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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

A Hellenistic Cult-Association

The «Kilbian plain» (Κιλβιανὸν πεδίον), «das paradiesische obere und mittlere Kayster-Thal», was and is a rich agricultural area that in ancient terms lay within south-western Lydia, in the upper valley of the Cayster between Mounts Tmolos and Messogis. In the later Hellenistic period, with which I am concerned here, it had no cities but was dotted with small rural communities, some of them fortified; by Strabo's time and probably long before, it had two divisions, the Upper and the Lower Kilbianoi (Κιλβιανοὶ οἱ ἄνω, οἱ κάτω).¹ A site in the «upper» division near Kelles, the ancient Koloe, has produced two closely similar stelai, recently published by HASAN MALAY, that I will refer to in the following as A and B. Both have a triangular pediment below which is carved an olive-wreath, inside a round frame in the first stele and a square one in the second; the lettering is so similar as to suggest the hand of the same mason. From the lettering, the generally correct use of iota «adscript», and the absence of Roman names MALAY plausibly proposes a date in the mid-second century BCE.² Stele A contains a decree of an association of «hero-worshippers» (ἥρωισταί) honoring their late priestess, Stratonike, and decrees that her two sons be consoled for her death, which it calls her «apotheosis». Stele B is a list headed γραφή συνβοληφόρων, and contains a list of sixty-four names. MALAY is surely right that this list must be linked to the decree of Stele A, though I will argue that his interpretation of συνβοληφόροι as «bearers of sacred symbols» is incorrect.

I begin with a text and translation of A.

ἔδοξεν τῶι κοινῶι τῶν συναγομένων ἥρωισ-
τῶν Ἀρπάλωι τε καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρωι καὶ
Μηνοδότῃ καὶ Ζωστᾶ· ἐπεὶ προσήγγελ-
4 ται μετηλλαχέναὶ Στρατονίκην Ἀθη-

¹ Strabo 13.4.13, C 629, cf. Pliny, nat. 5, 120. On the region, K. BURESCH, AM 19, 1894, 124, from whence the quotation; J. KEIL – A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien, 1914, 56–58 (overlooked by L. BÜRCHNER, RE 11 A, 1921, 383–384); Barrington Atlas 56 G5; P. HERRMANN – H. MALAY, New documents from Lydia, 2007, map at end.

² HERRMANN – MALAY (n. 1) nos. 96, 97; from MALAY's introduction (p. 11) I infer that he has primary responsibility for editing these inscriptions. In A, iota is «subscript» in Ζωστᾶ (3) and τῶ (31), and «parasitic» in θεοσεβῆτι (13): the spelling ζωῆς (10, 31) looks deliberate, and also occurs in Syll.³ 577, 34 (Milet I 3, 149), where LSJ think it «probably an error».

- νοδώρου τὴν ἰέρειαν, μητέρα δὲ Ἄρπά-
λου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου γεγενημένην κα-
λὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, πρὸς τε τὸ κοινεῖον
8 καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστῶι προσενηνεγμένην
φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὴν τοῦ κοινείου σύννο-
δον, τὸν τε τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἀνεστραμ-
μένην ἐνδόξως, πειρωμένην αἰεὶ ποτε δια-
φυλάσσειν τὴν τε εὐκοσμίαν καὶ φιλανθρω-
12 πῖαν ἀξίως τῶν προγόνων, οὐσαν θεο-
σεβῆ[ι], δίκαιον δὲ ἔστιν καὶ καλῶς ἔχον γε-
γονυίας αὐτῆς ἀνεκλήτου τιμηθῆναι αὐ-
16 τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κοινεαστῶν, ὅπως ἀγῆται
καὶ ταύτης ἡμέρα, ὅταν αἱ λοιπαὶ συντε-
λῶνται θυσίαι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς προγό-
νοις αὐτῆς· στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ χρυ-
20 σῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα· ἀναθεῖνα[ι]
δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῶι ἡρώϊω· στήσα[ι]
δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ λίθου λευκοῦ στήλην καὶ ἐνγράψ[αι]
τὸ ψήφισμα, ὅπως ὑπάρχηι αὐτῇ αἰώνιον ὑπ[ό-]
24 μνημα τῆς πρὸς πάντας φιλαγαθίας· ἀ-
ποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες συμ-
μείξαντες Ἀρπάλῳ τε καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τὰς
τε ἐψηφισμένας τιμὰς ἀποδώσουσιν καὶ
28 παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτοὺς μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν
τὴν ἀποθέωσιν, γεγενημένης αὐτῆς φιλο-
τέχνου καὶ ἀμεμψιμοιρήτου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀν-
θρώποις ἐν τῷ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνωι.

«It was resolved by the association of hero-worshippers who gather for [i.e., in honor of] Harpalos, Artemidoros, Menodote and Zostas:

Whereas it has been announced (4) that Stratonike the priestess has departed, (the daughter) of Athenodoros and mother of Harpalos and Athenodoros, who was excellent and virtuous, who towards the association and individually towards each behaved generously (8) through the meeting (?) of the association, and who in her lifetime always strove to preserve her propriety and generosity in a way (12) worthy of her ancestors, being pious, and it is right and proper, since she was irreproachable, that she be honored (16) by the associates:

That a day for her too be held when the other sacrifices are being performed, as for her forebears, and to crown her with a golden (20) crown costing ten gold pieces, and to set up also a painted portrait (of her) in the hero-shrine, and to set up also a slab of white stone [i.e. marble] and engrave the decree (on it), so that she may possess an eternal memorial (24) of her beneficence to all; and to send men who, meeting with

Harpalos and Athenodoros, will deliver the honors voted and will (28) urge them to bear (her) deification with restraint [i.e. without excessive grief], since she was affectionate towards her children and impeccable in the eyes of all people during her lifetime.»

In effect, the whole decree forms a single sentence: (enacting formula) ἔδοξεν τῶι κοινῶι ..., (beginning of «considerations») ἐπεὶ προσήγγελλται ..., (transitional phrase) δίκαιον δέ ἐστιν ..., (beginning of «dispositions») (a) ὅπως ἄγεται ..., (b) ἀποστείλαι δὲ ... ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ... (there is no need to suppose with MALAY that the δέ in line 13 is «non-connective»). The one rarity of syntax is ὅπως (16) with the subjunctive depending on ἔδοξεν (1), though even this is justifiable.³ The language is sometimes obscure. The text uses κοινόν (1) for the whole body of the association, but also the much rarer κοινεῖον (7, 9) with no apparent difference in meaning. This appears to provide the stem from which the denominative κοινεασταί (16) derives, κοινεῖον producing κοινεαστής by way of the verbal suffix -άζω and the nominal suffix -τής.⁴ The use of διὰ in the phrase διὰ τὴν τοῦ κοινεῖου σύνοδον (9/10) is odd. MALAY translates «for the sake of the community's gathering», and σύνοδος can certainly mean a «gathering» of a group on a particular occasion, often for the purpose of deliberation, but can also indicate the group itself. I tentatively understand that Stratonike «behaved generously» to the members «through the meeting of the association» by giving funds to support its gatherings in her lifetime.

MALAY understands the situation thus: «The decree was issued by an association (koinon) of ἡρωισταί on the occasion of the death of a priestess. It is clear from lines 24 ff. that Harpalos and Athenodoros, to whom, being her sons, the death of Stratonike was most important, were resident somewhere abroad; her death had been announced to them (lines 3–4) where they lived, and, after the «heroistai» had passed their decree, an embassy was sent to them in order to inform them about the honors and to comfort them (lines 24 ff.). Meanwhile Menodote (the wife of one of the sons?) and Zostas (a son?) lived together with Harpalos and Athenodoros abroad and thus learned about the death at the occasion of the προσαγγελία.» Accordingly, he translates the opening lines as follows: «It was resolved by the association of the assembled «heroistai»: considering that it has been announced to Harpalos, Athenodoros (jr.), Menodote and Zostas that the priestess Stratonike, daughter of Athenodoros (sr.), has passed away – she who was the outstanding mother of Harpalos and Athenodoros

³ KÜHNER-GERTH II 2, 9, 372–374, ὅπως after verbs such as προνοεῖν, βουλεύεσθαι. For ἀνεκλήτου = ἀνεκλήτου in line 15, cf. MAYSER, Grammatik der gr. Papyri I 1, 190–191.

⁴ LSJ cite κοινεῖον in the sense of «common hall» from IG XII 3, 330, 137 (the foundation of Epicteta of Thera, ca. 200) and in the sense of «association, club» from XII 2, 104, 12 (Nisyros, imperial): but «club» will also suit in XII 3, 330: T. RITTI, Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiiano di Verona, 1981, 76 translates «comunità». -άζω: SCHWYZER, Gr. Grammatik I, 734–735. -τής: SCHWYZER I, 499–500.

(jr.) ... [this translation ignores his placing of the colon after Ζωστᾶ].» It will be argued here that the situation is in fact very different; that the four persons named in lines 2 and 3 are already being worshiped by the association; that Stratonike is the priestess of the association, and has only just died; and that the members are voting both to honor her posthumously and to send a delegation to console her two surviving sons, whom there is no reason to suppose absent or abroad.

Against MALAY's interpretation is, above all, the word-order of the opening lines, especially the phrase τῶι κοινῶι τῶν συναγομένων ἡρωιστῶν Ἀρπάλωι κτλ. It is normal Greek for a word or phrase dependent on an attributive participle to follow the phrase that governs it, for example Demosthenes 18.176, τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῆ πόλει.⁵ Put another way, the proper names Ἀρπάλωι κτλ. belong to a different clause from the one containing the verb προσήγγεται, and therefore the announcement cannot have been made to them, but rather to the association. Similarly, when the gerousia of Sparta learns of the death of the young Statilius Lamprias in the first century CE, it begins its decree:⁶ ἐπεὶ προσήγγεται πρᾶγμα ἀβούλητον [γεγονὸς τᾶ] πόλι τᾶ Λακεδαιμόνι τετελευτακῶς Τίτος Στατεῖλιος Λαμπρίας κτλ. So also the city of Assos celebrates the news of the accession of Gaius,⁷ ἐπεὶ ἡ κατ' εὐχὴν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐλπισθεῖσα Γαῖου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμονία κατήγγεται ... ἔδοξεν τῆ βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι κτλ. CLAUDE BRICHHE follows MALAY's interpretation, but alters his punctuation by placing a colon after ἡρωιστῶν so that the datives belong in the following sentence; but whereas countless decrees begin the «considerations» with ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδὴ, it would be very difficult to find one in which either of these two words is inserted between an indirect object and its governing verb.⁸

A second difficulty with MALAY's interpretation concerns the persons named Athenodoros. He is surely right that Stratonike is the daughter of one Athenodoros (line 4) and the mother of a second (line 6). Though it seems natural to suppose that the Harpalos and Athenodoros mentioned in line 2 are identical with Stratonike's two sons, that creates the difficulty of making the text switch without warning from the younger Athenodoros in line 2 to the elder in line 4 and back again to the younger in line 6. A third objection is the translation of τῶν συναγομένων ἡρωιστῶν as «the assembled <heroistai>»: the present participle should mean «those who assemble» rather than «those who have assembled» on a particular occasion, for which a past participle (aorist or perfect passive) would be expected. Thus in the decree of the Sabbatistai from the region of Elaioussa Sebaste in Cilicia: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ Σαββατισταῖς θεοῦ εὐνοῖᾳ Σαββατιστοῦ συνηγμένοις; in Thespriai: Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Οὐετρανὸν

⁵ KÜHNER-GERTH I, 623; MAYSER, Grammatik der gr. Papyri II 2, 1, 62–63.

⁶ IG IV 1, 86, 1–2 (SEG 35, 305).

⁷ IGRR IV 251 (Syll.³ 797 [Assos]; I.Assos 26). Cf. the «Referatformat» of Athenian decrees, e.g. IG II/III 106, 6, περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβει[ς ἀπαγέλ]λουσιν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἦκοντες, κτλ.

⁸ CL. BRICHHE, BE 2007, 451.

οἱ συναχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνθῦται τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην; at Miletos, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μενεκλούς ... οἶδε συνήχθησαν Τεμενίται.⁹

All these difficulties can be resolved if the opening phrase, from τῶι κοινῶι as far as Ζωστᾶ, is understood as «the association of hero-worshippers who gather for Harpalos, Athenodoros, Menodote and Zostas»: that is, these are the deceased whose memory the members regularly meet to commemorate. A frequent use of the dative is for sacral acts in honor of a god or other divine being, and its use with συνάγεσθαι here has a close if not exact parallel in an Athenian inscription dated to the first century CE and concerning an association in honor of Men Tyrannos: τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους ἔρανον συνάγειν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ ἐπ' ἀγαθῆι τύ[χη].¹⁰ A similar association in honor of heroized persons appears in an Athenian inscription of 57/56 BCE, but here the genitive is used. These are the «hero-worshippers (ἡρώϊσται) of Diotimos, [...] and Pammenes.» They have «a master of the club» (ἀρχεραμιστής), and their rules are designed to ensure that the members contribute their proper fees; those who fail to do so without a good excuse will not receive their «shares» (μέρη), that is, their portion of the sacrifice.¹¹

As for the problem of the persons called «Athenodoros», if the first four persons mentioned in the text, Harpalos, Artemidoros, Menodote and Zostas, are understood to be those currently worshiped by the association, and therefore deceased, it follows that the first two cannot be identical with Stratonike's sons Harpalos and Athenodoros mentioned as among the living in line 26. Now in Stele B the first two names are «Harpalos, son of Harpalos» and «Athenodoros, son of Harpalos». It seems obvious that these two are the senior or innermost members of the association, and identical with Stratonike's sons in Stele A. Accordingly, the Harpalos mentioned in line 2 of Stele A is her husband and the Athenodoros whose name follows his is her father; Menodote, it may be suspected, is her mother, while Zostas is some other member of the family. Thus there will be no ambiguity when the text refers in lines 5 and 6 to her two sons as Harpalos and Athenodoros: of these the first is named after his father, the second after his maternal grandfather.

The prominence of the family in the two texts shows that Stratonike is not merely «a» priestess, as understood by MALAY, but, as the definite article shows, the priestess of the association. This is all the more remarkable since the list in Stele B shows only men as members, but it is perhaps to be understood that the association had been founded by Stratonike's husband Harpalos and/or her father Athenodoros, and that as Harpalos' widow she had inherited the role of priestess. Her situation has some resemblance to that of Epicteta of Thera in her will now preserved at Verona. Epicteta's husband Phoinix had built a Mouseion to serve as a ἡρώϊον for their joint son Kratesilo-

⁹ Elaioussa Sebaste: OGIS 573; LSAM 80. Thespieae: SEG 53, 475. Miletos: SEG 45, 1606.

¹⁰ IG II/III 1366, 21 (Syll.³ 1042; LANE, CMRDM I 13) adduced by LSJ s.v. συνάγω I 2. Cf. KÜHNER-GERTH I, 419, on the dative for «die Kultushandlungen zur Ehre eines Gottes».

¹¹ IG II/III 1339.

chos, but not completed it; after his death their second son Andragoras had died and bidden her (either while dying, or possibly in a posthumous vision) to complete the building, «to assemble an association of male relatives and give to the association of male members three thousand drachmas (to provide) income as soon as they begin to meet» (συναγαγὲν κοινὸν ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ δόμεν τῶι κοινῶι τοῦ ἀνδρείου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας πόθοδον ἀφ' οὗ συναχθησοῦντι, lines 22–25).¹² Her will is followed by the rules of the association, which include arrangements for an annual procession and sacrifice in honor of the «heroes». RIET VAN BREMEN has excellently discussed a development of the later Hellenistic period whereby wealthy women act as the benefactors of religious groups and are honored accordingly. Thus at Mantinea in 64/63, Nikippa Pasia spends lavishly for the benefit of the σύνδοδος worshipping the goddess Kore, and without becoming priestess herself acts in a way similar to the permanent male priests, for which she is duly honored.¹³

At line 16 begins the «dispositive» part of the decree, incorporating the decisions of the association. The first is a resolution to celebrate a day «in her honor too (καὶ ταύτης) when the other sacrifices take place, as to her ancestors» (ll. 16–19). That is, Stratonike will join the four persons named at the beginning of the decree, and be one of those regularly commemorated as a new «heroine». The reason for celebrating her memory «when the other sacrifices take place», rather than on some occasion as her birthday, is presumably that the association had to assemble from a widespread area, and therefore concentrated its celebrations into as few days as possible. Similarly, the association (συναγωγὰ) set up by Epicteta on Thera holds its celebration on three successive days.¹⁴

The next decision is «to crown (Stratonike) with a golden crown costing ten gold pieces» (here the καὶ emphasises the following phrase, and can scarcely be translated into English). This crown is probably to be placed on her body or bier at the impending funeral. Similarly, at a date close in time to Stratonike, Aeolian Kyme decrees that when the benefactress Archippe dies, the prytanis in office shall crown her with a golden crown, and in a separate decree, that the στρατηγοί shall do likewise.¹⁵

The final lines (ll. 24–31) concern the notification to be given to Stratonike's surviving sons concerning the preceding measures. As often, a honorific decree serves also as a decree of consolation: «souvent un décret honorant un défunt a en même temps un autre objet: consoler la famille. Le décret honorifique est aussi un «décret de

¹² IG XII 3, 330; RITTI (n. 4) no. 31; A. WITTENBURG, *Il Testamento di Epikteta*, 1990.

¹³ R. VAN BREMEN, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, 1996, 25–30. Nikippa Pasia: IG V 2, 265.

¹⁴ Epicteta: IG XII 3, 330, 118–126 (RITTI no. 31 IV 10–18).

¹⁵ ROBERT, OMS V 248 (RPh 33, 1959): «C'est une coutume qui se répand à l'époque hellénistique de couronner un citoyen de mérite juste après sa mort» cf. OMS II 848 (REA 62, 1960). Archippe: I.Kyme 13, 12–13 (SEG 33, 1035, 12–13; 1039, 45–48).

consolation» (ψήφισμα παραμυθητικόν).» This is one of the very earliest known, perhaps the earliest, since the vast majority of the examples are from the imperial period.¹⁶ The association is to send a delegation of males (ἄνδρες) who will meet with the brothers, «give the honors» (that is, the record) and «encourage them to bear her divinization with restraint, since she was loving of her children and unexceptionable in the sight of all people during her lifetime». Though the decree does not talk of consolation, the injunction to the relatives to bear their loss «nobly» (γενναίως), «cheerfully» (εὐθαρσῶς), or as here «with moderation» (μετρίως) has its place in such decrees.¹⁷ In the present case, one motive of this delegation is probably to encourage the surviving sons to continue the family tradition of generosity towards the association.

The decree uses a striking word for Stratonike's death, ἀποθέωσις. The notion that the dead become «gods», especially from the viewpoint of family members or, as here, close associates, is not rare. A famous example is Cicero's concern for the shrine commemorating the *apotheosis* of his late daughter Tullia; the same word occurs in epitaphs of the imperial period at Aphrodisias. Similarly the decrees of the Lycian koinon and of various cities of Lycia in honor of the benefactress Junia Theodora, passed before her death, describe that moment as her ἀποθέωσις or «when she goes to join the gods», ὅταν εἰς θεοὺς ἀφίκηται. The tomb-stone, dated to the second or third century, of a young woman called Stratonike at Ephesos shows her sitting before an altar with a dog gazing at her, while the faultily written epigram says: «This tomb holds the lovely body of one who died prematurely, for when she was sixteen years old Koure the wife of Plouteus took you to Hades. But the blessed gods, pitying her, did not leave her soul to enter within the house of Hades: she has flown in air to heaven, and among the gods Stratonike has a fate equal to a heroine.» Menander Rhetor advises that the speech of consolation should contain exhortations such as: «I feel convinced that he who has gone dwells in the Elysian Fields, where dwell Rhadamanthus and Menelaus ... Or rather perhaps he is living now with the gods, traveling round the sky and looking down on this world.» So also in the funeral speech: «No need to lament: he is sharing the community of gods (πολιτεύεται μετὰ τῶν θεῶν), or dwells in the Elysian Fields.» Though the present text leaves it unclear whether ἀποθέωσις is a mere euphemism for «death», or whether it implies a belief that Stratonike has actually joined the gods, these parallels make the latter more likely, especially if the following clause, «since she was affectionate towards her children and impeccable in the eyes of all people during her lifetime» is meant to justify her ἀποθέωσις. The parallels also show that the distinction between heroic and divine status was not always sharply felt, so that the as-

¹⁶ ROBERT, *Hellenica* 3, 1946, 15. On decrees of consolation, the classic study is by K. BURESCH, *Die griechischen Trostbeschlüsse*, *RhM* 49, 1894, 424–460; more recently, M. SÈVE, *BCH* 103, 1979, 327–359 and *REG* 109, 1996, 683–686.

¹⁷ For μετρίως, ROBERT (previous n.) 31, cites *IG XII* 7, 239, 41; 410, 28 (Amorgos).

sociation would have felt no inconsistency in enrolling Stratonike as a heroine and at the same time supposing that she had gone to join the gods.¹⁸

Stele B is headed γραφή συνβοληφόρων. This is the first attestation of the form συνβοληφόροι, though it has twice occurred as συ(μ)βολαφόροι. An inscription from Maeonia in Lydia reads: Ἀρτέμιδι Ἄναίετι καὶ Μηνί Τιάμου Ἀλέξανδρος Τειμόθεος Γλύκων τῶν Βολλάδος καὶ οἱ συνβολαφόροι ἐγλυτρω[σάμεν]οι ἀνέστη[σαν ...]. The first editor, PETER HERRMANN, tentatively suggested that συνβολαφόροι referred to persons performing some kind of cult function, perhaps in processions.¹⁹ Almost at the same time as he published the inscription from Lydia, F. K. DÖRNER published one from the Bithynian coast north of Nicomedia with this text: ... ας Γοργίσι[υ θε]ῶ Πρειέτω καὶ τοῖς συμβολαφόροις εὐχαριστήριον ἐπισεβάσας τὰ τῶν προγόνων. Accepting HERRMANN's interpretation, DÖRNER compared the word συμβολαφόροι to ἱεραφόροι, «carriers of sacred objects».²⁰ It has now entered the latest Supplement to LSJ (1999) as «bearers of sacred symbols», and MALAY so understands it here. The correct interpretation, however, must be «bringers of contributions» (συμβολαί). Among the meanings of συμβολή LSJ give «contribution, subscription, to the expenses of a festival», and cite a number of pertinent passages, mostly from the third and second centuries BCE. Thus at Arcesine on Amorgos ca. 250, a benefactor called Kleophantos is honored for his conduct of the city's Itonia. He had an announcement made in the agora that all the citizens and all the visiting foreigners could «travel to the Itonia without contributions» (πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια ἀσυμβόλους); he gave 2,500 drachmas to make up «the sum of contributions» (τὸ εἰς τὰς συμβολὰς γινόμενον); and he «let off those who went without payment of their contributions» (ἀφήκεν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς ἰόντας τῶν συμβολῶν).²¹ φέρειν also belongs in such a context: LSJ give as one of its meanings «subscribe to the expense of a meeting», and cite an Athenian inscription of 112/111 in which the «captains and merchants who contribute (to) the association of Zeus Xenios» (ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι οἱ φέροντες τὴν σύνοδον τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ξενίου) ask permission to put up a «painted portrait» (εἰκῶν γραπτή) of

¹⁸ For family members as «gods» or «goddesses», J. and L. ROBERT, BE 1964, 596. Stratonike: PFUHL – MÖBIUS, Grabreliefs 808 (MERKELBACH – STAUBER, Steinepigramme I 348, no. 03/02/67 [Ephesos]). Tullia: D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, Tullia's Fane. Cicero's Letters to Atticus 5, 1966, Appendix III. Aphrodisias: MAMA VIII 545, 3 (CIG 2832); 556b, 3 (restored by L. ROBERT, Hellenica 13, 1965, 195–196). Theodora: SEG 18, 143, 44 (apotheosis); 11, 65 (gods); ROBERT, OMS II 840–858 (REA 62, 1960). Menander: 414, 16; 421, 16 Sp. = pp. 162, 176 RUSSELL-WILSON.

¹⁹ P. HERRMANN, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien, 1962, 39 no. 27 (TAM V 1, 576; LANE, CMRDM I 57 and III 36 [BE 1963, 225; approved in BE 1965, 390]).

²⁰ F. K. DÖRNER, Vorbericht über eine Reise in Bithynien, AAWW 100, 1963, 133–134 (TAM IV 76; BE 1965, 390).

²¹ LSJ s.v. συμβολή IV 2, citing IG XII 7, 22, lines 9, 18, 28 (3rd c. BCE) = Syll.³ 1045; cf. P.Cair.Zen. III 341, 19 a (3rd c. BCE): διὰ τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν πάσας τὰς συμβολὰς, «because not all the subscriptions had come in»; cf. P.Tebt. I 112, 26 (2nd c. BCE) etc.

their πρόξενος, much as the association here does for Stratonike.²² φορά, like συμβολή, can mean the «contribution» payable by the member of an ἔρανος, and is the term used for the contributions of the ἡρωῖσται of Diotimos and others at Athens.²³ The compound verb συμβολαφορεῖν has recently emerged from an inscription of Dereköy in north-western Lycia, dated about 140, though because much of the text is lost the meaning of the word is not fully clear. The whole text concerns a re-organization of a local cult of «Zeus on the Peak» (ὁ ἐν ἄκρᾳ Ζεύς), and the longest preserved section is a list of «neighborhoods» (ὁμοῦρια) consisting of a number of «estates» (χωρία). These neighborhoods appear to constitute a religious union to which the estates are required to «make contributions» (συμβολαφορεῖν).²⁴ The same sense perfectly fits the present document. These συμβολαφόροι, «contributors», are members of the association who bring or send contributions in cash or kind to ensure the proper performance of the necessary sacrifices with their attendant feasting. In the previously known texts that contain the word συ(μ)βοληφόροι, it could well mean the same, since both concern religious associations, and the Bithynian one involves ancestor-worship.

The «contributors» of Stele B form a large group, sixty-four in number. The first three are mentioned without any origin, «Harpalos, son of Harpalos», «Athenodoros, son of Harpalos», and «Hedylos, son of Antiphanes»; of these the first two were shown above to be the sons of Stratonike mentioned in Stele A, the third being unknown. The other sixty-one names are all preceded with their place of origin indicated in the genitive, Τροκεττων, Κιρειαώμης, κτλ. Most of these place-names are unknown, though Troketta is the «Caesarea Troketta» in which KARL BURESCH found an inscription with an oracle of Apollo Clarios.²⁵ Four of the places have the suffix -κωμη, «village» (9, 34, 36, 39), and one the suffix -τειχος, «fortress, castle». Exploring the region of the Upper Kilbianoi in 1895, BURESCH learned that the mountains east of Baliamboli (Palaiapolis) had previously sheltered «schlimme Räuberbanden», and he discovered two ancient fortresses, one of which gave a view over the whole of the Upper Kilbianoi and part of the Lower.²⁶ Now it is striking that of the sixty-four names on Stele B, only one or two are epichoric, «Ammidoalis» (76) possibly «Katadroupos» (78), while all the others are Greek or Macedonian, the Macedonian ones including «Antipatros» (60), «Attalos» (8), «Harpalos» (2, 3), «Krateros» (16, 17) and «Nicanor» (73), while «Lareisaios» (18) suggests Thessaly and «Olympichos» (13) has a characteristically Boeotian

²² LSJ s.v. φέρω A IV 5 citing IG II/III 1012, 14; 1326, 6.

²³ LSJ s.v. φορά B 2; IG II/III 1339, 11.

²⁴ M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 399–461, especially 418–421 on συμβολαφορεῖν. Cf. SEG 47, 1806; BE 1998, 413 (CL. BRIXHE).

²⁵ K. BURESCH, *Klaros: Untersuchung zum Orakelwesen des späteren Altertums*, 1889; KEIL – PREMIERSTEIN, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien*, 1908, 8–12 no. 16; cf. L. ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, 1980, 405–407.

²⁶ BURESCH (n. 25) 180; KEIL – PREMIERSTEIN (n. 1) 58.

suffix, as well as recalling the powerful dynast of Alinda in the late third century.²⁷ Some names by contrast suggest western Asia Minor, «Maiandrios» (56)²⁸ and two derived from the god Men, «Menis» (22, 40) and «Menogenes» (53). Now it is known that there was a veteran colony of «Mysomakedones» close to the Upper Kilbianoi, perhaps going back to the Seleucid era, and such settlements are to be expected in a rich agricultural area overlooked by bandit-infested mountains.²⁹ It could well be that this association of ἡρωῖσται had at its core a wealthy family, perhaps domiciled in Koloe and descended from military settlers, and that it attracted members of the same class as itself.

Stelai A and B are therefore closely connected, and B may have been drawn up together with A: that is, at the same time as adding the late Stratonike to their honor-roll, the members decided to set up a permanent record of their names and places of origin. The findspot was presumably the actual site of the shrine, and it is a pity that there was no formal excavation.³⁰

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²⁷ LGPN III B, 324.

²⁸ On «Maiandrios», P. THONEMANN, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 37–38.

²⁹ BURESCH, *AM* 19, 1894, 102–103 line 19; for bibliography and recent discussion, G. M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, 1995, 220–222. For a list of Hellenistic garrisons in rural Asia Minor, CHR. SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, 1998, 307.

³⁰ I am very grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK, HELMUT MÜLLER and CHRISTOF SCHULER for advice and information.