia Graeca
- Mitropoulou (E.) "Archinus" : "Egyptian Influence on the Archinus Relief"
Deities and Heroes : Deities and Heroes in the Form
of Snakes
Kneeling Worshippers : Kneeling Worshippers in Greek and
Oriental Literature and Art
- NAM : The National Archaeological Museum in Athens.
When followed by letters and numbers it refers not to the
published catalogue but the Museum's internal cataloguing system.
- Nic. : Nicander
Ther. = Theriaca
- Nilsson (M.P.) Cults : Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient
Greece
Geschichte : Geschichte der Griechischen Religion
History : A History of Greek Religion
MMR : Minoan and Mycenaean Religion and its Survival
in Greek Religion
- Nock (A.D.) Essays : Essays on Religion and the Ancient World
- Nock (A.D.), Roberts (C.) and Skeat (T.C.) "Guild" : "The Guild of Zeus
Hypsistos", referred
to in Nock (A.D.),
Essays
- Oikonomides (A.N.) The Two Agoras : The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens
- Ov. : Ovid
Met. = Metamorphoses
- Parke (H.W.) Festivals : Festivals of the Athenians

PASA : Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Paus. : Pausanias

Perdrizet (P.) "Chypre" : "Notes sur Chypre: Un sanctuaire de dieu guérisseur à Golgos"

Ph.Bybl. : Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History in the edition of H.W. Attridge and R.A. Oden

Phoc. : Phocylides

Phot. : Photios

Lex. = Lexicon

Pi. : Pindar

O. = Olympian

P. = Pythian

Pl. : Plato

Lg. = Leges

Phdr. = Phaedrus

R. = Respublica

Smp. = Symposium

Sph. = Sophista

Tht. = Theaetetus

Ti. = Timaeus

PLG : T. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci

Pliny HN : Historia Naturalis

Plut. : Plutarch

Q.C. = Quaestiones Convivales

Vit. = Vitae Parallelae

Num. = Numa

Per. = Pericles

Sol. = Solon

Them. = Themistocles

Thes. = Theseus

Poll. : Pollux, Onomastikon

Pope (H.) Foreigners : Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions

Non-Athenians : Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions

Πρακτικά : Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας

PW : A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893 -

Raubitschek (A.E.) Dedications : Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis

RES : Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique, Paris, 1900 -

Rev.Ét.Gr. : Revue des Études grecques, 1888 -

Rev.Hist.Rel. : Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1880 -

RM : Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, 1886 -

Roussel (P.) Cultes : Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.

SEG : Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, 1923 -

Soph. : Sophocles

Aj. = Ajax

Fr. = Fragmenta

OC = Oedipus Coloneus

Tr. = Trachiniae

Vit. = Vita Sophoclis

Str. : Strabo

G. = Geographica

Teubner : Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 1849 -

TGF : A. Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta

Th. : Thucydides

Thompson (H.A.) and Wycherley (R.E.) City Centre : The Athenian Agora, Vol.XIV,
The Agora of Athens,
The History, Shape and
Uses of an Ancient City
Centre

Thphr. : Theophrastus

CP = de Causis Plantarum

HP = Historia Plantarum

Trans.Am.Phil.Ass. : Transactions of the American Philological
Association, 1869 -

Travlos (J.) PDA : Pictorial Dictionary of Athens

Val.Max. : Valerius Maximus

Vorsokr. : H. Diels, Die Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker

Wycherley (R.E.) "Minor Shrines" : "Minor Shrines in Ancient Athens"

SA : The Stones of Athens

Testimonia : The Athenian Agora, Volume III, Literary
and Epigraphical Testimonia

Xen. : Xenophon

An. = Anabasis

Hell. = Hellenica

Vect. = De Vectigalibus

REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

- (1) See J.S. Traill, The Political Organisation of Attica, Hesperia Supplement, XIV, 1975, Map 2 on which my sketch map in Plate 1 is based.
- (2) See J. Travlos, PDA, p.138. See also Plate 2.
- (3) J. Seiber, Early Byzantine Urban Saints, BAR, Supplementary Series 37, (Oxford, 1977), p.82.
- (4) E.g. Aesch., Ag., 146 where Apollo is involved as Παιῶνα and also by the epithet ἰηϋόν which may be cognate with ἰάομαι. Certainly the same epithet could be applied to Asklepios. It is strange that Apollo seems to have had no specific healing cult in Athens especially as he had such an important role to play with regard to plague which, as we shall see, appears to be the major factor influencing the introduction and development of healing cults in and around Athens. Apollo was called Paean possibly as a direct result of his plague-role.: Παιῶν: ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ λοιμῷ, γενόμενος Παιῶν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ παύσασθαι. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄλλον θεόν τινα ὕμνος, ἐπὶ τινὶ ἔργῳ κατωρθωμένῳ λεγόμενος: I. Bekker, AG, I, pp.295-296. Ritually too Apollo does seem to have been addressed as Παιῶν/Παιών. See the Fragmentum Erythraeum Paeanis in Apollinem in J.V. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, (Oxford, 1925), p.140. Before the great plague he was given the epithet ἱατρός on a black-glazed skyphos which seems to have had an Attic origin - or at least influence - even though it was found north of the Black Sea: Ἀπόλλ(ων) Δηληνί(ω) ἱατροῖ: SEG, XXX, 1980, no.977, p.271. During and after the great plague Apollo's role may have been greater than the evidence shows, possibly even having a festival known as the Παιώνια. See Ar., Ach., 1212-1213, in A.H. Sommerstein, Acharnians, (Warminster, 1980), p.152 and the editor's note on p.214. It still seems odd that no evidence for a healing cult has yet come to light but see IG 2.3/3/1, 4556.
- (5) See Ath., Deip., I, 22e and II, 36a-b where Dionysus is described as ἰητρῷ, ἱατρόν and ὕχιάτην but in this late author "Dionysus" is really only a personification of wine. Dionysus did, however, have a role to play in healing madness especially the madness brought about by a rejection of him. See R. Parker, Miasma, (Oxford, 1983), p.288 and note 36 where Dr. Parker, however, acknowledges the general lack of evidence for Dionysus as a healer in the historical period. See also p.290 and note 45.
- (6) See IG 2.3/3/1, 4352-4539.
- (7) IG 1, 354 and 362.
- (8) Ἐρχασίαι ἐν τῷ Ἐπιγραφικῷ Μουσείῳ, no.3, p.95 of Δελτ., 1888.
- (9) This inscription is IG 1, Ed. Min., 516. The reconstruction given is from A.E. Raubitschek, Dedications, no.205.
- (10) J.D. Beazley, ARV², I, p.13 and J.D. Beazley, Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens, (London, 1946), pp.21-22.

- (11) PW, "Euphronios". This is not supported by A.E. Raubitschek, Dedications, p.258.
- (12) J.D. Beazley, ARV², I, p.13.
- (13) J.D. Beazley, ibid., has a slight reservation.
- (14) R.S. Folsom, Attic Red-Figured Pottery, (Park Ridge, New Jersey, 1976), p.41.
- (15) P. Kavvadias, Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, Δελτ., 1888, p.32, (See Plate 3).
- (16) Ibid.
- (17) B. Graef and E. Langlotz, Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen, Vol.I, (Berlin, 1925), p.119; P. Wolters, "Zur Athena Hygieia des Pyrros", AM, XVI, 1891, p.154 and his earlier article under the heading "Miscellen" in AM, XII, 1887, p.388; J.C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases, Vol.II, (Harvard, 1919), p.129. It is very difficult to date such a small sherd - approximately 44mm. by 52mm. From the style of the painting one can detect similarities with a little master-cup of the 540's B.C. first published by E. Vanderpool, "An Unusual Black-Figured Cup", AJA, XLIX, 1945, pp.436-440. These similarities are most clearly seen in a snake's head on side A. Acceptance of the similarities as being more than coincidental would help to push the dating of our sherd back into the sixth century although perhaps not as far as the 540's. The little master-cup, however, is not in pure black-figure style. The use of red for beard, garment and especially for the reserved space intended to portray the bare arm of a male figure all seem to indicate the start of a transition. A date somewhere about the turn of the century might be acceptable especially if, with Ms. J.E. Harrison, one would prefer to date the Kallis inscription nearer to 510 on the basis that 'hot cross bun' thetas went out of use as early as 508. See J.E. Harrison, Mythology, p.391.
- (18) P. Kavvadias, op.cit., p.31.
- (19) Plut., Vit., Per.
- (20) IG 1, Ed. Min., 395. This base has been extensively written about. For a bibliography see A.E. Raubitschek, Dedications, entry 166, pp.185-186.
- (21) See A.E. Raubitschek, Dedications, p.186 and his comments on another base, no.164, pp.182-184. There would appear to be justification in assuming that some sort of shrine existed already in view of Plutarch's statement that an altar was already in situ before the incident of the workman and the dedication of the statue. See W. Wroth, "Hygieia", JHS, V, 1884, p.96. Remains of an altar have been found but they seem to be of a later - and therefore, if we accept Plutarch's version, a replacement - altar. See R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.132. See Plate 4.
- (22) Pliny, HN, XX, 44 and XXXIV, 81.
- (23) See A. Michaelis, "Die Statue und der Altar der Athena Hygieia", AM, I, 1876, pp.284-299.
- (24) W. Judeich, TA, p.243 and note 3 would like to push it back to at least the end of the sixth century.

- (25) See A. Körte, "Bezirk eines Heilgottes", AM, XVIII, 1893, pp.249-250.
- (26) Paus., II, xi, 6 and VII, xxiii, 8.
- (27) A. Körte, *op.cit.*, p.250.
- (28) O. Kern, Die Religion der Griechen, Vol.II, (Berlin, 1935), p.310.
- (29) H. Usener, Götternamen, (Frankfurt, 1948), pp.167-168.
- (30) IG 2.3/3/1, 4352-4539.
- (31) See S. Karouzou, NAM, nos. 1333, 1335, 1338, 1341, 1346, 1369 and 1388. Athena Hygieia soon became incorporated into a range of activities. For example, in the reorganisation of rites by Lycurgus in the mid-fourth century a sacrifice to Athena Hygieia was included in the Panathenaia. See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.47.
- (32) A. Defrasse and H. Lechat, Epidaure, (Paris, 1895), p.173. W.A. Jayne, The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilisations, (Yale, New Haven, 1925), p.333 says of the pre-Asklepian Hygieia that "she was the personification of physical health, but was not a healing deity". Late fifth century vase paintings seem also to confirm that the Athenian Hygieia tradition saw her as an abstraction. She is shown along with other personifications such as Eudaimonia, Peitho, Aponia, Eukleia and Paidia. See J.D. Beazley, ARV², II, p.1316, iia, a squat lekythos by a copyist of the Meidias Painter showing Eudaimonia, Eros, Polykles, Pandaisia and Hygieia; and p.1328, 99, a pyxis by one of the Meidias school showing Aphrodite, Peitho, Hygieia, Aponia, Eukleia, Eudaimonia and Paedia. Both of these are late fifth century B.C.. Hygieia at her most formalised and almost ethereal is best seen on the Adonis hydria in Florence, unsigned but thought to be by the Meidias Painter, J.D. Beazley, ARV², II, p.1312, 1(3), where Paedia, personified as a girl, is sitting on the lap of Hygieia similarly personified. This is well illustrated in E. Buschor, Greek Vase-Painting, (London, 1921), Plate XCl and described pp.151-152. Again late fifth century.
- (33) Hp., Ath Dec, in E. Littré, OCH, Vol.IX, pp.400-402.
- (34) Hp., Ath Dec, in E. Littré, OCH, Vol.IX, p.400.
- (35) Th ., II, 47-54 and III, 87.
- (36) Th ., III, 87.
- (37) See A.W. Gomme, Thucydides, II, p.153.
- (38) *Ibid.*
- (39) A.W. Gomme, Thucydides, p.389.
- (40) Th ., III, 87.
- (41) See L. Cohn-Haft, The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece, (Northampton, Massachusetts, 1956), p.32ff. and p.77.
- (42) Th ., II, 47.
- (43) See A.W. Gomme, Thucydides, p.153.
- (44) Th ., II, 51.

- (45) Ibid.
- (46) Th., II, 53.
- (47) Th., II, 52.
- (48) Hes., Op., 97-100.
- (49) See IG 2.3/1/2, 1283.
- (50) Cf. Th., II, 53.
- (51) See J. Travlos, PDA, p.128 for a comprehensive bibliography.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

- (1) Th., I, 126, 6.
- (2) Paus., I, xxxvii, 4. In this chapter an attempt is made to study Zeus Meilichios very much within an Attic context. Elsewhere in the Greek world Zeus Meilichios was viewed in quite different ways. Athens and the Peiraeus seem to have had a very special cult of the god as is shown by the anaglyptic evidence discussed in this chapter. Elsewhere the anaglyptic evidence would indicate a quite different role for the god. In some places he may even have been a funerary deity. See Ch. Picard, "Sanctuaires, représentations et symboles de Zeus Meilichios", Rev. Hist. Rel., 126, 1943, (which contains 125 and 126), pp.97-127.
- (3) Plut., Vit. Thes., XII.
- (4) The evidence is assembled by A.B. Cook, Zeus, (Cambridge, 1925) Vol.II, Part ii, p.1092ff.
- (5) This is what is argued by M.P.Nilsson in his article "Die Götter des Symposion", Opuscula Selecta, (Lund, 1951) Vol.I, p.435ff.
- (6) The general theme of a lack of evil god is succinctly argued by A.D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", HTR, 37, 1944, Appendix 3, = A.D. Nock, Essays, Vol.II, p.599ff. For Hecate see p.592 and p.595, note 78.
- (7) Ibid,p.601. As an example of how Zeus Keraunios was viewed Professor Nock uses the Orphic Hymn Κεραυνού Διός. See G. Quandt, Orphei Hymni, (Berlin, 1955), Hymn no. 19, pp.18-19.
- (8) Od., IX, 270. Homer makes the link quite explicit when he calls Zeus the ἐπιτεμήτωρ ἐκετάων τε ξείνων τε, Ξείνιος.
- (9) S. Reinach, "Sycophantes", Rev. Ét. Gr., XIX, 1906, p.346ff. = "Les Sycophantes et les mystères de la figue" in S. Reinach's Cultes, Mythes et Religions, (Paris, 1908) Vol.III, p.102ff.
- (10) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1092, note 9.
- (11) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1103 and note 4.
- (12) Eust., Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam, H, 116, (Vol.I, p.266, 1572, lines 58-59). See also Hdt., I, 44.
- (13) Paus., I, xxxviii, 5.
- (14) It is so used passim in Hp., M Sacr. See G.E.R. Lloyd, Magic, p.44.
- (15) Theophrastus even uses the word κέραρος to talk about the process of pruning! - CP, III, vii, 12.
- (16) See G.E.R. Lloyd, Magic, pp.43-44 for a discussion of the ambiguities involved. Plato tried to make a distinction in Sph., 226-227.
- (17) For this lack of distinction see G.E.R. Lloyd, Magic, p.44 and note 186 for his sources.
- (18) Xen., An., VII, 8, 5.

- (19) A.D. Nock, Essays, II, p.591.
- (20) Paus., VIII, xxxiv, 3.
- (21) Hermes, Artemis, etc. See A.D. Nock, Essays, II, p.591.
- (22) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1105-1106.
- (23) That is the point of Plato's comment in R., 378a.
- (24) See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.62ff.
- (25) Aesch., Eu., 283.
- (26) See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.62.
- (27) G. Daux, "La Grande Démarchie", pp.603-634.
- (28) G. Daux, "La Grande Démarchie", p.623.
- (29) G. Daux, "La Grande Démarchie", A40-43, p.606.
- (30) See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.120.
- (31) H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.176, "they might not indulge in wine".
- (32) G. Daux, "La Grande Démarchie", p.629, "*νηφάλιος* signifie sans doute que le sacrifice ne comporte aucune libation de vin".
- (33) B18, F23, Δ22 and E13.
- (34) F50, Δ43 and E60.
- (35) G. Daux, "La Grande Démarchie", p.628. See also the analysis of the information about sacrifices by M. Jameson in his article "Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia" in BCH, 89, 1965, p.162ff. and S. Dow "The Greater Demarkhia of Erkhia", BCH 89, 1965, especially pp.208-210 where he argues that the rubric existed precisely to ensure a fair share of meat for as many Demesmen as possible by eliminating the possibility that a few people could carry off most of the meat.
- (36) Ibid. The *νηφάλιος* rubric seems to be present in connection with Zeus Meilichios on a fragmentary Athenian calendar: IG 1, 4 = IG 1, Ed.Min., 840.
- (37) Professor H.W. Parke deals with the Erchia calendar separately and so does not link the information given in that calendar with his account of the Diasia. He uses the incident of Strepsiades with his haggis in Ar. Nu., 408ff. to show that since the sacrifices that day were holocausts there was no good meat available. I very humbly suggest that Aristophanes is making fun of Strepsiades cooking a haggis precisely because it was a day when there was plenty of meat available to everyone. See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.122.
- (38) See L. Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin, 1932) pp.155-158 and also A. Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, (Leipzig, 1898) pp.421-426.
- (39) Th., I, 126, 6.
- (40) See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.120.
- (41) Th., I, 126, 6.
- (42) See E. Simon, Festivals of Attica, (Wisconsin, 1983), p.13.

- (43) This is the view of H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.121. The scholiast's suggestion of cakes - πέμματα - has obscured the fact that Thucydides himself simply says οὐχ ἱερεῖα. Elsewhere Thucydides uses the word θύμα as a virtual synonym for ἱερεῖον, Th., V, 53.
- (44) G. Daux, "La Grande Demarchie", p.615.
- (45) Nu., 864.
- (46) H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.122; L. Deubner, Attische Feste, pp.155-158.
- (47) E. Simon, op.cit., p.15. Her proof lies in showing that many chthonic deities protected children.
- (48) In FHG, Vol.III, fragment 87, pp.143-144. See H.W. Parke, Festivals, pp.95-96 and note 109.
- (49) L. Deubner believed that the essence lay rather in the protection of the newly sown grain. The 'Calendar-frieze' from the Little Metropolis gives some support to this - Attische Feste, pp.248-254. The purificatory aspect is emphasised by L. Moulinier, Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs, (Paris, 1952), p.94.
- (50) This seems to be the scene shown on the Lovatelli urn where the fleece is clearly a ram's skin. See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.96 and Plate 26.
- (51) Suggested by E. Simon, op.cit., p.14.
- (52) H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.96.
- (53) See above, note 49.
- (54) See H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.96.
- (55) Pl., Lg., 877E. A.D. Nock, Essays, II, p.600 mentions ἀποπομπή, ἀποδιοπομπέεσθαι and ἀποτροπλισμός and emphasises the 'removal' aspect of these words.
- (56) E. Simon, op.cit., p.13.
- (57) E. Simon, op.cit., p.12.
- (58) H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.95 and p.120.
- (59) It is interesting that Artem., II, 34 and 39, does not regard dreams of chthonic deities as being in any way sinister. This is pointed out by A.D. Nock, Essays, II, p.601.
- (60) A.D. Nock, Essays, II, p.600.
- (61) Jahweh in the book of Job is an interesting parallel.
- (62) A.D. Nock, Essays, II, pp.599-600 quotes Isocrates V, 117 and Antiphon I, 31, as giving examples of situations where gods are to be placated while having as little to do with them as possible.
- (63) Hp., Vict, E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI.
- (64) Hp., Vict, IV, 88.
- (65) Hp., Vict, IV, 87.
- (66) Hp., Vict, IV, 88.
- (67) Hp., Vict, IV, 89.

- (68) Hp., M Sacr. The whole question of purifications has been extensively studied. See P.L. Entralgo, Mind and Body, (London, 1955), pp.44-57 and especially the Note on p.51. For the fragments of Empedocles' work ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ see Vorsokr., Vol.II, fragments 112-147, pp.354-370 and Empedocles: The Extant Fragments, ed. M.R. Wright, (New Haven and London, 1981).
- (69) Hp., M Sacr, 1.
- (70) Hp., M Sacr, 2. It is interesting that J. Chadwick and W.N. Mann translate καθαροὶ as 'faith healers' in Hippocratic Writings, (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.237.
- (71) Hp., M Sacr, 4. Were the charms - φάρμακα - used like scapegoats - καθάρσιν ἑρᾶ?
- (72) See G.E.R. Lloyd, "Aspects of the Interrelations of Medicine, Magic and Philosophy in Ancient Greece", Apeiron, 1975, Vol.9, No.1, p.4.
- (73) Hp., M Sacr, 4.
- (74) The Suda under Διὸς κῶδιον.
- (75) See M. Nilsson, "Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios", AM, XXXIII, 1908, pp.279-288.
- (76) Plut., Vit., Thes., XII.
- (77) Xen., An., VII, 8. 1ff.
- (78) See H. Sjövall, Zeus in Altgriechischen Hauskult, (Lund, 1931), pp.79-80.
- (79) M. Nilsson, History, pp.123-124.
- (80) That was the hypothesis of A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1159-1160.
- (81) See M. Nilsson, MMR, p.327, note 73.
- (82) M. Nilsson, MMR, pp.325-329.
- (83) Is., ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ, 16.
- (84) Antiphon, ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΥΙΑΣ, 18. Dem., Against Meidias, 53, mentions a fine sacrifice of a white bull to Zeus Ktesios.
- (85) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1066.
- (86) In the Asklepion at Athens: IG 3/2, 3854; and at Epidauros: IG, 4, 1288. For another inscription linking him with Asklepios as ἐνοικίδιος θεός see A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1066. Aristophanes mentions the libation in Eq., 106 and more directly in V., 525 and Pax, 300. See Scholia Vetera et Recentiora in Aristophanis Vespas, ed. W.J.W. Koster, (Groningen, 1978), line 525 and Scholia Vetera et Recentiora in Aristophanis Pacem, ed. D. Holwerda, (Groningen, 1982), line 300.
- (87) See M. Nilsson, History, p.124.
- (88) See M. Nilsson, MMR, p.327.
- (89) See M. Nilsson, MMR, p.328.

- (90) H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, Vol.II, The Oracular Responses, (Oxford, 1956), p.136 and J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, (Berkeley, 1978) p.256. The response is no.335 in Parke and Wormell and H36 in Fontenrose. It dates to about 250B.C.
- (91) Hdt., VIII, 41.
- (92) See above, note 43.
- (93) For example in the Asklepieion at Athens along with Agatha Tyche. Cf. the later Athenian inscription IG 2.3/3/1, 4819.
- (94) M. Nilsson, MMR, p.327. However, A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1064-1065, sees the vessels of Zeus Ktesios and the Dioskouroi as being, originally at least, funereal and linked with ancestor burial.
- (95) M. Nilsson, History, p.124.
- (96) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1159. Also below, notes 108-109.
- (97) Ibid. The Lares too have a similar ancestor/genius ambivalence. For an excellent discussion of Zeus under a variety of titles as a Hausgott - Ktesios, Soter, etc., see H. Sjövall, op.cit. Zeus Philios and Meilichios are jointly dealt with by that author on pp.75-84.
- (98) See above, note 93.
- (99) IG 2.3/3/1, 4627 from Athens. It was common on inscriptions to link Agatha Tyche with a range of other deities or to address her alone. See IG 3/1, 141 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4564, 4610 and 4761 as examples.
- (100) E.g. IG, 4, 1296. This inscription is particularly interesting because of the dream-command: Δὴ φιλίῳ Πύρρειος κατ' ὄναρ. Healing gods frequently used dreams as their communication medium notably, of course, at Epidauros. See below, note 107.
- (101) The one with the inscription to Agatha Tyche, IG, 2.3/3/1, 4627.
- (102) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1162 calls them πυραμίδες.
- (103) I say this pace A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1163-1173 who, following the logic of his hypothesis that the Agathos Daimon and cognate divinities are embodiments of dead ancestors, sees Zeus Philios as the dead man-turned-god. I prefer to follow the line proposed by A.D. Nock, Essays, II, 582-599 that conscious table fellowship with the gods was not involved. This is his opinion generally and in particular he applies it to the offering to Agathos Daimon and also Zeus Soter at a symposium. I also therefore restrict the chthonic implications to the fruitfulness/wealth aspect commonly associated with Πλούτων. However, it must be taken into account that there is a certain amount of evidence for a belief in the participation of a god in his worshippers' banquet. Of particular relevance is evidence for such a belief in the worship of Asklepios where a table was apparently placed in a special place at banquets and food laid out for the god. See R.A. Tomlinson, Epidauros, (Frogmore, St. Albans, 1983), pp.18-19. For Zeus Philios - ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ φιλῖος, ὁ τῶν θεῶν μέγιστος - within a household context see the beautiful description of him in Fragment 2 of Diodorus of Sinope in CAF, Vol.II, p.420.

- (104) ἐρανεῖσται Διὶ Φιλίῳ ἀνέθεσαν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος.
This would make the date 324/323B.C. IG 2/3, 1330.
- (105) Again pace A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1161, who claims: "The pig is proof enough that Zeus Philios, despite the eagle at his side, was a chthonian god".
- (106) Many are collected by A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1175-1176.
- (107) IG 4, 1296. This branch appears to be closely linked with Asklepios. See A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1076-1077.
- (108) See above, notes 99 and 101, IG 2.3/3/1, 4627. Zeus Teleios is known from other occasional finds, e.g. the three fragments of a dedication found in the Agora in the 1930's. See B.D. Meritt "Hellenistic Dedications", Hesperia, XV, 1946, no.47.
- (109) See above, note 96. For Zeus Soter in the Peiraieus see IG 2.3/3/1, 4603 and at Epidauros IG 4/1, 292, 294, 295 and 296.
- (110) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1123ff., who views these libations as offerings for the souls of the dead rather than offerings to family or shared protecting deities.
- (111) See above, note 86.
- (112) He was the third in a common trio of Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros. See the lovely hymn in G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca, (Berlin, 1878), no.1027, pp.433-434.
- (113) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1076-1077. For Zeus Teleios in Athens we have some fragmentary evidence. See R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.125. See above, note 108.
- (114) Paus., II, xxvii, 2.
- (115) See A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, general editor R.S. Poole and after 1897 B.V. Head, Vol.10, Peloponnesus (excluding Corinth) ed. P. Gardner, (London, 1887).
- (116) Reproduced in C.M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, Greek Coins, (London, 1966), no.519. Do the letters ΘΕ refer to the artist? If so, it is possibly Theodotus who inscribed a coin of Clazomenae of c.375B.C. ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. See Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.608.
- (117) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.33.
- (118) Not to be confused with that formed in 280B.C.
- (119) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.516.
- (120) A stater dated to about 370B.C. Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.547.
- (121) A gold stater dated to about 320B.C. Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.790.
- (122) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.569.
- (123) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.572.
- (124) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.571.
- (125) Kraay and Hirmer, op.cit., no.570.

- (126) J.N. Svoronos (I.N. ΣΒΟΡΩΝΟΣ), ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ, (Athens, 1903), Vol.I, pp.149-155. The plates are in Vol.II, no.31. See A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1081-1082 and figures 924-925 for details, bibliography, etc.
- (127) Paus., V, xi, 9.
- (128) Illustrated in J.J. Pollitt, Art and Experience in Classical Greece, (Cambridge, 1972), p.167.
- (129) Ibid. and B. Ashmole, "The Poise of the Blacas Head", BSA, 46, 1951, pp.2-6. especially p.4, and Plates 1-4. Plate 1a, the previously accepted angle of the head, is contrasted with Plate 4b where the angle is more likely to be correct and where the god gazes straight into the eyes of any spectator viewing his statue. Speaking of Asklepios generally and not of any statue in particular, however, C. Kerenyi feels that the typical Asklepios figure has eyes which gaze upwards without any definite aim. See Asklepios: Archetypal Images of the Physician's Existence, (New York, 1959), p.22 and in the German edition, Der Göttliche Arzt, (Darmstadt, 1956), p.20.
- (130) There is a distinction but it is not always easy to draw.
- (131) See M. Nilsson, MMR, p.324 and his History, p.122.
- (132) Ibid.
- (133) As we shall see, Zeus Meilichios had his own shrines at Athens but he was invoked at the Asklepieion at Epidauros: IG 4/1, 282 which is to Ζεύς Μελίχιος and Ἀσκληπιῶν Μελίχιος.
- (134) P. Lévêque, The Greek Adventure, (London, 1968), p.331. I am indebted to Chapter 12 of P. Lévêque's book for much of the information in this paragraph.
- (135) There are twenty epitaphs from the fourth century B.C. onwards of Phoenicians from Sidon and a further twenty of people coming from Tarsus. See L.B. Urdahl, "Jews in Attica" in Symbolae Osloenses, ed. L. Amundsen, H. Mørland and E. Skard, (Oslo, 1968), pp.50-51. We also know from epitaphs in Athens of Phoenicians from Arados, Ascalon, Berytus and Tyre, *ibid.*, and from non-sepulchral inscriptions of a further twenty-two Phoenicians from the Phoenician homeland and Cilicia. See H. Pope, Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions, (Philadelphia, 1947).
- (136) See above, notes 118-122.
- (137) See Kraay and Hirmer, *op.cit.*, no.676 and note.
- (138) See M. Chéhab, Monnaies Greco-Romaines et Phéniciennes, (Paris, 1977), p.16 and Plate X, 1.
- (139) This is the interpretation of Kraay and Hirmer, *op.cit.*, nos.676 and 677, p.365.
- (140) M. Chéhab, *op.cit.*, p.15 and Plate VIII, 3.
- (141) Cf. the beautiful stele showing El sitting on an ornate throne excavated at Ras Shamra, dated to perhaps as early as the thirteenth century B.C., now in the Museum of Aleppo. Published in A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, Ugaritic Religion, (Leiden, 1980), Plate VII.
- (142) At Arados, M. Chéhab, *op.cit.*, p.38 and Plates XXIV-XXV and at Berytus, p.40 and Plate XXVIII.

- (143) Ph. Bybl., p.45.
- (144) Ibid.
- (145) Hp., M Sacr, 1 and 2.
- (146) Ph. Bybl., p.43.
- (147) Robert du Mesnil du Buisson, "Zeus Dêmarous", p.555.
- (148) See R. du Mesnil du Buisson, "De Shadrafa", pp.143-160 and especially pp.147 and 159. Elsewhere he discusses another version of Zeus/El "A Tripoli, ce dieu apparemment devenu, aux époques hellénistique et romaine, le Ba'al Shamîm local, d'un type très voisin de Zeus Dêmarous qui était le Ba'al Shamîm de Tyr, nommé aussi Zeus Meilichios, 'le Bienveillant'". Nouvelles Études, p.110.
- (149) R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles Études, p.110 and "Zeus Dêmarous", pp.555-6.
- (150) See above, note 94.
- (151) Philo of Byblos is the source of our information about Dêmarous: Ph. Bybl., pp.51, 53 and 55.
- (152) The arguments are surveyed in R. du Mesnil du Buisson, "Zeus Dêmarous", p.556.
- (153) R. du Mesnil du Buisson, "Zeus Dêmarous", p.557. The article to which he refers, however, "Some Comments on the Sanchuniathon Tradition" by F. Løkkegaard in Studia Theologica, Vol.VIII, Fasc.II, 1954 (published in 1955), simply says on p.66 that *dū marūš* could mean "the weakened one" or "the one who is made sickly".
- (154) Ph. Bybl., p.46.
- (155) R. du Mesnil du Buisson, "Zeus Dêmarous", p.558.
- (156) Ibid.
- (157) See note 187 in Chapter VI.
- (158) Paus., I, xxviii, 12 and Dem., Against Aristocrates, 77-79 (645-646).
- (159) Paus., I, xxviii, 12.
- (160) Again see Chapter VI, note 195 and W. Judeich, TA, p.436. Another purificatory spot may well have been the altar of Androgeos further towards Phaleron - Paus., I, i, 4. Androgeos was a seaman's hero and also the murdered son of Minos to whom the Athenians had to make reparation for his son's murder - Paus., I, xxvii, 10.
- (161) Information from A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1104 who was basing his facts on old atlases such as E. Curtius and J.A. Kaupert, Atlas von Athen, (Berlin, 1878), p.35. See Chapter VI, note 189.
- (162) See R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.176ff.
- (163) See W. Judeich, TA, p.435 and note 1 and A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1104-1105.
- (164) I do not know for certain but it seems unlikely that it still exists. See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1104. The architectural decoration would appear to be datable to the fourth century B.C.

- (165) IG 2/3, 1581 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4620. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.6.
- (166) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.4.
- (167) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.3.
- (168) IG 2/3, 1582 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4622. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.2.
- (169) IG 2/3, 1578 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4617. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.1. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8795.
- (170) IG 2/3, 1580 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4619. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.7.
- (171) IG 2/3, 1583 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4621. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.8. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1434. See Plate 5.
- (172) IG 2.3/3/1, 4846.
- (173) IG 2/5, 1572c and IG 2.3/3/1, 4625.
- (174) A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.1175-1176.
- (175) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.5.
- (176) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", no.9.
- (177) IG 2.3/3/1, 4847.
- (178) IG 2.3/3/1, 4845.
- (179) IG 2/3, Addendum 1579b, p.352 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4569.
- (180) Παις φέρων τι ἐν ἀβαθεί κανιστρῷ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ κανιστρον καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἑκανῶς ἀποτετριμμένα. I. Dragatses, "ΠΕΙΡΑΪΚΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΗΜΑΤΑ", Ἐφημ., 1886, col.49.
- (181) Ὅπισθεν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ βάθος ἀντιπὸς γυναικεία μορφή φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόφινον μέλαν, ἐφ' οὗ διατηροῦνται ἵχνη χρωματισμοῦ. I. Dragatses, *ibid.*
- (182) Too large merely to hold the grain sprinkled on the sacrifice? The basket looks large enough to have held a μέδμνος. If so, it contained barley or wheat to judge by the regulations at Epidaurios in IG 4/1, Ed. Min., 40/41 which ordains that a whole μέδμνος of barley and half a μέδμνος of wheat were to be dedicated to Apollo and Asklepios. Κανηφόρα often carried strings of dried figs.
- (183) IG 2/3, 1579 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4618. P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.507. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1431. See Plate 6.
- (184) Priest is the suggestion of P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.507. A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1105, note 6 notes the suggestion that he could be the son. The young man is beardless and so this too is a distinct possibility. See Plate 6.
- (185) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1175. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1408, p.147 says that there is some doubt as to whether this piece was found in Athens or in the Peiraieus. See Plate 7.
- (186) IG 2/3, 1572 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4623. This piece used to be catalogued as in the National Museum in Athens, no.1405 but it appears to have been transferred to the Peiraieus Museum.

- (187) IG 2/3, Addendum 1572b, p.352 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4624.
- (188) See I. Dragatses, "ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑΪΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ", Ἐφημ., 1885, col.90.
- (189) Ὅπισθεν καὶ τοῦτου φαίνεται μικρὸν τι ἔχον
τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλης μορφῆς ἀποκοπείσης σὺν
τῷ ἀποκοπέντι τεμαχίῳ τοῦ λίθου. I. Dragatses, *ibid.*
- (190) See A.E. Raubitschek, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia XII, 1943, pp.49-50, no.9. The same is again true for no.12 in the Peiraieus list just given above.
- (191) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", nos.1-7, pp.508-509. The author adds as Numbers 8 and 9 two previously discovered anaglyphs pace A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1107.
- (192) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", pp.507-508, ote 1.
- (193) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.511.
- (194) A dedication to Zeus Philios, IG 2.3/3/1, 4555.
- (195) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.511.
- (196) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.512. The inscription is listed as no.7 above, i.e. IG 2/3, 1583 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4621.
- (197) P. Foucart, "Bas-Relief", p.513.
- (198) Usefully listed by A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1110-1111 along with the notes.
- (199) J.E. Harrison, Prolegomena, p.19.
- (200) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1111ff.
- (201) The pig is shown on no.15 of the list given above, IG 2.3/3/1, 4569; the ram is on no.17 for which the source of information is A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1175.
- (202) Cf. those on the Parthenon Frieze. See M. Robertson and A. Frantz, The Parthenon Frieze, (London, 1975), North Frieze, Slab IV.
- (203) The same is true of the relief from Athens dedicated to Zeus Philios by the Ἐρανοῖται, IG 2/3, 1330.
- (204) Notes 2 and 3.
- (205) IG 1, Ed. Min., 866 and IG 1, Suppl., 528'. See S. Solders, Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikes, (Lund, 1931), p.3, no.17 where Ampelokipi is identified with the ancient deme of Alopeke. However, Alopeke is more probably to be sited to the south-east of the ancient city despite the modern road called Alopekis south of Lykabettos! See J.S. Traill, *op.cit.*, Map 2.
- (206) IG 1, Ed. Min., 866 and IG 1, Suppl., 528'. The marker stone is probably late fifth century B.C.
- (207) References in A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1115, note 2.
- (208) For Athena and Meilichios see S. Reinach, "Le sanctuaire d'Athènes et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes", BCH, 16, 1892, pp.411-417.
- (209) See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1115, note 2.

- (210) See Eur., *Tr.*, line 566 where he talks of 'Ελλας in that role - 'Ελλάδα κοροτρόφω. See Chapter IV, note 188.
- (211) See A.N. Skias, "ΑΝΑΓΛΥΦΑ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΛΙΣΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗΣ", *Έφημ.*, 1894, cols.133-142. Another possible dedication to Zeus Naios is described by A.G. Woodhead, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia*, 28, 1959, pp.283-285 but the dedication may well be to, for example, Zeus Philios. See R.E. Wycherley, "Synopsis of Zeus Cults at Athens", p.178, note 32.
- (212) A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, p.1117, note 3. He also thinks that the lettering is probably fifth century. Since the discovery of the shrine to which this and its accompanying finds probably belonged, however, this date is almost certainly too early. See Chapter VI, note 275ff.
- (213) A.N. Skias, op.cit., p.137ff. A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, pp.1116-1117 and Figure 948. S. Karouzou, *NAM*, no.1778. See below, Chapter VI, note 320.
- (214) I. Miliadis, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΛΙΣΟΥ", *Πρακτικά*, 1953, pp.47-60. See Chapter VI, note 278ff.
- (215) *ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΟΥ*. *IG* 3/1, 285. Carved onto a seat in the Theatre of Dionysos.
- (216) *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4627 and S. Karouzou, *NAM*, no.3329 respectively. The latter is dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.
- (217) *IG* 2/3, 1330; *IG* 2/3, 1584 = *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4677; *IG* 2/3, 1585 = *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4678.
- (218) A.E. Raubitschek, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp.49-52, nos.9, 10 and 11; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp.377-378, no.33; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p.45, no.58.
- (219) See R.E. Wycherley, *SA*, p.188.
- (220) *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4555: Λυσικράτης [Λ]υσικλέος ἐκ Κο(λ)ωνοῦ Δ[ι]ὶ Φιλίῳ [α]νέ[θ]η[κεν], c.375B.C.; ΔΕΑ ΔΗ ΜΙΛΙΧΙΩΙ, fourth century B.C., first published in the excavation report by I. Miliadis, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ: ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, ΝΟΙΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ", *Έρχον*, 1957, p.9 and illus. 3 on p.6. (For a discussion of this second piece within the context of a secure link between Zeus Meilichios and Nymphe see A.N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras*, p.36); and Καλλίας Κα[---]θο[---]ρίκιος, Θουκ[ριτίδης] Διὶ Φι[λίῳ], fourth century B.C. This was found in 1960 "below the Nike Tower" and reported in *Έρχον*, 1960, pp.11-12 and illus. 12. See also A.N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras*, pp.36-37.
- (221) G. Daux, "Dedicace athénienne à Zeus Meilichios", *BCH*, 82, 1958, p.367.
- (222) *IG* 2/3, 1584 and *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4677.
- (223) *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4555. This is most fully described by G. Welter, "Eine Weihung an Zeus Philios", *AM.*, L, 1925, pp.165-166.
- (224) *IG* 2/3, 1585 and *IG* 2.3/3/1, 4678.
- (225) *Hesperia* XII, 1943, pp.51-52, no.11.
- (226) *Hesperia* XXXII, 1963, p.45, no.58.

- (227) "Ερχον", 1960, pp.11-12 and illus. 12.
- (228) Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp.377-378, no.33. A.N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, p.72 gives a different reading: Θεοδ[--- Δι
Μιλχιω] and says that the restoration is based on the presence of the bearded snake.
- (229) I. Miliadis, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ: ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ", p.9 and the illustration on p.6.
- (230) Hesperia XII, 1943, pp.49-50, no.9. Fourth century B.C.
- (231) It is pointed out, *ibid.*, that Olympos is a rare name among Athenians. Another inscription of the right date, c.330B.C., names him as a freedman, IG 2/2, 1567. See H. Pope, Non-Athenians, pp.64-66 and 190.
- (232) Hesperia XII, 1943, p.51, no.10. A.N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, p.72, restores the last word as ἄνεσ [τησαν].
- (233) S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3329. As already mentioned in note 216, the relief is dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C. The lettering is rough by comparison with the rest of the carving. See Plate 8.
- (234) IG 2/3, 1330. The archonship was 324/323B.C.
- (235) IG 2-3/3/1, 4627. See note 101 above.
- (236) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1162.
- (237) IG 2/3, 1330.
- (238) Soph., Fr. 772, (G. Dindorf, I, p.424). There is also the prayer of Oedipus in Soph., OC, lines 869-870.
- (239) R.E. Wycherley, SA, pp.199-200.
- (240) See I. Miliadis, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ: ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ", p.5ff.
- (241) See R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.188.
- (242) *Ibid.* (See above, note 219).
- (243) *Ibid.*
- (244) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1114 using as his source of information M. Hamilton, Greek Saints and their Festivals, (Edinburgh and London, 1910), p.58f.
- (245) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1143ff. analyses the evidence.
- (246) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.1157.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER II

- (1) See R.E. Wycherley, "Synopsis of Zeus Cults at Athens", pp.175-179.
- (2) Paus., I, xxvi, 6.
- (3) Paus., I, xxiv, 4.
- (4) See B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp.90-91, no.37 and plate 22; and R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.124.
- (5) Th., II, 15.
- (6) Paus., I, xxxii, 2.
- (7) See the previous chapter. For a different view of the original role of Μελέχιος, see: J.E. Harrison, Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides, (Cambridge, 1906), p.79.
- (8) Again see the previous chapter.
- (9) The major account of this cult is probably the article "The Pnyx in Athens" by K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, Hesperia I, 1932, p.90ff.
- (10) Examples of the use of the title Ψίστος are to be found in PW, Roscher's Lexicon and A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.876ff. This last contains a full and useful bibliography.
- (11) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.878.
- (12) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.889. See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", Essays, I, p.422 and S.Sanie, "Deus Aeternus et Theos Hypsistos" in Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, Vol.III, (Leiden, 1978), p.1110.
- (13) See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", Essays, I, pp.421-422.
- (14) See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", Essays, I, pp.423-425. For a Jew Ψίστος would have been the equivalent of the Hebrew Elyôn (cf. Genesis xiv, 18). This in turn was cognate with the Phoenician Ba'al Šāmēm expressed as Elioun. See Ph.Bybl., p.86 and M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, (London, 1974), Vol.I, p.298. Ψίστος became a common cult title for Jews as early as c.230B.C. in Egypt. See M. Hengel, Jews, Greeks and Barbarians, (London, 1980), p.95.
- (15) The Marthine inscription is in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The Heraklea inscription is in Bucharest Museum and is in a far better state of preservation. See A.B. Cook, Zeus, pp.880-881 for an illustration of the stele with the Heraklea inscription and further bibliography.
- (16) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.889. There were also centres of the cult of Ζεύς or Θεός Ψίστος as far away as Thrace and Egypt. See M. Hengel, Jews, Greeks and Barbarians, pp.106-107.
- (17) PW, col.448.
- (18) A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.885.

- (19) Greg.Naz., Oratio 18, 5, J.P. Migne, PG, XXXV, col.992.
- (20) Greg.Nys., Contra Eunomium 2, 38, J.P. Migne, PG, XLV, col.484 (W. Jaeger, II, p.327). Both Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa are writing about the year 380. In addition to the name of the sect Gregory of Nyssa adds some interesting theological information: εἰ δὲ ἄλλον τινα παρὰ τὸν πατέρα θεὸν ἀναπλάσσει, Ἰουδαίους διαλεχέσθω ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὑψιστιανοῖς, ὧν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανούς διαφορά, τὸ θεὸν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι τινα, ὃν ὀνομάζουσιν Ὑψιστον ἢ Παντοκράτορα, πατέρα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι μὴ παραδέχεσθαι. Loc.cit. See also M. Hengel, Jews, Greeks and Barbarians, p.107.
- (21) Examples have been found in Lydia as well as at Edessa, Athens (as we shall see) and elsewhere. See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", Essays, I, pp.419 and 421.
- (22) M. Beaudouin and E. Pottier, "Inscriptions de Chypre", BCH, 3, 1879, no.12, p.167.
- (23) A. Dain, Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1933, no.71, p.83.
- (24) P. Perdrizet, "Chypre", no.1, p.361.
- (25) P. Perdrizet, "Chypre", no.2, pp.361-362.
- (26) A. Dain, op.cit., p.83 says: "Plaquette rectangulaire en pierre calcaire blanche, brisée en 12 morceaux et incomplète; ex-voto peint au trait rouge et portant la représentation d'une partie du corps humain, rendue indistincte par les mutilations (peut-être un nez)".
- (27) P. Perdrizet, "Chypre", no.3, p.362.
- (28) A. Dain, op.cit., p.83.
- (29) See A. Plassart, Exploration Archéologique de Délos, Vol.XI, Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe, (Paris, 1928), pp.289-293 and P. Bruneau, Recherches sur Les Cultes de Délos à l'Époque Hellénistique et à l'Époque Impériale, (Paris, 1970), pp.240-241.
- (30) See A. Plassart, "La Synagogue Juive de Délos", in Mélanges Holleaux, (Paris, 1913), pp.205-206. For the particularly Jewish nature of this dedication see M.-F. Baslez, Recherches sur les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des religions orientales à Delos, (Paris, 1977), p.299 and for the Jewish nature of the entire cult pp.127-128.
- (31) A. Plassart, "La Synagogue Juive de Délos", p.205.
- (32) A. Plassart, "La Synagogue Juive de Délos", p.209.
- (33) A. Plassart, "La Synagogue Juive de Délos", pp.209-210.
- (34) Inscriptions to him as ἑπὶ ἴκκοος have been found at Lemnos, Alexandria, Tanais, Pantikapaion and elsewhere round the Black Sea. See O. Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΘΟΙ", AM, XXXVII, 1912, p.lff. = his Ausgewählte Schriften, I, (Amsterdam, 1969), p.152ff.
- (35) "En général, cette sorte de plaques votives étaient offertes à des divinités susceptibles d'accorder la guérison de celui qui

- les sollicitait ou pour qui elles étaient sollicitées".
S. Sanie, *op.cit.*, pp.1110-1111.
- (36) A. Plassart, "La Synagogue Juive de Délos", p.212 thinks this the likely date. See above, note 21.
- (37) P. Roussel, *Cultes*, pp.115-116. Hypsistos was certainly worshipped by Jews in Egypt too. See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", *Essays*, I, p.427.
- (38) Solon seems to have addressed the people in the Agora. *Plut.*, *Vit.*, *Sol.*, 8, 2; 30, 4.
- (39) E. Vanderpool, *Ostracism at Athens*, (Cincinnati University, 1970), pp.3-4. He points out, however, that in practice ostracism stopped about 417B.C. i.e. shortly before the second stage of the Pnyx's existence.
- (40) *Poll.*, VIII, 132.
- (41) For the best account of the early problems see "The Athenian Pnyx" by J.M. Crow with a survey and notes by J.T. Clarke, *PASA*, IV, 1885-1886, p.205ff. For later clarifications: K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, *op.cit.*, pp.90-217. Most recently there has been a new suggestion that the whole of the stage three reorganisation may have to be re-dated to the Roman period and specifically to the reign of Hadrian. The evidence for this late date is the huge number of Roman pottery sherds in the material. I am very grateful to Dr. J. Binder at the American School of Classical Studies for phoning me in December 1986 to confirm (a) the Roman date for much of the infill and (b) the fact that there is too much for it to have been merely intrusive.
- (42) *Plut.*, *Vit.*, *Them.*, 19.
- (43) See Plate 9 for a sketch showing groundplan and cross section. The line of the third period shows how it affected the rock face. The sketch is based on J. Travlos, *PDA*, p.473. See above, note 41 for the possibility that the third stage of the reorganisation is Hadrianic in date.
- (44) See E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, (London, 1819), I, p.101ff. and K.S. Pittakys, *L'Ancienne Athènes*, (Athens, 1835), p.456. See Plate 10 for a sketch map showing the findspots of the Hypsistos material in Athens.
- (45) *IG* 3/1, 148-155 and 237 i.e. nos.2-9 and 11 in the list given later in the chapter. There is some confusion over the twelve tablets found by Lord Aberdeen. It is sometimes stated that "he found twelve votive reliefs inscribed with the name of the god" - J. Travlos, *PDA*, p.569. In fact only eleven have any inscription at all and so the twelfth uninscribed one tends to get omitted from lists. To compound this problem, one of the inscribed ones tends to get included twice in the list of twelve. This part of the problem arises because one tablet was apparently damaged after its inscription was originally recorded. The damaged tablet was then catalogued as a separate piece while the original was recorded as being lost. This was first observed by E.L. Hicks in *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, ed. C.T. Newton, Part I, *Attika*, ed. E.L. Hicks, (Oxford, 1874), no.LXIX, p.133. More recently it was reiterated by the editor of

- IG 2.3/3/1, 4799. The twelve are listed below, nos.1-12. The damaged tablet, no.3, is listed with both its original and its present inscription.
- (46) IG 3/1, 147 and 156 i.e. nos.1 and 10 in the list below along with no.12.
- (47) IG 2.3/3/1, 4808 and 4809 i.e. nos.13 and 14 in the list below.
- (48) IG 2.3/3/1, 4810 i.e. no.15 in the list below.
- (49) Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, issued by the Königl. Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, 1891, no.721 i.e. no.16 in the list below.
- (50) Item 290 in Ἐφημ., 1852, p.774 and E. Curtius, Attische Studien I, "Pnyx und Stadtmauer", Göttingen, 1862, p.27.
- (51) See K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., p.197.
- (52) IG 2.3/3/1, 4783 i.e. no.17 in the list below.
- (53) H.A. Thompson, "Pnyx and Thesmophorion", Hesperia, V, 1936, pp.154-156 i.e. nos.18-21 in the list below while one of the five pieces is rejected as definite Hypsistos material. See below, note 63ff.
- (54) AI, no.I, 3551 discussed in Hesperia XXIII, 1954, p.256; no.I, 3794, Hesperia XXIX, 1960, p.63; no.I, 4294, Hesperia XXIX, 1960, p.63; no.I, 5960, Hesperia XVII, 1948, p.43; no.I, 6606, Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp.89-90. These are respectively nos.22-26 in the list below.
- (55) IG 2.3/3/1, 4784 i.e. no.27 in the list below. See note 115 for another find there.
- (56) IG 3/1, 146 i.e. no.28 in the list below.
- (57) IG 2.3/3/1, 4782 i.e. no.29 in the list below. See A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.878.
- (58) IG 2.3/3/1, 4843 i.e. no.30 in the list below.
- (59) K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., p.200.
- (60) H.A. Thompson and R.L. Scranton, "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx", Hesperia, VII, 1943, pp.269-301. However, much more recently, while not disputing the general dating of Period III of the Pnyx, Professor Thompson has stated that he feels that the cult of Zeus Hypsistos must be Roman and possibly as late as the second and third centuries A.D. See H.A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Models", Hesperia Supplement XIX, Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography, (Princeton, 1982), p.142 and note 32. It is not clear how the fourth century B.C. cutting of the escarpment with its concomitant effect on some niches can be squared with the votives from those niches being Roman. As has already been mentioned above, note 41, the most likely solution to the problem is that the whole third stage of the reorganisation is Roman and probably Hadrianic. This is confirmed by the large amount of Roman pottery in the infill.
- (61) This account of the shrine is entirely based on the excavation report of K. Kourouniotes and Homer A. Thompson, op.cit., pp.193-200.
- (62) See Plate 11 which shows the south wall of the shrine.

- (63) This is the fourth item in the five described by Homer A. Thompson, "Pnyx and Thesmophorion", pp.155-6. Most unfortunately these fragments have now gone missing. I am most grateful to Ms. Margot C. Camp for all her trouble in trying to track them down in the Agora Museum storerooms.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) See J. Travlos, PDA, p.466.
- (66) Scholion on Ar., Eq., 410.
- (67) See H.A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951", Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp.91-3; R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, pp.122-124; and H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, City Centre, pp.160-162. However, Dr. J. Binder thinks that the remains in the Agora have nothing to do with the altar of Zeus Agoraios.
- (68) O. Broneer, "Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis in Athens", Hesperia, I, 1932. See J. Travlos, PDA, pp.228-232. These niches must have received tablets linked to the worship of Aphrodite and Eros. These will be discussed in Chapter IV.
- (69) R.E. Wycherley, "The Pythion at Athens", AJA, 67, 1963, pp.75-79.
- (70) I.T. Hill, The Ancient City of Athens, (London, 1953), p.99.
- (71) See L.B. Urdahl, op.cit., pp.44-49 and p.56. Also most Jewish-pagan amalgams of the Hypsistos variety seemed to emerge suddenly at the beginning of the Christian era. See M. Hengel, Jews, Greeks and Barbarians, p.107.
- (72) The Ionic capital IG 2.3/3/1, 4782 i.e. no.29 in the list below. The column IG 3/1, 146 (= IG 2.3/3/1, 4738) i.e. no.28 in the list below, is more likely not to be architectural since it seems to have been surmounted by an eagle. The eagle, of course, was an attribute of the chief god, the sky god, of many Mediterranean cultures. This would have been well known in Semitic circles from the eagle's importance in Phoenician religious iconography. See R. du Mesnil du Buisson, "De Shadrafa", p.153.
- (73) K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., pp.195-196.
- (74) K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., pp.196 and 199.
- (75) Block ~~14~~ K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., p.199
- (76) K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., p.196.
- (77) IG 2.3/3/1, 4783 (no.17 in the list below) is in an almost perfect state of preservation while 4784 (no.27 in the list below) is pitted.
- (78) IG 3/1, 147 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4766.
- (79) IG 3/1, 148 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4798.
- (80) The tablet in the British Museum actually now reads only [$\Upsilon\psi$]ίστω with an anaglyph of one eye out of an original pair. As it stands now this tablet is IG 3/1, 238. However, it is almost certainly the same as the supposedly lost ex-voto of Εὐόδος, which is IG 3/1, 149 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4799. For a full explanation see above, note 45.

- (81) IG 3/1, 150 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4800.
- (82) IG 3/1, 151 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4801. See Plate 12.
- (83) IG 3/1, 152 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4806. See Plate 12.
- (84) IG 3/1, 153 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4802.
- (85) IG 3/1, 154 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4803.
- (86) IG 3/1, 155 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4804. See Plate 12.
- (87) IG 3/1, 156 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4805. See Plate 12.
 Is it the same Φιλημάτιν (Φιλημάτιον) who dedicated an ex-voto to "Effort"? Ὀρμῇ ἐπιτάχην Φιλημάτιν - IG 2.3/3/1, 4734 and Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8146. This latter inscription is dated to Hadrian's reign. For Ὀρμῇ see Paus., I, xvii, 1.
- (88) IG 3/1, 237 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4807.
- (89) Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, (London, 1812-1861) part ix, ed. E. Hawkins assisted by S. Birch and C.T. Newton, plate 41, fig.4.
- (90) IG 2.3/3/1, 4808 and Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, no.720. See Plate 13.
- (91) IG 2.3/3/1, 4809 and Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, no.718. See Plate 13.
- (92) IG 2.3/3/1, 4810 and Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, no.719. See Plate 13.
- (93) Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen, no.721. See Plate 13.
- (94) IG 2.3/3/1, 4783. J. Travlos, PDA, p.572, no.717 says that this piece is in the Agora Museum Storeroom. However, it has no Agora Inventory number and appears not to be there. Dionysia is known as a Jewish name in Athens. See L.B. Urdahl, op.cit., p.42.
- (95) H.A. Thompson, "Pnyx and Thesmophorion", pp.154-155. This piece is indexed by the American School of Classical Studies as PN (Pnyx) I 6 in the Agora Museum. I am very grateful to Ms. Margot C. Camp for the great deal of time and trouble she took to find the PN series of pieces.
- (96) Ibid. This is PN I 2 in the Agora Museum.
- (97) Ibid. This is PN I 8 in the Agora Museum.
- (98) H.A. Thompson, "Pnyx and Thesmophorion", pp.155-156. This piece can no longer be traced in the Agora Museum.
- (99) AI, no.I, 3551; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p.256; R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.124. See Plate 14. Professor Wycherley follows the first reading of this piece given in Hesperia, XXIII: 'Υψιστ[ω] Κεδα[----] Εὐχῇ [v]. However, an alternative reading is given and having studied the piece in the Agora Museum I have given that alternative reading in the text as being the more likely. There is no reason to presume that each word was being kept to a single line and no name beginning Κεδα-- is known. The mark on the stone after the Κε may be a deliberate dot μῆσση στιγμαῇ but this is unlikely on a first century A.D. inscription.

- (100) AI, no.I, 3794; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p.63. See Plate 14.
- (101) AI, no.I, 4294; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p.63. This very strange anaglyph has at least two letters carved on each of the sides. On the left perhaps B or E and below that A followed by H. On the right possibly a Y and below that K. Only the lower part of the anaglyph remains. I suspect that the anaglyph shows the lower part of a pair of arms starting at the elbows and broken off before the wrists - cf. the Marthine and Heraklea inscriptions. See above, note 15.
- (102) AI, no.I, 5960; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p.43. R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.124. See Plate 14.
- (103) AI, no.I, 6606a for main part and 6606b the fragment of its moulded base; B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp.89-90; R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.124. See Plate 14.
- (104) IG 2.3/3/1, 4784. See below, note 125 and also Plate 15.
- (105) IG 2.3/3/1, 4738 and IG 3/1, 146. Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.9527.
- (106) IG 2.3/3/1, 4782. This is supposed to be S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3288 but I could not find the piece.
- (107) IG 2.3/3/1, 4843, Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.6101; see Ms. Peppas Delmousou, "ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ", Δελτ., XXVII, 1972, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, p.11. A thirty-first item has been discussed and tentatively ascribed to a different cult. See above, note 63. In addition to these certain pieces, there are three which may have originated from the Hypsistos shrine: IG 2.3/3/1, 4706 - a plaque, found on the Acropolis, showing a leg and with the inscription: ΜΕ|ΝΕΣ|ΤΡΑΤ|ΟΣ ΕΥ|ΧΗΝ
 ἄ|Υ[ΕΘΗ]|Κ[ΕΥ]|Δ[Ι]. This is Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8768. It obviously refers to a healing cult of Zeus. Ms. Peppas Delmousou, Ephor of the Epigraphic Museum in Athens, very kindly pointed out to me that two more pieces may have come from the same source: IG 2.3/3/1, 4740 which is Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.9543: ΤΟΝΔΕ ΛΥΚΟ[Σ] | [ΚΑΙ ---] | [-----] ΚΑΤ' Θ' | ΝΥΦΟΝ |
 ΤΩΙ ΞΕ[Ι]ΝΩΝ Ε|ΦΟΡΩΙ ΒΩΜΟΝ | ΕΘΕ[Ν]ΤΟ ΔΙ. First to second century A.D. It was found on the Acropolis. It would be lovely to be sure that this piece originated from the Hypsistos shrine since it contains so much other information; IG 2.3/3/1, 4741 which is Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8267: ΔΙΟΣ[-----] | ΚΑΤΑ
 ΤΗΝ [ΕΠΙΤΑΧΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ]? This latter piece is of the same date and again found on the Acropolis. It is part of what must have been quite a large base whereas IG 2.3/3/1, 4740 is a small but almost intact altar. See Plate 16 for a photograph of the ex-voto of ΛΥΚΟΣ, IG 2.3/3/1, 4740. The list in the text covers material found only in Athens. Hypsistos was worshipped also in the Peiraieus. See IG 2.3/3/1, 4811: ΕΥΘΟΔΙ|Α 'ΥΕ|Ι|ΣΤΩ ΕΥ|ΧΗΝ. This is from a small altar of second to third century A.D. date. Unfortunately, the evidence from the Peiraieus is too scanty to allow of any speculation about the cult of Hypsistos there but we do have an interesting protome viri imberbis with a man's dedication: Γ(ΑΛΟΣ) ΜΕ(ΜΙΛΟΣ) ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ | ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ | ΔΙ
 'ΥΕ|Ι|ΣΤΩ | ΕΥ|ΧΗΝ: IG 2.3/3/1, 4737. Of the same date.
- (108) Nos. 6 and 29.

- (109) See L.B. Urdahl, op.cit., p.42 and M. Hengel, Jews, Greeks and Barbarians, p.93.
- (110) No.29 along with no.1 on behalf of *Εὐφρόσυνος*.
- (111) No.28.
- (112) There is one anaglyph, no.24, which looks like two, broken cylinders. Arms? See above, note 101.
- (113) No.23.
- (114) Nos.4 and 16.
- (115) Nos.7-9, 14, 15 and 17-19. The number of anaglyphs showing breasts may well be nine and not eight. While studying the material being moved from the Tower of the Winds to a new storage area nearby I discovered (April 1986) an uninscribed anaglyph showing two breasts. This was given to Ms. Choremi of the local Ephoria. As far as is known the piece is unpublished. Being uninscribed it is not possible to be certain that the piece belongs to the Hypsistos cult but it was among the material from which Eutychia's dedication to Hypsistos came (see below, note 125). Therefore, there is a strong likelihood that it does belong to that cult. Breasts form the single largest group of votives from the cult. To judge from the shape and size of the anaglyph it compares exactly with the other votives of breasts. These factors too add weight to the argument that this anaglyph is the ninth showing breasts from the Hypsistos cult.
- (116) E.g. nos.22-24 and 30.
- (117) Nos.3, 10 and 13.
- (118) No.13.
- (119) No.5.
- (120) No.10.
- (121) K. Kourouniotes and H.A. Thompson, op.cit., p.198.
- (122) No.3.
- (123) No.11.
- (124) No.6 and possibly also no.24.
- (125) Nos.27 and 12. With regard to the finding of the pair of footprints see Ph. Stauroopoulos, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ", Δελτ., XIII, 1930-1931, ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ(Supplement) pp.2-3. See Plate 15. The piece was until recently stored in the Tower of the Winds but this was cleared out a short time ago. I am very grateful to Ms. A. Choremi to whose Ephoria the material belongs. She hunted for a long time for this piece and was finally successful. All the material from the Roman Agora is (April 1986) being sorted by her and stored in newly built quarters nearby. This piece is now catalogued as p. 846. It was also with Ms. Choremi's permission that I studied and photographed it.
- (126) M. Guarducci, Epigrafia Greca, III, (Rome, 1974), p.59 where she also mentions a foot in profile from the Asklepieion in Athens.
- (127) Delos: see P. Roussel, Cultes, pp.115-116. See above, note 37. Crete: M. Guarducci, op.cit., III, pp.70-75 where she also

discusses the sandalled, wonder-working foot of certain deities as does O. Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder, (Giessen, 1909), p.67ff. For another such foot see A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.879. For healing ex-votos generally see M. Guarducci, *op.cit.*, IV, p.143-166.

- (128) See L.J. Archer, "The role of Jewish women in the Religion, Ritual and Cult of Graeco-Roman Palestine" in Images of Women in Antiquity, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, pp.273-287 and especially p.284. For a known Jewish, almost magical, invocation of Hysistos there is the pair of inscriptions from Rheneia asking for vengeance on those who had wrongly killed by violence or witchcraft the two Jewish maidens Marthine and Heraklea. See above, note 15.
- (129) Nos.22, 23, 25 and 26. They are 23cms., 10½cms., 10½cms. and a fragment 9cms. high respectively. See Plate 14 for a photograph of all four. No.25 has, however, orange stains on the top which might indicate actual use as an altar.
- (130) Nos.11, 27 and 29.
- (131) Nos.2, 7, 13, 25 and 30.
- (132) No.21.
- (133) Nos.1, 10 and 15.
- (134) No.19.
- (135) Nos.3-6, 8, 9, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22-24, 26 and 28.
- (136) No.29.
- (137) E.g. IG 2·3/3/1, 4844 dedicated Δι Στρατι[ω].
- (138) But see Chapter I, note 234.
- (139) No.29.
- (140) See L. Ross, Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon in Athen, (Braunschweig, 1853), p.15. He very tactfully makes a suggestion about φιλημάτων when discussing the names of the dedicants - "... Namen von Sklaven oder Freigelassenen und vielleicht, wie φιλημάτων, von etwas noch Schlimmerem".
- (141) See E.J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, Asclepius, A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies, (Baltimore, 1945), Vol.II, pp.255-256.
- (142) Eus., Vit.Con., III, lvi, J.P. Migne, PG, XX, cols.1121-1124. Eusebius seems to have been Constantine's theological adviser and thus may have advised the destruction of the Asklepieion himself.
- (143) Marin., Procl., 29.
- (144) *Ibid.*

REFERENCES

CHAPTER III

- (1) Quoted by A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.231. See Plate 17 for a sketch map showing the excavations of the shrine of Amynos.
- (2) IG 2.3/3/1, 4422.
- (3) W. Dörpfeld, "Ausgrabungen" I, p.508.
- (4) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.287-332.
- (5) IG 2.3/3/1, 4365.
- (6) IG 2.3/3/1, 4457.
- (7) IG 2.3/1/2, 1252 and 1253.
- (8) Etymologicum Magnum, under Δεξιων. The evidence about the significance of the name Δεξιων is not accepted by some authors who instead propose a different meaning of the name. The importance of the hand, especially the right hand is well known in certain cults (cf. that of Σαβάσιος) and there is a possibility that Δεξιων could have that significance. This idea is discussed by O. Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder, p.38ff. This is a very interesting alternative but, in this shrine, apart perhaps from some marble finger joints (see below, note 174), there is no real, positive anaglyptic support for the idea. To accept this alternative would be to reject strong, documentary evidence in favour of a hypothesis. To add to our knowledge from the Etymologicum Magnum Istros says of Sophocles that Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ γῆφισμα τιτιοιῦκέναι κατ' ἔτος αὐτῷ θύειν - FG^{RII}, II, B, p.179. For analogous names of people who have received deities see L.R. Farnell, Hero Cults, p.364, note d. For a late source confirming the story of Asklepios' reception by Sophocles see Plut., Vit., Num., 4.
- (9) Soph., Vit., p.xix: ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλκωνος ἱερωσύνην.
- (10) Soph., Vit., note 19 of editor, A.C. Pearson: "Ἀλκωνος Meineke ἄλωνος codd. (ἄλωνος Γ)". See A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.311.
- (11) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.311, note 2.
- (12) A.R., I, 96-97.
- (13) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.311-312.
- (14) E. Schmidt, "Halon", AM., XXXVIII, 1913, pp.73-77.
- (15) E. Schmidt, "Halon", p.73.
- (16) Paus., I, xxi, 4. For a more recent discussion of the Halirrotios - Halon question within the context of the topography of the Asklepieion see L. Beschi, "Contributi di Topografia Ateniese", Annuario, 29/30, 1967/8, p.514.
- (17) E. Schmidt, "Halon", p.76.
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) IG 2.3/3/1, 4960 tells us that the Asklepieion was not founded until 419/418 B.C. The Spring House is probably late sixth century B.C. See J. Travlos, PDA, p.138. The boundary stone IG 1 Ed.Min., 874 - ἔρος κρένες, seems to have been placed in

position to define the boundaries when the Asklepieion was being founded in the late fifth century.

- (20) See O. Walter, Das Priestertum des Sophokles, in Γέρας Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου, (Athens, 1953), pp.476-479.
- (21) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.312. His argument has more recently been accepted by W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", HTR, XXXVII, 1944, p.86 and note 34: "In an unfamiliar proper name some copyist misread $\mu\nu$ as $\lambda\omega$ (an easy enough thing to do), preserving a six letter word; and no copyist knew enough to suspect an error". He goes on to give as examples how $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ became, through scribal error, $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ and $\text{Εὐκλῆς Ξενάνδρου Αἰθα[λίδης] became Εὐκλῆς Μενάνδρου Ἀλιμουσίος. Any palaeographer can produce examples of similar scribal errors. Professor Ferguson, however, freely admits that many authorities are hesitant about or absolutely reject any "correction" of ΑΛΩΝΟΣ to ΑΜΥΝΟΥ. See E. Schmidt, "Halon", p.73ff.; and O. Kern, Die Religion der Griechen, II, (Berlin, 1935) p.314 and p.314, note 1. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, however, also thinks that Halon makes no sense - "Einen Halon sich aus dem namen zu konstruieren. einen Salzmann" oder einen Hypokoristikon von Halirrthothios, dem Mädchenschänder, den Ares erschlug, ist nichtig" - Der Glaube der Hellenen, Vol.II, (Berlin, 1932), p.225, note 1.$
- (22) The asp - $\acute{o}\tau\alpha\nu \eta \delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\nu \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu \omicron\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu \eta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\nu' \alpha\upsilon\chi\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\eta\sigma\eta.$ $\nu\omega\theta\eta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\nu \acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omicron\nu, \acute{o}\lambda\kappa\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\rho\omicron\chi\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu \epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron \chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta....$ - Nic., Ther., 164-166. It is possible that $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma/\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$ was a kenning or periphrasis for snake like those used by Hesiod for the octopus and the ant. See Hes., Op., lines 524 and 778. T.A. Sinclair in his edition says that the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in 524 is the cuttlefish and on p.56 discusses Hesiod's periphrases.
- (23) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.234.
- (24) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.242.
- (25) Ibid.
- (26) IG 2-3/1/2, 1289. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.84.
- (27) B.D. Meritt, "A Decree of Orgeones", Hesperia, XI, 1942, no.55, pp.282-287. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp.73-79.
- (28) IG 2-3/1/2, 1252.
- (29) See above, note 9 for reservations about the Vita. For the link between Sophocles and Aminos see O. Walter, "Das Priestertum des Sophokles", pp.473-474.
- (30) Etymologicum Magnum under $\Delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$.
- (31) See A.D. Nock, C. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, "Guild", Essays, I, pp.432-433.
- (32) IG 2-3/1/2, 1252.
- (33) Two are in the decree IG 2-3/1/2, 1252 and one in another decree in the following inscription, 1253.
- (34) IG 2-3/3/1, 4365 and 4457.
- (35) $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ — in IG 2-3/3/1, 4385 and $\acute{\Lambda}$ — $\nu\omega$ in IG 2-3/3/1, 4435.

- (36) Ἀμύ — in IG 2.3/3/1, 4424.
- (37) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.309.
- (38) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.309-310.
- (39) These have all been collected together in Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History by H.W. Attridge and R.A. Oden, Jr. (Ph. Bybl.).
- (40) Ph. Bybl., p.44.
- (41) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.310.
- (42) Quoted by Eusebius. See Ph. Bybl., p.21.
- (43) Ph. Bybl., pp.7-8.
- (44) U. Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion, (Leiden, 1969), p.9.
- (45) Ibid.
- (46) See P. Walcot, "The Text of Hesiod's Theogony and the Hittite Epic of Kumarbi", CQ, 1956, pp.198-206. See also his Hesiod and the Near East, (Cardiff, 1966) where on pp.122-123, using as evidence Al Mina and especially Tell Sukas on the Phoenician coast with its Greek traders as early as the late ninth century B.C., he argues for a strong Phoenician link at the time of the Assyrian control of Syria with Boeotia as the major area influenced.
- (47) U. Oldenburg, op.cit., p.9.
- (48) For a comprehensive bibliography covering the arguments see Conrad E. L'Heureux, Rank among the Canaanite Gods El, Ba'al, and the Repha'im, (Missoula, 1979), p.33, note 7.
- (49) Conrad E. L'Heureux, op.cit., pp.41-42.
- (50) Ph. Bybl., pp.45-47.
- (51) Ph. Bybl., p.85, note 74. See A.I. Baumgarten, The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary, (Leiden, 1981), pp.175-176.
- (52) Text RS 24. 271 in Ugaritica V, ed. J. Nougayrol et.al., (Paris, 1968). See M.C. Astour, "Some New Divine Names from Ugarit", Journal of the American Oriental Society, 86, 1966, pp.282-283.
- (53) Hesiod gives a slightly different picture of her in Th., 16.
- (54) See Paus., I, xxii, 1.
- (55) Hdt., 7, 37. See also 1, 132.
- (56) See G.E.R. Lloyd, Magic, p.13 and note 20.
- (57) See Arist., Fr., 36 (from Diogenes Laertius) where Aristotle is said to have believed that originally magic was not part of the repertoire of the μάγοι.
- (58) Hp., MSacr, 1, 12.
- (59) G.E.R. Lloyd, Aspects of the Interrelations of Medicine, Magic and Philosophy in Ancient Greece, p.5.
- (60) Ibid.
- (61) Hdt., VII, 37.

- (62) G.E.R. Lloyd, Magic, p.13, note 20.
- (63) See Ph. Bybl., p.85, n.73. A.I. Baumgarten, op.cit., pp.173-174 says that the Hebrew-Phoenician root mgn can mean "suzerain".
- (64) Ph. Bybl., p.47.
- (65) Ph. Bybl., pp.45-47.
- (66) Ph. Bybl., p.59.
- (67) See the trilingual inscription to ὙSMN/Aesculapio/ Ἀσκληπιῶ, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig, (Wiesbaden:Harrassowitz, 1964-1968), no.66.
- (68) Ph. Bybl., p.92, note 140. See also the extremely informative account of Damascius in his life of Isidorus: ὅτι ὁ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, φησὶν, Ἀσκληπιὸς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἑλλήν οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τις ἐπιχώριος Φοῖνιξ. Σαδύκῃ γὰρ ἐγένετο παῖδες, οὓς Διοσκόρους ἐρμηνεύουσιν καὶ Καβεῖρους. ὁ γὰρ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἑσμῶνος, ὃν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐρμηνεύουσιν. Epitome Photiana 302, Dam., Isid., 348 (ed. C. Zintzen, p.283).
- (69) Ph. Bybl., p.44-5. He is not mentioned in a healing context. See Chapter I.
- (70) Again not in a healing context - Ph. Bybl., pp.46-7. See Chapter II.
- (71) Attridge and Oden print Ἑλιοῦμ.
- (72) IG 2.3/3/1, 4435 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4457 respectively.
- (73) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.293.
- (74) See below, note 104.
- (75) The Suda on Philo. See Ph. Bybl., pp.16-17.
- (76) IG 2.3/3/1, 4365, with an inscription to Asklepios and Amynos, is probably the earliest. This problem has already been raised. See above, notes 26-27.
- (77) See Ph. Bybl., p.94, note 151. Philo tells us that he discussed snakes at greater length in works called 'Ethothion': Ph. Bybl., p.65
- (78) Ph. Bybl., p.64.
- (79) See M. Nilsson, Geschichte, Vol.I, p.214 and Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, Vol.I, p.185. The snake divinity is Knephis-Chnum.
- (80) See Ph. Bybl., p.95, note 157.
- (81) Ph. Bybl., p.64.
- (82) See Harp., Lex., under ἰσοδαίτης.
- (83) See the intriguing chapter entitled "Gorgons and Centaurs" in P. Leigh Fermor, Mani, (London, 1958), pp.171-200 and especially p.175. He gives numerous examples of Christian takeovers of pagan shrines and also of the survival of pagan rites.
- (84) The excavation reports are to be found in A. Körte, "Bezirk", pp.231-256 and "Heiligtum", pp.287-332. "Ein kleines Gebäude

das vermutlich ein Tempelchen des Heilheros war": A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.289.

- (85) J. Travlos, PDA, p.76.
- (86) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.293-294.
- (87) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.294. IG 2·3/3/1, 4365.
- (88) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.298. IG 2·3/3/1, 4386.
- (89) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.295-6. IG 2·3/3/1, 4385.
- (90) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.235ff. IG 2·3/3/1, 4387. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3526. The editor of IG, however, gives $\sigma\iota\omega\nu\ \tau\epsilon\upsilon\tilde{\xi}\alpha$. See Plate 18.
- (91) It seems most likely that it is a human figure who is depicted holding the leg. As regards the possibility that it is the god/hero who is holding the leg: "die Grosse des vor ihm stehenden Beins verbietet das". A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.235. I do not know of any other ex-voto showing a niche such as this one. The only anaglyph which comes to mind is a relief from Aegina where the feet belong to a standing person but the fact that the feet are being seen below a footstool produces a similar cut-off effect. See E. Berger, Das Basler Arztrelief, (Basel, 1970), illustration 132 and p.111.
- (92) See P. Girard, "Ex-voto à Esculape", BCH, 2, 1878, p.89ff. However, also see his statement in L'Asclépieion d'Athènes, (Paris, 1881), p.48. For a votive offering by doctors see S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1332.
- (93) A. Körte, "Bezirk", pp.241-2. IG 2·3/3/1, 4422. See Plate 19.
- (94) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.296. IG 2·3/3/1, 4424.
- (95) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.291-2. IG 2·3/3/1, 4435.
- (96) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.296-8. IG 2·3/3/1, 4457.
- (97) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.297.
- (98) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.298ff. IG 2·3/1/2, 1252.
- (99) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.302-303. IG 2·3/1/2, 1253.
- (100) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.303-305; IG 2·3/1/2, 1259; F. Kutsch, Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen, (Giessen, 1913), p.57 gives an alternative reading from line 5: $\theta\sigma\iota\nu\omega\nu$ instead of $\kappa\sigma\iota\nu\omega\nu$. In many ways this makes even better sense but on balance it is less likely. The date is probably 313/312B.C.
- (101) I am very grateful to Dr. W.-D. Niemeier of the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut in Athens and Ms. Romiopoulou, Ephor in the National Archaeological Museum, for permission to study the Aminos material (but not the diaries!) and Ms. Katsouli for her help in locating it!
- (102) This piece, along with all the other Aminos material kept in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum has the Museum prefix SA followed, in this case, by the number 231.
- (103) See above, note 92.
- (104) NAM, SA 28.
- (105) See above, note 28.

- (106) See above, no.9 and note 98.
- (107) See above, no.11 and note 100.
- (108) See A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.305 and W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.87.
- (109) See no.9, line 11 which implies a reunion in each shrine.
- (110) IG 2.3/2/2, 2355. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp.91-92.
- (111) IG 2.3/1/2, 1293 and 2.3/2/2, 2353. See W.S. Ferguson "The Attic Orgeones", p.92.
- (112) See Aesch., Fr. 68 (Loeb)/Fr. 144 TGF from his lost ΜΥΣΟΙ.
- (113) See P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.86. Also see above, note 110.
- (114) See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.127.
- (115) See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp.62-64.
- (116) See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.110ff. and P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.109.
- (117) See P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.102ff.
- (118) See P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.210.
- (119) P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.211.
- (120) P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.212.
- (121) P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.103.
- (122) P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.104.
- (123) See R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles Études, p.99.
- (124) R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles Études, p.100.
- (125) The inscription given above as no.11.
- (126) See A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.305.
- (127) See P.F. Foucart, Associations, passim.
- (128) IG 2/1, 943. See J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, entry 8462, Κλεινέτος. See Plate 20 for a sketch map showing the distribution of the Orgeones of Amynos in Attica.
- (129) IG 2.3/1/2, 1176. See J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, entry 7798.
- (130) IG 2/2, 1002.
- (131) See A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.304-5. For the two archons named Theophrastos see W.B. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), p.376.
- (132) IG 2.3/2/1, 1566.
- (133) IG 2.3/2/2, 1714. See S. Dow, "The Lists of Athenian Archontes", Hesperia, III, 1934 for a discussion of this inscription.
- (134) See above, no.12 and note 102.
- (135) See above, note 101.
- (136) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.290, no.1. NAM, SA 104. Probably fourth century B.C.

- (137) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.238, no.2. I could not find this piece in the National Archaeological Museum storerooms. Probably fourth century B.C. See Plate 21.
- (138) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.240, no.3. NAM, SA 5. Probably fourth century B.C.
- (139) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.241, no.4.
- (140) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.291, no.5. NAM, SA 61. For a discussion of a similar basket within a similar context see Chapter I, note 182.
- (141) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.241, no.5 and "Heiligtum", pp.290-291, no.2. NAM, SA 71 and 82 show, in the first case, a deity probably reclining and, in the second, an enthroned deity. It is difficult to equate these with the Totenmahl fragments.
- (142) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.291, no.3 for a broken relief of the deity walking towards the left. A bearded head showing possible influence from Plouton/Sarapis iconography may come from a similar anaglyph - NAM, SA 78. The foot and staff with a coiled snake come from a statuette originally about 45cms. high - NAM, SA 22. This could be A. Körte "Bezirk", p.243, no.14 while the forearm, no.15, could be from the same or a similar piece.
- (143) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.242, no.10.
- (144) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.242, no.9. NAM, SA 12.
- (145) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.242, no.7. NAM, SA 7. See Plate 19.
- (146) I can not find this piece in the excavation reports. It is NAM, SA 64.
- (147) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.242, no.8. NAM, SA 183. See Plate 19. On the subject of a deity as ἑπὶ κροῖ see O. Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΡΟΙ", AM., XXXVII, and his Ausgewählte Schriften where, p.187ff., he discusses the ear ex-votos from Athens. See also M. Guarducci, op.cit., Vol.IV, pp.67-69.
- (148) See above, Chapter II, note 115.
- (149) No.5 in the epigraphic list and note 93. See Plate 20.
- (150) NAM, SA 9.
- (151) NAM, SA 47.
- (152) NAM, SA 49.
- (153) No.7 in the epigraphic list and note 95.
- (154) No.ix in the anaglyptic list and note 145.
- (155) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", pp.292-293, no.9.
- (156) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.293, B3.
- (157) NAM, SA 181. This piece is as yet unpublished.
- (158) See below, Chapter IV, notes 204-239.
- (159) NAM, SA 177. For the Dioskouroi as ζῶντες see below, Chapter VI, note 127.
- (160) See below, Chapter IV, note 240ff. NAM, SA 195, although headless, is a good example of these figurines.

- (161) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.293, Bl. I was not able to find this piece so I can not confirm it as archaic. I also wonder if it could have been influenced by the iconography of Amun. Amun, although usually shown in a straightforwardly anthropomorphic form, was not infrequently depicted as ithyphallic. (This was a form of the god linking him with the generally ithyphallic god Min from Coptos - modern Qift south of Quena). Amun is so shown at Karnak.
- (162) No.ii in the anaglyptic list and note 137.
- (163) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.291, no.4. A marble hand holding a bowl, originally from a lifesize statue, may also have come from a statue of Hygieia. See A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.292, no.8.
- (164) See below, Chapter IV, note 133ff.
- (165) A. Körte, "Heiligtum", p.292, no.7.
- (166) NAM, SA 190. I do not think that this piece is the same as the former with the head repaired.
- (167) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.243, no.17a.
- (168) NAM, SA 25. For Cybele and Demeter see Chapter IV, note 148.
- (169) One is NAM, SA 19. This is similar to but apparently not the same as A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.243, no.17b to which again 17c is similar. These two are terracottas.
- (170) NAM, SA 106.
- (171) A. Körte, "Bezirk", pp.243-244, no.13 and nos.17d-17h and "Heiligtum", p.293, B2.
- (172) A. Körte, "Bezirk", p.243, no.16.
- (173) NAM, SA 37.
- (174) A. Körte, "Bezirk", pp.242-243, nos.11-12. See above, note 8 for the theory of $\Delta\epsilon\varsigma\acute{\iota}\omega\checkmark$ and the healing hand.
- (175) No.1 in the epigraphic list and note 87.
- (176) IG 2-3/3/1, 4960.
- (177) IG 2-3/3/1, 4510.
- (178) IG 2-3/3/1, 4355 and 4961.
- (179) See D.S., III, 58.
- (180) See P.F. Foucart, Associations, p.98. Also see Chapter IV, note 133ff.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER IV

- (1) Hp., Mul, I, 62: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.126.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) A fourth century B.C. tombstone tells us of a woman called Phanostrate who combined the two: Φανο[στράτη---]Με[λιτέως].
*καὶ καὶ ἰατρός Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε κεῖται [α] ὕθενι
 λυπηρὰ, πᾶσιν δὲ θανούσῃ ποθεινῇ.* G. Kaibel, op.cit., no.45. Attic.
- (6) Hp., Gen, 4: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, p.476.
- (7) Hp., Mul, I, 1: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.10.
- (8) Hp., Mul, I, 6: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.30.
- (9) Hp., Nat Mul, 2: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, p.312.
- (10) Hp., Nat Mul, 2: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, p.314.
- (11) It was known in this country as 'Spanish fly'.
- (12) Hp., Nat Mul, 2: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, p.314.
- (13) Hp., Epid, V, 12: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.V, p.212.
- (14) Hp., Epid, V, 25: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.V, p.224.
- (15) See Mary R. Lefkowitz's chapter on 'The Wandering Womb' in Heroines and Hysterics, (London, 1981), p.12ff.
- (16) Pl., Ti., 91B-D.
- (17) Hp., Mul, I, 7: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.32.
- (18) Ibid. E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, pp.32-34.
- (19) Hp., Mul, II, 126: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.270.
- (20) Ibid.
- (21) Ibid. E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, pp.270-272.
- (22) Hp., Mul, II, 123: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.266.
- (23) Hp., Nat Mul, 8: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, pp.322-324.
- (24) Hp., Nat Mul, 3: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, p.314.
- (25) Ibid.
- (26) Ibid. E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VII, pp.314-316.
- (27) Hp., Mul, I, 2: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.14.
- (28) Hp., Mul, I, 1: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.12.
- (29) Hp., Mul, I, 2: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.18.
- (30) Hp., Virg, : E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.466.
- (31) Ibid. E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.468.
- (32) Hp., Mul, I, 25: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.66.

- (33) Hp., Mul, I, 21: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.60.
- (34) Hp., Mul, I, 25: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, pp.66-68.
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Hp., Mul, I, 63: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, pp.126-128.
- (37) Eur., Med., lines 250-251.
- (38) Hp., Mul, I, 33: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.78.
- (39) Ibid.
- (40) Hp., Virg.: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.468. The author of the treatise does not approve of women behaving like this. He is merely recording the fact. He goes on to say that such women are cheated - ἑξ απατεώμενων - by the religious advice.
- (41) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, pp.444 and 567-568 for a useful resumé of the evidence.
- (42) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, passim.
- (43) See Mircea Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, (1968 Edition, Paris), Chapter IV, "La Lune et la Mystique Lunaire". For the Roman period see S. Lunais, Recherches sur la Lune, I, (Leiden, 1979).
- (44) See Claire Preaux, La Lune dans la Pensée Grecque, (Bruxelles, 1970).
- (45) Arist., GA, IV, 1, 766b.
- (46) Arist., GA, IV, 1, 765b.
- (47) Arist., GA, IV, 2, 767a. He makes a similar statement in II, 4, 738a. See Claire Preaux, op.cit., pp.88-89 for references to later authors who held similar opinions.
- (48) Arist., GA, IV, 10, 778a.
- (49) Arist., GA, IV, 10, 777b.
- (50) Arist., GA, VII, 2, 582b.
- (51) Arist., GA, VII, 12, 588a.
- (52) Apparently the concept of measurement, Sanskrit māmi, is at the base of the root 'me' from which so many versions of the word 'moon' come. See Mircea Eliade, op.cit. pp.139-140.
- (53) IG 2-3/2/1, 1514, 1515 and 1516. See G.E.R. Lloyd, Science, Folklore and Ideology, (Cambridge, 1983), p.69 and indeed the whole of the chapter on the treatment of women, pp.62-86.
- (54) See some of the beautiful dedications preserved e.g. in The Palatine Anthology - by Leonidas, VI, 202 and Perses, VI, 272.
- (55) Ar., Lys., 645.
- (56) Scholion on Ar., Lys., 645-646, (G. Dindorf, Vol.IV, Pars III, p.364).
- (57) SEG IX, 72, In latere laevo. The relevant section is §§ 15-16 i.e. pp.33-34; and F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément, (Paris, 1962), No.115.
- (58) See Joseph Fontenrose, Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress, (Berkeley, 1981), pp.69-85.

- (59) Mircea Eliade, *op.cit.*, p.155.
- (60) Paus., VIII, xxxv, 8.
- (61) See L.R. Farnell, *Cults*, Vol.II, p.425ff.
- (62) IG 2/3, 1609 and IG 2-3/3/1, 4688. The dedication is early second century B.C. For an alternative to Diktynna Artemis see Call., Dian., lines 183-203 for Diktynna Britomartis who will be seen again later.
- (63) Λυσίζωνος Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις. Scholion on A.R. I, line 288. For further significance in the term Λυσίζωνος see H. King, "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women" in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, *op.cit.*, pp.120-122. She also links the epithet Lysizonos with Lygodesma and Apankhomene.
- (64) Poll., VIII, 106.
- (65) Hsch., under Γενετυλλίς.
- (66) IG 2-3/3/1, 4632 and IG 2/3, Add. 1571C.
- (67) Eur., Supp., 958. An obviously late but neat linking of Artemis Locheia and Eileithyia and Selene is to be found in Plut., Q.C., 659 in the Moralia.
- (68) Dedications to Artemis under this title will be seen shortly when dealing with the shrine of Artemis Kalliste in Athens.
- (69) Scholion on Ar., V., 804b. (W.J.W. Koster, (1978), p.129). The scholiast is in fact talking about Hekate.
- (70) Paus., I, xxxiv, 4.
- (71) Eur., IT, 20.
- (72) Paus., I, xxvi, 4.
- (73) Paus., I, xxix, 2. The other version of Kalliste which he refuses to divulge is presumably the ursine story of Kallisto.
- (74) E.g. IG 2/3, 1610 also in IG as 2-3/3/1, 4689.
- (75) A. Philadelphus, "Le Sanctuaire d'Artémis Kallistè", BCH, 51, 1927, pp.157-158. W. Judeich, TA, p.412 and note 2 does not agree that the remains belong to the shrine of Artemis Kalliste.
- (76) A. Oikonomos in Πρακτικά, 1896, p.22.
- (77) IG 2-3/1/1, 788.
- (78) IG 2-3/1/1, 789.
- (79) Paus., I, xxix, 2.
- (80) IG 2-3/3/1, 4666. See A. Philadelphus, *op.cit.*, p.158. It is probably late fourth or early third century B.C.
- (81) P. Roussel, "Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallistè", BCH, 51, 1927, p.164.
- (82) P. Roussel, "Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallistè", p.168.
- (83) Hom., Il., XXI, 483-484.
- (84) IG 2-3/3/1, 4665. See A. Philadelphus, *op.cit.*, p.159. This piece also is late fourth or early third century B.C.

- (85) IG 2·3/3/1, 4667. See A. Philadelphus, op.cit., p.159. This piece is probably third century B.C. in date.
- (86) IG 2·3/3/1, 4668. See A. Philadelphus, op.cit., p.160. The date of this piece is probably early third century B.C.
- (87) A. Philadelphus, op.cit., p.160.
- (88) A. Philadelphus, op.cit., p.160. In a footnote the excavator notes the similarity of this piece with others, for example those found on Delos, which are commonly accepted as standard weights.
- (89) A. Philadelphus, op.cit., p.161.
- (90) Ibid.
- (91) Ibid.
- (92) See above, notes 70 and 71.
- (93) "Artemis was also worshipped as Soteira, and the finding places of inscriptions suggest that this cult may have been associated with Artemis-Kalliste, or else with the shrine of Hekate", R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.258.
- (94) The results of the excavation were fully reported by A. Wilhelm in "ΑΤΤΙΚΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ", Εφμ., 1905, col.215ff. The inscriptions had been described by K.D. Mylonas in Εφμ., 1893, cols.49-60.
- (95) IG 2·3/1/2, 1343. See K.D. Mylonas, Εφμ., 1893, col.49ff.
- (96) IG 2·3/3/1, 4695 and IG 2/5, 1620e. A. Wilhelm, op.cit., col.240. K.D. Mylonas, Εφμ., 1893, col.59.
- (97) Myrtle is the suggestion made by A. Brueckner, Der Friedhof am Eridanos, (Berlin, 1909), p.55. The pillar above the altar has also been linked with Artemis Orthia. Ibid. There was a shrine of Artemis Orthosia in the Kerameikos. See R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.222.
- (98) "Was die Zeit des Reliefs angeht, so sprechen die Besonderheiten der Technik und der Mangel architektonischer Umrahmung für jüngere Entstehung als im vierten Jahrhundert". A. Brueckner, op.cit., p.55.
- (99) IG 2·3/1/1, 789. A. Wilhelm, op.cit., col.220ff.
- (100) A. Brueckner, after mentioning IG 2·3/1/2, 1343, IG 2·3/3/1, 4695 and the relief of the couple and boy with a ram, says: "Mylonas bestätigt mir brieflich, dass das Bruchstück bei derselben Stelle wie 1-3 gefunden ist". Op.cit., p.55.
- (101) This is confirmed by R.E. Wycherley but he adds a caution that "the shrine may well be earlier" - SA, p.259.
- (102) A. Brueckner certainly wanted to leave open the question of their ultimate provenance. He describes them as a group of finds "von denen sich nicht entscheiden lässt, wie weit sie verschleppt sind". Op.cit., p.53.
- (103) IG 2·3/1/1, 789, lines 6-7.
- (104) See Plate 23.
- (105) Paus., I, xxix, 2. See above note 73.

- (106) IG 2.3/3/1, 4695 and IG 2/5, 1620e.
- (107) This identification was made by W.S. Ferguson: "Were Artemis Soteira and Artemis Kalliste joined in a common cult administered by a single priest? Apparently; for the temenos of Artemis Soteira has been discovered just where Pausanias locates the shrine of Artemis Kalliste." "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents", I, Klio, VII, 1907, p.213. To be fair to Professor Ferguson, however, it must be pointed out that this was written before the 1922 excavations.
- (108) IG 2.3/1/1, 789.
- (109) This is the view of S. Rossiter, The Blue Guide to Greece, (London, 1977), p.116. One would like to know whether this is a hypothesis or whether some new evidence has come to light.
- (110) IG 2.3/1/2, 1298 and IG 2/5, 618b.
- (111) IG 2.3/1/2, 1297.
- (112) IG 2.3/3/1, 4689 and IG 2, 1610.
- (113) IG 2.3/3/1, 4631.
- (114) The first is Hesperia X, 1941, no.28, pp.62-63: AI, no.I, 1349. The second is Hesperia X, 1941, no.30, p.64: AI, no.I, 2843. Both of these are a result of the Agora excavations.
- (115) IG 2.3/3/1, 4860. This was found "Athenis in domo privata".
- (116) Hesperia X, 1941, no.42, pp.242-3: AI, no.I, 4052.
- (117) Hesperia XXVIII, 1959, no.7, pp.278-9: AI, no.I, 5290.
- (118) See note 97.
- (119) Scholion on Pi., O., III, 54a.
- (120) This is the suggestion made by Curt Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum, (Leipzig, 1890), Vol.II, p.259: " . . . die Heiligthümer der Artemis (wahrscheinlich der Orthosia nebst Kultbildern der Ariste und Kalliste) . . .". If the column in the relief found in the 'Hekataion' (see above, note 97) really is an aniconic representation of Artemis, possibly under her title Orthosia, is it conceivable that the 'Hekataion' is the shrine of Artemis Orthosia?
- (121) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.171.
- (122) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.134.
- (123) R.E. Wycherley, SA, pp.131-132.
- (124) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.189ff.
- (125) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.49.
- (126) Ibid.
See R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p.58.
- (127) Note 62.
- (128) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.187. For the inscription, Hesperia XXII, 1953, p.272.
- (129) Two stelai marking her temenos at Athmonon have been discovered: IG 1, Ed.Min., 865.

- (130) IG 2.3/3/1, 4670 and IG 2/5, 1659c.
- (131) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, p.481.
- (132) Hom., Il., XXI, 470.
- (133) For the best general account of her mythology and worship, see M.J. Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult, (London, 1978).
- (134) See H.A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora", Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp.115-140; H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, City Centre, pp.30-31 and R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, pp.150-160.
- (135) Phot., Lex., under Μητραγύρτης; Scholion on Ar., Pl., line 431, (G. Dindorf, Vol.IV, p.157); The Suda under Βάραθρον and Μητραγύρτης; Apostolios XI, 34. (Apostolios speaks of a δικαστήριον and not the βουλευτήριο. A.N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, pp.75-76, thinks this is correct and that the Metroon in question is a second one built on the tomb of the Metragyrtes on the Museum Hill near the barathron); Julian, Oratio V, Hymn to the Mother of the Gods, 159A-B. Julian says that the μητραγύρτης was insulted and driven off.
- (136) M.P. Nilsson, however, prefers a date nearer the end of the sixth century B.C. See Geschichte, I, pp.597 and 687-688.
- (137) Even if we ascribe this event to the end of the fifth century B.C., it would still be the first known occasion when Delphi encouraged the cult of the Mother. See H.W. Parke and D.E. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, Vol.I, p.325 and Vol.II, p.223.
- (138) Arr., Perip., 9.
- (139) Pliny, HN, XXXVI, iv, 17.
- (140) Poll., III, 11 and Arr., Perip., 9. See also the scholion on Aeschin., In Ctesiphontem, 187, Aischines merely mentions the metroon in passing. The scholiast tells us: "Ἐγνωμέν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς, ὅτι μέρος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Μητρῶον ὃ ἐστὶν ἱερόν τῆς Πέρας."
- (141) I am very grateful to H.W. Parke and D.E. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, Vol.I, p.325 for pointing out this interesting fact.
- (142) See H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, City Centre, pp.31-35 and note 32 for references to the numerous statuettes of Cybele found in the Agora.
- (143) Phot., Lex., under Μητρῶον and the scholion on Aeschin., In Ctesiphontem, 187.
- (144) H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, City Centre, pp.36-38.
- (145) These have been collected by R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, pp.156-160. They were earlier collected by H. Graillot, Le culte de Cybèle. Mère des Dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire romain, (Paris, 1912), for Athens pp.505-507 and for the Peiraieus pp.507-508. Also included in these lists is the non-inscribed, anaglyptic evidence.

- (146) E.g. *Κρίτων Μητρι Θεῶν* [----]. Fourth century B.C., AI, no. I, 2669 and R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, no. 517, p. 159. This is just one of the many dedications in the Agora Museum.
- (147) See M.J. Vermaseren, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
- (148) See M.J. Vermaseren, *op.cit.*, p. 81. An example was described in the previous chapter, note 168.
- (149) IG 2.3/3/1, 4773 where, as M. Guarducci, *op.cit.*, III, p. 21, note 3 says, there is a wrong reading giving *σεμνύομεν* instead of *σεμνύνομεν*.
- (150) See R.E. Wycherley, SA, p. 165 and H. Graillot, *op.cit.*, p. 506.
- (151) They were certainly grouped together as Thiasotai by 284 B.C. to judge from IG 2.3/1/2, 1273.
- (152) That is the time indicated by IG 2.3/3/1, 4609 (2/3, 1594). See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p. 108, note 52.
- (153) The whole question of the Thiasotai and Orgeones is well discussed in W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp. 107-115 and Appendix 4 at the end of the article, pp. 137-140.
- (154) This happened in or before A.D. 163/4 when a public priest was associated with the priestess of the Orgeones as is shown by IG 2.3/3/1, 2887. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p. 109, note 52.
- (155) See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp. 108-109, note 52.
- (156) See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p. 113.
- (157) See H. Graillot, *op.cit.*, pp. 507-508.
- (158) W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p. 109, note 53.
- (159) W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", pp. 109-112.
- (160) She failed to cure the lawcourt mania of Philocleon in Ar. V., 115! It is to her mendicant prophets with their power of healing or causing ill that Plato was referring in R., II 364. See P.F. Foucart, Des Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs, pp. 98-99, 170-172 and 199-201; H. Graillot, *op.cit.*, p. 206.
- (161) M. Tacheva-Hitova, Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia, (Leiden, 1983), p. 151.
- (162) *Εὐάντητος* is not, as far as I know, a usual epithet of the Great Mother but it is found on an offering from Nicopolis ad Istrum: *Θεᾷ Ἐπηκῶν εὐαντήτῳ κατὰ ὀνείρου ἐπιταγήν Λούκιος Ἀνδρονείκου ἔθηκε* (sic). M. Tacheva-Hitova, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
- (163) The decrees are IG 2.3/1/2, 1273, 1301, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1327, 1328, 1329 and 1334.
- (164) IG 2.3/3/1, 2950/1 is the dedication of a man who has become a steward and IG 2.3/3/1, 2887 that of a woman who has become a priestess.
- (165) IG 2.3/3/1, 4563. Probably fourth century B.C.
- (166) IG 2.3/3/1, 4609 and IG 2/3, 1594. Probably third century B.C.
- (167) IG 2.3/3/1, 4703 and IG 3/1, 135. Probably first century B.C.

- (168) IG 2.3/3/1, 4714 and IG 3/1, 136. The date, apparently, is early Augustan. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.109. See below, note 255, for Aphrodite.
- (169) IG 2.3/3/1, 4759 and IG 3/1, 137. The date, using the form ἐλατρίνη as a guide, is usually thought to be about second century A.D.
- (170) IG 2.3/3/1, 4760 and IG 3/1, 134. The form ἐλατρίνη is thought to make this too about second century A.D.
- (171) Note 162. For Aphrodite see below, note 255.
- (172) IG 2.3/3/1, 4038 and IG 3/1, 888. Probably Augustan in age. "Les mères lui vouent leurs enfants chétifs, vont les poser dans ses bras, et elle exauce leurs supplications" - H. Graillot, op.cit., p.206.
- (173) τὰ Ἀντίδεα. IG 2.3/1/2, 1315, line 10.
- (174) IG 2.3/3/1, 4671. Κατὰ πρόσταγμα could indicate incubation.
- (175) She was called A(n)gdistis at Pessinus in Phrygia. See Str., G., 469(10,3,12) and 567(12,5,3).
- (176) Arn., AN, V, 5-7. The creature is called Acdestis by Arnobius (except in one manuscript where the name is written Agdestis.)
- (177) IG 3/1, 131 = IG 2/3, 1613 = IG 2.3/3/1, 4696. First/second century A.D.
- (178) IG 2/3, 1613 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4696 prefer Κλειώ. See Plate 24.
- (179) See Arn., AN, V, 6. A version is also given by Paus., VII, xvii, 9-12 but without mentioning Nana by name.
- (180) See Roscher's Lexikon under 'Nana'.
- (181) Dem., DC, 259-260.
- (182) For the Lydian inscription see M. Guarducci, op.cit., III, pp.60-61. For further links between Anaitis and Men see L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, pp.484-486. For Men see below note 204ff. Men was often seen as a counterpart of Attis.
- (183) Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. Paus., I, i, 4.
- (184) See above, note 56.
- (185) As far as I know there is no evidence to reinforce this possibility. An inscription: ---] Ἐπιχάρμου ἀνέθηκεν Μουνίχῳ: IG 2.3/3/1, 4590 and IG 2/3, Addendum 1541b on p.351 probably came from the temple but gives no clue as to the purpose of the offering. Fourth century B.C. Apparently inscribed sherds were also found there: See S. Rossiter, op.cit., p.173.
- (186) IG 2.3/3/1, 4632 and IG 2/3, Addendum 1571c. Fourth century B.C.
- (187) For the epithet Karpophoros see IG 2.3/3/1, 4758 with which was probably linked the image of Earth asking for rain from Zeus - Paus., I, xxiv, 3. For the epithet Olympia see Plut., Vit., Thes., 27, 4.
- (188) The epithet Kourotrophos was not restricted to Gaia but was applicable to a wide range of deities who all shared the role. See T.H. Price, Kourotrophos, (Leiden, 1978) passim.

- (189) Paus., I, xxii, 3. See below, note 288.
- (190) IG 2.3/3/1, 4756 and 4757, the former [Κ]ουροτρόφιον and the latter [Κ]ουροτρ[οφ . . .]. Both probably first or second century A.D.
- (191) That these inscriptions originated from the shrine of Ge Kourotrophos is the opinion of S.A. Koumanoudes, "ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ", ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ, VI, 1877, pp.147-148. See also IG 2.3/3/1, 4869. Inscriptions to Gaia would not be out of place in an Asklepieion and indeed there are some inscriptions to her which have been found at Epidauros, e.g. IG 4, 1273 and 1274 = IG 4/1, 283 and 284. For the position of the shrine of Ge Kourotrophos see A.N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, p.39ff. and the sketch map. He also makes a very interesting case for linking Blaute, whose sacred precinct was attached to that of Ge Kourotrophos, with the nymph who was the mother of Epimenides, the plague purifier. See below, Chapter VI, note 44.
- (192) Pl., Ti., 21B. See also H.W. Parke, Festivals, pp.89-91.
- (193) See M.P. Nilsson, "Bendis in Athen", in From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, (Copenhagen, III, 1942), p.179 and republished with some additional notes in Opuscula Selecta, (Lund, III, 1960), pp.68-69. Th ., II, 29 gives us the historical background to these events.
- (194) W.S. Ferguson, "Orgeonika", Hesperia Supplement, VIII, 1949, pp.157-158 and note 83.
- (195) This is argued by W.S. Ferguson, "Orgeonika", pp.157-162. Professor M.P. Nilsson, Cults, p.47, note 20 was not convinced by the argument but then he did not consider Bendis as a healing goddess.
- (196) IG 2.3/1/2, 1283.
- (197) Orgeones were in origin normally citizens. For the reasons why the Thracians were allowed to group themselves as Orgeones rather than thiasotai see W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.104.
- (198) The whole question of the organisation of her official cult and festival is well described by W.S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones", p.96ff.
- (199) Pl., R., 327a and 328a. See L. Deubner, Attische Feste, pp.219-220.
- (200) See P. Foucart, "Le Culte de Bendis en Attique", Mélanges Perrot, 1902, pp.95-102; P. Hartwig, Bendis, (Berlin, 1897) especially pp.4-20; M.P. Nilsson, "Bendis in Athen", pp.169-188 (Opuscula Selecta, III, pp.55-80 with additional notes); and M.P. Nilsson, Cults, pp.45-48. The main source of information on the public and official side of her cult is the series of decrees engraved on stone stelai. She is first mentioned along with other deities in IG 1, 210 (i.e. the fragment on p.91 and transcribed on p.93). This inventory account of the Treasurers of the Other Gods must date to 429/8B.C. The orgeonic decrees are IG 2.3/1/2, 1255, 1256, 1283, 1284, 1317, 1324 and 1361. See also W.S. Ferguson, "Orgeonika", pp.134-135.

- (201) P. Foucart, "Le Culte de Bendis en Attique", pp.98-99. It was in the Nymphaion that the principal sacrifice of the Bendideia was performed.
- (202) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, p.474.
- (203) This is IG 2.3/1/2, 1256. The whole piece is in the Jacobsen Collection at Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, formerly no.1043a but now stele no.231. See Plate 25.
- (204) M.P. Nilsson, "Bendis in Athen", p.169. (Opuscula Selecta, III, p.55).
- (205) Chapter VI. For Ἀχελώος see note 324ff.; for the cornucopiae note 339ff.; for Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs note 348ff. and above, Chapter I, note 236ff.
- (206) P. Hartwig, op.cit., p.10.
- (207) J. Demargne, "Une nouvelle inscription du Pirée relative à Bendis", BCH, 23, 1899, pp.370-373.
- (208) J. Demargne, op.cit., lines 13-17, pp.371-372; IG 2.3/1/2, 1324.
- (209) E.g. P. Foucart, Le Culte de Bendis en Attique, p.98.
- (210) Published by Th. Wiegand, "Antike Sculpturen in Samos", AM, XX, 1900, pp.172-173. Deloptes is also known from Chalkis. See W.S. Ferguson, "Orgeonika", p.150, note 52.
- (211) Th. Wiegand, op.cit., p.172.
- (212) "His resemblance to Asklepios may or may not be significant". W.S. Ferguson, The Attic Orgeones, p.102.
- (213) M.P. Nilsson, "Bendis in Athen", Opuscula Selecta, III, p.56. Professor Nilsson, however, would not want to go any further and ascribe a healing role to Bendis. In fact he actually denies this in Cults, p.47, note 20. Professor Nilsson sees only a political motive for the introduction of the cult of Bendis into Athens. See also O. Kern, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.238-239.
- (214) P. Foucart, "Le Culte de Bendis en Attique", p.96ff.
- (215) Palaiphatos, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΩΝ, XXXI(XXXII).
- (216) Call., Dian., line 188ff.
- (217) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, p.478.
- (218) But see Hdt., IV, 35 where Ἐλευθερία is linked with Eileithyia and given her own story.
- (219) Str., G., 556(12, III, 31) and 577(12, VIII, 14).
- (220) J. Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire, (London, 1970), p.217.
- (221) Ibid. For Men as a healing god see P. Perdrizet, "Mên", BCH, 20, 1896, p.58.
- (222) E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, pp.17-18.
- (223) E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, pp.1-16 discusses the Attic material while in Corpus, I, pp.1-10 it is catalogued.
- (224) E.N. Lane, "A Re-Study of the God Men", I, Berytus, XV, 1964, p.10. See above, Chapter III, note 157.

- (225) E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, p.7. For non-specific information about Men in the area see IG 2.3/1/2, 1271, 1365 and 1366. See also E. Mitropoulou, Two more Reliefs with the God Men, (Athens, 1974) especially pp.13-24.
- (226) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.3, no.4 with further references. Probably third or second century B.C.
- (227) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.6, no.10. The inscription reads: Μῆναι καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μηνὶ [ἀνέθηκον] IG 2.3/3/1, 4684. See Plate 26.
- (228) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.1, no.1. Again probably third or second century B.C. in date.
- (229) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, pp.1-2, no.2. Similar in date. Certainly Athenian according to P. Perdrizet, "Mên", p.82. The figures of the relief are contained within antae, architrave and roof-tiles so as to form an aedicula. Cf. E. Mitropoulou, Two More Reliefs with the God Men, no.3, pp.15-17.
- (230) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.2, no.3.
- (231) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, pp.3-4, no.5. IG 2.3/3/1, 4876. For the phrase ὕψ etc. see G. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, (Princeton, 1961), p.270.
- (232) In view of her height and frontal pose she is possibly a nymph but E.N. Lane, whose expertise lies in this field, prefers to think of her as a votary. See "A Re-Study of the God Men", p.8, no.8.
- (233) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.4, no.6.
- (234) E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, pp.4-5, no.7. IG 2.3/3/1, 4818 and IG 3/1, 140.
- (235) Probably third century A.D. if the name Aurelius indicates that it is post Constitutio Antoniniana. See E.N. Lane, "A Re-Study of the God Men", p.9 and Corpus, III, p.5. One other piece of Athenian information possibly about Men is listed by E.N. Lane, "A Re-Study of the God Men", p.9, no.11.
- (236) E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, p.2 and note 6.
- (237) See note 182.
- (238) Paus., I, xviii, 4-5. However, it might have been possible to worship Men in several shrines. His presence in that of Amynos has already been mentioned (note 224): An anaglyph linking Men with Hermes and Artemis suggests that the worship of Men could have found a home in any of the shrines of Artemis. See E. Mitropoulou, Two More Reliefs with the God Men, no.2, pp.13-14. Late fourth century B.C.
- (239) Paus., I, xli, 3.
- (240) See R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.185 and note 29.
- (241) IG 2.3/3/1, 4687a. E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, pp.5-6, no.8.
- (242) L. Robert, "Études Épigraphiques", BCH, 60, 1936, p.207.
- (243) IG 2.3/1/2, 1314.

- (244) IG 2.3/3/1, 4685 and IG 2/3, 1587. E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.6, no.9.
- (245) P. Perdrizet, "Mên", p.75, note 1.
- (246) This is discussed, with further references, by E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, pp.2-3 and notes 9-11.
- (247) The regulations are to be found on IG 2.3/1/2, 1365 and, more clearly, on a second stele IG 2.3/1/2, 1366. They are discussed by E.N. Lane, Corpus, III, p.7ff. The inscriptions are reproduced in E.N. Lane, Corpus, I, p.7ff. This regulation is to be found in IG 2.3/1/2, 1366, lines 3-5.
- (248) See R. Parker, Miasma, p.74ff.
- (249) IG 2.3/1/2, 1366, lines 5-6.
- (250) See R. Parker, Miasma, p.100ff. and p.354. Also C. Preaux, op.cit., p.88ff.
- (251) IG 2.3/1/2, 1366, line 7.
- (252) See R. Parker, Miasma, p.50, note 67 and pp.354-356.
- (253) The word φθορά, its cognate term διφθορά and ἐκφρωσις contain no hint of cause or motivation. See R. Parker, Miasma, p.355.
- (254) IG 2.3/3/1, 4876. See above, note 231.
- (255) IG 2.3/3/1, 4714 and IG 3/1, 136. See above, note 168.
- (256) IG 2.3/3/1, 4636 which is the same as 2/3, 1588: Ἀριστοκλέα Κιτίας Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ εὐχαμένην ἀνέθηκεν; and IG 2.3/3/1, 4637: [----] Ἀφροδίτῃ [Οὐρανίᾳ εὐχαμένην] πῆρ τοῦ [---]ίου. The second is obviously highly restored but looks like a token of gratitude for a child.
- (257) Paus., I, xix, 2. For the possible twin sanctuary of Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν Κήποις see O. Broneer, "Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis", Hesperia, I, 1932, pp.31-35 and especially p.52 and O. Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1933-1934", Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp.109-188. The Acropolis sanctuary is most famous for its part in the ceremony of the Arrephoroi - see R.J. Hopper, The Acropolis, (London, 1974), pp.48-51. For the series of beautiful female figurines see C.H. Morgan II, "The Terracotta Figurines from the North Slope of the Acropolis", Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp.189-213.
- (258) Paus., I, xiv, 7.
- (259) Aug., Civ.Dei, 2, 4 and 4, 10 and also Val. Max., II, vi, 15.
- (260) Herodotus tells us that the Arabians called the Moon Ἀλιτάτ i.e. Οὐρανίη: Hdt., I, 131 and III, A. See W.W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, (Oxford, 1912), Vol.I, p.258, commenting on III, 8: "Alitat (i.e. Al-Ilāt, 'the goddess') is at once the moon and the evening star".
- (262) E.g. at Epidauros, IG 4/1, 280, 281, 283.
- (263) E.g. IG 2.3/3/1, 4606, 4661 and 4681. Artemidorus, however, tells us that Aphrodite Ourania appearing in a dream was particularly auspicious for the birth of children - Artem., II, 37.

- (264) These $\Gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ were linked by Aristophanes, Nu., 52, to the $\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ who were (see below, note 267) the attendants $\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ Ἀφροδίτης .
- (265) Ar., Th., 130 and Lys., 2 might refer to an Athenian shrine but it could be argued that they refer to a shrine elsewhere or, indeed, to no shrine in particular.
- (266) See O. Broneer "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1933-1934", where male genitalia form no.13 on page 140 and the $\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ex-voto forms no.14. See also J. Travlos, PDA, p.231 and illustration 299. For the mons veneris in gynaecologically healing sites see above, note 87 connected with Artemis and below, note 273 in connection with Aphrodite herself.
- (267) Paus., I, i, 5.
- (268) See above, note 264.
- (269) See also Str., G., IX, 1, 21.
- (270) IG 3/1, 339.
- (271) See G.E. Mylonas, Aghios Kosmas, (Princeton, 1959), pp.8-9.
- (272) Paus., I, xxxvii, 7.
- (273) IG 2-3/3/1, 4575 and 4635. The former certainly came from the site. See Plate 27.
- (274) IG 2-3/3/1, 4570, 4574-4585, and possibly 4635 for which an exact provenance is unknown. All we know is that it is from Attica.
- (275) See above, note 240.
- (276) Paus., IX, xxvii, 2.
- (277) See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.II, pp.608-614.
- (278) R.F. Willetts, "Cretan Eileithyia", CQ, N.S. VIII, 1958, p.221.
- (279) See above, note 240.
- (280) E.g. IG 2/3, 1590.
- (281) Mentioned by Callimachus, Del., line 257.
- (282) There are two beautiful dedications to her in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: S. Karouzou, NAM, nos.693 and 695. Both are statues of a girl wearing a chiton and holding a dove. Both are dated to about 300B.C. See Plate 28. There is an early 5th century statuette unusually inscribed with a dedication to Eileithyia. Probably from Hermione. See G. Richter, Korai, (London, 1968), no.199. I am grateful to P. Levi in his edition of Pausanias' Guide to Greece, (Harmondsworth, 1971), Vol.I, p.51, note 101 for pointing out this statuette.
- (283) R.F. Willetts, op.cit., pp.221-222.
- (284) This is explicitly acknowledged in her cult on Paros. See IG 12-5/1, 185ff.
- (285) See above, note 231 and G. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, p.270.

- (286) E.g. IG 2.3/3/1, 4560, 4662, 4663, 4748, 4822. The first three are roughly fourth century B.C. while the last is third century A.D.
- (287) IG 2.3/3/1, 4588. Mid fourth century B.C.
- (288) Paus., I, xxii, 3. See above, note 189.
- (289) IG 2.3/3/1, 4778 and Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.10009. After the middle of the second century A.D. See Plate 29.
- (290) E.g. IG 2.3/3/1, 4639 has an inscription *Δήμητρι Εὐκράτης* and an anaglyph showing eyes and a nose.
- (291) See Phot., Lex., under *Τριτοπάτορες* : *φησιν ὅτι μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι καὶ εὐχονται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων, ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλουσιν.*

REFERENCES

CHAPTER V

- (1) Denys L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad, (Berkeley, 1959), p.3ff. and p.21ff.
- (2) Hdt., II, 152 and 154 and D.S. I, 66-67. For an explanation of Herodotus' account of the Greeks in Egypt see A.B. Lloyd, Herodotus Book II, (Leiden, 1975), Vol.I, p.14ff.
- (3) D.S. I, 67.
- (4) J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, (Harmondsworth, 1973), p.119. The earliest piece of pottery is a scrap of Corinthian 'Transitional' made about 620-610B.C.
- (5) Hdt., II, 178. See A.B. Lloyd, op.cit., p.24ff.
- (6) J. Boardman, op.cit., p.123.
- (7) J. Boardman, op.cit., pp.132-137.
- (8) See J.B. de C.M. Saunders, The Transitions from Ancient Egyptian to Greek Medicine, (Lawrence, 1963), p.3.
- (9) P. le Page Renouf, "Note on the Medical Papyrus of Berlin", Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, XI, 1873, pp.123-125.
- (10) F.L. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahoun and Gurob, (London, 1897-1898), pp.5-11.
- (11) A.H. Gardiner, The Ramasseum Papyri, (Oxford, 1955) and J.W.B. Barns, Five Ramasseum Papyri, (Oxford, 1956).
- (12) W. Wreszinski, Der grosse medizinische Papyrus der Berliner Museums, (Leipzig, 1909).
- (13) W. Wreszinski, Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst, (Leipzig, 1912) and G.A. Reisner, The Hearst Medical Papyrus, (Leipzig, 1905).
- (14) B. Ebbell, The Papyrus Ebers, (Copenhagen, 1937).
- (15) J.H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, (Chicago, 1930).
- (16) E. Iversen, Papyrus Carlsberg No.VIII in Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk - filologiske Meddelelser, XXVI, 5, (Copenhagen, 1939).
- (17) F. Jonckheere, Le Papyrus Médical Chester Beatty, (Brussels, 1947).
- (18) E. Iversen, op.cit., p.5.
- (19) Hp., Mul, III: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VIII, p.416.
- (20) This translation is given by J.B. de C.M. Saunders, op.cit., pp.17-18.
- (21) See P. Ghalioungui, Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt, (London, 1963), passim.
- (22) See J.B. de C.M. Saunders, op.cit., pp.15-18.
- (23) Thoth was later titled Hermes Trismegistus. See A.-J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, (Paris, 1944).
- (24) See P. Ghalioungui, op.cit., p.32.

- (25) See P. Ghalioungui, *op.cit.*, chap. IV.
- (26) A. Rosalie David, The Ancient Egyptians, Religious Beliefs and Practices, (London, 1982), p.142. See also G. Lefebvre, La Médecine Égyptienne de l'Époque Pharaonique, (Paris, 1956), pp.17-24.
- (27) This is discussed by A. Volten, Demotische Traumdeutung, Papyri Carlsberg XIII und XIV, verso, (Copenhagen, 1942), Analecta Aegyptiaca, Vol.III, p.17ff. S. Sauneron, "Les Songes et leur interprétation dans l'Égypte ancienne", in Les songes et leur interprétation, Sources Orientales, II, (Paris, 1959), pp.38-39, adds the interesting observation that the Coptic for 'dream-interpreter' comes from the older 'scribe of the house of life'.
- (28) R.E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World, (London, 1971), p.190.
- (29) See Spells 72 and 77 in J.F. Borghouts, Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, (Leiden, 1978), for two of many examples where magic and medicine meet: in these cases a spell to be uttered while drinking medicine or while a healing drug is applied to the eyes.
- (30) See J.F. Borghouts, *op.cit.*, pp.ix-x. For magico-religious healing also see P. Ghalioungui, *op.cit.*, pp.35-43.
- (31) R.A. Wild, Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis, (Leiden, 1981), pp.25-53 describes the basins or crypts. V. Tran Tam Tinh, Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi, (Paris, 1964), pp.34, 111 and 140 describes the Pompeian 'Hydreion' and discusses the possibility of its being such. He also describes the amphorae, pp.85 and 118 and the jar described by Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XI, ii, on p.95. For Osiris Hydreios see below, notes 61-62. A possible account of the distribution of the sacred and probably healing water of Sarapis is to be found in the papyrus fragment known as The Tale of Sarapis and Syron. It is probably Greek in origin rather than Egyptian. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1382. Its date is second century A.D. but it is probably based on a Hellenistic original. R.A. Wild, *op.cit.*, p.99 believes that "Nile water is imbued with life. But this is almost never conceived of in terms of giving or restoring health". However, the Hydreion is sometimes addressed as ἐπιήκοος - an almost sure sign of a healing role - see below, notes 61-63; see D. Bonneau, La Crue du Nil, (Paris, 1964), p.282 and for a fructifying and possibly uterine significance of the Hydreion J. Gwyn Griffiths, The Isis-Book, (Leiden, 1975) especially pp.230-232. R.A. Wild, *op.cit.*, p.90 admits that Sarapis was a healer and that Nile water was the embodiment of Osiris-Sarapis as was asserted by Aelius Aristides (Sacred Teachings, XXXVI, 124) and, pp.95 and 100, that Nile water was believed to cure sterility and increase fertility. To be fair, his excellent study centres on the temple sites of the Egyptian deities and does not stray into the byways of healing practices.
- (32) See Plate 30. The basins are central.
- (33) F. Daumas, "Le Sanatorium de Dendara", Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1957, (56), p.40.
- (34) See Plate 31 showing the pedestal with its formulae and Plate 32 for the text and its translation by F. Daumas, *op.cit.*, pp.42-46.
- (35) See J.F. Borghouts, *op.cit.*, spell 84.

- (36) See J.F. Borghouts, *op.cit.*, spell 104.
- (37) See P. Lacau, Les statues guérisseuses dans l'Égypte Ancienne which is Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Vol.25, 1922, pp.189-209. Cairo Museum has two excellent examples - stelai 4750 and 4751. See Egyptian Antiquities Organization, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments, (Cairo, 1983), nos.4750 and 4751, p.162. No.4751, a particularly fine stele from Mît Rahîna, has its base with groove and basin perfectly preserved. This stele is no.9402 in M.G. Daressy, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, (Cairo, 1903), pp.3-11 and plates II-III.
- (38) See Plate 33. Cairo Museum, no.4752. Egyptian Antiquities Organization, *op.cit.*, no.4752, p.162. It was found at Athribis in the Delta and dates to about 320B.C. See E. Jelinkova-Reymond, Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur, (Cairo, 1956).
- (39) See F. Daumas, *op.cit.*, pp.55-56.
- (40) D.S., I, 25.
- (41) For example the upper terrace of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri housed a healing cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep during this period. See J. Grafton Milne, "The Sanatorium of Dêr-el-Bahri", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1914, pp.96-98. S. Sauneron, *op.cit.*, pp.50-52 describes a small oracular and possibly healing shrine of Bes at Abydos.
- (42) R.E. Witt, *op.cit.*, pp.185-187. For a general account of Isis' healing role see W.A. Jayne, *op.cit.*, p.335ff.
- (43) Sophronius, Laudes in Ss. Cyrum et Ioannem, 26, in FHRA, p.732.
- (44) J. Travlos, PDA, p.244. Was the Library of Hadrian, in which this church was later built, a rebuilding of an earlier and probably smaller library belonging to the House of Life attached to the Sarapieion?
- (45) The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, trans. R.O. Faulkner, (Oxford, 1969), §§ 610c and 628a.
- (46) C.E. Sander-Hansen, Die Texte der Metternichstele, (Copenhagen, 1956). I have used the translation of François Lexa, La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique, Tome II, Les Textes Magiques, (Paris, 1925) "La Table de Metternich", pp.72-73.
- (47) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.184. See C.J. Classen, "The Libyan God Ammon in Greece before 331B.C.", Historia, VIII, 1959, pp.352-354. Ammon could be occasionally called on as a healing god. See A.H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 3rd Series, Chester Beatty Gift, Vol.I, (London, 1935), Chester Beatty Papyrus IV, pp.32-33.
- (48) IG 2.3/1/1, 337.
- (49) See Ar., Av., 1296 and S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.185.
- (50) See F. Dunand, Le culte, p.5.
- (51) See FHRA, pp.58-59. See also D.L., Vit., V, v, 76 - Demetrios of Phaleron; and Artem., II, 44.

- (52) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.206. For the involvement of the large number of Athenian citizens in the Egyptian cults on Delos see the full break-down in Thomas A. Brady, The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 B.C.), The University of Missouri Studies, X, January 1935, pp.49-53 and p.71.
- (53) See L. Deubner, De Incubatione, (Leipzig, 1900), pp.71-72.
- (54) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.15, p.94.
- (55) Kasion apparently is the town near Mt. Kasios. See F. Dunand, Le culte, p.102 and note 2. Horos is also mentioned in the double of this dedication, P. Roussel, Cultes, no.15 BIS, p.94 and in a further pair of inscriptions nos.16 and 16 BIS, pp.95-96.
- (56) "Horos de Kassion, qui 'implorait les guérisons', devait dormir dans le sanctuaire et révéler aux intéressés les songes prophétiques qui lui avaient été délivrés à leur sujet". P. Roussel, Cultes, pp.291-292. This view is endorsed by S. Sauneron, op.cit., pp.52-53.
- (57) "Je ne vois pas très bien que l'on puisse distinguer une incubation directe pratiquée dans le 'sanctuaire officiel' d'une incubation par personne interposée - en l'occurrence Horos de Kasion - pratiquée dans le sanctuaire privé". F. Dunand, Le culte, p.102, note 2. For a sensible discussion of the role of the oneirocritics see M.-F. Baslez, Recherches, pp.291-292.
- (58) See ΒΙΟΞ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙΟΥ, (Patras, no date of publication), pp.14-15.
- (59) See P. Roussel, Cultes, p.290.
- (60) Call., Dian., 171: Αἰγυπτίου Ἰνυπόιο. Also see Call., Del., 206-207. See P. Roussel, Cultes, pp.20 and 31. Was there an Egyptian belief in a branch of the Nile in every land where Isis was worshipped? This might explain the title of Isis as τὴν καὶ τὸν Νῆλον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χώραν ἐπανάχουσαν. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, lines 125-126. R.A. Wild, op.cit., pp.60-63 and p.256 note 7 discusses the precise nature of Nile water containers and what waters were allowed to feed them. See also D. Bonneau, op.cit., p.280.
- (61) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.152, p.165. The god Osiris under his title Hydreios is also known from no.173, p.178. For a confirmation of the healing role of the water in the reservoirs and especially that in the reservoir of Sarapieion A see M.-F. Baslez, Recherches, pp.266-267.
- (62) See R.A. Wild, op.cit., pp.103-113 for a discussion of the cultic pitcher and pp.113-123 for a discussion of the images of Osiris Hydreios.
- (63) "A l'époque greco-romaine, les dieux σωτήρες ou ἐπήκοοι sont avant tout des guérisseurs": P. Roussel, Cultes, p.290 and also no.189, p.194 for "Ἰσις ἐπήκοος. The epithet sdm, the Egyptian equivalent of the Greek ἐπήκοος was also quite generally used to describe certain Egyptian deities such as Ammon, Thot and Horus along with other minor deities who were well-known for their willingness to listen to the prayers of men. See R. Givon, "A god who hears", pp.38-42 of Studies in Egyptian Religion dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee,

- ed. M. Heerma van Voss et al., (Leiden, 1982). For an interesting account dealing with both Egyptian and Greek gods see O. Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ", AM, XXXVII, 1912, pp.1-68 and his Ausgewählte Schriften, I, pp.131-195.
- (64) These two inscriptions were not included by R.A. Wild and so have not influenced his views on the healing role of Nile water.
- (65) This is part of an inscription from a stele found in the Serapieion at Saqqara in 1877. The inscription is surrounded by an architectural frame. Below the inscription there is a painting of an altar with an Apis-bull in front of it. The dream interpreter also says *Κρῆς ἔστιν ὁ κρίνων τὰδε*. The inscription is in J.G. Milne, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Greek Inscriptions, (Oxford, 1905), no.27567, p.44. This most interesting piece of evidence reveals the extent to which Greeks were involved in dream-interpretation within the Egyptian milieu. This stele was "probably the sign-board of a professional interpreter of dreams at the Sarapieion" - C.C. Edgar, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Greek Sculpture, (Cairo, 1903), no.27567, p.53.
- (66) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.64, pp.117-118.
- (67) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.84, p.133.
- (68) P. Roussel, Cultes, nos.119 and 120, p.148.
- (69) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.169, p.175.
- (70) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.175 B f, facing page 184.
- (71) P. Roussel, Cultes, no.123, p.149 and no.201, p.198.
- (72) P. Roussel, Cultes, nos. 15 and 15 BIS, pp.94-95 and no.84, p.133. Such payments are also mentioned in the inventory from the archonship of Kallistratos: P. Roussel, Cultes, p.216, Kallistratos A, col.II, line 119. *Ἱατρεῖα/ἱατρὰ* are known also for cures received at Epidauros and Kos. See P. Roussel, Cultes, p.95.
- (73) The Kallistratos inventory A, col.II, line 149: P. Roussel, Cultes, p.218 and the Metrophanes inventory A, line 79: P. Roussel, Cultes, p.236 are merely two examples. There is a complete list of the ex-votos in M.-F. Baslez, Recherches, p.299, note 7. She also has an interesting discussion about the significance of the votive ears and eyes on pp.295-296. For healing of eyesight see J. Gwyn Griffiths, The Isis Book, p.297.
- (74) The gynaecological slant is prominent in both cases hence at Delos the votive silver wombs: Metrophanes inventory A, line 55 - P. Roussel, Cultes, p.233; and the identification of Isis with Bubastis seen in the dedication of an image of the latter with a child on her knees: Kallistratos inventory B, col.I, lines 5-6 - P. Roussel, Cultes, p.219 and see also pp.197-198.
- (75) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.203 and P. Roussel, Cultes, p.150, no.124.
- (76) Paus., I, xviii, 4.

- (77) This is made clear by IG 2.3/1/2, 1292. See S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", pp.188-197.
- (78) This evidence has been collected, for example, by L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacaë et Sarapiacae, (Berlin, 1969), p.3ff. To this needs to be added G.J.F. Kater-Sibbes, Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments, (Leiden, 1973), p.85ff. For grave stelai see F. Dunand, Le culte, p.145ff. S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", pp.207 and 216-224 is very useful for representations of Isis on Athenian coinage and a discussion of theophoric names.
- (79) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.219.
- (80) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", pp.223-224.
- (81) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.217.
- (82) See J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, under Ἰσιγένης nos. 7693-7695, Ἰσιδότης nos.7696-7702, Ἰσιδώρος nos.7703-7709 and Σαράπιων nos.12557-12566. See also F. Dunand, Le culte, pp.150-151.
- (83) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.208 and L. Vidman, op.cit., p.7. The date of this inscription probably falls between 116/5 and 95/4B.C.
- (84) " . . . eine delische Weihinschrift . . . als von Delos stammend ist sie nicht bezeichnet, sie ist es aber ohne Zweifel." J. Kirchner in a review of W.S. Ferguson's book The Priests of Asklepios in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 11th July, 1908, col.884.
- (85) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", pp.209-210 and L. Vidman, op.cit., p.7.
- (86) P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, (Cairo, 1934 and reprinted 1973), p.162, note 3 points out that P. Roussel, Cultes, gives many examples of the use of κατὰ πρόσταγμα: pp.86, no.4; 87, no.6; 91, no.11; 96, no.16; 96, no.16 BIS; 103, nos.29-31; 104, no.33; 108, no.44; 109, nos.45 and 45 BIS; 110, nos. 47 and 49; 112, nos.51 and 53; 113, no.55; 114, no.59; 115, no.60; 128, no.75; 131, no.81; 136, no.90; 149, nos.121 and 122; 173, no.166; 175, no.169; 191, no.181; 194, no.188; 195, no.190; 198, no.201; 202, no.213. See A.D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire", JHS, XLV, 1925, pp.95-98 for a study of this and similar formulae.
- (87) However, the phrase καθ' ὅραμα is quite standard. See above, note 56 for a description of one process.
- (88) IG 3/1, 162 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4771. L. Vidman, op.cit., no.16, pp.11-12. This inscription probably dates to A.D.126/7. Also see below, note 140.
- (89) See P. Graindor, op.cit., p.162. See below, note 124.
- (90) IG 3/1, 163 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4772. L. Vidman, op.cit., no.17, p.12. See below, note 144.
- (91) Alan H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 3rd Series, Chester Beatty Gift, Papyrus no.III, 'The Dream Book', p.9ff.
- (92) Ba originally meant the psychic force of a deity but by the end of the Old Kingdom it was used to denote the imperishable aspect

of humans. The classical definition of ψυχή and the modern concept of 'soul' are not really adequate translations.

- (93) Mortuary spells were believed to make it possible for the Ba to assume any shape. See M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, (London, 1980), p.31.
- (94) P. Ghalioungui, op.cit., p.43. Nun is the watery chaos.
- (95) Aristid., Sacred Teachings, II, (G. Dindorf I, p.475). See C.A. Behr, P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works, (Leiden, 1981), p.430, note 66 where he suggests that the bed must have been on the right of the room so that turning to the inside meant lying on the right side causing pressure on the liver and affecting the veracity of the dream. If this is true, it indicates a more physical interpretation of how dreams are caused, This is discussed below. If, however, Aristides had simply moved from a safe to a perilous posture then the import of the story is that he had laid himself open to attack by evil forces and only the intervention of Asklepios had saved him. For the Egyptian belief in the dangers inherent in incubation see S. Sauneron, op.cit., pp.20-21.
- (96) This appears to be the view of J.S. Lincoln, The Dream in Primitive Cultures, (London, 1935), p.5. "It (the dream) was not regarded animistically as a journey of souls, but was dependent on the hypersensitiveness of sleeping man."
- (97) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.640/Loeb IV, pp.420-422 with slight differences.
- (98) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.642/Loeb IV, pp.422-424 again with minor differences.
- (99) The earliest evidence for this is Xen., An., VIII, 8, 1 if one accepts the reading of the Codices Deteriores. R.G.A. Van Lieshout, Greeks on Dreams, (Utrecht, 1980), pp.173-174 presents the evidence for the likelihood of this reading. If accepted, it is clear that Kleagoras of Phleious was a professional dream-interpreter who wrote down dreams along with their significance on πινάκια which were kept in a temple, in this case the Lykeion. Later evidence for the use of πινάκια is presented by R.G.A. Van Lieshout, op.cit., p.174ff.
- (100) See R.G.A. Van Lieshout, op.cit., p.186.
- (101) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, pp.644-652/Loeb IV, pp.426-434 with slight differences.
- (102) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.642/Loeb IV, p.422.
- (103) Ibid, with minor differences between the two.
- (104) This seems frequently to have been the case, for example, with Aelius Aristides: Sacred Teachings, I, (G. Dindorf I, p.446): ὁσδεκάτη δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς ἀλουσίαν προστάττει ὁ θεὸς.
- (105) Again Aelius Aristides often interpreted his dreams for himself but he was a chronic hypochondriac and so had a great deal of experience!
- (106) See R.G.A. Van Lieshout, op.cit., pp.174-175.
- (107) Hp., Nat Hom, III: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.38/Loeb IV, pp.8-10.

- (108) Hp., Nat Hom, IV: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, pp.38-40/Loeb IV, pp.10-12.
- (109) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.642/Loeb IV, p.422.
- (110) Ibid.
- (111) For the role of the ἑξηγηταί in this connection see R.G.A. Van Lieshout, *op.cit.*, pp.168-171.
- (112) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, pp.642-644/Loeb IV, p.424 with minor differences.
- (113) Ibid.
- (114) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.646/Loeb IV, p.428.
- (115) Hp., Vict, IV (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ): E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, pp.646-648/Loeb IV, p.430.
- (116) Blood-letting is not mentioned in the ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΩΝ but is included among the practices of Aelius Aristides: Sacred Teachings, I, (G. Dindorf I, p.452).
- (117) διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὰς πάντων ἔχειν δυνάμεις οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων τοῦτον θεραπεύουσιν.... Aelius Aristides, ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΝ (G. Dindorf, I, p.91).
- (118) See Aristid., Sacred Teachings, III (G. Dindorf, I, p.500), where at one time Asklepios and Sarapis even appear together to him in a dream and he describes them as τινα τρόπον ἀλλήλοις ἐμφορεῖς.
- (119) See below, note 133ff.
- (120) Aristophanes in his Plutus makes fun of the nightly 'ward-round' of Asklepios, Iaso and Panacea whose roles in reality were enacted by temple staff. It is often difficult to distinguish between such ritual impersonations and genuine dreams in written accounts of incubation. For an example where a conscious mother sees and a sleeping son dreams the same 'vision' simultaneously in the same place see Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1381, lines 138-140: ὅσα γὰρ διὰ τῆς ὕψεως εἶδεν ταῦτα ἐγὼ δι' ὀνειράτων ἐφαντασιώθη.
- (121) See above, note 75. An inscription to Isis Hygieia has also been found on Melos. See F. Dunand, Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, Vol.III, p.258.
- (122) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, column v.
- (123) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, column vii.
- (124) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, *passim*.
- (125) E.g. in the Saïte nome: Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, col.ii; at Charax in Northern Egypt, col.,iv.
- (126) The Athenian Agora, Vol.VII, Lamps of the Roman Period, by J. Perlzweig, (Princeton, 1961), p.119. The piece is early 4th century A.D.
- (127) J. Perlzweig, *op.cit.*, p.121. The design refers to the Navigium Isidis. The fragments are mainly 4th century A.D.

- (128) The Athenian Agora, Vol.VI, Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period by C. Grandjouan, (Princeton, 1961), pp.34 and 75.
- (129) C. Grandjouan, op.cit., pp.37 and 77, no.1010. It is AI, no.T 1981. The fabric is of red clay. The bodice is white and the skirt a greyish blue. It was found amid Roman fill during excavations in 1939. See Plate 34.
- (130) The snake, apart from its link with Hygieia, was not an inappropriate symbol of Isis. Indeed, from an early time she could be represented as a snake e.g. in the tomb of Ramesses VI. In later times 'snake' - ὄφεις - was one of her titles. See Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380, lines 58-59.
- (131) C. Grandjouan, op.cit., pp.37 and 77, no.1011; AI, no.T 2009; similar provenance to T 1981. The back of the head has the remains of the handle. See Plate 34.
- (132) P. Roussel, Cultes, nos.124, 204 and 205.
- (133) IG 4/1, 534 and 535 for the Epidauros inscriptions. See below note 147ff. for a discussion of the Egyptian deities and Epidauros.
- (134) For example at Boiai in Laconia. See Paus., III, xxii.
- (135) S.A. Koumanoudes, "ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΗ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ", ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, V, 1876, p.323. The find in question is no.11 on p.330.
- (136) S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.214, gives this interpretation.
- (137) IG 2/3, 1671 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4994. c.40B.C. L. Vidman, op.cit., no.7.
- (138) See S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.215.
- (139) Ibid.
- (140) IG 3/1, 162 and IG 2.3/3/1, 4771. See above, note 88. c.A.D. 126/127.
- (141) This is the opinion of S. Dow, "Egyptian Cults", p.215.
- (142) This is the conclusion drawn by F. Dunand, Le culte, pp.13 and 135. A. Rusch, De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis, (Berlin, 1906), p.17 also thinks that an Iseion existed there: ". . . in clivo meridionali arcis templum Isidis erat prope Aesculapii et Veneris templa situm, quorum cultus ad Isidis aliquid contulisse videtur. Quo in templo praecipue Isis colebatur quamquam etiam Serapidi sacra fiebant. Hic Isis somnia dat . . .".
- (143) Inscriptions to Aphrodite either alone (P. Roussel, Cultes, no.12) or linked with the Egyptian deities (ibid., no.69) were found in Sarapieion C on Delos. It is certain that on one inscription (ibid., no.162) from Sarapieion C Aphrodite was also linked with Isis under the title of Ἀικαία and the same is possibly the case with a second inscription (ibid., no.161). In Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no.1380 Isis and Aphrodite are identified six times: lines 9, 22, 35, 38-39, 45 and 67.
- (144) IG 3/1, 163; IG 2.3/3/1, 4772. A.D. 126/7. See above, note 90.
- (145) See L. Vidman, op.cit., no.17, p.12.

- (146) IG 3/1, 145a (p.487); IG 2.3/3/1, 4815. L. Vidman, op.cit., no.26, p.15. Second or third century A.D. Sarapis/Osiris was seen as having much in common with Adonis and especially with Asklepios who in turn had much in common with Ṭahawt - a man with a knowledge of pharmacy. See F. Løkkegaard, op.cit., pp.72-73.
- (147) Paus., II, xxvii, 6. Probably c.A.D. 170.
- (148) See A. Rusch, op.cit., p.36.
- (149) The third is IG 4, 1035; IG 4/1 540. Μο[ίρ]αις
Ἐπ[α]φρόδιτος ἱερεὺς.
- (150) IG 4, 1033; IG 4/1, 534.
- (151) IG 4, 1041; IG 4/1, 534.
- (152) IG 4, 1164; IG 4/1, 271: Ἀμμωνος.
- (153) See above, note 47.
- (154) The tremendous importance of Isis in the sphere of gynaecology is reinforced by the number and spread of statuettes of her suckling the infant Horus. See V. Tran Tam Tinh, Isis Lactans, (Leiden, 1973).
- (155) τούτων τὰ μὲν τύπια καὶ τὰ ὀφθαλμιά ἐστιν ἐπὶ
σανιδίων καὶ ταυνιδίων, αἱ δὲ φιάλαι ἐν
πλινθείοις. Metrophanes inventory A, lines 79-80 - P. Roussel, Cultes, p.236.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER VI

- (1) Hdt., I, 68.
- (2) Hdt., V, 67.
- (3) A. Snodgrass, Archaic Greece, (London, 1980), p.39. See also G.E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, p.62.
- (4) Paus., I, xxxix, 2.
- (5) A. Snodgrass, op.cit., pp.39-40. The best Attic example of a Bronze Age tomb receiving dedications from about the mid eighth century is the tholos tomb at Menidhi. See A. Snodgrass, op.cit., p.70.
- (6) Plut., Vit., Thes., 35.
- (7) Scholion on Ar., Pl., 627, (L.M. Positano, p.147).
- (8) Themistocles' Decree in R. Meiggs, D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, (Oxford, 1969), no.23. Its authenticity is questioned but the symbolism of Theseus and Troezen must have been obvious to the Athenians.
- (9) See R.E. Wycherley, Testimonia, pp.113-119 and SA, p.64. We shall return to the problem of the Theseion's location when the relationship between it and the shrine of the ^{"How's"} Ἰατρός is discussed. There were other shrines of Theseus in and around Athens.
- (10) This account is based directly on Paus., VI, xi, 2-9. The best structuralist analysis of Theagenes and the other athletic heroes is probably that of J. Fontenrose, 'The Hero as Athlete', California Studies in Classical Antiquity, I, 1968, pp.73-104. His aim is to establish and tabulate the structural characteristics of the legends surrounding avenging hero-athletes. He mentions the healing aspect of such heroes (p.88) but this is basically linked to the removal of the plague resulting from the hero's rejection.
- (11) Paus., VI, xi, 2. As for Theagenes' dates we can assume his floruit to have been c.480B.C. for in that year he won the boxing at Olympia.
- (12) Eus., PE, V, 34. See Paus., VI, ix, 6-9 for the story of Kleomedes. Dio Chrysostom also mentions Theagenes (Rhodiaca, 95-99) but he seems to owe his information directly to Pausanias.
- (13) Lucian, Deor.Conc., 12.
- (14) Paus., VI, vi, 4-6 and VI, xi, 4.
- (15) Call., Aet., 98
- (16) Ael., VH, VIII, 18.
- (17) Paus., VI, vi, 4. The miracle was that on the Lokrian side of the river the cicadas sang normally whereas on the other side they were silent.
- (18) Paus., VI, vi, 9.

- (19) Paus., VI, vi, 10.
- (20) Ael., VH, VIII, 18.
- (21) The evidence for this story is fragmentary. Callimachus gives us part of the story in Aet., 84-85. Oenomaus adds a little more in a fragment preserved in Eus., PE, V, 34. The clearest account perhaps is to be found in the Diegeseis i, 37 - ii, 8. See ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ di Poemi di Callimaco in un Papiro di Tebtynis, edited by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, (Florence, 1934), pp.17-18 and 33-34.
- (22) Lucian, Deor.Conc., 12.
- (23) Paus., VI, v, 1-5.
- (24) Ibid. His death sounds like the 'swallowing-up' of other heroes notably Amphiaraos.
- (25) Lucian, Deor.Conc., 12. It is interesting that Lucian mentions the healing role of the statue while Pausanias does not. There is no reason in this instance to disbelieve Lucian as he immediately continues to mention the healing statue of Theagenes for which, as has been seen, there is corroborative evidence.
- (26) This useful point is made by L.R. Farnell, Hero Cults, p.369: "It is noteworthy that even the heroized athlete atoned for his life by serving after death as a divine healer of disease".
- (27) This thought underlies much of the worry of the chorus in Aesch., Ag., for example lines 456-474. For the Greeks to win was just but in winning they almost inevitably commit further injustices which in turn will demand retribution.
- (28) Lucian, Alex.
- (29) Lucian, Peregr.
- (30) Legatio pro Christianis, 26, 3-5.
- (31) Op.cit., 26, 5 - 27, 2. Athenagoras says that weak minded people are deceived by the spirits associated with the material of the statues - οἱ περὶ τὴν ὕλην δαίμονες. More convincingly he says that the soul accomplishes the healing of the body while the statues gain the glory for the cure.
- (32) Arist., Po., IX, 12, (1452^a).
- (33) Theoc.(Pseudo), Poem XXIII, ΕΡΑΣΤΗΣ.
- (34) Hdt., VIII, 64 and 83-84.
- (35) Just., Epitoma, XX, 2.
- (36) Ibid. Sometimes heroic stature became very similar to that of giants. Ephialtes, one of the Aloadae, seems to straddle the two categories. Interestingly, he too was a healer. See Artem., II, 37.
- (37) Especially Apollo. See Hom., Il., I, 43ff.
- (38) Hp., Vict., IV, 89: E. Littré, OCH, Vol.VI, p.652 (Loeb, Vol.IV, p.436 has minor differences). Again, we shall look at the methods of aversion later.

- (39) Luke, IV, 24.
- (40) See Vorsokr., I, pp.27-37. This collects both biographical information about him and writings attributed to him. See above, Chapter IV, note 191 for a possible link between his mother and the shrine of Ge Kourotrophos.
- (41) He was known, for example, to both Plato who thought him to have visited Athens just before the Persian War, Lg., I, 642D-E and Aristotle, Pol., I, i, 6 and Ath., I, who dates Epimenides' visit to Athens to the time of Solon and his reforms, i.e. in the 590's B.C. The best discussion of this disparity is probably that of P.J. Rhodes, A Commentary on the Aristotelian 'Athenaion Politeia', (Oxford, 1981), pp.81-84. See FGrH, no.457, Epimenides von Kreta.
- (42) Arist., Ath., I.
- (43) Plut., Vit., Sol., xii, 4-6. The Suda seems to follow basically the same line. See under Ἐπιμενίδης.
- (44) D.L., Vit., Epimenides, x: τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίους τότε λοιμῶν κατεχομένων ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθήραι τὴν πόλιν.....
- (45) Ibid.
- (46) See above, notes 1 and 2.
- (47) Paus., II, xxi, 3. Pausanias mentions Epimenides on other occasions too: I, xiv, 4; III, xi, 11; III, xii, 11 and VIII, xviii, 2. Other famous sages were Abaris - who was also involved in the prevention of plagues: see Hdt., IV, 36; Pi., fragment 270; the Suda and Apollon., Mirabilia, 4; and Aristeas - see Hdt., IV, 13 and J.D.P. Bolton, Aristeas of Proconnesus, (Oxford, 1962) with further references.
- (48) For another epic hero performing feats of healing see Paus., III, xix, 12-13 where Ajax, son of Oileus, heals an opponent after injuring him. Ajax was fighting as a hero for the Lokrians at the time.
- (49) Hom., Il., II, 731-2; IV, 200ff; XI, 505ff. and 831-836.
- (50) See L.R. Farnell, Hero Cults, p.420, no.426.
- (51) See L.R. Farnell, Hero Cults, pp.418-420, nos. 209, 214 and 232 for references to the sites connected with them all except Sphyrus. For Sphyrus, perhaps better called Σφυρόμαχος, see PW, under Sphyrus.
- (52) I. Bekker, AG, Vol.I, p.263. F. Kutsch, op.cit., pp.7-8 and Ἐφημ., 1890, cols.117-122 for an unnamed Ἡρώς Ἰατρός at Eleusis.
- (53) The amount of evidence for the nature of Amphilochus' healing role at Eleusis is tiny - we know that there was a priest for his cult. See F. Kutsch, op.cit., p.8.
- (54) See L.R. Farnell, Hero Cults, p.58ff; F. Dürrbach, De Oropo et Amphiaraei Sacro, (Paris, 1890 and republished Amsterdam, 1972); D. Leekley and N. Efstratiou, Archaeological Excavations, Vol.II, Southern Greece, (New Jersey, 1976), p.2ff; B. Petrakos, 'Ὁ Ὀρωπίς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου', (Athens, 1968); G.D. Androutsopoulos, The Amphiaraeion of Oropos, (Athens, 1972) and B. Petrakos, ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΩΠΟΥ, (Athens, 1980).

- (55) Paus., I, xxxiv, 3.
- (56) Paus., I, xxxiv, 5.
- (57) See M. Delcourt, Oreste et Alcmeón, (Paris, 1959), pp.49-50. The parallel of the mother-murderer is obvious. See also Apollod., Bibl., III, 80-95.
- (58) See Ar., Pl., 701-702 and 730. Amphiaraos had particularly strong links with Hygieia as is evidenced, for example, by IG 2-3/3/1, 4441a, dated to 217-216B.C. See A.N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, p.55.
- (59) With the possible exception of Hestia. However, she seems to have been linked to the care for infants. See Pl., Tht., 160 and scholion 160E.
- (60) Paus., I, xxxiv, 3.
- (61) See F. Kutsch op.cit., p.8: ἑρπεὺς τοῦ ἥρωος τοῦ Ἰατροῦ τοῦ Ἀμφιλόχου, from a first century B.C. votive offering. See also IG I, Ed.Min., 336 where, however, he is not named.
- (62) See above, note 52.
- (63) SEG, XXXI, 1981, no.177, p.42 which gives references to the separate pieces of the restoration. There were two shrines of Amphiaraos - his main one at Oropos and another at Rhamnous. Other votive offerings to Amphiaraos are known from Rhamnous, e.g. S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1384. See J. Pouilloux, La Forteresse de Rhamnonte, (Paris, 1954), pp.93-102 for an excellent account entitled "Le Sanctuaire des Héros-Médecins Aristomachos-Amphiéraos".
- (64) Scholion on Dem., DFL, 249, (G. Dindorf, VIII, p.437).
- (65) However, other theories have been advanced. For example, that he was 'eine Gottheit der Massage'! See F. Kutsch, op.cit., pp.8-9.
- (66) I. Bekker, AG, Vol.I, p.262.
- (67) Ἱεροκλῆς Ἱέρωνος Ἀριστομάχῳ Ἀμφιεράῳ. See F. Kutsch, op.cit., pp.9-12; E. Reisch, "Amphiaraos", in Festschrift für Otto Benndorf, (Vienna, 1898), p.146 and B. Petrakos, A Concise Guide to Rhamnous, (Athens, 1983) pp.19-20 and fig.10 which is a drawing of the Amphiareion of Rhamnous.
- (68) This was so with the Dioscuri. See above, note 36.
- (69) Paus., I, xxxiv, 4.
- (70) Paus., I, xxxiv, 5.
- (71) IG 2-3/3/1, 4394; S. Karouzou, NAM, no.3369. The date of this relief is probably 362/1B.C. See J. Schouten, The Rod and Serpent of Asklepios, (Amsterdam, 1967), pp.53-54 for an excellent description and M. Guarducci, op.cit., III, pp.31-32 and fig.13.
- (72) E. Mitropoulou, "Egyptian Influence", pp.39-40.
- (73) E. Mitropoulou, "Egyptian Influence", p.40. A more straightforward healing reason for the eyes is likely. Similar eyes are to be seen, but not on the top of the stele, on an example

dedicated to Zeus Sabazios and the Mother *Εἰπτα* in Lydia. A disease of the eyes is made explicit in the inscription. See M. Guarducci, *op.cit.*, III, pp.62-63.

- (74) See J.J. Pollitt, "The Egyptian Gods in Attica: Some Epigraphical Evidence", *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp.125-130.
- (75) See Chapter V, note 155. Eye problems seem to have been common in 5th and 4th century B.C. Attica. Hence Xanthias' explanation of why he had not fought at Arginusae: *ἄρ' ἄλλ' ἔτυχον ὀφθαλμῶν* : Ar., *Ra.*, 192. Later, foot problems became common while eye disorders continued: "Atthide temptantur gressus oculique in Achaeis finibus": Lucr., VI, 1116.
- (76) Dem., *DC*, 129. 330B.C.
- (77) See J.S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, (New York, 1970), pp.114-115. The *κάλυμνος* seems to have had several uses.
- (78) See PW under Sphyros. He seems to have been depicted holding a small hammer used in surgery. For the use of the hammer see J.S. Milne, *op.cit.*, p.125.
- (79) Dem., *DFL*, 249.
- (80) Dem., *DC*, 129.
- (81) This is pointed out by W. Judeich, *TA*, p.379, note 7; R.E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, p.115, no.347 and H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *City Centre*, p.125.
- (82) See R.E. Wycherley, *SA*, p.64 and note 78 where he gives further references. For the shrine of Theseus see R.E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp.113-119.
- (83) Apollon., *Vit.Aeschin.*, 1. Hesychius gives us little new information: *Ἱατρός· Θεραπευτής. ἡ ἐφαπτίς, ἡ ἥρως Ἀθηνῶσιν ἀρχαῖος.*
- (84) "Die Inschriften, welche hier zum ersten Male veröffentlicht werden, wurden im Anfang des Jahres 1873 in Athen in der Hadriansstrasse gefunden". G. Hirschfeld, 'Zwei Athenische Inschriften, welche den ἥρως ἱατρός angehen', *Hermes*, VIII, 1874, p.350.
- (85) S.A. Koumanoudes in *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ*, III, 1874, pp.262-267 and P. Eustratiades in *Ἐφημ.*, 1874, col.490, no.442.
- (86) G. Hirschfeld, *loc.cit.*
- (87) P. Eustradiades, *loc.cit.* This is the most exact account of the find spot and would place it at the junction of Voreou with Vissis.
- (88) Ph. Bersakes, "Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ ἥρως ἱατροῦ," *Ἐφημ.*, 1910, pp.269-270.
- (89) See N. Kyparisses and H.A. Thompson, 'A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens', *Hesperia* VII, 1938, pp.617-618 and J. Travlos, *PDA*, p.573 with further references. See Plate 35 for a sketch map of the area.
- (90) See H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *City Centre*, pp.120-121. The boundary marker is called an example of "exasperating brachylogy"!

- (91) Found in section OO on March 31st. Such a small and broken piece - 0.097m.high x 0.076m.wide x 0.03m.thick, could easily have been moved such a short distance to the S.W. of the shrine. See B.D. Meritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p.39 and Plate 12: AI, no.I, 5968. It is dated to the third or second century B.C. See Plate 36.
- (92) IG 2/1, 403 and 2.3/1/2, 839. G. Hirschfeld, op.cit., pp.350-352 also gives the text but with slight variations. F. Kutsch, op.cit., pp.48-50 gives a text substantially the same as IG. The inscription is dated to 222/221B.C.
- (93) IG 2/1, 404 and 2.3/1/2, 840. G. Hirschfeld, op.cit., pp.359-360 with differences and F. Kutsch, op.cit., with a text again substantially the same as IG. The inscription is dated to the end of the second century B.C. The stele is 1.24m.high x 0.322m.wide x 0.137m.thick.
- (94) τοῦ ἥρωος [τοῦ] πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν Ἰστῆ....
IG 2.3/1/1, 840, line 4.
- (95) See above, notes 64 and 66.
- (96) IG 2.3/1/1, 840, line 14: τῷ θεῷ and likewise IG 2.3/1/1, 839, line 33.
- (97) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, lines 20 and 47-8.
- (98) IG 2.3/1/1, 840, lines 7-8 and 15-16.
- (99) C. Kerenyi, Asklepios: Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence, p.73. He actually points out that there are some intriguing links between Aristomachos and Dionysos - his tomb by the sanctuary of Dionysos. He parallels this with the close relationship between the Asklepieion and the theatre of Dionysos at Athens. Ibid.
- (100) IG 2.3/1/1, 840, lines 6-7 and 14-15. The text uses λίβανωτίδα - rosemary - but in the context of the shrine's equipment surely should read λίβανωτρίς ? Liddell and Scott under λίβανωτρίς give an example of the identical confusion in Polyaeus Strategemata 4. 8, 2.
- (101) IG 2.3/1/1, 840, line 25.
- (102) IG 2.3/1/1, 840, lines 26-28.
- (103) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, lines 18 and 30. All of the votive offerings mentioned below are from this inscription.
- (104) Kallistion may have come from a Peiraieus family as probably did Lamidion who gave two τύπων and a votive offering of eyes. See J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, under Καλλίστιον and Λαμίδιον.
- (105) See J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, under Κτήσων.
- (106) For Λαμίδιον see above, note 104. Νικοστράτη is too common a name to say anything of her background.
- (107) See above, note 91 and Plate 36.
- (108) See above, note 75.
- (109) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, line 63 - μηρούς.

- (110) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, lines 73-74 - *στηθος*.
- (111) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, line 73 - *χειρ*.
- (112) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, line 62 - *ἀσπίδιον*.
- (113) IG 2.3/1/1, 839, line 72 - *ἄκροστόλιον*.
- (114) IG 2.3/1/1, 839.
- (115) IG 2.3/1/1, 840. The date is based on the lettering.
- (116) R.E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, p.115, no.347.
- (117) Paus., I, viii, 2.
- (118) Paus., I, xxxiv, 3. See above, note 60.
- (119) See above, note 58.
- (120) From a decree most fully assembled in IG 2.3/1/1, 333 and in a more fragmentary form in the earlier IG 2/1, 162. The decree dates to 335-334B.C.
- (121) See above, note 113.
- (122) ἔπαι νέσασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς καὶ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι καὶ τῷ Ἡράκλει καὶ τοῖς Σωτήροισιν.
IG 2/1, 616 and IG 2.3/1/2, 1291, lines 22-24. Mid third century B.C.
- (123) See Xen., *Hell.*, 3, 3, 4.
- (124) See Eur., *El.*, 993.
- (125) Paus., I, xviii, 1-2; W. Judeich, *TA*, p.304; R.E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp.61-65; R.E. Wycherley, *SA*, pp.97 and 177.
- (126) Paus., I, xviii, 2.
- (127) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Σωτήροισιν Ἀνάκοιν τε Διοσκούροισιν ὅδε βωμός. IG 3/1, 195. The inscription is on an altar. The inscription is also IG 2.3/3/1, 4796.
- (128) It is not known when the first church was built on this site. The church is supposed to have links going back to the eighth century. See S. Rossiter, *op.cit.*, p.136. The other church nearby is that of the *Μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ Σωτήρος!*
- (129) See W.H. McNeill, *Plagues and People*, (Oxford, 1977), pp.105-106 and its review by T. Smith in *The Times* for 21st March 1977. For a similar perspective see the letter of F.F. Cartwright in *The Times* of 25th March 1977 referring to *Disease and History* by F.F. Cartwright and M.D. Biddiss, (London, 1972).
- (130) Th ., II, 47-54.
- (131) Th ., III, 87.
- (132) Pl., *Smp.*, 188B and 201D.
- (133) E.g. Lucr., VI.
- (134) Th ., II, 47.
- (135) Ibid. The precise nature of the plague is not known. The symptoms then need not be the same as the symptoms of any particular disease now. The most likely candidate for the great plague is typhus. See E.D. Phillips, *Greek Medicine*, (London, 1973), p.20.

- (136) Th ., II, 54.
- (137) E.g. his insertion of another diatribe against prophecies and oracles into the speech of the Athenians to the Melians in V, 103.
- (138) Lucian, Scytha. It was written in the second half of the second century A.D.
- (139) Lucian, Scytha, 2.
- (140) Th ., III, 87.
- (141) Lucian, Scytha, 2.
- (142) Ibid.
- (143) Ibid.
- (144) Ibid.
- (145) Ibid.
- (146) Ibid.
- (147) Ibid.
- (148) These problems and related ones were first fully discussed in an article entitled 'Toxaris' by Ludwig von Sybel in Hermes, XX in 1885. He collects the earlier nineteenth century views in the article and comments on them.
- (149) Hdt., IV, mainly 76-78; D.L., I, 10ff. We also know more about Anacharsis from Lucian himself. See his Anach. Lucian seems to have been particularly interested in Anacharsis.
- (150) Fever was connected with plague presumably because of the temperature and delirium. Poulydamas' statue at Olympia healed fevers. See above, note 25.
- (151) Hdt., IV, 46. See Tamara Talbot Rice, The Scythians, (London, 1957), pp.83-84 for Anacharsis and pp.57-90 for the Scythian people generally.
- (152) Hdt., IV, 67-69.
- (153) Hdt., IV, 76.
- (154) Hdt., IV, 76-78.
- (155) Ephoros von Kyme, FGrH, II, A, entry 42, pp.54-55 (from Strabo).
- (156) FPG, I, 232-234.
- (157) For the letters ascribed to him see Epistolographi, pp.102-105.
- (158) Lucian, Scytha, 1.
- (159) Hdt., IV, 8-10.
- (160) Hdt., IV, 9-10.
- (161) Hdt., IV, 59.
- (162) Aesch., Pers., 147.
- (163) And., De Pace, V, 7.
- (164) Hom., Il., I, 14.
- (165) Hom., Il., I, 37.

- (166) Hom., Il., I, 43-53.
- (167) Hom., Il., I, 61.
- (168) Hom., Il., I, 67.
- (169) Hom., Il., I, 313-316.
- (170) Hom., Il., I, 451-457.
- (171) Hom., Il., I, 472-474.
- (172) Lucian, Scytha, 2.
- (173) Ibid.
- (174) J.J. Pollitt, Art and Experience in Classical Greece, p.180. The same author reproduces the best photograph I know of the statue on p.179.
- (175) See above, notes 40-47.
- (176) See above, note 45.
- (177) Lucian, Scytha, 2.
- (178) Lucian, Scytha, 1.
- (179) See the views discussed by L. von Sybel, op.cit., especially pp.41-42.
- (180) An example is the African and pagan Lady of the Sea who is worshipped and asked for good health by everyone living on the coast of Brazil. Obviously there is an attempt to equate her with Our Lady but she stubbornly refuses to be taken over!.
- (181) See above, note 169.
- (182) Soph., Aj., 655 is a good example. Both the stain of blood and the stain of guilt are inferred.
- (183) Paus., V, v, 9-10. The daughters of Proitos had been driven mad by Hera.
- (184) Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά:
Eur., IT, 1193. See also Aesch., Pers., 577.
- (185) Ar., V., 1515-1521.
- (186) See G.E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, pp.249-250. The day was the second of the days dedicated to the Mysteries i.e. Boedromion 16. The day was known by the herald's injunction ἀλλ' ἄγε μύσται. See also H.W. Parke, Festivals, p.62ff.
- (187) See Plate 37 which is based on W. Judeich, TA, Plan III.
- (188) Arist., Pol., Δ, xiii, 2; Dem., Aris., 77-78 and Paus., I, xxviii, 11.
- (189) See above, Chapter I, note 161.
- (190) Is., Phil., 33: ἀποδίδοται... τὸ δ' ἐν Σηραγγίῳ βαλανέῳ τριοχιλίων Ἀριστολόχῳ. Dated to 364B.C.; earlier mentions by Lysias and Aristophanes attested by Harpocration: Σηράγγιον; Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος.

χωρίον τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὕτως ἑκαλεῖτο. μνημονεύει
 δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς - fragment 173
 in *Aristophanis Comoediae* (G. Dindorf, p.470); Alciphron,
Epistolae, Loeb III, 7 (S. Bergler, iii, 43):... οὗ παράσιτος
 λουσάμενος εἰς τὸ ἐν Σηράρχειῳ βαλανεῖον....;
 a proverb in Scorialensis Σ-I-20 quoted in Ch. Graux,
 "Supplément au 'Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum'", in
Revue de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne, II, 1878, p.222:
 'Εξ Ἀνακείου (εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον ὅαρ οἱ πονηροὶ
 συνελέγοντο) καὶ τὸ, Ἐκ Σηράρχειου (τόπος καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Πειραιῶς,
 ἐν ᾧ οἱ κακοῦργα ἐκρύπτοντο); Phot.: Σηράρχειον· τόπος
 τοῦ Πειραιῶς, κτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σηράρχου καὶ ἥρωον ἐν αὐτῷ;
 Suda: Σηράρχιον. χωρίον τοῦ Πειραιῶς; I. Bekker, AG,
 Vol.I, p.301: Σηράρχιον· τόπος οὕτω καλούμενος Ἀθηνησιν
 ἐν τῷ Πειραιῇ, κτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σηράρχου. ἐστὶ δὲ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥρων. Later lexicographers merely collate the earlier
 material, e.g. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, under
 Σηράρχιον.

- (191) *IG I, Ed.Min.*, 867. Reported by H.G. Lolling, "Inscripfen aus dem Peiraeus", *AM*, VI, 1881, p.311. The most recent account of the Σηράρχιον and its finds is probably I. Melas, *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΣ* (Athens, 1976). The author has a whole chapter entitled "τὸ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ", pp.279-300, which contains in the footnotes a useful bibliography. Most of the modern material written on the site is to be found in Greek periodicals but the author also deals extensively with ancient sources. C.T. Panagos, *Le Pirée*, (Athens, 1968) deals with the site more cursorily on pp.83-84 but is a good summary.
- (192) The excavations were finally published by I. Dragatsis in *Ἐφημ.*, 1925-6, pp.1-8 as 'τὸ ἐν ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ', after notices of them had appeared in *AM*, XXI, 1896, p.246: *Πρακτικά*, 1896, pp.15-16 and 1917, pp.19-20. See also W. Judeich, *TA*, pp.435-436; C.T. Panagos, op.cit., pp.83-84 and, I. Melas, op.cit., p.279ff, for further bibliographical details.
- (193) I. Dragatsis, "τὸ ἐν ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ", p.2.
- (194) I. Dragatsis, "τὸ ἐν ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ", p.3.
- (195) I. Dragatsis, "τὸ ἐν ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ", p.5.
- (196) This is corroborated by W. Judeich, *TA*, p.436.
- (197) I. Dragatsis, "τὸ ἐν ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΣΗΡΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ", p.7.
- (198) Scholion on Pl., *R.*, 611c.
- (199) Ibid.
- (200) *Ov.*, *Met.*, 13, 900-968.
- (201) See O. Weinreich, "Heros Propylaios und Apollo Propylaios", *AM*, XXXVIII, 1913, pp.62-72. This is also to be found in his *Ausgewählte Schriften*, I, pp.197-206.
- (202) See above, note 190.
- (203) πονηρός, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸς οὗτος ἄνωθεν ἔκ τοῦ Ἀνακείου κἀδικός: Dem., *Steph.*, A, 80.

- (204) See above, notes 125-127.
- (205) See F. Chapouthier, Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse, (Paris, 1935), p.182. It is a moot point as to whether the Kabeiroi were the same deities as the Theoi Megaloi on Samothrace. Even the literary sources disagree one with another. In the most recent study on the subject, Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace, (Leiden, 1984) the author, Dr. S. Cole, concludes that on balance they were not the same although there were areas where their cults overlapped. See *passim* but especially pp.1-2.
- (206) Paus., X, xxxviii, 7. See M.P. Nilsson, Geschichte, I, p.407.
- (207) Scholion on Theoc., 2, 11/12: ... τὸν δὲ Δία τοὺς Καβείρους κελεῖνσα ἀναλαβόντας καθάραι αὐτήν. See also R. Parker, Miasma, p.223, note 86 for further references to this purification.
- (208) Paus., IV, i, 7 is our source for this information.
- (209) Paus., IX, xxii, 5.
- (210) The tales are best summed up by Athenaeus, Deip., VII, 296-297.
- (211) See above, notes 198-199.
- (212) For a description of the spot see J.G. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece, (London, 1913), Vol.V, p.95.
- (213) Θαλάττιον δαίμονα. Ath., Deip., VII, 296. Athenaeus derived this piece of information from Possis of Magnesia. See FGrH, II, B, p.444, no.480(2) for a fragment of the AMAZONIS of Possis of Magnesia.
- (214) τοῖς θέλουσι ματεύεσθαι. Ath., Deip., VII, 296c. This is based on the evidence of Aristotle, fragment 490.
- (215) τὴν μαντικὴν φησιν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Γλαύκου διδάχθῆναι. Ibid. This is based on what Nicander said in his Aetolian History. See FGrH, III, A, p.87 fragment 1.
- (216) See Pi., fragment 233.
- (217) See TGF, ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΣ, pp.8-10, fragments 25-33, ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ ΠΟΤΝΙΕΥΣ, pp.10-11, fragments 34-41.
- (218) Eur., Or., 362-365.
- (219) A.R., I, 1310-1328.
- (220) Ath., Deip., VII, 296. We shall see more of Melicertes when we come to deal with Herakles. Another identification of Glaukos may have been with the homonymous boxing hero from Karystos whose first Olympic victory was traditionally placed in 680. The athlete was "probably the sea-god Glaukos humanized and historicized" - J. Fontenrose, "The Hero as Athlete", p.89. See also pp.99-103 where he ingeniously distinguishes Glaukos of Karystos from another namesake, Glaukos of Korkyra.
- (221) Hom., Od., V, 333ff.
- (222) Apollod., Bibl., III, 28-29, and Hyginus, Fabulae, II. See also Fabulae IV and V. Palaimon had links with the sea, its tempests and the calm he could bring. His links with both athletics and the sea are shown by his shrine at the

- Isthmian sanctuary. See "The Lost Classical Palaimonion Found?" by D.W. Rupp in Hesperia, XLVIII, 1979, pp.64-72.
- (223) This has been doubted. See C.T. Panagos, op.cit., pp.83-84 and note 3.
- (224) Greek Anthology, VI, The Dedicatory Epigrams, no.164.
- (225) All sorts of evil-doers - thieves, robbers and footpads - could suffer from diseases needing purification - spleen, coughs, dropsy, catarrh, scab, gout, madness, lichens, swellings, ague or fever. These retributions for evil-doing could be sent by heroes as well as healed by them. See the fragment of Aristophanes' comedy Heroes published as fragment 58 in C. Austin, Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta, (Berlin, 1973), p.21. See also R. Parker, Miasma, p.243 and note 46 whose translation I have adopted and to whom I am grateful for the reference to this fragment. Apollo, of course, was par excellence the god who purified from murder and water was a medium of purification - see R. Ginouvès, Balaneutiké, recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque, (Paris, 1962) chapter 11, "Le Bain et la purification du Meutre", p.319ff.
- (226) See R. Parker, Miasma, p.225ff. However, it has to be noted that Greek βαλανεῖα were usually round and thus were often called θολοῖ or θόλα. See J. Travlos, PDA, pp.180-181 with a bibliography, and plates 236-251; also, of course, R. Ginouvès, op.cit., passim. For a connection between περικλῆθες and criminals one thinks immediately of the use of such people in the scapegoat ritual. See J. Bremmer, "Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 87, 1983, pp.299-320 and especially pp.304 and 314.
- (227) See J.G. Frazer, op.cit., Vol.V, p.478.
- (228) R. Ginouvès, op.cit., p.384.
- (229) R. Ginouvès, op.cit., p.384, note 10.
- (230) A. Burford, The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros, (Liverpool, 1969), pp.20-21. She cogently argues that the plague led people to believe that the city's gods had failed them. As a result individuals searched for consolation elsewhere. If the Athenians evacuated some of their population to Troezen in the 420's as they had done in 480 (see above, note 8), Asklepios at Epidauros, only twenty kilometres from Troezen, would have been a natural choice. The difficulty with this argument is that by the 420's the sympathies of the Troezenians lay with Sparta. However, we are told that there was a sanctuary of Pan of Release beneath the acropolis at Troezen. We are told that he revealed to the magistrates of Troezen ὀνειράτα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα. Paus., II, xxxii, 6. More of Pan later but for the moment could this passage indicate that Athenian refugees brought the plague to Troezen? Could the dreams have indicated a cure by means of the introduction of Asklepios' cult?
- (231) The list of Herakles' homicides and subsequent purifications has been painstakingly tabled along with other famous homicides by R. Parker, Miasma, Appendix 7 'Exile and Purification of the Killer in Greek Myth', for Herakles pp.381-383.

- (232) See Eur., HF, 843ff.
- (233) Eur., HF, 966-967.
- (234) See R.E. Wycherley, SA., especially p.171.
- (235) Scholion (Jo. Tzetzae) on Ar., Pl., 842-845.
- (236) Polyaeus, Strategemata, V, 17, 1.
- (237) D.S., IV, 14, 3.
- (238) R. Parker, Miasma, p.284.
- (239) See R. Parker, Miasma, p.285; also N. Robertson, "Herakles' 'Catabasis'", Hermes, 108 (1980), pp.274 and 292-299; and S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica" in Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Monographs in Art and Archaeology, II, 1971, especially p.211 note 4 where she gives a much fuller bibliography for the link between Herakles and the Eleusinian Mysteries.
- (240) Eur., Hipp., 141-144.
- (241) *καθάρωρια* ἐστὶ τῆς μανίας ἡ θεός. Scholion on Pi., P., III, 139b. Pindar is referring to 'The Mother'. The *καθαρμοὶ* and *τελετὰι* mentioned as means of release from madness by Plato, Phdr., 244E probably refer to the Corybantic rites. See R. Parker, Miasma, pp.245-7 and 288 along with note 38.
- (242) This interchangeability is made explicit by Ar., V., 1043.
- (243) Soph., Tr., 1012.
- (244) See S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", pp.215-225.
- (245) S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", p.214.
- (246) See Hesychius, *οἰνιστήρια* and S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", p.214.
- (247) An example of one of the few traces we do possess is the inscription *Λυσιστράτη ἐπὲρ τῶν παιδ[ῶν] Ἡρακλεί*
ἀνέθηκε : IG 2.3/3/1, 4613; Epigraphic Museum Catalogue, no.8793. Found on the southern slope of the Acropolis.
See Plate 38.
- (248) Scholion on Ar., Ra., 504 (sic: G. Dindorf, IV, ii, p.73).
- (249) Ibid.
- (250) Ibid.
- (251) Paus., VI, viii, 6; VI, x, 6; VI, xiv, 11; X, x, 6.
Pausanias tells us also of other works of Hageladas in VII, xxiv, 4, IV, xxxiii, 2, and tells us that he was a contemporary of Onatas of Aegina and Hegias of Athens, VIII, xlii, 10. This last piece of information would also place him in the generation before Pheidias.
- (252) The whole issue is beautifully analysed by S. Woodford, 'Heracles Alexikakos Reviewed', AJA, 80, 1976, pp.291-294.
- (253) See R.E. Wycherley, 'Two Athenian Shrines', AJA, 63, 1959, pp.67-68 where he discusses the older ideas and gives a full bibliography.

- (254) The two earlier pieces are IG 2-3/2/1, 1582 and AI, no.1, 817.
- (255) These are published as a whole by B.D. Merritt in 'Greek Inscriptions', Hesperia, V, 1936, pp.397-404.
- (256) Lines 108-109. Professor Wycherley, 'Two Athenian Shrines', p.68 accepts that "the restoration of lines 108-109 is beyond question".
- (257) This is the conclusion of Professor Wycherley, 'Two Athenian Shrines', p.68. However, J. Travlos, PDA, p.274 disagrees. He prefers the site originally chosen by A. Frickenhaus (see below, note 260) in 1911. This is on the south-west slope of the Areopagus. He interprets the stele published in 1936 in favour of this site. Most interestingly he thinks that there was a second Herakleion north of the Agora to which the boundary stone mentioned below, another found in 1964 and two votive reliefs found nearby all belonged.
- (258) B.D. Merritt, "The Inscriptions", Hesperia, III, 1934, no.56, pp.64-65.
- (259) See note 248. ἐπιφανέστατον ἱερὸν is the precise term used in the Scholion on Ar., Ra., line 504 (sic). See also Commentarium Jo. Tzetzae in Ranas, line 501.
- (260) A. Frickenhaus, 'Das Herakleion von Melite', AM, XXXVI, 1911, pp.113-144.
- (261) O. Walter, 'Der Säulenbau des Herakles', AM, LXII, 1937, pp.41-44. This idea was given extra support by F. de Visscher, Heracles Epitrapezios, (Paris, 1961), pp.42-45.
- (262) The evidence is collected by S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', p.213, notes 24-26.
- (263) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 96.696. This is most easily seen in G. Richter, A Handbook of Greek Art, (London, 1974), p.165, no.221.
- (264) Hesychius, Μῆλων Ἡρακλῆς; Poll., I, 31.
- (265) S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', p.218 discusses it.
- (266) *Ibid.*
- (267) The Θιασῶται are most fully discussed by W.S. Ferguson, 'The Attic Orgeones', pp.70-71, note 12.
- (268) W. Burkert, Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), p.82 and p.179, note 17.
- (269) For example, Herakles had an apparently ancient healing statue at Hyettos in Boeotia. The 'statue' was of rough stone. See Paus., IX, xxiv, 3.
- (270) Artem., II, 37.
- (271) Soph., Vita, 12. Hesychius under Μηνυρίς. Cicero gives a loose version of this story in his De Divinatione I, xxv, 54. Pliny, HN, xxxv, 71, gives the story of how Herakles appeared to the painter Parrhasios. See S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', p.220 and A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité, (Paris, 1879 and reprinted New York, 1975), Vol.I, pp.284-285 and note 1.

- (272) See S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', p.220 where she discusses the various opinions. Heracles Menytes may have presided over a healing centre if the anaglyph, Acropolis Museum no.7232 (previously no.4901), shows him rather than some other hero or deity and if it came from his shrine rather than the Asklepieion. This informative anaglyph shows a young hero/deity holding what looks like a club in his right hand and a cornucopiae in his left. In front of him a woman kneels with her arms stretched out towards him. Behind the woman are parts of a human body - a head and torso, arms, upper half of a pair of legs and, separately, the lower half from the knee downwards. These are probably meant to be shown suspended on the wall of the shrine. These are a sure sign that the anaglyph came from a healing shrine but exactly which is open to debate. See F.T. van Straten, "Did the Greeks kneel before their Gods?", B.A. Besch, XLIX, 1974, p.168 and illustration 18 on p.169. The anaglyph was found apparently on the south slope of the Acropolis. It is probably of fourth century B.C. date.
- (273) Paus., I, xxxiv, 3.
- (274) Artem., II, 37.
- (275) For the killing of the Python see h.Hom, h.AP., lines 300-304 and 356-374 and Eur., IT, 1245-1258. However, the killing of the Python does fit another pattern of combat myth - See J. Fontenrose, Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins, (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1959), pp.9-22.
- (276) Apollod., Bibl., III, 168-170, and Paus., V, xviii, 5.
- (277) Apollod., Bibl., II, 5, 11.
- (278) I. Miliadis, "ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΙΣΟΥ," Πρακτικά, 1953, pp.47-48. See also J. Travlos, PDA, p.278. At the time there was also a mention in AJA, 57, 1953, p.281.
- (279) I. Miliadis, op.cit., Πρακτικά, 1953, pp.47-60 and under the same title in Πρακτικά, 1954, pp.41-49.
- (280) "Chronique des Fouilles et Découvertes Archéologiques en Grèce en 1953", BCH, 78, 1954, p.106 and a mention in the same section of BCH, 79, 1955, p.220. For later mentions see: J. Travlos, ΠΟΛΕΟΔΟΜΙΚΗ ΕΞΕΛΙΞΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ, (Athens, 1960), pp.91-92, note 5; S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', pp.224-225 and note 186; E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.25-39; J. Travlos, PDA, pp.278-280; E. Mitropoulou, Deities and Heroes, pp.172-173; F.T. van Straten, op.cit., pp.170-172; R.E. Wycherley, SA, pp.169-170. Some of the inscriptions are given in SEG, XVI, 1959, pp.63-64 and XXII, 1967, p.58. A. Oikonomides discusses one of the finds, a head of Herakles, in "ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΕΙΑ" an article in ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ, Vol.XXII, 1958, pp.240-242; the same author in a review of Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae in ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, XXI, 1959, p.232 refers to the shrine in connection with an inscription found in Bulgaria. He adds the information that Alexander the Great was worshipped in Thrace as Ἡρακλῆς Περικράτης while on p.232, note 1 he links such a cult with the Kynosarges Gymnasium. This link had already been mentioned by him in ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ, (Athens, 1958), p.15, note 60 and p.21, note 105. There is a short review of

- the excavations in "Εργον", 1954. pp.3-5. SEG, XXI, 1965, no.806, p.280 mentions the shrine but gives no new inscriptions. R.E. Wycherley, "The Scene of Plato's Phaidros", Phoenix, XVII, 1963, p.94, briefly discusses the shrine together with others along the Ilissos.
- (281) "The study of the extremely important finds which Mr. Miliadis is preparing and the publication of the rich collection of votive reliefs will reveal to us the nature of the cult practiced (sic) in the shrine on the bank of the Ilissos". J. Travlos, PDA, p.278 (published in 1971).
- (282) I am grateful to Professor Doumas who put me in touch with Ms. Kalerogopoulou. She in turn spent hours showing me photographs of the material. Unfortunately I am not able to use any of the unpublished material as it forms the basis for the Greek student's work. Nonetheless Ms. Kalerogopoulou's help was invaluable.
- (283) Πρακτικά, 1953, p.55 and 1954, p.47.
- (284) J. Travlos, PDA, p.278.
- (285) Ibid. and I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, p.47.
- (286) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, pp.54-55.
- (287) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.55.
- (288) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.54 and illustration no.5; SEG, XVI, 1959, no.180.
- (289) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.54, illustration no.6, p.56; SEG, XVI, 1959, no.183.
- (290) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.55, illustration no.7, p.57; SEG, XVI, 1959, no.181.
- (291) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.55, illustration no.8, p.57; SEG, XVI, 1959, no.182.
- (292) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.56, illustration no.9, p.58; SEG, XVI, 1959, no.184; E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshipers, pp.25-26.
- (293) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, illustration no.6, p.48; SEG, XXII, 1967, no.164.
- (294) E. Mitropoulou, Deities and Heroes, pp.142-173, fig.88.
- (295) For example, for the second one listed above (β) he says simply ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕΙ.
- (296) ... δύο ἢ τρεῖς τῶν ἀναθετῶν εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς σιδῶνιοι. I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.57.
- (297) ... ἔπεσεν εἰς χεῖράς μας ὡς ἀναπάντεχον δῶρον ἐν τελευτάτῳ ἀναθηματικῶν ἀνάγλυφον - τὸ μόνον διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐπιγραφικῶς καθορίζεται ὁ λατρευόμενος ὡς ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ - ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ. I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, p.48.
- (298) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, p.49, illustration 7.
- (299) J. Travlos, PDA, p.279, no.358. E. Mitropoulou, Deities and Heroes, p.172 includes this in her list of Palaimon reliefs and calls the female his wife Leukothea.

- (300) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.56; E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.26-27 and figure 2. (She calls this a relief to Palaimon and Leukothea); dated to about 325B.C. Professor Miliadis suggests that the heroine/goddess could be Pasikrata.
- (301) E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.35-38 and fig.11. The relief appears to be not entirely finished. She dates it to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.
- (302) E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.37-38 and fig.12. Late fourth century B.C.
- (303) E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.38-39 and fig.13. Late fourth century B.C. She describes a further relief which may have come from the same shrine originally since it was found between the Olympieion and Diakos street. See Kneeling Worshippers, p.46.
- (304) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, p.49.
- (305) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.57.
- (306) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1954, p.48.
- (307) Ibid.
- (308) 'Chronique des Fouilles et Découvertes Archéologiques en Grèce en 1954', BCH, 79, 1955, p.220.
- (309) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.170. See also J. Travlos, PDA, p.278: "... Pankrates has the outstanding place. He was a chthonic god and therefore only his head is shown issuing from the earth".
- (310) S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", pp.224-225.
- (311) That is not quite true because F.T. van Straten, op.cit., pp.171-172, makes the suggestion that Palaimon is a Plouton-like figure with an underground dwellingplace and that it is his head which is shown emerging from the ground.
- (312) These are fully described by I.C. Thallon, "The Cave at Vari, III, Marble Reliefs" in AJA, VII, 1903, p.301ff.
- (313) I.C. Thallon, op.cit., nos. I, II, III and VI, pp.302-307, 309-310 and Plates III, IV, V and VIII.
- (314) See J.E. Harrison, Mythology, pp.547-548 and figures 8 and 9.
- (315) S. Karouzou, NAM, nos.2011-2012.
- (316) Ibid. no.1448. No.1879 shows a one-horned deity.
- (317) Ibid. no.1447.
- (318) Ibid. no.1445. See Plate 39.
- (319) Ibid. no.3874. The most useful account of the whole category of these reliefs is Die Attischen Nymphenreliefs und ihre Vorbilder, R. Feubel, (Heidelberg, 1935). There is a useful list of the finds on pp.77-80, an informative catalogue on pp.III-XXIII while the rest of the dissertation is taken up with a discussion of the various types of relief.
- (320) A.N. Skias, op.cit., cols.137-138 (and already described - see Chapter I, note 213) and Plate 7. This anaglyph may be linked to the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian

Mysteries. See H.P. Isler, Acheloos, (Berne, 1970) where it is no.35 on p.128 and discussed on pp.38, 106 and 115. He mentions the possibility that the seated figure could be Πλούτων. Behind the god in this relief, S. Karouzou, NAM, no.1778, are traces of a goddess holding a horn. The work is probably to be dated to the third century B.C. See Plate 40.

- (321) H.W. Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, (Oxford, 1967), p.68.
- (322) See J. Travlos, PDA, fig .154 and plate 268 along with the entry on p.204.
- (323) E.g. E. Loewy, "Appendice all' articolo 'Scopa Minore'", RM, XII, 1897, pp.144-147 and fig.2.
- (324) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.56.
- (325) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.57.
- (326) IG 7/2, 2874, from Koroneia.
- (327) Lyc., A., line 663.
- (328) Lyc., A., line 229.
- (329) Scholion on line 663 of Lyc., A.
- (330) Ibid.
- (331) Ibid. See J.E. Fontenrose, Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins, p.352.
- (332) Soph., Tr., 9-14 and 18-21. Sophocles' account stresses later on the fact that the struggle was a pankration. Lines 518-522 actually employ the technical vocabulary used to describe a pankration, e.g. κλίμακες. See E.N. Gardiner, "The Pankration and Wrestling", JHS, XXVI, 1906, pp.15-19.
- (333) These are most conveniently listed in H.P. Isler, op.cit., pp.123-127.
- (334) H.P. Isler, op.cit., pp.127-129.
- (335) H.P. Isler, op.cit., pp.135-137. Sixteen examples are listed. All show Herakles and Achelous.
- (336) H.P. Isler, op.cit., pp.138-139. Eight examples are listed. One shows only Achelous while the other seven show both the river-god and Herakles.
- (337) H.P. Isler, op.cit., p.141ff. For reservations about some of the non-Greek material see S.B. Luce, "Heracles and Achelous on a Cylix in Boston", AJA, XXVII, 1923, p.425ff.
- (338) H.P. Isler, op.cit., p.135ff: Achelous as a bull with a man's head: nos. 67, 68, 79, 80, 81, 86, 87, 88 and 90; as a type of Centaur: nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 83 and 85; as a type of Triton: 84. Two are uncertain: nos. 82 and 89. This list concerns only Attic Black and Red Figure vases.
- (339) Soph., Tr., 9-14 and 18-21. See above, note 332.
- (340) Ibid.
- (341) Apollod., Bibl., II, 7, 5.

- (342) J.D. Beazley, ABV, no.122, p.370, BM no.B228 formerly old no.536: Amphora, height 16 $\frac{4}{5}$ in., from Vulci, ascribed to the Leagrus group c.515-500B.C. See CVA, BM, 4, III, He, Plate 56, 2; M. Lehnerdt, "Herakles und Acheloos", AZ, XLIII, 1885, columns 105-120 with a beautiful line drawing of the scene in Plate 6; and H.P. Isler, op.cit., no.73, p.136 and discussed on pp.19, 25 and 116-120. The figure on the left of the struggle is Hermes.
- (343) Ov., Met., IX, 81-86.
- (344) See H.P. Isler, op.cit., p.116ff.; Hom., Il., XXI, 237, and Archilochos, fragment 146 in PLG, p.569.
- (345) H.P. Isler, op.cit., p.118.
- (346) Scholion on Call., Jov., line 49: Ἀμαλθείης : οὕτως ἐκάλειτο ἢ αἰξ ἢ τὸν Δία θρέψασα· λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς κέρατος ἀμβροσίαν ρεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου νέκταρ.
- (347) Ath., Deip., 503b.
Anacr., Poem 8: Ἐγὼ γ' οὕτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθείης
βουλοίμεν κέρας.

Phoc., Poem 7:
ἀγρὸν γὰρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι.
- (348) Arat., Phaen., lines 162-164.
- (349) Ov., Fasti, V, 113-128.
- (350) The name Ἀλθαία occurs, with no obvious healing overtones, as the name of Meleager's mother in Hom., Il. IX, 555. The name's root meaning of 'healer' is shown most clearly in its use as a proper name for healing herbs. Theophrastus, when dealing with the medicinal plants in Arcadia, describes a form of marshmallow as ἄλθαία - Thphr., HP, IX, xv, 5. Dioscorides, describing an apparently different plant called ἄλθαία, says: ὠνόμασται δὲ ἄλθαία διὰ τὸ πολυαλθὲς καὶ πολὺ χρηστὸν αὐτῆς. He goes on to give a whole series of medical uses of the plant - Dsc., MM, III, 146. For the healing river Ἀλθαῖνος see R. Ginouvès, op.cit., p.349, note 6.
- (351) Apollod., Bibl., II, 6, 2.
- (352) See above, note 57.
- (353) See above, note 321.
- (354) H.W. Parke, The Oracles of Zeus, pp.153-156.
- (355) E.g. see Paus., VI, xxii, 7 (Elis) - ἱατροί : νύμφου τινὲς καλοῦνται περὶ Ἠλείαν καὶ θεραπεύοντες; and Hesychius under ἱατροί. For another healing cult of nymphs in Elis see Paus., V, v, 11.
- (356) Paus., I, xxxiv, 3.
- (357) See J. Travlos, PDA, p.138 and plates 192-193.
- (358) Pl., Phdr., 230B-C: Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελώου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι.

- (359) R.E. Wycherley, SA, p.170. See J.E. Harrison, Mythology, pp.226-227 and fig.16.
- (359) See B. Staes, "ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΛΥΦΟΝ ΕΚ ΦΑΛΗΡΟΥ" in Ἑφημ. ., 1909, col.239ff and especially col.244; and S. Karouzou, NAM, nos.1783 and 2756, pp.52-53 and 57, and for the bases, p.95.
- (361) Aphrodite is also linked with them there and, once, Isis. See S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens", pp.214-215.
- (362) Apollod., Bibl., II, 7, 5. The idea of an athletic contest ending with the winner being awarded a prize is implicit in a 5th century B.C. coin from Metapontum which shows Achelous and has the legend ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ. See O. Jahn, "Herakles und Acheloos", AZ, XX, 1862, p.321 and Plate CLXVIII and H.P. Isler, op.cit., no.326A, p.180 where he gives the legend as Ἀχελῷου ἀέθλων. It is the winning of the contest and the impending award of the prize which I suggest is a more likely interpretation of the Ilissós anaglyph found in 1893 (see above, note 320). The seated figure, Zeus-Plouton, is about to present the horn held by the goddess in the background. The defeated contestant is shown below looking somewhat disconsolate. Hermes is present as the judge just as he is shown on the vase described above in note 342.
- (363) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, pp.54-55. See above, notes 286 and 289.
- (364) I. Miliadis, Πρακτικά, 1953, p.57. See above, note 305.
- (365) See Hdt., II, 43-44.
- (366) S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica", p.225.
- (367) See above, notes 296 and 305.
- (368) IG 7/2, 2874. See above, note 326.
- (369) See Paus., IX, xxxiv, 2.
- (370) See E. Rohde, Psyche, (English Translation of the 8th Edition, London, 1925) Appendix V.
- (371) Paus., I, xxxiv, 4.
- (372) See M. Ninck, Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten, (Darmstadt, 1967), pp.82-83.
- (373) M. Ninck, op.cit., p.27.
- (374) Ibid.
- (375) Also fourth century B.C. See R. Ginouvès, op.cit., p.350. Of course the Spring House in the Asklepieion at Athens also comes to mind but that was probably sacred to the nymphs alone.
- (376) M. Ninck, op.cit., has an interesting chapter entitled "Wasser und Verwandlung", p.138ff. He deals with Achelous in particular on p.139 and note 2.
- (377) See M. Ninck, op.cit., especially p.13ff. Water, of course, was a symbol of fertility, here in the human sphere. See L.R. Farnell, Cults, Vol.V, p.420ff.
- (378) Hes., Th., lines 346-348.

- (379) Hom., Il., XXIII, 141ff.; Aesch., Ch., 6; Paus., VIII, xli, 3. For the cutting of hair and offerings to rivers as Kourotraphoi see Eust. on Hom., Il., XVIII, lines 405-406 and XXIII, lines 141-142.
- (380) Artem., 2, 38.
- (381) See above, notes 296 and 366.
- (382) See above, note 367.
- (383) For Melicertes-Palaemon see above, note 222.
- (384) D. Harden, The Phoenicians, (Harmondsworth, 1971), p.77.
- (385) Ibid.
- (386) See above, notes 219-221.
- (387) See J.G. Hawthorne, "The Myth of Palaemon", Trans.Am.Phil.Ass., LXXXIX, 1958, pp.92-98.
- (388) See above, note 300.
- (389) This is the suggestion of E. Mitropoulou, Kneeling Worshippers, pp.26-27.
- (390) J.G. Hawthorne, op.cit., p.92.
- (391) D. Harden, op.cit., p.77
- (392) See above, note 113 for the miniature gunwale included among the offering to the Ἡρώς Ἰατρός.
- (393) See A. Oikonomides in the works quoted above in note 280.

REFERENCES

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

- (1) See the neat summary of these problems in S. Moscati, The World of the Phoenicians, (London, 1968), pp.30-31.
- (2) These are collected and discussed by G. Bunnens, L'Expansion Phénicienne en Méditerranée, (Brussels/Rome, 1979), p.104ff.
- (3) See P. Wathelet, "Les Phéniciens et la tradition homérique", in Studia Phoenicia, II, Histoire Phénicienne, ed. E. Gubel, E. Lipinski and B. Servais-Soyez, (Louvain, 1983), pp.235-243.
- (4) An example is the recently (1983) excavated favissa at Tel Dor where the sherds and figurines were Archaic Attic or East Greek. See E. Stern's abstract of his paper "Two Phoenician Favissae from Tel Dor" in the IV^e Colloquium, La Religion Phénicienne, ed. by the Groupe de contact interuniversitaire d'études Phéniciennes et Puniques, (Namur, 1985).
- (5) See M.-F. Baslez's abstract "Les dieux phéniciens dans les ports de l'Égée: problèmes d'interprétation de divinités marines", also in IV^e Colloquium, La Religion Phénicienne.
- (6) See G. Bunnens, "Tyriens et Phéniciens à la découverte de la Méditerranée" in Sauvons Tyr: Les Phéniciens et nous, (Morlanwelz, Belgium, 1981), especially pp.22-23.
- (7) E. Power, "The ancient gods and languages of Cyprus", Biblica, X, 1929, especially pp.131-137.
- (8) CIS I, 115 and F.L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions, (Rome, 1972), p.26 for further references. Found in Athens.
- (9) CIS I, 120; F.L. Benz, op.cit., p.27. Found in the Peiraieus. The date is unclear but probably third to second century B.C.
- (10) CIS I, 117; F.L. Benz, *ibid.*, where, however, he lists RES I, 388 as though it were a separate inscription when in fact it is the same as CIS I, 117.
- (11) CIS I, 121. This is most likely to be a tombstone. The date is unclear. F.L. Benz, *ibid.* Found in the Peiraieus. Probably Hellenistic.
- (12) The so-called "BENḤODEŠ DEDICATORY". CIS I, 118 and F.L. Benz, *ibid.* Again the date appears uncertain. Probably Hellenistic.
- (13) CIS I, 116; F.L. Benz, *ibid.*
- (14) CIS I, 119; F.L. Benz, *ibid.* Probably third century B.C.
- (15) RES II, 1215; F.L. Benz, *ibid.* A date between the extremes of the third century and first century B.C. has been argued. Found in the Peiraieus.
- (16) CIS I, 115.
- (17) H. Pope, Foreigners, p.24. 101/100B.C.
- (18) H. Pope, Foreigners, p.27. 101/100B.C.
- (19) H. Pope, Foreigners, p.29. 128/127B.C., 118B.C. and two dated to 107/106B.C.

- (20) H. Pope, Foreigners, pp.144-145. 376-360B.C., 323/322B.C., c.287-278B.C., third to second century B.C., 182/181B.C., c.166/165B.C., c.142/141B.C., and two from 39/38B.C.
- (21) H. Pope, Foreigners, p.158. Two from probably before 332/331B.C., two from the beginning of the second century B.C., one after 180B.C. and one from the second to first century B.C.
- (22) Merchants from Kition, however, were numerous enough to have had their cult of Aphrodite Ourania officially recognised in 333/332 B.C. - IG 2-3/1/1, 337.
- (23) See M.J. Lagrange, "Inscriptions trouvées à Bostan-ech-Cheikh", Revue Biblique, XI, 1902, p.524 where the third century date of CIS I, 119 is compared with the date of the dedications to Eschmoun.
- (24) M. Dunand, "Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes du temple d'Echmoun à Bostan-ech-Cheikh, près Sidon", Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, XVII, 1964, p.106.
- (25) M. Dunand, *op.cit.*, pp.106-108. Four of the statuettes are illustrated in N. Jidejian's book Sidon through the Ages, (Beirut, 1972), Plates 188-191. The dedication of Ba'alchillem is Plate 190 and frontispiece. Two, including that of Ba'alchillem, are illustrated in M. Dunand's article.
- (26) N. Jidejian, Sidon through the Ages, p.61.
- (27) V. Karageorghis, "Chypre", in L'espansione fenica nel Mediterraneo, ed. F. Barreca *et al.*, (Rome, 1971), pp.161-173.
- (28) J.B. Pritchard, Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City, (Princeton, 1978), pp.131-148.
- (29) J.B. Pritchard, *op.cit.*, pp.144-145 with an illustration of one beautiful pregnant-type figurine on p.145.
- (30) E.R. Dodds, "Maenadism in the Bacchae", HTR, XXXIII, 1940, p.171. Those same ideas are developed by E.R. Dodds in The Greeks and the Irrational, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951): the effects of war on the Athenians, pp.191-192; the effects of the plague, p.193; the growth of foreign cults, pp.193-194; and other aspects of religion, dreams and healing, *passim*.
- (31) Xen., Vect., II, 3.
- (32) See A.J. Festugière, "L'Epinomis et l'introduction des cultes étrangers à Athènes", originally in Coniectanea Neotestamentaria but republished in Études de Religion Grecque et Hellenistique, (Paris, 1972), p.135.
- (33) These are most easily traced in The Delphic Oracle by J.E. Fontenrose, nos.Q.1, 3, 54, 65, 72, 79, 82, 84, 94, 107, 126, 133, 164, 174, 189, 190, 200 and 229. They date from c.776B.C. to 293B.C.
- (34) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, nos.L.19, 35, 42, 44, 45, 64, 72, 88, 92, 98, 133, 134, 140, 145, 153B, 157, 159, 169 (a plague of mice) and 173.
- (35) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, no.Q.133 and his note on p.313.
- (36) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, no.Q.164.

- (37) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, no.Q.189 and H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, Vol.II, The Oracular Responses, no.125.
- (38) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, no.L.159.
- (39) J.E. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle, no.Q.229.
- (40) See H.W. Parke, The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor, (London, 1986), pp.150-157.
- (41) Th., II, 1v, 5.
- (42) Šurpu, A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations, ed. E. Reiner, (Graz, 1958).
- (43) E. Reiner, op.cit., p.3.
- (44) Leviticus, V, 6.
- (45) M. Geller, "The Šurpu Incantations and Lev. V, 1-5", Journal of Semitic Studies, xxv/2. Autumn 1980, p.187. I am very grateful to Dr. Geller, Reader in Hebrew at University College London, for pointing out this article to me during correspondence about the nature of 'šm.
- (46) M.C. Astour, op.cit., pp.281-282.
- (47) M. Geller, op.cit., p.189.
- (48) M. Geller, op.cit., pp.191-192.
- (49) Note 7.
- (50) See above, note 37.
- (51) See above, note 46.
- (52) M.C. Astour, op.cit., p.282.
- (53) Dam., Isid., (C. Zintzen, p.283).
- (54) Paus., VII, xxiii, 7.
- (55) Hdt., 3, 37. For an intriguing discussion of these deities see Mh. Fantar, Le Dieu de la Mer chez les Phéniciens et les Puniques, (Rome, 1977), pp.20-26.
- (56) See N. Jidejian, Tyre through the Ages, (Beirut, 1969), p.95.
- (57) Hdt., 2, 44.
- (58) Ibid.
- (59) See N. Jidejian, Tyre through the Ages, p.96.
- (60) Phoenicians may even have associated Zeus Meilichios with the sea. See Mh. Fantar, op.cit., pp.25-26.

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